

EGYPTIAN STUDIES III

VARIA NOVA

By Henry George Fischer

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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Metropolitan Museum 66.123.1
Gift of J. Lionberger Davis, 1966

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By Henry George Fischer

Curator Emeritus of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York 1996



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

















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TO THE MEMORY OF
LILA ACHESON WALLACE (1890-1984)



CONTENTS

Preface	xi
List of Plates	xiii
List of Figures	xvii
Abbreviations	xxi
1. A Later Tomb Chapel in the Mastaba of <i>Hnty-k3</i>	1
2. Names and Titles on an Old Kingdom False Door	7
3. A Late Old Kingdom Overseer of the Two Treasuries	13
Excursus I: Metropolitan Museum 04.2.4-6	29
Excursus II: Berlin (West) Inv.-Nr. 1/85	32
Excursus III: Manchester 10780	34
Excursus IV: British Museum 65953	36
4. On the Reading of Some Old Kingdom Titles	43
1. <i>R-Nhn</i>	43
2. <i>Zhy-ntr</i>	45
3. The reading of 𓆎 in titles	50
5. Some Theophoric Names of the Old Kingdom	55
1. <i>Ny-m3^ct-R^c</i>	55
2. <i>Ihy-hw.f</i> and <i>Ihy-n.s</i>	60
3. The avoidance of the old perfective in theophoric names	61
Excursus I: <i>hzi</i> and <i>dw3</i>	67
Excursus II: Some exceptional transpositions	69
Excursus III: Two names mentioning Horus	71
6. On the Interpretation of Names of Pyramids	73
7. Provincial Inscriptions of the Heracleopolitan Period	79
1. Stelae from Naqada	79
2. Words and weapons at Thebes	83
8. Egyptian Doors, Inside and Out	91
9. Sacerdotal Titles and Epithets of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties	103

10. A Statuette of the Late Middle Kingdom	107
11. Archaisms in a Statuette of Middle Kingdom Style	111
Addendum	117
12. A Shrine and Statue of the Thirteenth Dynasty	123
Excursus I: The colors of MMA 69.30	128
Excursus II: MMA 68.14	129
Excursus III: MMA 63.154	130
13. A Chair of the Early New Kingdom	141
1. Construction and materials	141
2. Comparative evidence: the legs	145
3. Comparative evidence: the seat	148
4. Comparative evidence: the back	149
5. Comparative evidence: the materials	151
6. The representation on the back	151
7. The representation: the figure of the owner	152
8. The representation: the <i>k3</i> -emblem	153
9. The inscription	157
Excursus: Middle Kingdom epithets referring to <i>nb tswy</i>	158
14. Notes on Hieroglyphic Palaeography	177
1. The evolution of the signs for “herdsman” (A24, 25, 33, 47)	177
2. The sign  as dual of  (D2) in the Old Kingdom	180
3. A Middle Kingdom variant of  (F12)	187
4. The sign 	190
5. Variants of the Old Kingdom form of  (F29)	192
6. Semi-reversed forms of  (F39)	194
7. The hieroglyph  (G26) and other writings of the name of Thoth	201
8. The assimilation of  (M12) and  (M22)	205
9. The signs  (O22) and  (W4)	208
10. The hieroglyph for “east” (R15)	210
11. An Old Kingdom variant of  (T25)	214
12. The Old Kingdom form of  (V37)	216
13. Variants of  (W14)	219
14. A detail of the sign  (Y3)	222
15. An unusual variant of  (Y5)	225
16. The groups  and 	227
Addenda to Volumes I, II & III	237

CONTENTS

ix

Indexes, by <i>Peter Der Manuelian</i>	243
A. Personal Names	243
B. Titles, Occupations and Selected Epithets	249
C. Pyramids, Estates, Buildings and Places	255
D. Words and Phrases	256
E. Forms of Signs	259
F. Groups and Arrangement of Signs	262

PREFACE

The present series of *varia* is more disparate than its predecessor, *Egyptian Studies* I, and in a further sense; for, although all but one of the articles that comprise it (14/4) are unpublished, a few of them were written as long ago as 1978, and most of the others were written in the 1980's. Thus the adjective "nova" may seem a trifle misleading. While an effort has been made to keep all the articles up to date, some will undoubtedly show their age.

This series of articles also offers fewer reunitions of dispersed inscriptions than its predecessor, although the one that is offered (7/2) is of considerably greater historical importance. And another chapter (1) deals with a scarcely less interesting situation, where inscriptions formerly attributed to a single individual have conversely been re-assigned to two persons, one of whom was evidently named for the other. But the chief difference in the present compilation is the much more extensive series of discussions concerning palaeography, which account for a third of the text. I have not, however, included further examples of palaeographic variants in the terminal list of addenda to Volume I.

Among the several persons who have had a part in this enterprise, I must thank my former assistants Janet Thorpe and Veronica Hamilton, who typed the manuscripts and helped in many other ways, as well as Gertrude Magnus and my wife. I am particularly indebted to Adela Oppenheim for preparing the list of abbreviations, and above all to James Allen, who has computerized the numerous hieroglyphic quotations, including a great many forms that are not to be found in the standard fonts. The final appearance of the book owes much to his skill and patience. As before, I have also received assistance from colleagues in many other institutions, to whom acknowledgment will be made in the following pages. Perhaps, however, I should here make special mention of Jean Leclant, who, on more than one occasion, has enabled me to secure information that otherwise seemed unobtainable.

The firm that produced the earlier volumes in this series is, alas, no more, and what was readily accomplished by letterpress now poses a formidable challenge to the manipulators of cold type. That is so much the case that I very much doubt whether the original format could have been reproduced by computer without the ability of Peter Der Manuelian, who has stepped in where others had failed. He has not only solved every problem, but, thanks to his Egyptological training, has provided proofs that have been remarkably free of errors. In addition to all this, he has also volunteered to assemble the index. Needless to say, he too deserves many thanks, both from myself and from my readers.

This volume, like its predecessors, has been financed by a fund established by the late Lila Acheson Wallace, and so too the research on which it is based.

LIST OF PLATES

- Frontispiece Metropolitan Museum 66.123.1
Gift of J. Lionberger Davis, 1966
- Chapter 2, Pl. 1 Copenhagen 5129
Courtesy of the National Museum
- 2 Details of Copenhagen 5129
- 3a Strasbourg 2541A
Courtesy of the University
- 3b Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11415
Courtesy of the Museum
- Chapter 3, Pl. 4 Berlin 7779
Courtesy Staatliche Museen
- 5 Metropolitan Museum 04.2.4-6
Gift of Darius Ogden Mills, 1904
- 6 Berlin-Charlottenburg 1/85
Courtesy of the Museum
- 7 British Museum 65953
Courtesy of the Museum
- Chapter 4, Pl. 8 Metropolitan Museum 12.182.132
Rogers Fund, 1912
- Chapter 7, Pl. 9 Turin Suppl. 1292
Courtesy Museo Egizio
- 10a Strasbourg 345
Courtesy of the University
- 10b Florence, Museo Archeologico 7595
Courtesy Soprintendenza alla Antichità
- Chapter 8, Pl. 11a Metropolitan Museum 14.3.18
Rogers Fund, 1912, and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1914
- 11b Cairo CG 70001, after Roeder
- 12 Leiden chapel of *Htp-ḥr-šhty*, after Boeser

- 13a Shrine of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*, after Strekalovski
- 13b Dummy doors in tomb of *Sšm-nfr* II, after Junker
- 14a Exterior of sarcophagus, Cairo J 47267, MMA field photograph
- 14b Interior of same sarcophagus
- Chapter 9, Pl. 15 University Museum, Philadelphia, 59-23-1
Courtesy of the Museum
- Chapter 10, Pl. 16 University Museum, Philadelphia, E 3381
Courtesy of the Museum
- Chapter 11, Pl. 17 Metropolitan Museum 65.59.1
Rogers Fund, 1965
- 18 Metropolitan Museum 65.59.1
- 19a Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 932
Courtesy of the Museum
- 19b Berlin 4435
Courtesy Staatliche Museen
- 19c Louvre E 11576
Courtesy of the Museum
- 19d Cairo J 345572, after Kamal
- 20 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 595
Courtesy of the Museum
- Chapter 12, Pl. 21 Metropolitan Museum 69.30
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Fund Gift, 1969
- 22a Detail of Metropolitan Museum 69.30
- 22b Detail of Metropolitan Museum 63.154
Pulitzer Bequest Fund, 1963
- 23 Brussels E 6749
Courtesy Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
- 24 Metropolitan Museum 1976.383
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1976
- 25 Metropolitan Museum 68.14
Purchase, Dr. and Mrs. Edmundo Lasalle Gift, 1968

- 26 Metropolitan Museum 63.154
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963
- Chapter 13, Pl. 27 Metropolitan Museum 68.58
Purchase, Patricia R. Lasalle Gift, 1968
- 28 Metropolitan Museum 68.58
- 29 Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58
- 30 Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58
- 31a Rear view of Metropolitan Museum 68.58, before
restoration
- 31b Rear view after restoration
- 32a Oriental Institute, Chicago, 10550
Courtesy of the Museum
- 32b–c Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6–1024
Courtesy of the Museum
- 33 Metropolitan Museum 19.3.32
Rogers Fund, 1919
- 34 Theban Tomb no. 22. Photography by The Egyptian
Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 35a–b Theban Tomb no. 60. Photography by The Egyptian
Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 36 Detail of Cairo J 56720. Photography by The Egyptian
Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 37a–d Chair from model boat, Metropolitan Museum 12.183.4
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1912
- 38 Fragments of ivory overlay from a chair
Courtesy American Museum of Natural History
- 39 Remains of a chair, Metropolitan Museum 25.3.308
Rogers Fund, 1925
- 40 Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58
- 41a Louvre N 3312
Courtesy of the Museum
- 41b Detail from tomb of *Rnni*, El Kab, after Tylor









LIST OF PLATES

- 42a Theban Tomb no. 178. Photography by The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 42b Theban Tomb no. 359. Photography by The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 43 Vienna Inv. Nr. 126
Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Chapter 14/6, Pl. 44 False door at Saqqara
Courtesy Egyptian Antiquities Organization
- 14/8, Pl. 45 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, SS 76
Courtesy of the Museum
- 46a Metropolitan Museum 28.9.5
Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1928
- 46b Pincase of Tutankhamun. Photography by The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 14/11, Pl. 47 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1877
Courtesy of the Museum

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1, Fig. 1	False doors naming <i>Hnty-k3</i> . After James
2	Column between false doors. After James, with restorations
Chapter 3, Fig. 1	Stela of <i>Špss-Pth</i> , Berlin 7779
2	Layout of texts on stela
3	Hieroglyph in B (1)
4	False door of <i>Pth-hꜥ.f</i> , Manchester 10780
5	Detail on offering slab, BM 65953
Chapter 4, Fig. 1	Alabaster fragment, late New Kingdom. After Brunton and Engelbach
2	Old Kingdom titles mentioning Anubis (rearranged from columnar inscriptions, except 3c, 3d)
Chapter 7, Fig. 1	Stela of <i>D3g</i> in the University of Rome
2	Possible alterations of the problematic title
3	Anonymous stela, Turin Suppl. 1292
4	Stela of <i>In-it.f</i> , combining Strasbourg 345 and Florence 7595
Chapter 8, Fig. 1	Doors from Middle Kingdom models. Drawing by Lindsley Hall
2	Limestone model naos. After Jéquier
3	Entrance passage of mastaba at Giza. After Lepsius
4	False door in mastaba of <i>Mrr-wi-k3.i</i> Drawing by S.R. Shepherd
5	Hieroglyphs representing doors
6	Twelfth Dynasty scene at Beni Hasan. After Newberry
Chapter 11, Fig. 1	Detail of relief of Djoser, Turin. After W.S. Smith
2	Women's wigs: (a) Archaic stela; (b) Dyn. IV relief of <i>Hwfw-hꜥ.f</i> 's mother, after Smith; (c) Mother of <i>Mr-sy-nḥ</i> III, after Dunham and Simpson

	3	Women's cloaks: (a) Dyn. IV statuette, after Smith; (b) Dyn. IV statue of <i>Nfrt</i> , from a photograph
Chapter 12, Fig.	1	Hair of servant girl and comparable examples, Dyns. XII–XIII
	2	Inscription on the fragmentary statuette of <i>ʿn</i> , MMA 1976.383
Chapter 13, Fig.	1	Structure of New Kingdom chairs
	2	Chair of <i>Rn.ḏ-snbw</i> , side view
	3	Chair of <i>Rn.ḏ-snbw</i> , pattern of cords in seat
	4	Dyn. XIX hieroglyph, after Calverly
	5	Scene from Dyn. XVIII tomb at El Kab. After Weigall
Chapter 14, Fig.	1	Dyn. XVIII herdsman. After Davies
	2	Dyn. XIX hieroglyph, herdsman. After Calverly
	3	Old Kingdom <i>mrt</i> -goddess. After Lindsley Hall
	4	Dyn. XIX <i>mrt</i> -goddess. After Calverly
	5	Dyn. XII singers. After Davies
	6	Dyn. V singer. After Bissing
	7	Dyn. VI craftsmen at Meir. After Blackman
	8	(a) Element from the necklace of <i>Hnmt</i> , Dahshur. From a photograph. (b, c) Similar hieroglyphs
	9	Middle Kingdom examples of ☐
	10	Detail of Old Kingdom relief in the Louvre, E 17499. After Ziegler
	11	Arrows in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs
	12	Combinations of ☐, rightward and leftward
	13	Variations of ☐: (a, b) Old Kingdom; (c–d) Dyn. XII; (e) Dyn. XVIII
	14	Old Kingdom variant of ☐ in the name <i>It.ḏ-nn</i>
	15	Old Kingdom variant of ☐ in the name <i>Hnn.f</i>
	16	Old Kingdom variant of ☐ in an offering list. After Junker

- 17 Detail of archaic palette, Louvre E 11254. From a photograph
- 18 Middle Kingdom writing of the title “overseer of the eastern deserts,” Beni Hasan. After Newberry
- 19 Woman holding staff in the same tomb, Beni Hasan
- 20 Woman holding staff, Dyn. IX or later, Cairo J 49804
- 21 Dyn. I example of , BM 55586
- 22 Dyn. IV example of 
- 23 Dyn. V representation of feathers, Leipzig. From a photograph
- 24 Old Kingdom variants of 
- 25 Old Kingdom variants of 
- 26 Old Kingdom variants of 
- 27 Old Kingdom variants of 
- 28 Detail of Dyn. VI relief, Cairo CG 1747. From a photograph
- 29 Scribal kit on panel of *Hzy-Rc*. From a photograph
- 30 Variants of : (a–c) Old Kingdom; (d–g) Dyn. XII; (h) Dyn. XVIII
- 31 Tubular pencase, Dyn. XVIII. From a photograph
- 32 Early Middle Kingdom gameboard, Beni Hasan. After Newberry
- 33 Post-Old Kingdom variant of , Aswan
- 34 Dyn. VI writing of the title “elder of the court,” Saqqara
- 35 Elongated bag in the mastaba of *Tj*, Saqqara. After Epron
- Addenda to Vol. I, Fig. 1
- 2 Determinative of *int*

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i> , Wiesbaden
Abu Bakr, <i>Gîza</i>	Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr, <i>Excavations at Giza 1949–1950</i> . Cairo 1953
ÄF	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen</i> , Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York
<i>Aeg. Inschr.</i>	<i>Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen (or Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig 1913–1924
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Princeton, New Jersey
Anthes, <i>Hatnub</i>	R. Anthes, <i>Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 9)</i> . Leipzig 1928
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte</i> , Cairo
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i> , Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kairo
Badawy, <i>Nyhetep-Ptah</i>	A. Badawy, <i>The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmehor at Saqqara</i> . Berkeley 1978
Barta, <i>Opferformel</i>	W. Barta, <i>Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel (ÄF 24)</i> . Glückstadt 1968
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d’Etude (IFAO)</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> , New York
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden
Bissing, <i>Gem-ni-kai</i>	F.W. von Bissing, <i>Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai</i> , 2 vols. Berlin 1905–1911
Bissing, <i>Re-Heiligtum</i>	F.W. von Bissing, editor, <i>Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-wos-er-re (Rathures)</i> , vols. II, III. Leipzig 1923/1928. II. <i>Die kleine Festdarstellung</i> by F.W. von Bissing and H. Kees. III. <i>Die große Festdarstellung</i> by H. Kees

- Blackman, *Meir* A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I–IV* (ASE). London 1914–1924
- Blackman and Apted, *Meir* A.M. Blackman and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V–VI* (ASE). London 1953
- BM The British Museum, London
- BMMA *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York
- Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* P.A.A. Boeser, A.E. Holwerda and J.H. Holwerda, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, 14 vols. The Hague 1905–1932
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- Borchardt, *Grabd. Ne-user-re^c* L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re^c*. Leipzig 1907
- Borchardt, *Grabd. Sa'zḥure^c* L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'zḥure^c I–II*. Leipzig 1913
- Bosticco, *Stele* S. Bosticco, (Part I) *Le Stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno. Museo archeologico di Firenze*; (Part II) *Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*. Rome 1959, 1965
- Brovarski, *Dissertation* E. Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*. University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, Dec. 1990
- BSA British School of Archaeology, London
- BSEG *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie*, Genève
- CAA *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, Mainz, 1977 ff.
- Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I* A.M. Calverley, assisted by M.F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, 4 vols., ed. by A.H. Gardiner (ASE, OIP). London–Chicago 1933–1958
- Camino and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography* R. Camino and H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*. New York 1976
- Capart, *Rue de tombeaux* J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*. Brussels 1947
- Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations* Lord Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*. London 1912
- Carter, *Tut-ankh-Amen* H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, 3 vols. London 1923–1933.

CG + number	Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i>
CG 1–1294	L. Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten</i> I–V. Berlin 1911–1936
CG 1295–1808	L. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches</i> I–II. Berlin 1937–1964
CG 1308–1315 and 17001–17036	C. Kuentz, <i>Obélisques</i> . Cairo 1932
CG 3426–3587	F.W. von Bissing, <i>Metallgefäße</i> . Vienna 1901
CG 20001–20780	H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs</i> I–IV. Berlin 1902–1925
CG 28001–28126	P. Lacau, <i>Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire</i> I–II. Cairo 1904–1906
CG 34001–34189	P. Lacau, <i>Stèles du Nouvel Empire</i> I–II. Cairo 1909–1926
CG 42001–42250	G. Legrain, <i>Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers</i> I–III + index volume. Cairo 1906–1925
CG 51001–51191	J.E. Quibell, <i>The Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu</i> . Cairo 1908
CG 52001–53855	E. Vernier, <i>Bijoux et orfèvreries</i> I–II. Cairo 1927
CG 57001–57212	A. Moret and Dia Abou-Ghazi, <i>Die Denkmäler des Alten Reiches</i> III. Cairo 1978
CG 70001–70050	G. Roeder, <i>Naos</i> I–II. Leipzig 1914
Clère-Vandier, <i>TPPI</i>	J.J. Clère and J. Vandier, <i>Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie</i> , Fasc. I (<i>Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i> 10). Brussels 1948
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GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i> , Göttingen
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J + number	<i>Journal d'entrée</i> , Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Unpublished unless otherwise noted

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<i>Mereruka</i>	P. Duell et al., <i>The Mastaba of Mereruka</i> , 2 vols. (OIP 31, 39). Chicago 1938
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale</i> , Cairo
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> , New York
Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i>	Georg Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i> I (<i>Alt- und Mittel-Hieratisch</i>), II (<i>Neuhieratisch</i>). Leipzig 1909
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1. A Later Tomb Chapel in the Mastaba of *Hnty-k3*

While the mastaba of *Hnty-k3* at Saqqara is securely dated to the early years of Pepy I's reign, there is less certainty about the date of a secondary burial belonging to another *Hnty-k3*,¹ a burial that is situated below Room III. T.G.H. James observes that the pair of false doors in this room (Fig. 1),² both of which bear the name in question as well as the nickname *Ihhi*, list several titles that are not attributed to the vizier elsewhere in his tomb. This fact leads him to consider whether Room III might be a subordinate chapel belonging to the person buried beneath it. He abandons that possibility, however, in favor of the conclusion that the chapel, one of two rooms annexed from a neighboring tomb, was equipped with false doors after the rest of the tomb was constructed and that their inscriptions list titles that the vizier acquired after the remainder of his mastaba had been completed.³

It is certainly true that the false doors are later, for as James likewise points out, the titles refer to the pyramid cult of Pepy I as well as that of Teti, and the only other titles of the vizier referring to Pepy's pyramid occur in the inscriptions of the main entrance of the mastaba.⁴ But the false doors were evidently not made by the same hand that executed the inscriptions of the entrance. In the entrance, as elsewhere, the vizier uses the old phrase *pri n.f hrw* in the offering formulae, while the false doors have the newer formulation *pri-hrw n NN*.⁵ Furthermore the inscriptions of the entrance show \square as the determinative of *qrs*,⁶ rather than 𓂏 , which appears in the false doors of Room III and in the burial chamber beneath them.

To consider this question more closely, it will be helpful to compare the titles of each false door, with an asterisk (*) placed before those that are not given the vizier elsewhere:⁷

78 (a) 𓂏

(b) 𓂏

(c) 𓂏

79 (a) 𓂏

(b) 𓂏

* (c) 𓂏

¹ James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 40.

² *Ibid.*, from pl. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.







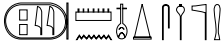





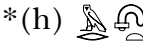



⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 7.

⁵ For the old formulation see Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 9, 16 (Bitte 2).

⁶ There are also rather similar forms elsewhere on the

exterior (James and Apted, *Khentika*, pls. 5 [B 4, 14], 6 [C 4, D 5]) and in the burial chamber (pl. 39), while within the mastaba the form is the more usual 𓂏 (pls. 19 [E 1], 29).

⁷ Here and in what follows the reference numbers applied to inscriptions are those used by James, but the lettered references for the titles are my own.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>78 (d) </p> <p>(e) </p> <p>* (f) </p> <p>* (g) </p> <p>(h) </p> <p>* (i) </p> <p>(j) </p> <p>(k) </p> | <p>79 (d) </p> <p>* (e) </p> <p>* (f) </p> <p>* (g) </p> <p>* (h) </p> <p>* (i) </p> <p>* (j) </p> <p>* (k) </p> |
|--|--|

One is at once struck by two points. In the first place, there is a much greater proportion of dissimilar titles in the second list. Secondly, the titles of the second list are, for the most part, of lesser importance; note, in particular, that 78 has the higher rank of *hsty-^r* (a), while both have the more modest rank of *smr-w^rty* (78 c, 79 a), and that 78 has *hry-hbt hry-tp* while 79 has only *hry hbt* (b in each case). Furthermore two of the dissimilar titles of 78, namely *hrp-nsty* (f) and *hrp hsts km* (g) occur in the titularies of two viziers in neighboring mastabas, *Mrr-w(.i)-k3(.i)* and *Ttw*,⁸ while the third, *zš mdst-ntr*, occurs not only in the last two cases, but also in the titulary of the vizier *K3(.i)-gm.n(.i)*, whose mastaba is also near at hand.⁹ Thus it is not at all surprising that the Vizier *Hnty-k3* should likewise possess them. On the other hand, several of the titles of 79 are definitely below the level that would normally be expected of a vizier. While the Vizier *Hnty-k3* is himself *imy-r pr nswt* “overseer of the king’s domain,” the lesser title *shd pr-nswt* (c) is held by one of his retainers (*Ib*, inscription no. 111), as are *imy-r sšr* (e: *Fdnw*,¹⁰ no. 77) and *shd dbst* (g: [*Z*] *tw*,¹¹ no. 112; *Ib*, no. 123). Furthermore titles c, g and probably i constitute virtually the entire titulary on a late Old Kingdom false door of poor workmanship from the same area.¹² The title *zš n s3* (j) is applied, without mention of a specific funerary cult, to a retainer in Room III (*B3qt[i]*, no. 86).

It is true that *hry-sšt3 n pr dwst* (i) is a title of some importance—one that might, in fact, be claimed by a vizier.¹³ But *imy-r sšr* is probably related to it,¹⁴ and a vizier would less prob-

⁸ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 132 (16), 133 (33); 153 (41, 42).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132 (12), 151 (14), 108 (45). I am sure that the reading is thus, as James suspected (*op. cit.*, p. 11 [11]), and not *zš qdt ntr*. It is often claimed by the higher level of lector priest.



¹⁰ Not to be read *dbhw* here or in inscription no. 71 (where it belongs to the man behind the prisoner); for this name, meaning “The Fourth” cf. *PNI*, 143 (16); Ann Macy Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago 1991), p. 70, has also made this correction but less felicitously suggests that the title may be *imy-r pr* rather than *imy-r sšr*. The latter title occurs very frequently in this con-

text: e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pls. 5, 23, 25, 26, 32.

¹¹ For the reading cf. *PNI*, 298 (17).

¹² Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 196 (27).

¹³ E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 132 (21), 153 (51).

¹⁴ Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918), 148–65, and especially p. 152, where the *tmt* of no. 16 should be emended to “*šzpt*-cloth” (for which see *JARCE* 2 [1963], 25). The fact that *sšrw* is written out lends a certain emphasis to the title, but does not necessarily indicate its importance; an attendant of *Ty*, for example, is  (Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 126). Cf. also Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 38, and Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 28 and p. 194 (where the final  is, probably wrongly, assigned to the name following, to be read *Hy*).

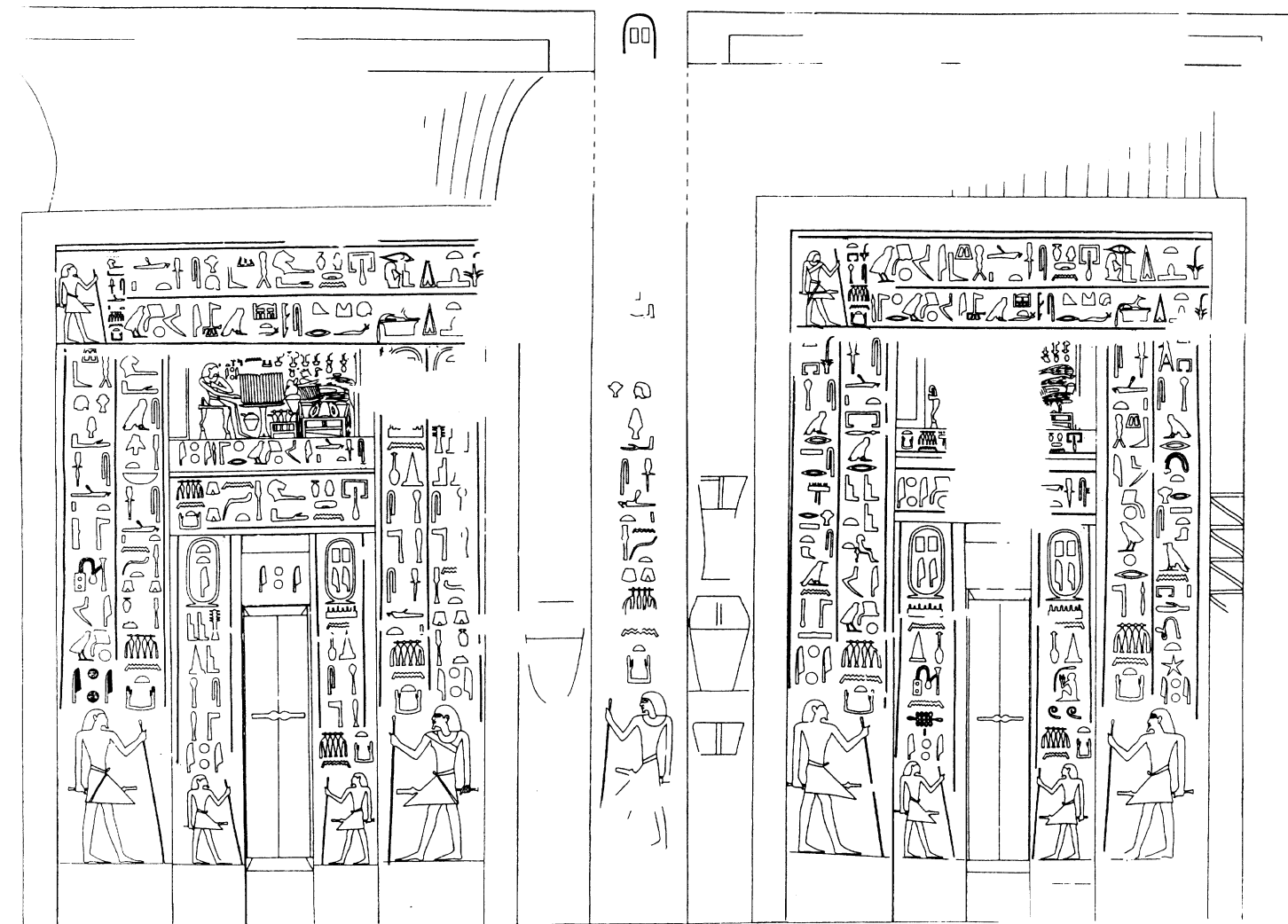


Fig. 1. False doors naming *Hnty-k3*. After James

ably have claimed that title. Otherwise this comparison leaves *hry sšt3 n mdw-ntr* (f) which is appropriate to any lector priest; *w3b 200* (k), which does not seem to be a very lofty title;¹⁵ and *imy-r htmt* (h) “overseer of the treasury.” Probably the last is to be interpreted thus rather than *imy-r htmtyw* “overseer of sealers,” since the final Δ is hardly ever added to Δ and Δ in Old Kingdom tomb chapels.¹⁶ In the Middle Kingdom both alternatives are attested, and the overseer of sealers is written Δ or, more rarely, Δ .¹⁷ The present case is remarkable, for it is thus far the only evidence of this kind for “overseer of the treasury” from the Old Kingdom, and there is scarcely any additional evidence of it




¹⁵ See Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 15 and VII, fig. 8; other examples: CG 1455, 1551, 1634. While this title is held by two nomarchs (CG 1455 and Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 10), Δ alone (or preceded by Δ) is known for two retainers of *Tt-iqr* (or *Iqr-Tt*) in the tomb of *Mrr-w(.i)-k3(.i)* (Daressy, *Mera*, 562, 567).

¹⁶ The only exceptions I have noted are: Δ Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 126; Δ Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 31.


¹⁷ Ward, *Index*, no. 367, to which Turin 1447 (wrongly included with no. 364 with reference to Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches* [Heidelberg 1922], fig. 14), should be added; this has both variants.



prior to the reunification of U.E. Nomes 1–10 by the Theban King *Wsh-ꜥnh In-ꜣt.f* in the Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁸ One of the inscriptions added to the facade of the Sixth Dynasty nomarch *Tꜣwti* at Qasr es-Sayad,¹⁹ made by an *imy-r htmt*, may possibly be a little earlier than the Upper Egyptian reunification.²⁰ As has been noted by Helck,²¹ the title is an exceedingly important one in the period of the Theban rulers, when it refers to the personal treasury of the king, but there were also overseers of the treasury who were in the service of nomarchs²² as well as other officials. At Saqqara, for example, an overseer of the treasury is among the offering bearers in the early Twelfth Dynasty tomb of *Ihy*, a high ranking official, but neither a nomarch nor a vizier.²³ In another case of the same period, an overseer of the treasury brings offerings to an official who has no other title than *imy-r pr* “steward,” and the offering bearers who follow him have very modest titles indeed.²⁴

In the case under consideration it is probable that the title is similarly of minor importance, for it is mentioned only once, whereas—as we shall see presently—the more commonplace title “overseer of linen” (e) occurs three times. Evidently “overseer of the treasury” did not acquire its elevated status, as a position relating to the king’s personal revenues, until the Theban monarchy of the Eleventh Dynasty, and even thereafter it evidently varied considerably in importance, depending on the individual to whom it referred. This reference is not made explicit in the title itself, although there are at least two exceptions: a single occurrence of *imy-r htmt m t3 r dr:f* “overseer of the treasury in the entire land,”²⁵ (the well-known *Hty*, official of *Nb-ꜥpt-Rꜥ* Mentuhotep) and *imy-r htmt T3-wr* “overseer of the treasure of the Thinite Nome.”²⁶

Two further points may be made concerning the titles of false door 79. They include all three of those that occur in the burial chamber below, namely a, d (without ) and e. And the titles of two loose blocks (XIII, XIV) which James says “belong almost certainly to the north wall of Room III,”²⁷ likewise show several titles of the same false door: a, d, e, k. Another title on one of these blocks ends with , and probably refers to a pyramid cult, as in the vizier’s title, 78 j, k. Yet another is unknown elsewhere in the mastaba, or from any other source:  “inspector of priests of the *k3*-house of the tomb(? *sh*t).”²⁸

¹⁸ Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 20.

¹⁹ LD II, 114 (e); cf. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hanra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm 1994), pl. 13 (I); this and his inscription II are certainly later than the Old Kingdom (see next note), and not so early as is maintained on p. 39. The title also appears (in the form ) on a headrest that is thought to antedate the Middle Kingdom: Berlin 1309 (PM III², 517; *Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 135). But that seems doubtful.

²⁰ Note , in *imy-wt* and  “libations;” for the latter see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 196–97, and the Chatsworth stela, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187.

²¹ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs* (Leiden 1958), p. 77.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 284.

²⁴ CG 20561 and Louvre C167 (Gayet, *Stèles de la XIIIe Dynastie* [Paris 1886], pl. 55), the same individuals in both cases. In another example of this kind the owner of the stela is of higher rank: CG 20473.

²⁵ Boeser, *Besch. der aeg. Samml.* III, no. 40, most recently discussed by E. Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 114 (1987), 22.

²⁶ Petrie, *Abydos* I, pl. 60 (2); for the interpretation see Fischer, *Titles*, pp. 9 (no. 365a), 65 (no. 853).


²⁷ James and Apted, *Khentika*, p. 34, referring to pl. 43.

²⁸ Only traces of the first sign are preserved, and its interpretation is not certain, nor is that of *sh*t; this can hardly refer to the tomb of *Hnty-k3* since no non-royal person, no matter how revered, would have *hm-ntr* priests (*JARCE* 4 [1965], 52). Might it designate the sun-temple of Menkauphor at Abusir, *sh*t-Rꜥ?

It may also be observed that the *Hnty-k3/Thyi* of these blocks has a shoulder-length wig that is not striated, as it is in the reliefs of the vizier, but shows the horizontal rows of overlapping locks that were originally confined to the shorter type of wig, and were only applied to the shoulder-length wig at the end of the reign of Teti and later.²⁹ A still later feature appears in the reliefs of the south wall of Room III (James' pl. 14): the chair in which the deceased is seated shows the side rail enclosed by the rounded tops of the leonine legs, and only two legs are visible. In the reliefs of the vizier the bottom of the rail runs straight across the tops of the legs, and the front profile of each leg is reduplicated. The different rendering of the top of the legs in Room III is evidently attested as early as the reign of Pepy I, but only rarely before the reign of Pepy II.³⁰

Yet another late feature is to be noted in the burial chamber, where the lids of ointment jars show a seal with the upturned ends of a cord on either side. The upturned ends of the cord are likewise added to the seals of chests and bolts of cloth in a Sixth Dynasty burial chamber at Meir, doubtless dating to the reign of Pepy II,³¹ as well as on the ointment jars of most of Jéquier's *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, most of which are later than the reign of that king.³² This feature evidently was applied later to the seals of jars than to those of chests and bolts of cloth.³³

The presence of the title "overseer of the treasure" raises the question whether the reliefs of Room III may be even as late as the Middle Kingdom. As far as I can detect, there is nothing that confirms that possibility. The treatment of the wig is exactly what one would expect at the end of the Old Kingdom;³⁴ so too the false doors,³⁵ the details of the burial chamber, and the style and palaeography throughout the burial chamber and the room above.³⁶

One inscription in Room III has not yet been examined. It is the vertical column, no. 80, between the pair of false doors (Fig. 2). From its orientation (←) it is evidently associated with false door 78, the adjacent jambs of which show the same orientation, and it contains titles j, b, h, c, and f of that false door as well as  "hereditary prince," which

²⁹ Cf. JARCE 1 (1962), 17, n. 80, referring to *Izi* of Edfu; for further examples see Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 18 (b), 20, 23, 24, 25, 30, 32, 42; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 9, 16; Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 46.

³⁰ See Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 54, n. 1; *Dendera*, p. 198 and n. 784. Besides the early example from the tomb of *Njhw* (Giza 2381), there is a second example from Akhmim (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, fig. 22 [a]) which may be equally early.

³¹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 19.

³² The question of dating is discussed in a forthcoming article for *Hommages à Jean-Philippe Lauer*.

³³ I know of only two examples that are earlier than the end of the Sixth Dynasty: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 29 (where the ends of the tie are scarcely disengaged from the lid) and Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 44. Several examples are known from Akhmim, but these seem later: cf. Kanawati,

El-Hawawish I, figs. 17, 21; II, 4, 24; VII, figs. 8, 10, 14.

³⁴ As compared with that of *H3-ist.f*, PM III², p. 615, which in turn resembles that of *Thy* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 39).

³⁵ In particular, note that the recessed areas flanking the offering scene are the same height as the panel on which this scene is represented, unlike the false doors shown *ibid.*, pls. 64, 67–75, 83, where the recesses are of lesser height, or are omitted altogether. It seems improbable that the late false door of this type, shown in James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 42 (243), belongs to the vizier's eldest son, as is concluded on p. 14; furthermore it lacks the son's recurrent title of "lector priest."

³⁶ The treatment of the tops of the legs, as described (with references in note 30 above), is found in the tomb of *H3-ist.f* but not that of *Thy*.

occurs elsewhere in the inscriptions of the vizier.

From the foregoing considerations, one may draw the following conclusions: first, that the reliefs and inscriptions of Room III were made at a later date than those elsewhere, inside and outside of the mastaba, and were made for the burial beneath them, belonging to a man who bore the same name and nickname as the vizier, but who was of lesser rank and status. There is no indication that he was a descendant; more probably he belonged to a later generation of the vizier's funerary personnel, and may have been given the vizier's name for that reason, like the son of a funerary priest in the service of the vizier *Mhw*.³⁷ In any case he did not merely usurp part of the vizier's mastaba, but set up a false door for the vizier beside his own, so that both would receive the offerings that were made to him or perhaps, less charitably, to increase his own chances of receiving offerings. It is also probable that the *Hnty-k3* of Room III contrived to introduce himself in the procession of offering bearers that advance towards the vizier's own false door, in Room VII, for this name has replaced another, and was therefore inserted at a later date (no. 115).³⁸ Four of the five names added to the offering bearers in Room III are different from those attached to the vizier's attendants, and all of them likewise seem to represent a later generation, for two have been inserted into other scenes among the vizier's reliefs.³⁹

However the relationship of the greater and lesser *Hnty-k3* is to be explained, it is certain that titles 26–33 and 51 are to be removed from the titulary of the vizier, as presented on pp. 9–10 of the publication in question, and should be assigned to the vizier's later homonym.

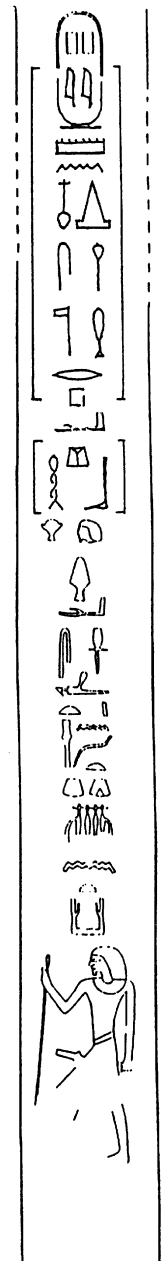


Fig. 2. Column between false doors.
After James, with restorations

³⁷ *JARCE* 4 (1965), 51.

³⁸ The replacement of $\overline{\text{Hnty-k3}}$ by $\overline{\text{Hnty-k3}}$ is odd. Perhaps *imy-r swt špswt pr* was intended, but could not be completed because space was lacking. At any rate the erased title is one that the later *Hnty-k3* does not claim.

³⁹ The name *B3qt(i)* is inserted in the scene on pl. 9 (42), that of *šhi* on pl. 28 (167). A funerary priest (*hm-k3*) again has the name *Hnty-k3*, but is evidently not the same

individual as the one named on pl. 21 (115). Note further that there are many such additions in the scenes of the vizier, whereas many of the offering bearers of the later *Hnty-k3* are unidentified, with islands of raised surface between them, which were intended for names that were never added. To make up for this deficiency, three of the names have been repeated beside more than one figure.

2. Names and Titles on an Old Kingdom False Door

Gunther Vittmann (*GM* 42 [1981], 79) has proposed to recognize an otherwise unknown term for “butcher” on a false door from Mariette’s excavations at Saqqara, now in the Copenhagen National Museum (Pls. 1–2).¹ This had already been listed in Margaret Murray’s *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* as $\dagger \overline{\circ}$ (pl. 26, following the copy of Mariette), but Vittmann more accurately transcribes it as $\dagger \overline{\circ}$ and takes the third sign to represent the butcher’s whetstone, reversed (and, it should be noted, reversed on both outer jambs of the false door, facing both right and left) in the labels of two pairs of offering bearers. He connects the supposed title with Fairman’s Ptolemaic evidence for *nfrtj* “throat, gullet,” which is evidently of ancient origin,² and thus reads *nfrtj* “who has to do with the throat” (in slaughtering).

Apart from the lack of other evidence for such a designation referring to butchers, the names of the four offering bearers present a very serious obstacle to Vittmann’s suggestion, since all of them are of a pattern that would ordinarily lead one to expect the preceding signs to designate a divinity. Ranke, to be sure, does not make that assumption. Following Murray, he reads one of the names as *Shm-nh* (*PNI*, 319 [10]) and another as *Nj-kzw* (*PNI*, 180 [18]), citing the Copenhagen false door as the sole evidence in both cases. A third name is read *Irt* (*PNI*, 40 [26]) for which there is again no further evidence from the Old Kingdom, although some examples are cited for the Heracleopolitan Period and later. The fourth name, ending with *hcf*, is completely overlooked by Murray and Ranke, presumably because the inscription is incomplete. But the traces that precede it strongly suggest that the initial group of signs is again $\dagger \overline{\circ}$.


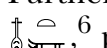
Inasmuch as there is abundant evidence for Old Kingdom names such as *Shm-nh-Pth*, *Nj-kzw-Pth*, *Irt-Pth* and *Pth-hcf*,³ it must be considered whether $\dagger \overline{\circ}$ may not belong to the name of a divinity, namely *Nfrtm*, with the sign for *tm* correctly oriented. Although there is some evidence that Old Kingdom theophoric names may occasionally have been abbreviated by omitting the name of the god,⁴ it seems improbably coincidental that this sort of abbreviation should have occurred in all four cases. It is also, to be sure, curious that all four



¹ Copenhagen 5129, first published in Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 270–71 (reversed). For other references see *PM III*², 456.




² Cf. Fischer, *Calligraphy*²⁻³, p. 54 (F 35).

³ *PNI*, 319 (11), 180 (20); II, 265 (30); I, 265 (13).

⁴ Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 105. Most of these cases involve *k3*, and many of them can be interpreted differently, as pointed out below, pp. 65–66.

offering bearers should have theophoric names referring to *Nfrtm*, a god who is little known from Old Kingdom personal names apart from these examples. But the name  *Ny-ꜥnh-Nfrtm* is attested from a fragment of late Old Kingdom relief in Strasbourg (Pl. 3a).⁵ Furthermore at least three Old Kingdom examples have been cited for the personal name ,⁶ presumably referring to the divinity in question.⁷ And in at least one of these cases the form of *tm* is comparable to the clearest example of the same sign on the Copenhagen false door (at the extreme left):

(→)  (Junker, *Gîza* VIII, fig. 6)  (Copenhagen false door)

Even more comparable examples of  for *tm* are to be found in hieratic⁸ and hieroglyphic⁹ texts of the same period. At the opposite side of the false door the main part of the sign is slightly different () , but this part is rather too thick and rectangular to suit the whetstone; it is much more like .

For the recurrence of one and the same divinity in a series of otherwise diverse theophoric names one may compare a series of three offering bearers named *Dwꜥ.ti-Snfrw*, *Snfrw-ḥꜥ.f* and *Snfrw-bꜥ.f* on the false door of the King's son *Kꜥ(.i)-nfr*; BM 1324.¹⁰ In this case the frequent allusion to *Snfrw* may not seem surprising since *Kꜥ(.i)-nfr* was the son of that king and was in charge of his father's funerary cult at Dahshur. But a closer analogy may be seen in a fragment of relief from Saqqara, apparently dating to the very end of the Old Kingdom (Pl. 3b).¹¹ This shows a row of offering bearers, at least four of whom bear theophoric names referring to Khnum: *Bꜥk-n-Hnmw*,¹² *Hꜥp-Hnmw*,¹³ *Ir.n-Hnmw*¹⁴ and *Htp-Hnmw*.¹⁵ And it may be noted that, on the Copenhagen false door itself, no fewer than eight of the twelve men who flank the offering scene have theophoric names compounded with that of Ptah, to say nothing of the owner himself (Pl. 1). There is accordingly every reason to conclude that the title of the supposed butchers actually belongs to their names, which are to be read *Shꜥm-ꜥnh-Nfrtm*, *Ny-kꜥw-Nfrtm*, *Irt-Nfrtm* and *[Nfr]tm-ḥꜥ.f*.

As it happens, the same false door in Copenhagen has given rise to another problem, which, in this case, concerns a title. It is quoted as  by Kees, who con-

⁵ No. 2541A. I am indebted to Jacques Parlebas for permitting me to publish my own photograph. The name is preceded by the titles *nty n zꜥ* "regulator of a phyle," *imy-r sꜥr* "overseer of linen," and *smr zꜥ n zꜥ* "companion, scribe of a phyle."

⁶ *PNI*, 200 (24); II, 370, where Ranke notes that Junker's example is now published in his *Gîza* VIII, fig. 6. This name is also known from the Middle Kingdom, when the name *Nfrtm-m-zꜥ.f* is also attested (*PNI*, 200 [27]) as well as two examples of *Zst-Nfrtm* (Ahmed Moussa, *JEA* 70 [1984], 51, fig. 1 [a] and Habachi, *Heqaiib*, p. 75, fig. 11) to be added to those of later date (*PNI*, 290, [10]).

⁷ For the use of the names of gods as personal names in the Sixth Dynasty see *PNI*, 234.

⁸ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, Pal. pl. 12 (U 15).

⁹ *Urk.* I, 164 (10); Edel, *MIO* 1 (1953), 328 (A,1).

¹⁰ T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 10.































¹¹ Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11415. The width is 28 cm at the baseline. I saw this among photographs stored at Saqqara in 1956. For the photograph used here, and permission to publish it, I am indebted to Dr. Bengt Peterson.

¹² Cf. *Bꜥk-n-Pth* (*PNI*, 91 [6], citing CG 1731, which is probably as early as the Sixth Dynasty), and *Urk.* I, 113 (6), which is early in the reign of Pepy II.

¹³ No name of this pattern is known to me. This may be the oldest recorded example of *hꜥp* (*Wb.* III, 30), which is not otherwise attested before the Middle Kingdom. The meaning would be "Khnum is hidden," possibly to be read *Hnmw-hꜥp(w)*.

¹⁴ Cf. *PNI*, 39 (27).

¹⁵ Cf. *PNI*, 276 (6); II, 383.

siders it to be a variant writing of the well-known title “Priest of Horus-Anubis Who Presides over the House of the Retinue,”¹⁶ suggesting that  is therefore to be read *šmswt*.¹⁷ His reasoning is followed by Reisner and Smith, in reference to an occurrence of  on a Fifth Dynasty seal impression from Giza,¹⁸ and the same interpretation of this occurrence is in turn adopted by Kaplony, without reference to Kees.¹⁹ Helck isolates *hm-ntr*  *šmswt* in the present example, leaving the last word unexplained,²⁰ and Werner Kaiser likewise quotes it as                           

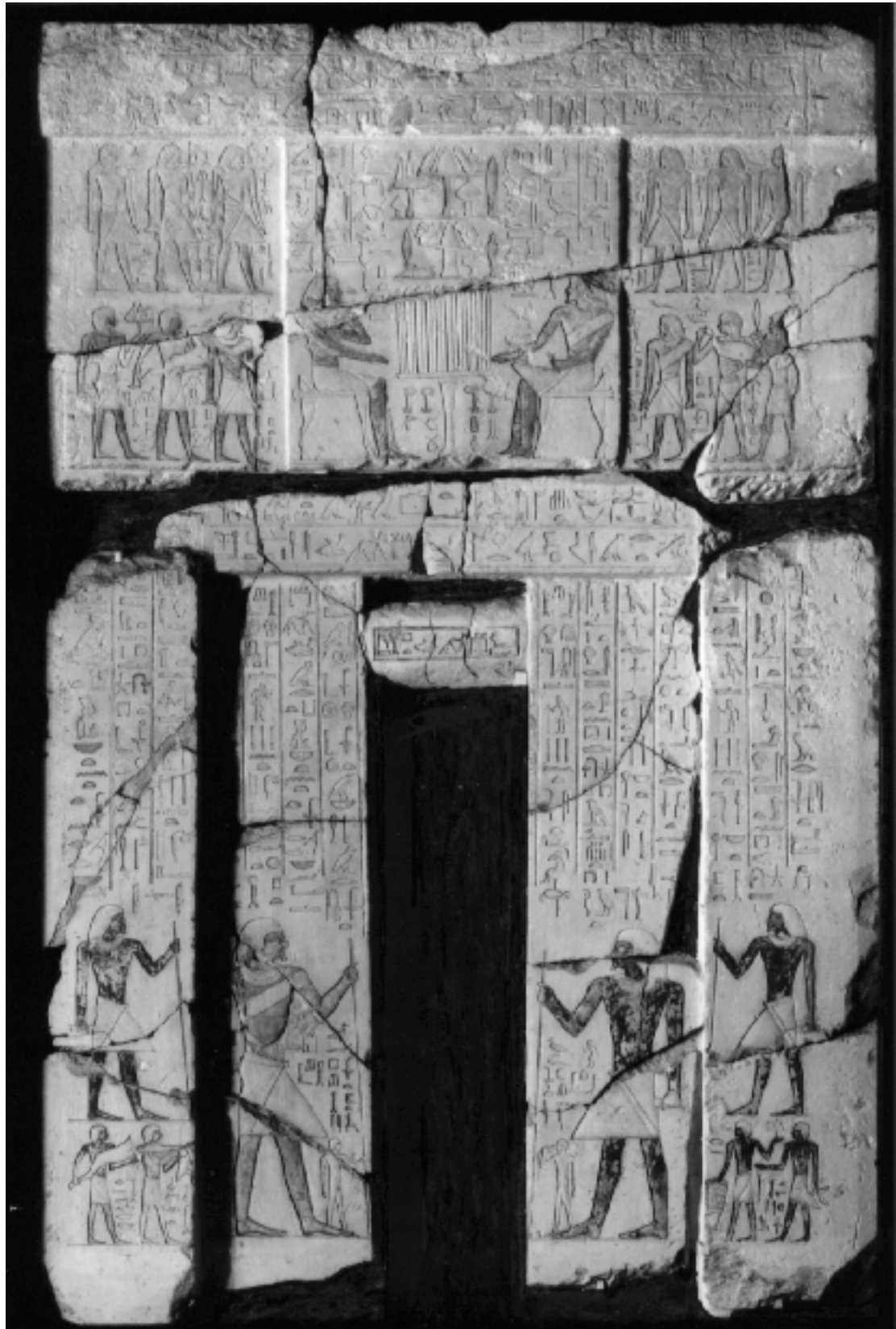


Plate. 1. Copenhagen 5129
Courtesy of the National Museum

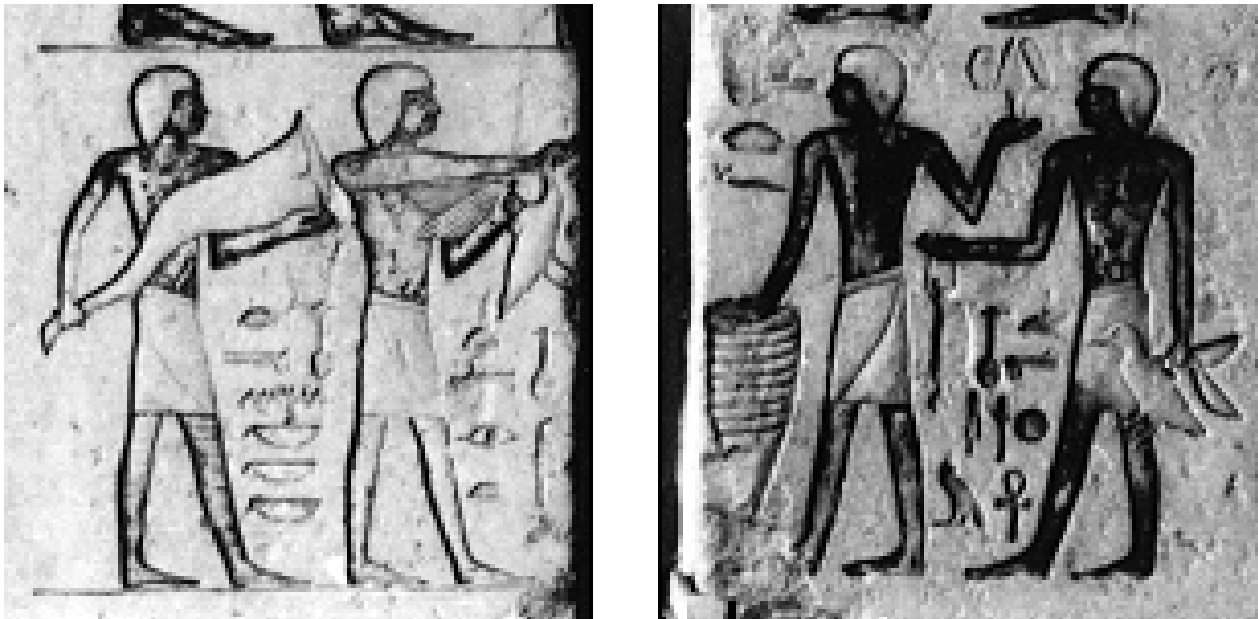


Plate. 2. Details of Copenhagen 5129



Plate. 3a. Strasbourg 2541A
Courtesy of the University



Plate. 3b. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11415
Courtesy of the Museum

3. A Late Old Kingdom Overseer of the Two Treasuries

The stela Berlin 7779 (Pl. 4 and Fig. 1) is unusual in so many ways that it deserves more attention than the copies provided by Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, pp. 1484–86, and in the museum's *Aegyptische Inschriften* I, p. 120. It is there dated to the period between the Old and Middle Kingdom, while others have suggested that it is as late as the Eleventh Dynasty.¹ This question will be considered in the following pages together with the provenance, which is said by Brugsch to be “aus Memphis” on the word of a Cairo antiquities dealer, although a conclusive answer can be offered in neither case.

To begin with, it will be useful to give a systematic description and translation, to which some comments may be appended. The format evidently derives from that of Old Kingdom architraves in which the tomb owner, standing at the left, is confronted by a row of figures on a smaller scale, with one or more lines of text above them.² The area occupied by the principal figure, along with a text containing the funerary formula, and his name and titles, will be designated as A (Fig. 2). The funerary formulae are presented in A 1 and A 3, each followed by titles and the name (A 2, A 4). But A 4 may also be taken as a continuation of A 2. This arrangement is unexpected, but the presentation of the titles is even more singular, because the principal title is repeated twice and another, subordinate to it, five times. There can be no doubt that the repetition is intentional, creating a rhythmic pattern, and is not simply a means of filling space. Furthermore it seems highly likely that the repetition of the first title is implied before each repetition of the second. As it happens, a much earlier overseer of the treasury, probably dating to the mid-Fourth Dynasty, similarly repeats his principal title on a group of blocks from his tomb; this case is discussed below, in Excursus I.

Thus far the inscription may accordingly be translated as follows: A (1) An offering which the king gives, and Anubis, Who is Upon His Mountain, Who is in the Place of

¹ Edith Varga and Steffen Wenig, *Aegyptische Kunst: Sonderausstellung der Ägyptischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Budapest 1963), p. 8, no. 42, dated “11. Dynastie(?)” and assigned to the Middle Kingdom. The length is 63 cm, the height 47 cm. Vandier, in his *Manuel d'Archéologie* II, p. 461, fig. 290, illustrates the stela on a small scale and very indistinctly, among other stelae of the late Heracleopolitan Period and Dyn. XI; it is also mentioned on p. 465. In PM III², p. 732, the stela is said to be

“probably early Middle Kingdom” and the provenance is assumed to be Saqqara.

² Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 219 (VII); from Giza (1–5); Abydos (6); Edfu (7); Naqada (8). Also examples from Saqqara (*JAOS* 4 [1965], 49 ff. and pl. 29), Dendera (*ibid.*, pp. 62–63 and figs. 14 [c], 16, pls. 5, 12 c), Gozeiriya (*ibid.*, fig. 36, pls. 21–23), and Akhmim (Ann McFarlane, *GM* 100 [1987], 71).



Fig. 1. Stela of Špss-Pth, Berlin 7779

Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land, that he be buried in the necropolis, (2) The Chamberlain of the King and Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Judiciary *ꜥd-mr* Official and Overseer of Two Treasuries,^a Under-supervisor of the Treasury^b and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Treasuries;^c (The Overseer of Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Workshops;^d (The Overseer of the Two Treasuries), Under supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Chambers of the King's Regalia,^e (The Overseer of the Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Houses of Gold,^f Špss-Pth.^g (3) An Offering which the King gives, that funerary offerings go forth to him^h who is revered with Osiris and with the Great God: (4) (The Overseer of the Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury Who Takes Stock of the Productionⁱ of Upper and Lower Egypt and All Foreign Lands, One Revered with Ptah-Sokaris, Špss-Pth.

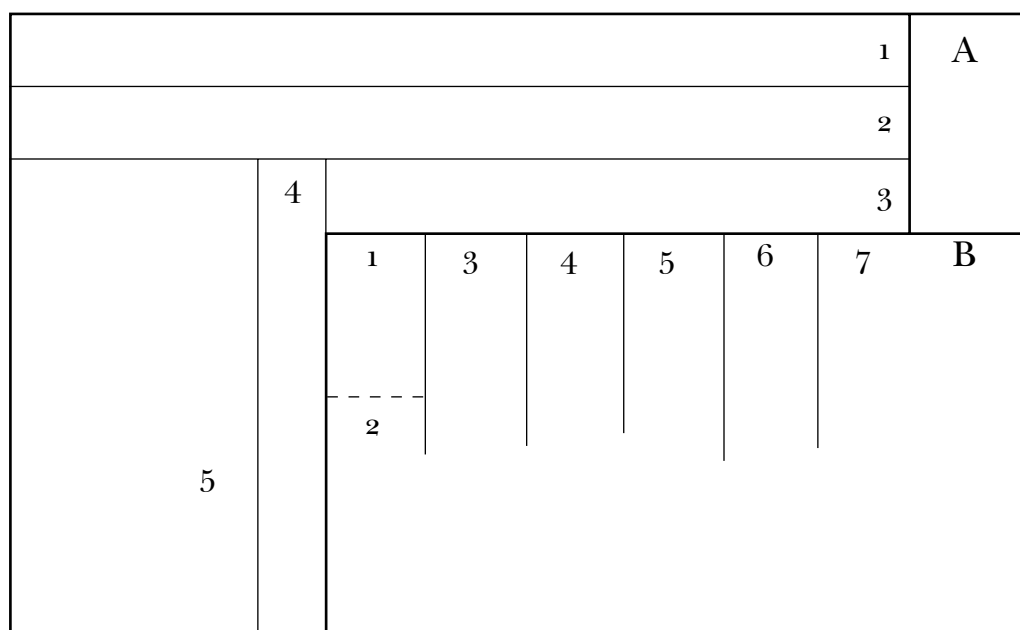


Fig. 2. Layout of texts on stela

The owner is depicted with the conventional attributes of advanced age: he is wigless and wears a long kilt, the edge of which is held with an open hand, while the other hand holds a staff; his torso is paunchy, with sagging breast. The manner in which the rearward arm is “folded over” to touch the border of his long kilt is characteristic of this type of representation and is most frequently encountered at the Memphite cemeteries in the late Old Kingdom,³ but is also known from Sixth Dynasty examples at Meir,⁴ Quseir el-Amarna,⁵ and Akhmim.⁶ It occurs on a very small scale at the bottom of two false doors from Saqqara, dating to the end of the Heracleopolitan Period, but in one case the old man holds a scepter as well as a staff,⁷ and in the other he lacks a staff, both hands being empty.⁸ At Meir it reappears in one of the Twelfth Dynasty tombs, combined with similar differences in attitude as well as clothing,⁹ but does not seem to have been used elsewhere during the Hera-

³ Exceptionally applied to a younger short-kilted figure, as shown by the initial example of H. Madsen, who was the first to discuss this peculiarity (*ZÄS* 42 [1905], 65–69); he also notes the present example (p. 68, dating it between the Old and Middle Kingdom) and Berlin 15321, illustrated and discussed by Heinrich Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 4th ed. (Wiesbaden 1963), pl. 14 (2) and p. 312. In two other exceptional cases this type of figure likewise wears a short kilt (Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 [1900], 155, fig. 9; Z.Y. Saad, *ASAE* 40 [1940], 291, fig. 77), and the second of these again looks younger. Several statues of the same period similarly show the apparent right hand touching or holding the border of the kilt (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie* III, p. 91, type XVI E), but the examples in relief sometimes hold a scepter (e.g., Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 34; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 14, 16; see also Goyon,

Kêmi 15 [1959], pls. 7, 9), where one hand rests on a staff, while the other makes the gesture of address.

⁴ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 6; V, pl. 5.


⁵ A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna* (Sydney 1989), pl. 36.

⁶ CG 1586 (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VII, p. 48, pl. 7a, fig. 34a).

⁷ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907)* (Cairo 1908), pl. 6 (2), with mention of the pyramid of Merykare.

⁸ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)*, pl. 13; very probably the same date. For the attitude cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 111.

⁹ Blackman, *Meir* II, pls. 2, 16; it should be noted that the influence of the Old Kingdom was particularly strong at this necropolis.

cleopolitan Period or the Middle Kingdom, although there are a few still later occurrences.¹⁰ The broad collar is found fairly often in Old Kingdom examples,¹¹ the pair of bracelets less often.¹² The apparent presence of a beard is illusory; it is not to be expected, and from a close examination of the original by K.-H. Priese, it has proven to be an accidental chip in the stone. This representation is nonetheless unusual in that the figure leans slightly forward; in other words, old age is more definitely suggested than in other cases.¹³ Brugsch copied  above the staff, i.e., a repetition of the title *hry tp [nswt]*, but this must have been in paint, for there is no trace of it today. Perhaps it was a later addition.¹⁴ A small figure facing the owner, likewise wigless and beardless, but wearing a short kilt, offers incense, using a censer of Old Kingdom style.¹⁵ His name (A 5) is *Ssm-nfr*.¹⁶

Area B shows (1) a figure similar to the owner, though with heavier torso,¹⁶ again beardless, and lacking collar and bracelets; he is: The Scribe *ꜥnh-swt-NN*.^k All the signs retain rightward orientation, whereas the inscriptions pertaining to all the other minor figures are reversed, as would be expected. Beneath him (2) is a woman, who, in view of her preëminent position, may be the owner's wife. In accordance with the style of the late Old Kingdom,¹⁷ she has close-cropped hair or a short wig, like the men behind her. Her skirt is the

¹⁰ Schäfer, *loc. cit.*, indicates that it continued down to the Middle Kingdom, but he gives no references, and may have had only the Meir examples in mind. For later examples see *BMMA* 21 (Dec. 1926), 6, fig. 2 (Theban tomb 131, temp. Tuthmosis III); *BMMA* 23 (Dec. 1928), 24, fig. 28 (Dyn. XXVI). In his *Manuel d'Archéologie* II, p. 465, Vandier describes the present case as an infelicitous innovation; in vol. IV, p. 16, he mentions an earlier example, but curiously describes it as representing a physical deformity, which it certainly is not.

¹¹ Barsanti, *loc. cit.*; Capart, *op. cit.*, pls. 78–79; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 7; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pl. 36; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 6; V, pl. 5; CG 1586; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21; *Western Cemetery*, Pt. 1, fig. 16; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 24; H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber* (Leipzig 1908), pp. 9, 11. The last examples, relatively late, are unusual in that the hair is detailed, divided into rows of rectangular or circular locks.

¹² Bracelets (more usually one only) appear on some of the earlier representations of long-kilted portly men; *JNES* 18 (1959), figs. 8, 10, pp. 243, 246. A single bracelet also is found in Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 6; Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*^A, pl. 14 (2); Simpson, *loc. cit.* (also two bracelets); *Qar and Idu*, fig. 34 (two bracelets); El Khouli and Kanawati, *loc. cit.* (two bracelets).

¹³ Cf., however, the architrave of *Mni* from Akhmim, Cairo CG 1586, where three figures of this type become more erect as they progress (reading from right to left).

¹⁴ For meaningless additions of this kind see *MMJ* 9 (1974), 9.

¹⁵ For the specific motif, showing a diminutive figure of a man censuring in this manner before the owner, cf. Junk-

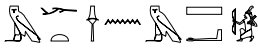
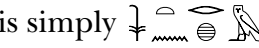
er, *Giza* VI, fig. 82; VII, figs. 48a, 51, 53; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 21; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 77; *ASAE* 17 (1917), 134 (*Qsr* of Edfu). The closest parallel for the present group is Blackman-Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 5. This motif evidently became very infrequent after the Old Kingdom, although a later example is to be found in Osing et al., *Denkmäler*, pl. 58, and an even later one in Newberry and Griffith, *Bersheh* I, pl. 15; for the form of the censer cf. Blackman, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 66–68. A Theban Dyn. XI example (Blackman, *JEA* 17 [1931], pl. 8) is less comparable; the small figure kneels above the offering table, and (like the example in Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V) he does not use a lid, but adds a piece of incense.

¹⁶ Cf. the variation of this type of figure in Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21 (D2, E2, F2).

¹⁷ In some cases elsewhere a fillet is added: e.g., Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 25 (but not 26, 30), 39, 41; Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, figs. 3, 6, 8, 26, 28, 37 (but not 9, 10, 30, 33). At Dendera short hair generally appears on the Dyn. VI–VIII stelae (as grouped in Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 187) as opposed to those of later date, which show the long lappeted wig. This change of fashion seems generally applicable elsewhere in Dyns. IX–XI, so far as non-royal women are concerned, although short hair is worn by women in two tombs at Akhmim which seem to be later than Dyn. VIII (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, figs. 8, 13; II, figs. 4, 18, 23, 25, but not 14); for the date cf. Brovarski, in *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar* (Cairo 1985), 134 f. It also appears on a few false doors at Saqqara which are equally late: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 68, 70 (1); Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–06)*, pl. 16 (right); *ibid.*, (1906–07), pl. 10 (1).

usual close-fitting kind, with wide shoulder straps that are partly covered by a broad collar, and (as in many representations of the late Old Kingdom) the straps do not meet at the center.¹⁸ One hand raises a lotus blossom to her nose,¹⁹ while the other hangs empty at her side. Her title and name are: The King's Acquaintance, *Iw.f-n(.i).t*.¹ Behind her are ranged a series of five standing men, all wigless and identically clad in a broad collar and short projecting kilt, and all carrying a staff and scepter. The lesser height of the last three may possibly be significant, but is more probably unintentional, for there are a number of other cases where a series of figures tends to be diminished from left to right.²⁰ The arrangement of the hieroglyphs above them is also rather careless, leaving an increasing amount of space above the heads. This negligence is at variance with the elaborate presentation of the owner's titles. The five are identified as (3) The Inspector of Custodians of Property of the Treasury,^m the Revered *Ipi*;ⁿ (4) The Inspector of Scribes of the Treasury,^o the Revered *Špss-Pth*; (5) The Inspector of Custodians of Property of the Treasury, the Revered *Q3r*;^p (6) The Inspector of Custodians of Property of the Treasury, the Revered *Hwi*;^q (7) The Functionary of tenant-landholdings,^r *Ipi*.

Comments (a) Note that the title *imy-r prwy-ḥd* normally follows *hry-tp nswt* and *z3b ḥd-mr* (Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* [Chicago 1960], pp. 186 [33/3], 187 [36/3]). Hence the pairing that is indicated in the translation. It may also be noted that *z3b ḥd-mr* follows *hry-tp nswt*, as is again to be expected (*ibid.*, p. 186 [33/18]).




(b) *Wb.* I, 75 (6), is certainly right in regarding *imy-ḥt* as "Untervorsteher," and I doubt that it ever means "assistant" in Old Kingdom titles (as Junker sometimes interprets it in his *Giza* series). Thus  (Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 44 [1]) is evidently "under-supervisor of directors of the army,"²¹ and not as Rowe translates, "aide (of) the commander of the army" (*ibid.*, p. 136); the same man, on his wife's stela is simply  (*ibid.*, pl. 44 [2]) "King's acquaintance and under-supervisor," while another man, on the drum lintel of his offering niche, has no other title but *imy-ḥt* (*ibid.*, p. 139). These occurrences of isolated *imy-ḥt* can hardly refer to a simple "helper" in either case, or to a hereditary successor, as

¹⁸ E.g., Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 23; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 25, 41; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pls. 3, 5, 7, 12; II, pls. 6, 8, 9, 12.

¹⁹ Similarly, standing (and seated) women often hold a long-stemmed lotus in reliefs of the late Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara (e.g., Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pl. 35; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 [1976], 20, fig. 12) and in the provinces (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 5; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 7; Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 10; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 3; CG 1576 [Abydos]), although there are a few later examples (e.g., Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 53); the example shown in *MMJ* 11 (1976), 16–17, may well be as early as Dyn. VIII (see *Ancient Egypt in the MMJ* [New York 1977], p. 184 [to p. 170]).

²⁰ E.g., Junker, *Giza* V, figs. 21, 22; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 88; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 39; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*,

fig. 22 (a); Jéquier, *Pyrs. des reines*, fig. 33; Mackay et al., *Hemamieh*, pl. 10 (→, in other cases the height is irregular); Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 14. The reduction in height is more marked in some of the later examples: Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 37; Jéquier, *Pyrs. des reines*, fig. 33; Edel in *Form und Mass: Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden 1987), p. 130 (= de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, p. 145 [g] and cf. [e, h] and 144 [a]). The early Old Kingdom chapels at Medum often place the smallest figures first, regardless of orientation: Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24. In a few cases diminishing height indicates a difference in age; see *BES* 9 (1987/88), 16 and n. 6.

²¹ Cf.  (Abu Bakr, *Giza*, p. 35),  (LD II, 97a),  (with additions, Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 229 f.).

Rosemarie Drenkhahn argues.²² Another title which Junker translates “Unterhausverwalter” (*Gîza* XI, p. 219) is written (his fig. 85), which looks like a scribal error; perhaps to be read *imy-r pr, imy-ht (pr)*.²³ The examples of isolated *imy-ht* are interesting, however, since it seems doubtful that examples of isolated *imy-r* “overseer” and *shd* “inspector” are attested in Old Kingdom titularies.²⁴ Thus *imy-ht* may be somewhat different in nature, although the examples where it is isolated are admittedly rare. For the position of the *imy-ht* below the rank of *shd* cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 107, referring to Junker, *Gîza* VI, 209. Another indication is the sequence from greater to lesser in “inspectors of funerary priests, under-supervisors of funerary priests, funerary priests.”²⁵ In the present case *imy-ht pr-hd*,²⁶ is again clearly subordinate to *imy-r prwy hd*, and it is interesting that a repetition of the lesser title suffices to echo the combination of both. This seems to imply that the superior title did not supplant the other one, but that they were held concomitantly and had a somewhat different function. Furthermore one is struck by the prominence that *imy-ht pr-hd* is given in some other titularies such as that of *K3(.i)-pw-Rc* in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 278), the false door of *K3(.i)-dbh.n(.i)* (Hassan, *Gîza* V, fig. 67) and that of *Izi* (Louvre C 164; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, p. 83).

(c) “Scribes of the treasury” are fairly well attested,²⁷ as well as a *shd* “inspector” of them,²⁸ but this, to my knowledge, is the sole mention of an overseer of such scribes, apart from the Sixth Dynasty false door of the Overseer of the Two Treasuries *Izi* in the Louvre (C 164), who is “overseer of scribes of the two treasuries.”²⁹

²² *Handwerker*, pp. 81–83.

²³ Hardly *imy ht r-pr*; cf. in Daressy, *Mera*, p. 562. The sign is supplied by an unpublished facsimile by Alexander Badawy.

²⁴ Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, indicates that an example is to be found in a titulary that ends with (no. 27; index, pp. 176–77), but this is evidently to be read as a single title: *imy-r hm(w)-ntr*. And the of von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, p. 20 (42) is incomplete, as seen from pl. 20. Murray, *Index*, pl. 41 (center) gives several examples of isolated but none is beyond doubt. In two other cases (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pls. 7, 12) the context is incomplete; in another (*LD* II, 53 [a]) the signs are damaged. In *LD* II, 115 (l) read (cf. Couyat-Montet, *Hammâmât*, no. 107, l. 19), and in *LD* II, 117 (m) read (for which cf. Murray’s pl. 38 [center]) and (for which cf. her pl. 41 [right]). Malek gives two other references (PM III², 246, 758). One (Hassan, *Gîza* VI/3, p. 40 and pl. 19 [8]) is to be read *rh nswt shd pr-c3*; for *shd pr-c3* see Murray, *Titles*, pls. 41–42, and Ogden Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, Columbia University Ph.D dissertation, 1982, pp. 85, 585 ff. In the other case (von Bissing, *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antiecke Beschaving* 9/3 [Dec. 1934], 4, fig. 1) there is a lacuna before which probably contained the rest of the

title.


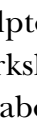
²⁵ Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* II, pl. 32 and p. 19 (177); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 12; Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14. Lacking the terminal *hmw-k3*: Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 380 (CG 1418), 406 (CG 1492); *Urk.* I, 11 (CG 1432). On the other hand the sequence of *z3-pr, imy-ht z3 pr* (*MIO* 7 [1960], 300 and pl. 1) is unexpected. It might be considered whether the first of these titles is to be linked with the preceding one as **imy-r wpt z3(w)-pr* “overseer of commissions of police.”



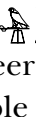
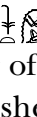
²⁶ Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 254, where a son is *imy-ht pr-hd*, while his father is *imy-r pr-hd*.

²⁷ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 7; Petrie and Murray, *loc. cit.*; Hassan, *Gîza* I, figs. 133, 135; III, fig. 84; VI/3, fig. 40; CG 1689.

²⁸ Petrie and Murray, *loc. cit.* Sometimes the official in question is an overseer of the treasury (Excursus III below and Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 278) or under-supervisor (Hassan, *Gîza* V, figs. 67, 70). In other cases he is the son of such an overseer (H. Petrie and M. Murray, *loc. cit.*; Hassan, *Gîza* III, fig. 114) or an attendant (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 32–33). See also Junker, *Gîza* X, fig. 53; Hassan, *Gîza* I, figs. 134, 136, 142; Louvre C 250, 251 (Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, nos. 12 and 11, the former evidently later than the Old Kingdom).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 10.

(d) The uses of *w^cbt*, referring to the place of embalming and more generally to “workshop” are discussed by Junker,³⁰ and by Rosemarie Drenkhahn.³¹ Drenkhahn quotes titles referring to *hmwt* “craftsmen” in this connection,³² as well as carpenters,³³ a painter (*zš*) and a sculptor (*šš*), to which may be added  “inspector of stonemasons of the king’s workshop,”³⁴ and  “overseer of builders of the workshop.”³⁵ There is no doubt about the meaning of *zš* in the example she cites, since the individual in question is represented in the act of painting a statue,³⁶ but that meaning is difficult to apply in the present context, where there is a parallel series of scribal titles. Furthermore, there is explicit evidence that the production of craftsmen was recorded by scribes,³⁷ and such records would have enabled *Šps-Pth* to “take stock of the production.” No other overseers of “scribes of the workshop” seem to be attested, although another *zš w^cbt*, who may or may not have been a painter, is known from two monuments,³⁸ and another overseer of the two treasuries (Louvre C 164, comment b above) has the title *zš w^cbty* “scribe of the two workshops.”


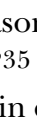

(e) The phrase *izwy hkrw nswt* is easily recognized despite the anomalous form of *hkrw*, which resembles Δ . The word order is indicated by the frequent title *imy-r izwy hkrw nswt/ imy-r izwy n hkrw nswt*.³⁹ Presumably the last element is honorifically transposed in the present case as in several examples of the aforementioned title, written  or .⁴⁰ This title is often preceded by *imy-r w^cbty*. The overseer of scribes does not seem to be otherwise associated with the king’s regalia, although there are at least two examples of  “scribe of the king’s regalia.”⁴² There is also an odd example of  “inspector of scribes of the treasury and of the king’s regalia,” for which see Excursus III below.

³⁰ *Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich* (Sitz. Österr. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl. 233/1, 1959), pp. 23–25.



³¹ *Handwerker*, pp. 147–48.

³² For “inspector of craftsmen of the workshop” correct the reference to Junker, *Giza IX*, which should be p. 172 and fig. 78; this also occurs on an unpublished offering slab of *nh-hs.f* from Reisner’s G 2011.

³³ Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35; see also Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 12, overlooked on p. 21.

³⁴ LD II, 34 (e); cf. : Eva Martin-Pardey, *CAA Hildesheim* 1, 82, which she mistakenly translates “Untervorsteher der *w^cbt* der Nekropole” (p. 75). Also  (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 10618), which is abbreviated  on a second statuette of the same person (10621) *Ny-kw-Inpw*.

³⁵ Kees, *WZKM* 54 (1957), 93, fig. 2.

³⁶ See now Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 32; here designated  “scribe of the southern *w^cbt*,” but also, in fig. 45, .



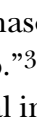
³⁷ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 13, cols. at right.

³⁸ CG 1316, 1353; he is also *zš hkrw nswt* (cf. n. 42).

³⁹ For the first variant see Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pls. 4–6; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 21; CG 1323, 1467; for the second see Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 106 (15), 136 (81); Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 15; CG 1490; *Excavations at Saqqara III*, fig. 17 b; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pls. 9, 10.

⁴⁰ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 111 (5), 123, 154 (54); Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 7 (and pl. 3); III, figs. 114, 115; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, fig. 63.

⁴¹ Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985), 45 and pl. 3 (2).

⁴² CG 272, 1316, 1353 (the last two belonging to the same individual; cf. n. 38 above). I believe another example is to be seen in : Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, fig. 6, p. 13. Also  (Hassan, *Giza V*, figs. 67, 70 and p. 223),  (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 279), “scribe of royal linen of the king’s regalia.” Helck’s characterization of the *izwy n hkrw nswt* as the source of oil (*Beamtentitel*, p. 65, followed by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 149) is somewhat misleading. The inscriptions he cites only refer to *mrht m izwy* (*Urk.* I, 177 [10], 178 [6]) and *izwy* is not restricted to oil any more than *pr-hd* is to clothing (*ibid.*, 177 [9], 178 [5]).

(f) No scribes of the two houses of gold are attested, but the “two houses of gold” are commonly associated with *imy-r w'bt* in the title *imy-r prwy nbw*.⁴³ See also a reference to the workplace and(? of?) the two houses of gold in Excursus III.

(g) The name is transcribed in accordance with the views expressed in pp. 61–66 below. It is similarly transcribed by Ranke, *PNI*, 326 (19); see also Murray, *Index*, pl. 6; Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 40; IX, figs. 33, 88; Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 7, 9, 35; VI/3, p. 98, fig. 119. Beyond the Memphite cemeteries it is also known from Meir (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9) and Abydos (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, SS 76:); also Couyat-Montet, *Hammâmât*, no. 85. It does not seem to have been used after the Old Kingdom until it was revived in the Late Period.

(h) For this formulation, replacing the older *prî n.f hrw*, see p. 1 above.

(i) The term *ꜣwy* “production” is known from Sixth Dynasty inscriptions at Deir el Gebrawi and Meir, discussed in *JARCE* 13 (1976), 11–13. The same term evidently appears in a Twelfth(?) Dynasty epithet: ,⁴⁴ followed by a separate title beginning with *hry-sšt*. The preceding sign could be or a sign such as and a possible emendation is “one who assessed () the production of the nomes⁴⁵ of southern Upper Egypt (*Hn-Nhn*)⁴⁶ which were to be assessed(?)”.⁴⁷ If so, this is much like the present case, which extends, however, to all of Egypt and to the foreign lands. A further parallel for this epithet is to be found on a late Sixth Dynasty statue in (western) Berlin, where *ꜣwy* is used in the more general sense of “produce;” the inscription is discussed in Excursus II. Yet

⁴³ In addition to the first five examples of *imy-r prwy nbw* in Murray, *Index*, pl. 21, see Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* I, p. 12 (6), *Giza* III, fig. 114; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, p. 6; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 106 (16) and 107 (32); 138 (16); pp. 152 (34) and 153 (35, where the title in question is replaced by).

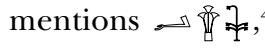
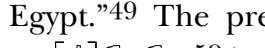

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Abydos* I, pl. 54, misdated to the Sixth Dynasty on p. 27, and by Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie* I, pp. 6, 9, 15, 94, 114. Even if there may be doubt about the form of (twice copied thus, twice), the writing of *iry* as is not attested until the Ninth Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 154, from Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 10) and even later (Schenkel, *Frühm. Studien*, § 7). To judge from Janssen's other evidence (*op. cit.*, pp. 147–48), the epithet *sr m hst* [*rhyt*] is not attested before Dyn. XII. E. Brovarski has independently discussed this inscription and concludes (*Dissertation*, p. 470) that it can be no later than Dyn. X since a *hry-tp* of the Thinite Nome would not be expected after it had been brought under the control of Thebes.

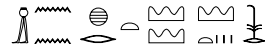
⁴⁵ The sign for “nome” is undetailed, as it also is beneath the Thinite emblem at the end of the same inscription.

⁴⁶ For this term see *Wb.* III, 372 (15–16), where the present example is cited, dated Dyn. XI. For a Dyn. VIII “overseer(?) of the nomes of *Hnw-Nhn*” see

Edward Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1968), pl. 46; Carolyn N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der* (Brown University Ph.D. dissertation, 1958), pp. 13–14 and pl. II. The term similarly refers to Upper Egypt in an early Dyn. IV titulary (Junker, *ZÄS* 75 [1939], 68). A Tenth Dynasty writing much like the one from Abydos is (Siu III, 28). The “seven nomes of ” are attested in Dyn. XI (Gabra, *MDAIK* 32 [1976], 48, fig. 2 [4] and pl. 14). And Annie Gasse (*BIFAO* 88 [1988], 94) has more recently published a Twelfth Dynasty inscription in Wadi Hammamat (reign of Sesostri I), which refers (line 13) to “Thebes (in) *Hnw-Nhn* and the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of Upper Egypt.” This suggests a smaller delimitation for the term in question, within the larger confines of *Tp-Šmꜣw*, for which see p. 86 (c, g) below. Most of the references for *Hnw-Nhn* are also given by Gomaà, *Besiedlung*, p. 340, and by E. Brovarski, *Dissertation*, pp. 297–301.

⁴⁷ The problem is that *ipwt* seems to agree with *spꜣwt* rather than with *ꜣwy* as would be expected; cf. *ip(.i) iht nb(t) ipt* “I assessed everything that was to be assessed” (*Urk.* I, 106 [7–8]). A scribal error? Brovarski, in a series of additions and corrections to his *Dissertation* (Dec. 1990), has independently proposed the same restoration, based on Settgast's publication of Berlin (West) 1/85 (Excursus II below).

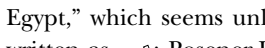
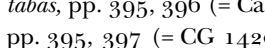
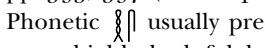
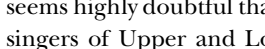
another example of the same term occurs in the title of a “keeper of produce” (or “production”) for a Fifth Dynasty sun temple and pyramid, discussed in Excursus IV. And finally, in the chapel of *Swd3-k3(.i)* at Giza, probably dating to the Fifth Dynasty, a damaged inscription mentions ,⁴⁸ which again seems to refer to the “production of Lower and Upper Egypt.”⁴⁹ The preceding signs, recorded as , can hardly be anything but ,⁵⁰ i.e., “he who supervises the production.”⁵¹ In this case “production” refers to “handiwork, crafts,” for the same individual was “one who presides over the ornaments of the dancers of the Great House”⁵² and “keeper of the diadem in the place (storeroom?) of the king.”

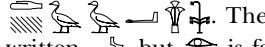
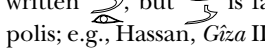
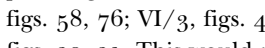
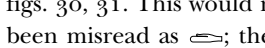
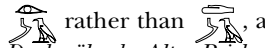
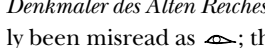
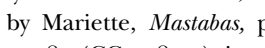
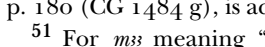
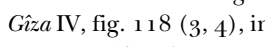
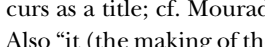

One might also compare the epithet of a Sixth Dynasty expedition leader named *Ttj*:  “one who brings back the produce of the southern and northern lands for the king.”⁵³ As an official concerned with expeditions, *Ttj* was based at the trade center of Aswan, where he made his tomb, whereas *Špss-Pth*, as the assessor of such revenue, must have lived at a center where all the production of Egypt and the foreign lands was ultimately accumulated.⁵⁴

(j) *PNI*, 320 (17); Murray, *Index*, pls. 13–14; Junker, *Giza XII*, p. 163. Apparently not known later than the Old Kingdom.



(k) It would be natural to assume that *zš* and the sign after it constitute a title, and I was initially inclined to regard the second sign as a variant of the sign for cloth, a peculiar form

⁴⁸ Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 190.

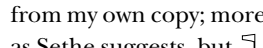
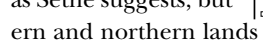
⁴⁹ The only alternative is “singers of Lower and Upper Egypt,” which seems unlikely. *Hs* “singer” is occasionally written as : Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, p. 605; Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 67 and pl. 44 (1); Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 13; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, pl. 65 b (top); Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 395, 396 (= Cairo CG 1328); also fem.  *ibid.*, pp. 395, 397 (= CG 1420, [1421], 1461), 398 (= 1461). Phonetic  usually precedes this sign, however. And it seems highly doubtful that  would refer to the *mrt*-singers of Upper and Lower Egypt (mentioned in titles: Junker, *Giza I*, pl. 23, II, fig. 34).

⁵⁰ Mistakenly recopied in the text, p. 191, as . The first two signs are more usually written , but  is fairly common at the Giza necropolis; e.g., Hassan, *Giza III*, figs. 147 (a), 148, 152, 159; IV, figs. 58, 76; VI/3, figs. 46, 82; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 30, 31. This would not be the first time that  has been misread as ; the last name of Cairo CG 1707 is  rather than , as Borchardt has transcribed it in *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II*, p. 147. And  has conversely been misread as ; the name transcribed as  by Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 309, and Borchardt, *op. cit. I*, p. 180 (CG 1484 g), is actually .

⁵¹ For *m3* meaning “see to,” “supervise” cf. Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 118 (3, 4), in the phrase *m3 k3t*, which also occurs as a title; cf. Mourad Z. Allam, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 1–3. Also “it (the making of the tomb) was done in the presence

of the king himself at the opening of the pillared hall  while his majesty supervised the daily requirements thereof every day” (Boston MFA 21.3081: Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, pl. 65 b). Similarly  “(the work) that was done on them (a pair of false doors) in the *stp-z3* was supervised throughout the day” (*Urk. I*, 39 [1]); for *stp-z3* see Golet, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 89.

⁵² Cf. Junker, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 102.

⁵³ *Urk. I*, 141 (11), where the last words are corrected from my own copy; moreover the preceding title is not , as Sethe suggests, but . In *Urk. I*, 140 (17), the southern and northern lands are specified as Punt and Byblos. For *hrt* “products” (of a place) Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 195, cites *Urk. I*, 123 (17).

⁵⁴ This meaning is evident from the juxtaposition of “Upper and Lower Egypt.” It is true that *h3st* may simply mean “upland” as opposed to the Nile Valley (*Wb. III*, 234 [7]; also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 15, showing *h3st* as the nearby habitat of fruit trees; cf. Roquet in *Mélanges Vercoutter* [Paris 1985], pp. 295 ff.). But *h3st nbt* probably always refers to “every foreign land” or “all foreign lands” (*Wb. III*, 234 [10]); cf. the Old Kingdom title *hry s3t3 h3swt nbt* which was held by at least two Old Kingdom officials (Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 2, and Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, figs. 257, 263), both of whom were concerned with expeditions

of δ (V33)⁵⁵ somewhat resembling the sack at the end of the name *Qsr* in B (5), which in turn may be compared with 𓂏 in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, fig. 22. But the two forms are not really the same, and I know of no other Old Kingdom “scribe of linen;”⁵⁶ the closest comparison is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (or the like) “scribe of royal linen.”⁵⁷ While making the drawing shown in Figure 1, I became convinced, however, that the doubtful sign represents an animal facing right, along with the other signs, and bearing a flagellum on its back. Figure 3 shows the external outline of this, and beside it a freehand drawing of the interior,

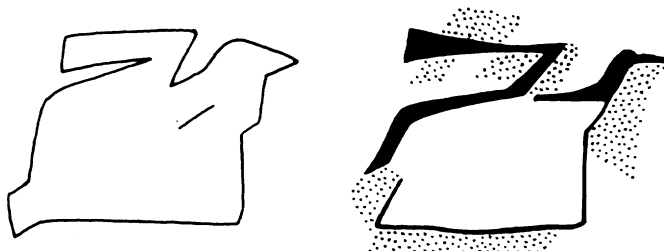


Fig. 3. Hieroglyph in B (1)

made from the original by K.-H. Priese; the surface of the stone is too friable to permit a rubbing. But the identity of the animal is perplexing. It does not seem to be a crocodile on a shrine since the foreleg is not indicated.⁵⁸ Furthermore there does not appear to be any evidence for 𓂏 before the Twelfth Dynasty, and it is not known to be surmounted by a flagellum.⁵⁹ The head is rather more like that of a bird than a crocodile, and the entire sign conceivably represents a 𓂏 , based on a clumsy hieratic version which was not understood by the scribe who laid out the inscription. This hieroglyph in fact occurs in Old Kingdom writings of the name *Ny-^ḥny-Nḥbt*.⁶⁰ A more remote possibility is 𓂏 which occurs as the

abroad.

⁵⁵ For this variant of Old Kingdom 𓂏 see Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 229.





⁵⁶ The phrase $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 10), which has been taken as a title meaning “Schreiber für die Leinwand” (*ibid.*, pp. 50, 199), is actually a caption: “writing down the (amount of) linen.” An Eleventh Dynasty “scribe of linen” is known from a fragment from Dendera: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, 29-66-672B). Otherwise this title does not seem to be known in the Middle Kingdom either. In both periods the only titles concerning “linen” as such involve “overseers” and “keepers” (Junker, *Giza IX*, pp. 228–29; Ward, *Index*, nos. 360, 544).


⁵⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 279; also $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ on the same false door, as seen from the original, Univ. Mus., Philadelphia, E 15729: “scribe of the king’s linen and (scribe) of phyles.” Other scribes of royal linen: Hassan, *Giza V*, figs. 67, 70 and p. 223; VI/3, fig. 188.

⁵⁸ But cf. 𓂏 , a graffito of uncertain date in Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 29.


⁵⁹ Unless the flagellum is actually a harpoon; cf. two other cases, dating to the Heracleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom, where a lance or arrow protrudes from the back of the crocodile of the Denderite nome emblem: WZKM 57 (1961), 59 f.

⁶⁰ Ranke, *PNI*, 171 (15), citing Turin Inv. 1868 and Cairo CG 1682, to which may be added CG 1700, belonging to the latter. I cannot confirm the presence of the flagellum in the last two cases, but it appears in the Turin example (Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, pl. 28b) and again in Bologna B 1901 (Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 5). In this case and Turin Inv. 1868 it is placed upon 𓂏 , as would be expected, but apparently not in the case of the Cairo examples (belonging to one person). The form 𓂏 is also known from Eleventh Dynasty names at Saqqara: *Nḥbt-m-z3.s* and her nurse (*mnḥt*) *Ny-sy-Nḥbt* (Cairo J 55618, for which cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 [1992], 100); cf. also $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 57, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) (J.E. Quibell and A. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* [Cairo 1927], p. 11); similarly in Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.*, p. 200 (37). For further examples (using 𓂏) see

determinative of  in the tomb of *Mtn*⁶¹ and in the Pyramid Texts,⁶² and which could represent the god of Letopolis as an independent ideogram in the present case. The overall shape of the sign speaks against this alternative, however, and it may be doubted whether the god would be identified by the ideograph alone. One might also compare  on an Old Kingdom block from Giza showing a wine-pressing scene; but this is only recorded from a sketch, and the context of the scene is incomplete and uncertain.⁶³ In any case the name is evidently to be read *nh-swt-NN*, showing a retrograde sequence that is well known in theophoric names of the Old Kingdom.⁶⁴ Although no parallel is forthcoming, the suggested interpretation is certainly more plausible than *Swt-nh*, as the name has been read previously.⁶⁵ The closest comparisons are  (Ranke, *PNI*, 273 [5]) and  (*ibid.*, 332 [15]), while the names of several royal pyramids likewise come to mind, dating from the late Fifth to early Twelfth Dynasty.⁶⁶

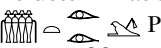
(l) This is evidently the masc. name *Iw.f-n(.i)*,⁶⁷ with the addition of the fem. ending (.t), for which other evidence may be cited in Old Kingdom names.⁶⁸ It is remarkable that the feminine version has not become *Iw.s-n(.i)*, as in the Middle Kingdom (*PNI*, 15 [4]). The writing of  is particularly characteristic of the Old Kingdom, although Middle Kingdom examples are occasionally attested.⁶⁹




(m) The title *shd iryw-ih̄t pr-h̄d* is attested by only a few other occurrences.⁷⁰

(n) Ranke, *PNI*, 22 (15, where the first writing should be ); II, p. 339; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 29; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 34; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 9 (57); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* II, p. 41; Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, pl. 14; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, no. 141; Posener-Krieger, *Archives* II, p. 648. In the provinces: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 6; Edel, *Felsen-gräber der Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2 [Wiesbaden 1970], pp. 32–33.

Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pls. 59 (15), 79 (52), both Fifth Dynasty, dating to Sahure and Neuserre. The same determinative occurs after *Stt* (Weigall, *ASAE* 11 [1911], 171).

⁶¹ *Urk.* I, 6–7. Also in a tomb chapel of the early Fifth Dynasty: Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 34, p. 189.

⁶² Pyr. 81ob N; 1723a N. The same form appears in the Middle Kingdom: Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pls. 40, 42. The Pyramid Texts of Merenre and Pepy II often add the same determinative to another designation of the same god,  Pyr. 1211a M, N; 1670a M, N; 1864b N; 2015c N; 2086c N.



⁶³ Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, p. 34 and fig. 62 (26-3-153). In two other cases an erect falcon likewise bears the flagellum:  in *imnt* “western” (Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 4);  (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El Hammamiya*, pl. 52) the latter evidently representing  *itiwy* (for which see Edel, *ZÄS* 102 [1975], 24–27).

⁶⁴ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 100.




⁶⁵ Roeder, *Aeg. Inschr.* II, p. 618; Ranke, *PNI*, 298 (24). The name *Swt-kw* (*PNI*, 341 [10], 428 [16]) is not really comparable; it is analogous to *St-k* (*PNI*, 298 [23]), but **St-nh* is not attested.

⁶⁶ Conveniently listed by Helck, in *LÄV*, cols. 5–6.

⁶⁷ *PNI*, 14 (7); Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 199; Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, p. 648.

⁶⁸ *MIO* 7 (1960), 301 and n. 5. Another example is possibly to be seen in the fem. name  *Hth-Hnmw(?)*: Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 237 f., there interpreted as “Die *Hnm*t zeigt(e) sich gnädig.” Cf. also  (*PNI*, 195 [17]) and see p. 64 below.

⁶⁹ CG 20556c, 20474 (= Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 45). Also Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 69, which may well be later than the Old Kingdom.

⁷⁰ Junker, *Giza* IV, figs. 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 and pls. 16, 17; Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 64 (2); Boston MFA 31.777, 31.776 (Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* II [Munksgaard 1953], pl. 405); Cairo J 57019 (*ibid.* I [1951], pl. 124, all the same man, PM III², 207); Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, pp. 385, 597; PM III², p. 191 (Reisner’s G 7211). Cf. also  (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 15; *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51 [1972], 76) and  “of the granary” (*loc. cit.*). Simple  is uncommon: Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 64; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, (London 1907) pl. 7A; also a single Middle Kingdom example in Ward, *Index*, no. 537.

(o) The arrangement of signs in the preceding and following titularies suggests the sequence is $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (cf. comment m). But despite this consideration, the reading is probably *shd zšw pr-hd*, which is well known from Giza and Saqqara.⁷¹

(p) Ranke, *PNI*, 333 (9); II, p. 391; Murray, *Index*, pl. 14. The final sign is often 𓏏 (bag with a handle), but also 𓏏 , as in *Mereruka* I, pl. 83, Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 12; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 36, 39, 41, as compared to 𓏏 , figs. 15–32. In the latter form it is also known from Edfu (Daressy, *ASAE* 17 [1917], 131, 134, 135), Abydos (CG 1575) and Dendera (Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 10 b), and written 𓏏 at Aswan (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* I, p. 198). At least two occurrences may be later than the Old Kingdom, both from Akhmim: CG 1669 (with det. 𓏏 : Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, fig. 29a) and *ibid.*, pls. 14–16 (det. 𓏏).

(q) *PNI*, 267 (12); Murray, *Index*, pl. 11. This form of the name (with final 𓏏 rather than 𓏏) is more common in the Old Kingdom than later, but continues in use down to the Middle Kingdom. It is known at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 9, 15), at Aswan (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* I, pp. 148, 158) and at Abydos (CG 1431, 1578) as well as at the Memphite cemeteries (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 94; Drioton, *ASAE* 43 [1943], 502 f.).

(r) Although *imy-st- ϵ* is well known as an Old Kingdom term for “functionary,”⁷² it rarely occurs in titles of that period, and then only in two examples of $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$.⁷³ A later example (probably late Dyn. XI) occurs in the tomb of the Overseer of U.E. 21–22 *Ip*, at El-Saff, near Atfih, written $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$.⁷⁴ In view of the fact that $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ follows in all three cases, it seems likely that it is not a separate title; possibly it represents *hnt-š* “plantations” or “holdings” rather than *hntyw-š*, which is usually translated “tenant landholders.” In the present instance the replacement of ϵ by ϵwy might possibly be a meaningless assimilation from the ϵwy of the tomb owner’s epithet in A(4). But this is not necessarily the case since the related term $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ provides earlier evidence for ϵwy , as is pointed out on p. 181 below.

To sum up the preceding comments, all of the personal names are well known from Memphite tombs of the Old Kingdom except $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, which is evidently a feminine form of *Iw.f-n(.i)*, as it is written in that period (comment l), and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, not otherwise attested, but which apparently shows a retrograde sequence that is applied to Old Kingdom theophoric names. *Hwi* is attested later than the Old Kingdom, although less frequently, and *Qr* still less frequently. Only *Ip* is equally well known in both the Old and Middle Kingdom. Neither *Šps-Pth* nor *Sšm-nfr* seem to have been current after the Old Kingdom came to an end. Furthermore none of the names suggests a provenance other than the Memphite cemeteries, although one or another of them makes an occasional appearance in the Upper

⁷¹ Giza: Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 53; Hassan, *Giza* I, figs. 136, 142; III, fig. 114; V, figs. 67, 70. Saqqara: Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 278; Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 33.

⁷² Gardiner, *PSBA* 34 (1912), 261, n. 14. See also Fischer, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 132, and the later examples of *imy-st- ϵ* in Ward, *Index*, p. 55, especially $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$

(439).

⁷³ Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, p. 19 (17) and pl. 10; II, p. 19 (175); for the latter cf. also p. 16 (100); *Mereruka* II, pl. 120 (2).

⁷⁴ Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff* (New York 1996), p. 25 (18).

Egyptian provinces. The same is true of the divinities that are invoked: Anubis, in the offering formula, and, after the epithet “revered with,” Osiris, The Great God, and Ptah-Sokaris.

The titles of *Špss-Pth* essentially conform, in sequence and in content, to those of the Old Kingdom except for certain details, which do not necessarily indicate a later date, since they are not known elsewhere. These titles are:

- (1) *hry-tp nswt*
- (2) *ꜥd-mr zsb*
- (3) *imy-r prwy-hd*
- (4) *imy-ht pr-hd*
- (5) *imy-r zšw prwy-hd*
- (6) *imy-r zšw wꜥbty*
- (7) *imy-r zšw izwy hkrt nswt*
- (8) *imy-r zšw prwy nbw*

All but one of the four scribal titles are new in some respect—no. 6 because, while scribes thus designated are known, they are not otherwise known to have an overseer; no. 7 because, in addition to this point, the only scribes thus designated are simply *zš hkrt-nswt*; no. 8 because neither scribes of this kind nor overseers of such scribes are attested, although the title *imy-r prwy nbw* is frequently claimed by other “overseers of the two treasuries,” as are *imy-r wꜥbty* and *imy-r izwy-hkrt*. Thus it is the scribal emphasis of these titles that is noteworthy, and that emphasis is borne out by the terminal epithet “who takes stock of the production of Upper and Lower Egypt and all the foreign lands.”










Most of the titles of the subordinate figures are equally familiar from the Old Kingdom, although there are slight differences in the last of them:


- (1) *rht nswt* (f.)
- (2) *shd iryw-ih̄t pr-hd*
- (3) *shd zšw pr-hd*
- (4) *shd iryw-ih̄t pr-hd*
- (5) *shd iryw-ih̄t pr hd*
- (6) *imy-st-ꜥwy hnt-š*




Here one misses *pr ꜥ* in no. 6, and *ꜥwy*, instead of *ꜥ* is somewhat unusual. It seems doubtful that the omission of a reference to the palace indicates a provincial source later than the Old Kingdom, since titles (1) and (7) of *Špss-Pth* do refer to the king, and since his entire titulary, from “overseer of the two treasuries” downward, necessarily refers to the central administration. It is true that the title “overseer of the two treasuries” is to be found in the titularies of some high-ranking provincial officials, all of whom are nomarchs or overseers of Upper Egypt, and one a vizier.⁷⁵ But the treasury titles, like most of the personal names, are more frequently and completely attested at the Memphite cemeteries, and there is no indication of a provincial connection among the titles listed here. The feminine title *rht*


⁷⁵ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 9; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* III, fig. 8; Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pp. 16 ff. The last is the vizier.

nswt is rarely attested in the Memphite cemeteries or in the provinces after the Old Kingdom, although a few examples may be cited.⁷⁶

Other orthographic peculiarities must now be examined, as well as those of palaeographic interest. Some of these are probably to be ascribed to carelessness: the sign  in place of  (comment e), the problematic sign  (comment k), and the omission of the final  of *imshw* in B 3, 4, 6 (not uncommon in the Old Kingdom). The reduplication of  in *imy-st rwy* (comment r) is probably not to be included among these lapses. But the abnormal forms of , ,  and  must be considered more seriously.

The sign , with two pellets below the land-sign instead of three, is known from a great many inscriptions that are later than the Old Kingdom, at Dendera and elsewhere,⁷⁷ but it also occurs in late Fifth Dynasty hieratic at Abusir⁷⁸ and in Sixth Dynasty inscriptions at Abydos,⁷⁹ Deir el Gebrawi,⁸⁰ and Sheikh Said,⁸¹ as well as at Giza, where, in most cases, the pellets look like grains.⁸² Sixth Dynasty examples are known from Saqqara,⁸³ as well as some Eighth Dynasty examples in the pyramid texts of Ibi.⁸⁴

In the sign  the reduplication of the attachment at the top anticipates the Middle Kingdom form , but it appears in Sixth Dynasty tombs at Deir el Gebrawi⁸⁵ and Sheikh Said,⁸⁶ and there are several Old Kingdom examples at Giza,⁸⁷ one as early as the Fourth Dynasty.⁸⁸ I have found fewer examples from Saqqara that are definitely as early as the Old Kingdom,⁸⁹ although some occur in the Pyramid Texts of Unis;⁹⁰ at this cemetery the old form  normally persists as late as the Twelfth Dynasty.⁹¹

The form of , with a splayed top, is only rarely encountered in inscriptions from Saqqara dating to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or slightly later.⁹² It also occurs on a small

⁷⁶ From Saqqara: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 75. From Akhmim: Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VII, p. 23 and fig. 14. Some slightly earlier occurrences, thought to belong to the Eighth Dynasty, are published by C.N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Deir*, pls. 2, 5. Two Twelfth Dynasty occurrences are known from Beni Hasan (but not Meir or Bersha): Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 18; II, pl. 24.



⁷⁷ At Dendera *Mrrî* and *Sn-ndsw-i* have this feature in contrast to their predecessors, while the later *Mni* and *Tswti* resume the normal form; for their sequence see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 187. For Theban examples see Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, §§ 13, 14, 16 (fragment), 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, etc.


⁷⁸ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, Pal. pl. 7 [16].

⁷⁹ Throughout the autobiography of *Wni* the Elder, *Urk.* I, 102–104.


⁸⁰ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pls. 11, 12.

⁸¹ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 19, 25.

⁸² Junker, *Giza* VIII, figs. 41, 43 (both ) , 66, 70; Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, fig. 9; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. I, figs. 16 (also ) , 18. Three grains are also attested: e.g., Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 44.

⁸³ CG 1434, 1483 (also  in both cases), Kanawati et

al., *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pl. 29; Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37; *Pys. des reines*, pl. 7 (34), 13 (346), 30 (767–68); *Pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo 1935), pl. 29 (c).

⁸⁴ Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Aba*, pls. 5 (cols. 160–62), 11 (col. 526), 12 (cols. 608, 634), 13 (col. 779), 16(Z); but also , pl. 14 (col. 735).

⁸⁵ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 18 (less clearly in pl. 14).

⁸⁶ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 28.

⁸⁷ Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 108; VIII, figs. 59, 66, 70; IX, fig. 30; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 96, 33 (once thus, twice with the normal form); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. I, fig. 41; Badawy, *Tombs of Iteti* etc., (Berkeley 1976), fig. 19 (and pl. 18).


⁸⁸ W.S. Smith, *JEA* 29 (1933), pl. 23.




⁸⁹ CG 1326; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 26 (right outer jamb).


⁹⁰ A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* (Princeton 1969), pls. 5 (474), 39 (137 ab), 60 (28), but not 18 (308).

⁹¹ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 83.

⁹² Cairo CG 57016; Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37; *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 97, 98; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 4; Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pl. 12; *MMJ* 11 (1976), 172, fig. 12 (esp. left outer jamb). Also James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 36 (3), of unknown provenance.

architrave from Abydos⁹³ and on a series of inscriptions from Naga ed-Deir, belonging to the same period.⁹⁴ The style of the Naga ed-Deir inscriptions is quite distinctive, however, and cannot be associated with the one under discussion. The present case also shows, in B 3–6, a progressive evolution towards , which becomes most clear in B 5–6. This “semi-reversal” is encountered throughout the Old Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, somewhat later; it is discussed more fully on pp. 194–201 below.


The sign  is an infrequent variant of the form . The latter is known from Sixth Dynasty inscriptions at the Memphite cemeteries⁹⁵ and at those of the Upper Egyptian provinces.⁹⁶ The variant with two projections in front occurs on Sixth Dynasty stelae from Edfu,⁹⁷ and Naqada;⁹⁸ there are also somewhat later examples from Balat,⁹⁹ Dendera,¹⁰⁰ Naga ed-Deir¹⁰¹ and Thebes.¹⁰² I have not found any evidence of it at the Memphite cemeteries except for two or three examples from Saqqara that are no earlier than the end of the Heracleopolitan Period (reign of Merykare),¹⁰³ and another, at Memphis itself, that is at least equally late.¹⁰⁴ Some Twelfth Dynasty examples¹⁰⁵ are a little different: .

One might also consider the form of , which is less angular than usual and has a more pronounced indication of the shoulder, but there is evidence for both these features in late Old Kingdom inscriptions.¹⁰⁶ A few of the other signs are somewhat clumsily executed in

⁹³ CG 1591.

⁹⁴ Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, nos. 20, 65; Lutz, *Stèles*, nos. 42, 45; CG 1607; also the tomb described by Sayce, *Rec. trav.* 13 (1890), 64 (for which cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 94, n. 423).

⁹⁵ Giza: Junker, *Giza VIII*, figs. 59, 62, 74; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33; *Urk.* I, 260 (11); *MIO* 7 (1960), 303. Saqqara: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 58 (1, left), 65 (5–8); *ASAE* 40 (1941), p. 681, fig. 72; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, figs. 33, 34b; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 11.

⁹⁶ Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 21; also on the architraves of *Qsr* of Edfu (*Urk.* I, 253 [3], as well as [11], which should be corrected). Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 11 has .

⁹⁷ Louvre E 14329 (Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, no. 9): Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (Cairo 1935), pl. 14 (1–2). The same form occurs on the stela of *Nfr*: Bruyère et al., *Tell Edfou 1937 (Fouilles Franco-Polonoises I)*, Cairo 1937), pl. 15 (1).

⁹⁸ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 4; here the orientation of the top of the sign was wrongly reversed and corrected.

⁹⁹ Osing et al., *Denkmäler*, pls. 53, 56, 58. The dating of the epigraphic material is discussed by Leprohon, *JSEA* 16 (1986), 50–56. A few of his late criteria are known from Dyn. VI: for the raised border of the offering table see now Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire* (Brussels 1989), p. 50 (fig. 35); for covered bowls see i.a. Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 21 (there are also many examples from Saqqara); for the different determinatives of Osiris and Khentiamenti see CG 1574. On the other hand, yet another criterion of later date may be added, namely the

small jar (W24) with lugs (Osing et al., *Denkmäler*, pls. 58–59), discussed in ZÄS 100 (1973), 20 (comment M).



¹⁰⁰ Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 8 (top), 9 (bottom right), 11B (top left = Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 31), 37A (heading, above col. 326; the same inscription shows one projection in the heading above col. 571, pl. 37C); perhaps also pl. X A (right, fourth from top), although this is less clear in pl. X (top center).

¹⁰¹ *JAOS* 76 (1956), 102 (two coffins, late Heracleopolitan Period).

¹⁰² CG 28022, from Qurna: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, pl. 5.

¹⁰³ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 24 (cf. the stela of the same man, pl. 27 [B]) and p. 195 (in hieroglyphic type); Cairo J 55618 (*Nhbt-m-z3.s*). The apparent Sixth Dynasty example in pl. 58 (4) is eliminated in James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 39 (217).

¹⁰⁴ Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27 ff. and pl. 2 (b).

¹⁰⁵ CG 20021; E. Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien I* (Cairo 1890–1900), pl. 17, said to come from Akhmim. Another of Dyn. II is likewise somewhat different:  (Brussels E2161: *MMJ* 9 [1974], 25, fig. 34). Two other examples from Saqqara and Gebelein are said to have the form  (*CT II*, 177 j; III, 296 l). This form also appears in Cairo J 55618 (cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 [1992], 98).

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 11; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pls. 11, 20; CG 1483. For the compressed form cf. Wild, *Ti*, pls. 182, 184; Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 101; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 7. For the shoulder see *ibid.*, fig. 33; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 8. For later, more anomalous examples see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 17, 18 and p. 55, n. 2.

the captions of the last five subordinate figures (B 3–7), and notably ꜥ, in which the tip of the shaft does not appear above the macehead; similar examples may be found in late Old Kingdom inscriptions, however.¹⁰⁷ The same is true of the shrine beneath Anubis (𓂏) in the initial funerary formula, the sides of which slope inward toward the bottom.¹⁰⁸ Finally it should be noted that the dominant rightward orientation of the hieroglyphs has been retained in the first of the subordinate figures in area B, and that a semi-cursive — (𓂏) appears in the name of this figure.

Among the features that conform to Old Kingdom usage, as compared to later preferences, one may note the determinative 𓂏 in *imywt* (rather than 𓂏 or the like)¹⁰⁹ the determinatives 𓂏 (in this sequence) after *hrt-ntr*,¹¹⁰ the form *imshw* rather than *imshy*,¹¹¹ and written fully (rather than 𓂏 or the like),¹¹² and the ligatured group 𓂏, which is common in the Sixth Dynasty, but becomes less frequent after the Old Kingdom, when the two signs are usually at least slightly separated.¹¹³ Older tradition is also followed in the phrase *qrs.tw.f m hrt-ntr* rather than *qrs.tw.f nfr* etc.; the addition of *nfr* begins to appear in late Sixth Dynasty inscriptions, and becomes customary after the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁴ This evidence carries much less weight, to be sure, than the peculiarities that have been enumerated, since most of it could occur at a later date. Even if Sixth Dynasty parallels can be found for these peculiarities, they are sufficiently numerous to indicate that the stela is relatively late—quite probably as late as the Eighth Dynasty. That late a date is also suggested by the rather slovenly style of the hieroglyphs and the lesser figures. So too the size of a stela, which is very modest for an official of such importance, although it may have supplemented a false door.

The format and composition of the stela must particularly be taken into consideration. Although it is clearly related to architraves from Giza and the provinces, showing the owner approached by members of his family or offering bearers, its height is abnormally great in relation to the length, resembling the proportions of late Old Kingdom stelae from Upper

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 16, 20, 32, Fischer, *JAOS* 3 (1964), pl. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. James and Apted, *Khentika*, pls. 7 (12), 20 (a–b); Simpson, *op. cit.*, figs. 16, 17, 24; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 26, 28, 32; Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara I*, pl. 12; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pls. 8, 12 (the latter variable).

¹⁰⁹ For the occasional survival of the older form in the provinces see Schenkel, *Frühm. Studien*, § 11 (b, c); not surprisingly it sometimes survived as late as the Middle Kingdom at Saqqara: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 82, 83.

¹¹⁰ Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 207; Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39; Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. 29; Herta Mohr, *Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti* (Leiden 1943), p. 33; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 11; Badawy, *Tombs of Iteti*, etc., fig. 19. The sequence of 𓂏 is reversed on a late false door, with 𓂏 among the determinatives at the bottom of the jambs, CG 57200; for this determinative see Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 39, n. 41. The same group is

again reversed after *bdw* in CG 1572, which may be even later.

¹¹¹ See Schenkel, *Frühm. Studien*, § 16 (b, d), 18 (d); even though he has subsequently found Sixth Dynasty evidence for this form (*Festschrift Elmar Edel* [Bamberg 1979], pp. 385–86), it certainly was not common until after the Old Kingdom. In the Eleventh Dynasty (by the reign of *Nht-tp-nfr-Intf*) the y-ending, or no ending at all, became prevalent. Schenkel, *Frühm. Studien*, § 16 (d), rightly regards an early Dyn. XII example of *imshw* as an archaizing feature in CG 42005.

¹¹² Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 131 and n. 578; *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 52.

¹¹³ ZÄS 100 (1973), 18 (A).

¹¹⁴ See Barta, *Opferformel*, Bitte 4, pp. 27, 39, 47, where *nfr* is given for the first time after Dyn. VIII. But Sixth Dynasty occurrences are known from Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 23, and the uppermost architrave of *Qsr* of Edfu (*Urk.* I, 253 [11]).

Egypt. One might, however, consider this case as an amalgamation of two architraves, like an example from the Coptite Nome in which an upper architrave adds two horizontal lines that extend the full length of the lower one,¹¹⁵ or a more elongated example from the Thinite Nome, of somewhat later date.¹¹⁶

Since no stela of comparable format has yet been discovered at Memphis or the Memphite cemeteries, it must be considered whether the provenance might not in fact be Upper Egyptian. That possibility is also suggested by the early appearance of $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ in that region, as well as the rather clumsy style of the figures and inscriptions. But the southern provinces provide no evidence of officials who were solely preoccupied with the treasury—even at Abydos, which was the center of royal power in Upper Egypt in the late Old Kingdom. Furthermore the reference to taking stock of “the production of Upper and Lower Egypt and all foreign lands” clearly points to the royal residence, and this indication is reinforced by the lack of any specific provincial associations in the names, titles or offering formulae.

If the provenance is Memphite, the question of dating becomes more difficult, for Old Kingdom traditions persisted longer at the Memphite Cemeteries. Many of the titles are, in fact, known from the Middle Kingdom,¹¹⁷ but that late a date is difficult to accept in view of the purely Old Kingdom repertory of personal names, and—to a lesser extent—the style, the iconography (especially the figure of the owner, the short hair of the woman and the detail of censuring), the orthography and phrasing. All things considered, I believe the date is more probably the end of the Old Kingdom, i.e., the Eighth Dynasty, although a slightly later date, in the Heracleopolitan Period, cannot be excluded.

Excursus I: Metropolitan Museum 04.2.4-6

Nigel Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985), 45-51, has already published and discussed these blocks (Pl. 5) and rightly notes that the present arrangement, with block 5 at the upper left is impossible because its height is 5.7 cm less than the block next to it (6). He might have added that it cannot belong to the uppermost course of stones, as does 6, because there is not the same amount of space above the signs.¹¹⁸

It does not seem impossible, however, to suggest an alternative arrangement. Although, as Strudwick says, “an unknown number of blocks is lost,” the sequence of the remaining blocks is probably correct. Block 6 belongs to the uppermost register of the scene at the right, and to the beginning of the inscription, while blocks 4 and 5 belong to the left edge. Block 5 probably goes above 4 rather than below it, since the left margin and vertical divid-

¹¹⁵ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 8.

¹¹⁶ Louvre C 300 (*BES* 9 [1987/88], 15 and figs. 1-2; pp. 21-22).

¹¹⁷ In Ward's *Index* the owner's title 1 = no. 1226; 3 = 1267; 4 = no. 430 (one example); for 5 cf. no. 1382 (*zš n pr ḥd*); for 7 cf. no. 45 (*imy-r izwy n ḥkrt nswt*); for 8 cf. no. 191 (*imy-r prwy nbw*). The last of the titles of the subordi-

nate figures (6) is likewise found at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, as noted earlier, but not title 2 (and 4-5).

¹¹⁸ It should be noted, moreover, that the difference in height is, at the same time, too little to be explained by the presence of a drum lintel above it, or the end of a long architrave above an adjacent false door.

ing line coincide exactly if arranged thus, but do not do so if 5 is placed below. Furthermore the second alternative would produce a gratuitous recurrence of the principal title between the mention of Cheops and Redjedef, for there is every reason to believe that the latter ruler succeeded the former. The lack of space between the hieroglyphs on these two blocks might be explained by some loss along the edge of one or both, and/or the plaster between them. In this case 5 and 4 must be placed at least one course lower than 6 for the reasons stated initially. Taking into account the minimum that is to be restored below 6, the original height of the inscription comes to at least 90 cm if block 6 is not moved still higher. This is an exceptionally large proportion of text if one supposes that it belonged to a large representation of the tomb owner which was placed below it, even assuming that he was seated. The small figures on the right obviously address the owner and it is therefore likely that he was, in fact, shown in this location, with his name before him.¹¹⁹ But the character and size of the titulary are so unusual that we cannot be sure that such a figure was present. Possibly the attendants advance towards a false door beyond the inscription.

In any case the sequence of the blocks is evidently 6–5–4, so that we may translate: (1) The Overseer of the Treasury and ... of/for Sneferu; ..., Scribe of Royal Decrees, ... Overseer of the Chamber [of the King's Regalia,]¹²⁰ (3) ..., [Overseer of the Treasury] for Cheops; ..., (4) [The Overseer of the Treasury for] Redjedef; the Overseer of the Treasury for [Chephren]. If blocks 5 and 4 were spread apart, one or more titles would have to be introduced before the names of the first three kings, but it is clear that the title "overseer of the treasury," in the last column, immediately preceded a royal name, presumably Chephren. It is also evident that Cheops' name was preceded by more titles than in the case of any of the other rulers, a fact that would accord with the considerable length of his reign, as compared with that of his successor, and would suggest that the career of the anonymous overseer of the treasury occupied a lesser portion of Sneferu's long reign, and did not continue far into the reign of Chephren. The point of this unique presentation of the titulary is certainly to boast of a long tenure of office—35 years under Cheops and Redjedef, perhaps half a dozen years under Sneferu and a few under Chephren, representing a total of about 45 years of active duty in the same important position.

Although the repetition of a similar title is known from the considerably later monument discussed in the preceding article, I am not aware of any parallel for a chronological succession of royal names in a titulary to make the point that the official in question served these kings. The closest analogy, dating to the early Fifth Dynasty, is a case where the epithet *imsh hr* "revered with" is repeated before each of six consecutive rulers, from Redjedef to Sahure,¹²¹ while in another case a son of Chephren repeats the same epithet before the name of that king and four successors.¹²² In inscriptions of the later Old Kingdom we hear of officials who exercised various offices under a succession of kings,¹²³ but as far as titular-

¹¹⁹ Seated: LD II, 10, 22, 25. Standing: *ibid.*, 19–21, 32, 46; Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 33.

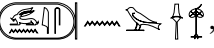
¹²⁰ Cf. p. 19 (e) and n. 39. For the title in its present form see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 30, fig. 3 (5); also: Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14



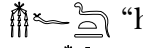

(where the end of the title is to be read $\text{𓏏}[\text{𓏏}]$).

¹²¹ Gauthier, *ASAE* 25 (1925), 180.

¹²² Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 64.

¹²³ E.g., *Urk.* I, 98 (12, 15), 142 (9–11), 254 (1–3).

ies are concerned, those that name kings are nearly always associated with funerary cults. A rare exception is , which is evidently to be read *wr-hrp(w)-hmwt n Wn̄is*, indicating, as in the present case, that the high priest of Ptah held office in the reign of that king.¹²⁴

The caption applied to the first of the three small figures at the upper right is also unusual; he is called *z3.f dt* “his ‘son of the funerary estate,’”¹²⁵ a term that must mean much the same thing as the more familiar *sn dt* “brother of the funerary estate.”¹²⁶ With this example one may compare a Fifth Dynasty false door on which the wife of the tomb owner is identified as  “his wife, the ‘daughter of the funerary estate.’”¹²⁷ The same term is doubtless to be recognized in the captions of a wife who is identified as  “his daughter and his funerary priest(ess);”¹²⁸ although the reference to the funerary estate is missing, it is clearly implied by the second designation. In addition, two series of attendants labelled *msw.f nw dt* “his children of the funerary estate” are assigned to the tomb owner and his son, respectively, in a Fifth Dynasty tomb chapel,¹²⁹ while another chapel of the same date shows an attendant who is  “his ‘child of the funerary estate.’”¹³⁰ Junker, in discussing this, compares the caption  in the chapel of *Whm-k3.i* at Hildesheim, which he takes to mean “(seine) Stiftungskinder und -brüder,” but is, I think, more probably “his children and *snw-dt*.”¹³¹

The “son of the funerary estate” is further identified as “the judicial scribe *Tnti*” and he is followed by a scribe whose name is correctly interpreted by Strudwick as *N-kmm-k3(.i)*.¹³² It is not attested elsewhere, but the meaning “My *k3* is not opposed” is almost synonymous with the well known Old Kingdom name *Nn-hft-k3(.i)* “my *k3* has no opponent.”¹³³ The scribe *Pth-htp* (or *Htp-Pth*) brings up the rear.

The style of the figures and hieroglyphs is decidedly mediocre, given the presumed dating to the reign of Chephren. That date is borne out, however, by the wigs of the first two attendants, in which the uppermost tier of overlapping locks is larger than the rest, and differentiated by a series of striations radiating from the crown.¹³⁴ Although the palaeographic evidence does not provide further support for this early a date, it does not speak against it.¹³⁵

¹²⁴ *Urk.* I, 81, for which see also *JARCE* 3 (1964), 123, n. 1.

¹²⁵ Not “his son, for whom (he) has provided,” as Strudwick translates, *op. cit.*, p. 46. For a further example of a *z3 n dt* see Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* II, pl. 37 (4).

¹²⁶ Cf., among more recent discussions, Y.M. Harpur, *JEA* 67 (1981), 28 f., 30–34.

¹²⁷ Cairo CG 1417.

¹²⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 188.

¹²⁹ Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, fig. 32 and pl. 25. For *msw-dt* see also *Urk.* I, 25 (2): “These are the priests whom I have designated as *msw-dt* to do *wb*-service for Hathor.” Here they are actually the children of the tomb owner.

¹³⁰ Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 28.



¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195. This example is shown in Kayser,




Uhemka, p. 32.

¹³² Strudwick, *loc. cit.* I have independently come to the same conclusion, which provides an Old Kingdom example of *ksm* “obstruct,” otherwise attested from the Middle Kingdom and later, and likewise provides the earliest evidence for passive *sdmm.f*.


¹³³ *PNI*, 168 (21).

¹³⁴ *JNES* 18 (1959), 238–39 and fig. 4. This is particularly telling because it is applied to figures of such small scale; cf. Simpson, *op. cit.*, figs. 30–32.





¹³⁵ The sign  is discussed by Strudwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–51. The sign  has already been compared with other forms in *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 58, fig. 3 and n. 6, where it may be seen that it resembles another Fourth Dynasty example (fig. 3 v).

(f) This title is associated with  and in most cases is written  (CG 1426–1430; Lutz, *Eg. Tomb Steles*, pl. 1; Junker, *Gîza I*, pl. 23; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 303; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 47). In these cases Junker (*Gîza I*, 150) suggests that it has much the same sense as “overseer,” and Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 75, is of the same opinion. The same association occurs on an alabaster disk from Byblos (Montet, *Kêmi I* [1928], 84), but here it takes the form; , as in the present case, and this also occurs without the other title elsewhere (CG 1490; *Urk. I*, 253 [6]; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, fig. 17 b; Brovarski, *Colloques internationaux du CNRS 595: L'Égyptologie en 1979 II* [Paris 1981], 119). It seems doubtful, however, that the meaning is changed by the rearrangement.

(g) The combination of troops of men and cattle is curious. In the Old Kingdom the title *imy-r tzt* is regularly applied to the “overseer of the herd,” while *zš tzt* “scribe of troops” is applied to people.¹³⁷ The addition of “in the Two Houses” is applied to many Old Kingdom titles.





(h) For this and other titles referring to the king’s repast, see the comment (e) above, and Dorman, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo 1994) I, pp. 458–62. To his references for *Ir.w-k3-Pth* may be added: Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, illustr. 4; also *Ir.w-k3-Pth*, *ibid.*, pls. 6, 10, 12. For the reading  (*rw-r*), see p. 182 below, n. 62.

(i) For *hzw* see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 639 j, citing *ASAE* 40 (1940), 681; also II, Nachträge, p. 77. The more usual phrasing is *mry (n) it.f, hzy (n) mwt.f* (Edel, *MDAIK* 13 [1944], 44–45). A parallel for the present example is to be found on a late Old Kingdom provincial stela that is illustrated in the Sotheby Parke Bernet Catalogue, New York, May 16, 1980, no. 306.

Settgast rightly points out that the statue cannot be earlier than the late Sixth Dynasty, and notes, in this connection, the unusually disparate arrangement of the inscriptions, which are in vertical columns on one side and horizontal lines on the other. The signs and orthography are generally normal, and the reversal of  in both inscriptions is not particularly exceptional.¹³⁸ On the other hand, the spacing is not well planned; the horizontal lines become progressively more crowded, and the vertical columns are poorly aligned; the third sign  is omitted in the last of them, and the owner’s name is clumsily fitted in at the bottom of col. 3 instead of being repeated at the very end. Apart from the normal sequence of the initial titles of the first column, the sequence and repetition of the others seems arbitrary. Like the initial titles, “overseer of the king’s repast” is known from the late Old Kingdom¹³⁹ but the combination of  and  is an archaic borrowing, while the epithets beginning with *ip* “who takes stock,” are novel and unexpected—particularly in respect to the strange use of *rw* to designate, apparently, flesh, fish and fowl.

¹³⁷ Scribes: e.g., Hassan, *Gîza II*, p. 99 and pl. 29 (3); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, fig. 21, p. 37; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 211; CG 1689, 1690; Berlin Inv. Nr. 20065 (*ZÄS* 93 [1966], 67); Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 18; CG 17002.

¹³⁸ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II*, § 38, and *LÄV*, col. 189.

For  (→) see Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 17, Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 4; for  (←) see *ibid.*, pls. 16, 19, 41. Both  (→) and  (←) are to be found in Junker, *Gîza IX*, fig. 36.

¹³⁹ And there is at least one Twelfth Dynasty example: Fischer, *Titles*, no. 33a.

Excursus III: Manchester 10780

This limestone false door was in the private collection of a Sir Richard Cook when Margaret Murray published it in *Ancient Egypt* (1917), pp. 62–64. In her judgment the pitted surface of the right inner jamb was never inscribed. But a few more signs could be seen at the top of the right outer jamb, and these have been restored in my copy, made from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Ann Rosalie David, along with her permission to reproduce it. In the meantime she has also extended the same favor to Nigel Strudwick (*RdE* 38 [1987], 139 ff.), but my drawing (Fig. 4) may nonetheless be useful, and my interpretation of the inscriptions differs from his in some particulars:

Above the owner: The Scribe of Royal Documents of the Palace in(?) the Workshop of (? and?) the Two Houses of Gold,^a *Ny-kꜣw-Pth.*

Below the offering table: A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer.

Above and behind the figure censuring: It is his brother of the funerary estate^b who acted for him when he was buried in the goodly west among those who are revered.

Before the same figure: *Pth-hꜣ.f.*


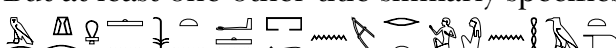
Crossbar: An offering which the king gives, and Anubis, Who Presides over the Divine Booth, that <he> may be buried in the cemetery, one revered with the great god.

Left outer jamb: [*Ny-kꜣw*]-*Pth.*^c The Inspector of Scribes of the Treasury and of the King's Regalia,^d [*Ny-kꜣw*]-*Pth.*

Right outer jamb: Great of *bzt*,^e Overseer of the Treasury, Who Seals the Best of the King's Food.^f

Left inner jamb: Under-supervisor of the Treasury, Priest of (King) Sahure, Priest of Re in (the sun temple of Userkaf) *Nhn-Rꜣ*, *Wꜣb*-priest of the King, *Ny-kꜣw-Pth.*

Right inner jamb: uninscribed.

Comments (a) It is just possible that the last part of this title should be emended to , which would yield three titles that are known from other sources: Scribe of royal documents of the palace, Overseer of the Workshop, and (of) the two houses of gold.¹⁴⁰ But at least one other title similarly specifies the nature of royal documents of the palace:  "overseer of the registry of royal documents of the palace for serfs and for fields."¹⁴¹ It therefore seems more judicious to take the present title at face value.

(b) For other cases where the *sn/snt dt* claims to have provided the burial see Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 226; Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 301, fig. 2.

(c) The location of the name is unusual, and the cutting of the remaining signs has not been completed here or at the bottom of the column; in both cases they may have been supplied in paint, as also the incomplete inscriptions on the right jambs.

¹⁴⁰ For the last two titles see p. 20 above (comment f and note 43).

¹⁴¹ Ahmed Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, fig. 7, p. 15; cf. pp. 51–52 below.

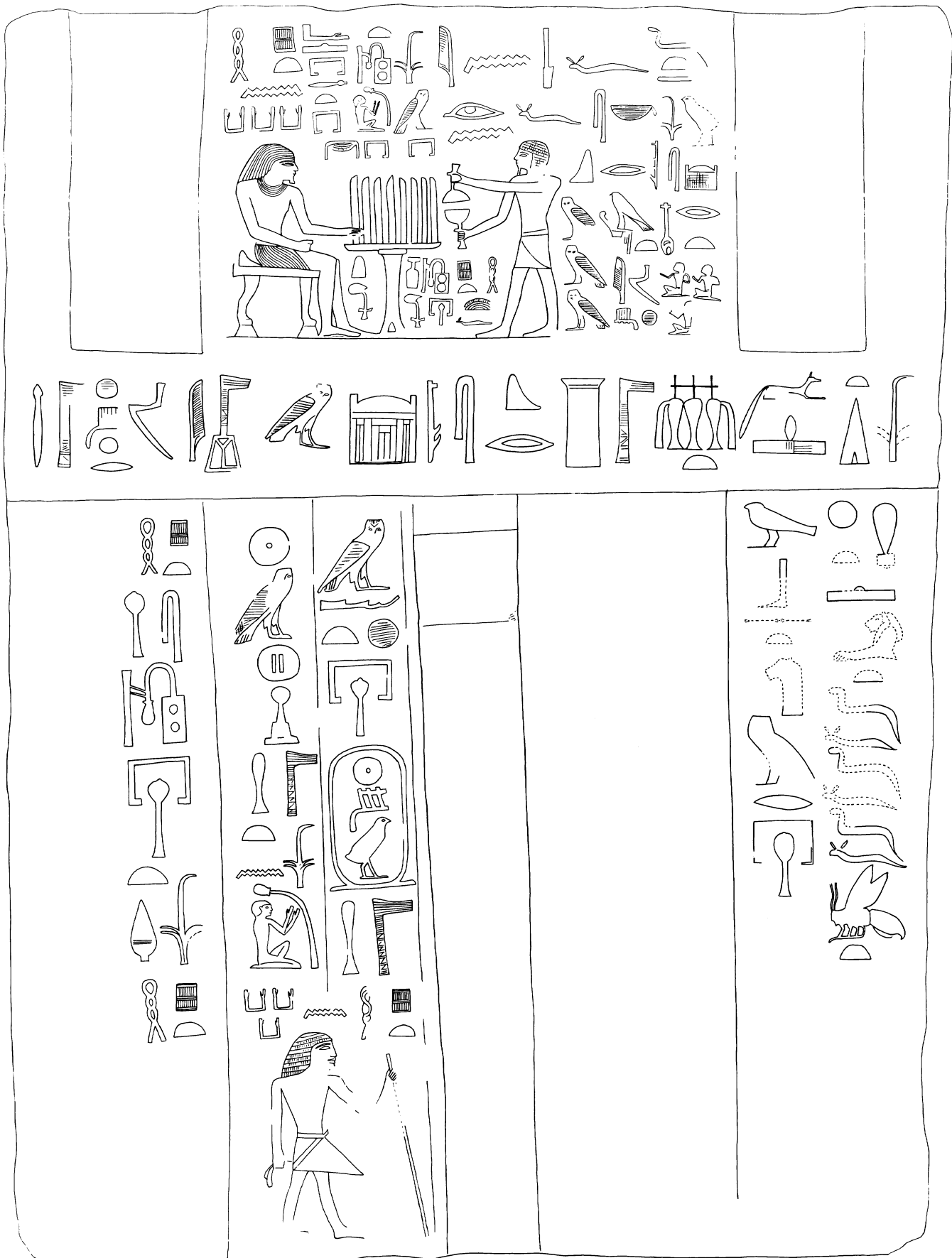

























Fig. 4. False door of *Pth-h^c.f*, Manchester 10780

(d) An unusual compound title, but scribes of the king's treasure are attested elsewhere; cf. p. 19 above (comment e and note 41).


(e) Only after restoring this title did I see that Grdseloff had already recognized it in Murray's photograph: *ASAE* 42 (1943), 46; cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 62, n. 27. In the meantime it has been discussed at greater length by David Silverman in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago 1994), pp. 245–54. He suggests, on the basis of iconographic evidence, that the determinative of *bzt* may represent a clothes-bag, but in both the two examples he cites, the head of the bag is certainly bovine rather than feline. Nor can I see, as he does, that variations of scale and proportions significantly distinguish this sign from the other contexts in which it appears. A more promising clue is to be found in the use of the sign as the determinative of    (Pyr. 324), in the epithet *z̄b iṣḥw* “fiery of burning.” In later texts the determinative is replaced by .¹⁴² Possibly there is a connection between the brilliance of gold ornaments and the brilliant coat of the leopard.¹⁴³ Its use in *bzt* can hardly be derived from   “Kopfschmuck,” i.e., “diadem,” or the like (*Wb.* I, 1 [11]) since  here functions as a phonetic borrowing from   “power” (*ibid.*, 2 [3, 4]), both words occurring in the Pyramid Texts); this also takes the form , which never occurs in the title. And the title is at least once written   (Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 107), where only the context shows that the second sign is to be read *bzt* rather than *bz* “leopard,” or “leopard skin.” For the form of the title cf. *wr idt* “great of incense” (*Wb.* I, 152 [12]), *wr šmꜣw* “great of Upper Egyptian grain” (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 94, n. 423), *wr dhꜣ* “great of leather” (Brovarski, *JNES* 32 [1973], 455); in all these cases *wr* is evidently the equivalent of *wr m* “great in,” i.e., “abounding in.” If I am right in suggesting that the determinative of *bzt* conveys brilliance, as it evidently does in the case of *z̄b*, the meaning of *wr bzt* would be “abounding in brilliant objects” (of silver and gold). In the name of an estate (Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 249) *bzt* may well have the same meaning; cf.     “The Regalia of Pepy” (*ibid.*, p. 198).

(f) For this and comparable titles see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 127, to which add       Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, fig. 30 and p. 69. The sign  probably refers to *bity*, “King of Lower Egypt,” rather than “honey” even though this element precedes *dfꜣw* in only one out of four cases.



Excursus IV: British Museum 65953







In the second edition of *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 22 (3), T.G.H. James shows a double offering slab (Pl. 7)¹⁴⁴ inscribed for a certain *Ny-ḫmst*.¹⁴⁵ A single long title, which begins

¹⁴² See *Wb.* I, 20 (18) and R.O. Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* III (Warminster 1978), p. 133 (1039, n. 2).

¹⁴³ For the coloring of  (yellow, with black spots) see Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 376 (F9).

¹⁴⁴ He has kindly supplied the photograph used here.

¹⁴⁵ The second sign resembles  rather than , but James' reading is undoubtedly correct; cf. *Ny-ḫmst-Pth*, *PNI*, 171 (2, 3), of which the present name may be an abbreviated form.

on the right edge and continues along the lower one, is much more difficult to interpret, particularly since the last sign is damaged, and it is evidently crucial for the meaning. Figure 5 shows this and the preceding signs, traced from the stone itself. The sense of  is fairly clear, however; it can hardly be understood otherwise than *iry* *ꜣwy* “keeper of (manufactured) production” or “of (agricultural) produce.”¹⁴⁶ Conceivably the last sign might represent a variant of  like , and despite the omission of , this could refer to “jewelers,” lit. “stringers (of necklaces).”¹⁴⁷ But the form of the conjectural  is indistinct, nor is it reversed, as it is in the same sign in the parallel line at the top. And on the other hand, the reversal of the arrow would be quite unexpected. In the face of these difficulties, it seems hazardous to accept the translation of this part of the title as “keeper of the production of jewelers,” tempting as this may be. The only alternative that comes to mind is to restore a nome emblem, mounted upon a standard, and the only nome emblem that satisfactorily fits the available space is , referring to Lower Egyptian Nome 2, immediately north of that of Memphis, on the western edge of the Delta.¹⁴⁸ If this is so, the sign appears to have fused with the standard beneath it, as in some other cases.¹⁴⁹ The meaning of the entire title would then be: “Keeper of produce/production of the Letopolite Nome (for) Re in (the Sun Temple) *Šzꜣp-ib-(Rꜥ)*, (and for the Pyramid) *Mn-swt-Nywsrrꜥ*.”

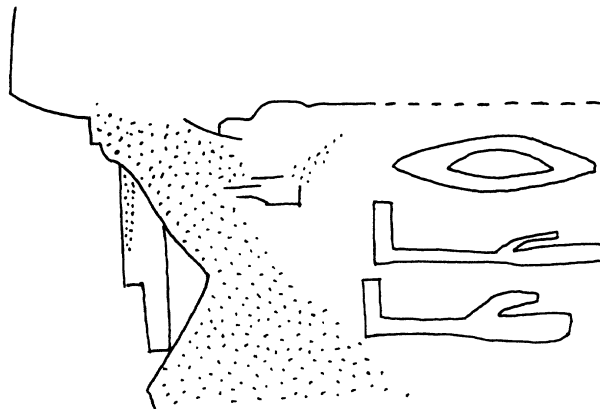


Fig. 5. Detail on offering slab, BM 65953

¹⁴⁶ For other titles beginning with *iry* see ZÄS 105 (1978), 54–55.

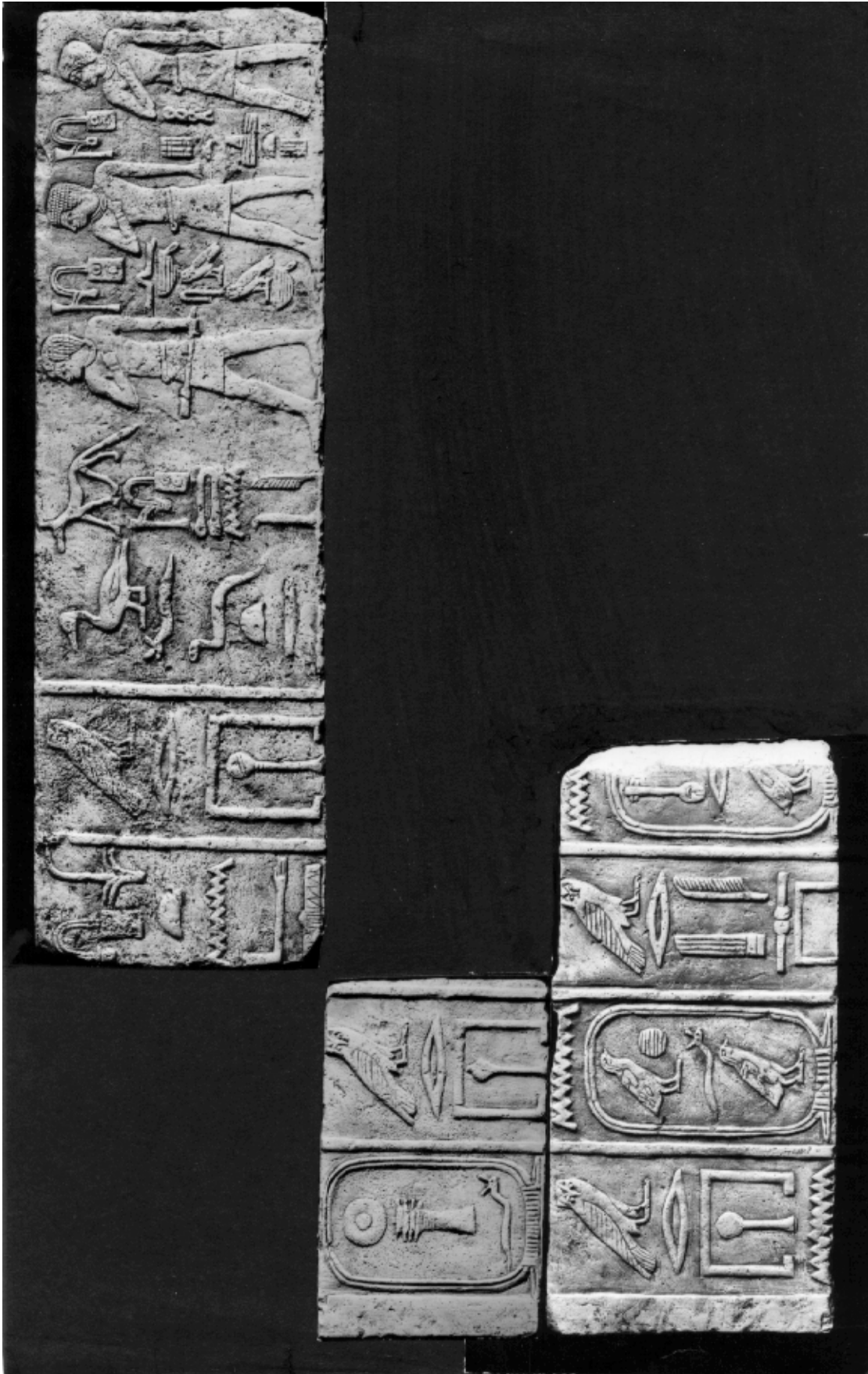
¹⁴⁷ The form and use of the sign are discussed below, in Chapter 14, section 5.

¹⁴⁸ See Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gauen* (Wiesbaden 1974), 151. The reading of the emblem may be *Tꜣ-ḥꜣš*, for which see my *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 122, 147.

¹⁴⁹ It rests directly upon the standard in the inscription of *Mṯn* (Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 [1966], pl. 3). Other such examples occur in the funerary temple of Userkaf (as seen in the notes of William Stevenson Smith), and Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 15; cf. also Borchardt, *Denkmäler des A.R.* I, pl. 21 (CG 1419).



Plate 4. Berlin 7779
Courtesy Staatliche Museen



04.2.6

Plate 5. Metropolitan Museum 04.2.4-6
Gift of Darius Ogdan Mills, 1904

02.5.4



Plate 6. Berlin-Charlottenburg 1/85
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 7. British Museum 65953
Courtesy of the Museum

4. On the Reading of Some Old Kingdom Titles

1. *R-Nhn*

On a Twelfth Dynasty coffin from Meir in the Metropolitan Museum,¹ belonging to the Overseer Of Treasurers *Wh-htp* son of *Hpw* ($\overline{\square} \text{𓏏}$),² a pair of *wdst*-eyes occupies the usual position on the area reserved for a “false door,” behind which the face was turned to receive offerings and other benefits from the outside world (Pl. 8). The present case, however, adds a most unusual feature; the signs $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ have been placed at the very bottom of this area so that the first of them supplies a mouth to supplement the pair of eyes. Even more complete examples of hieroglyphic “faces” are known from the late New Kingdom (Fig. 1),³ but in these cases the mouth is formed by a bowl ($\overline{\cup}$) in a configuration that may perhaps be read *ptr(w) nfr(w) nb* “behold all beauty.”⁴

The Middle Kingdom example is evidently more literal in that the sign $\overline{\cup}$ actually represents a mouth, but it is more difficult to explain why 𓏏 should have been added, beyond the fact that these two signs had long been associated in the juridical title *r-Nhn* “mouth of Nekhen.” I think, however, that the addition of *Nhn* probably provides a graphic pun, *r nhn* “mouth of an utterance” or “mouth for utterance.”⁵ One may compare the *Schriftspielereien* of other coffins of the same period that are discussed by Borchardt,⁶ as well as further emblematic uses of hieroglyphs on a contemporaneous stela and coffin, which I have discussed elsewhere.⁷ There is no question, in any case, that the first sign is intended to provide a mouth, and this point is of some importance because, while the title in question is

¹ MMA 12.182.132. The texts are published (in hieroglyphic type) by Ahmed Bey Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), pp. 109–10, and the coffin is described by Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 316.

² Evidently a variant writing of $\overline{\square} \text{𓏏}$ (*PNI*, p. 238 [14]) in which $\overline{\square}$ is replaced by $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, as in the later writing of the name of *Nb-ht-R Mentuhotep*.

³ From G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, *Gurob* (London 1927), pl. 30 (33); another example in Chas. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca* (London 1891), pl. 2. There are also some cases where $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ appears between the eyes of concubine figures, but without an indication of the mouth: B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)* (Cairo 1939), pl. 45. Also on the collar of an anthropoid coffin,

MMA 86.1.2 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 265), and on a bronze votive plaque: Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple* III, pl. 24 (5).

⁴ The *wdst*-eyes and *nfr* may go back to Middle Kingdom devices such as the one discussed by A. Blackman in *JEA* 21 (1935), p. 2.

⁵ This term for “utterance” is known from the Middle Kingdom onward: *Wb.* III, 289; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 192.

⁶ *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 116–17. He points out that the signs $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ are emphasized, by color and detail, in the inscriptions on the front and on the head end.

⁷ *MMJ* 5 (1972), 19–20 and fig. 27, and *MMJ* 11 (1976), 125–26 and fig. 1.



Fig. 1. Alabaster fragment, late New Kingdom.
After Brunton and Engelbach

interpreted as “mouth of Nekhen” by the *Wörterbuch*,⁸ most Egyptologists have preferred to read it *iry-Nhn* “keeper of Nekhen.”⁹

The *Wörterbuch*'s interpretation is supported by other Middle Kingdom occurrences of the title, which include $\overline{\text{I}} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ but not writings in which the initial element is either $\text{I} \leftarrow$ or $\text{I} \leftarrow \text{N}$, as would at least occasionally be expected for writings of *iry* in that period.¹⁰ Conversely, while $\overline{\text{I}}$ occasionally appears in Old Kingdom titles as a writing of *iry*,¹¹ and scarcely ever as *r*,¹² it was frequently applied to *r* rather than *iry* in Middle Kingdom titles such as, for example, in $\text{N} \overline{\text{I}}$ for *imy-r* “overseer.”¹³ Thus the Middle Kingdom writing $\overline{\text{I}} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ can hardly be read otherwise than *r-Nhn*. The writing $\text{N} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ is attested from the Middle Kingdom, but, as Gardiner has pointed out, this is a survival of the old, and quite distinct, title *zrw* (or *mnrw*) *Nhn*, which is sometimes written $\text{N} \textcircled{\text{O}}$.¹⁴ Since these remarks were written, Detlef Franke, following Gardiner, has presented much the same arguments for the reading,¹⁵ which the coffin of *Wh-htp* so clearly confirms.

⁸ *Wb.* II, p. 390 (5) (probably based on Gardiner's conclusion in *ZÄS* 42 [1905], 133, that *r-Nhn* “mouth of Nekhen,” is to be accepted as a provisional reading). Gunn, in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 274, 281, also translates “Mouth(?) of Nekhen,” while $\overline{\text{I}} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ (see below) is translated “Mouth of every Butite,” without a query. T.G.H. James likewise transliterates the first of these titles as *r Nhn* in *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, p. 188. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 575, s.v. *Nhn*, remains undecided: “*r Nhn* mouth of (or *iry* attached to) Nekhen.”

⁹ So, for example, K. Sethe in Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* II, p. 12; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 145, s.v. *sb iry Nhn*; Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 304, reading *iry(?) Nhn* (but *r Nhn* in *MMJ* 13 [1978], 7; *JEA* 65 [1979], 42); Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 209, s.v. *sb*, “s. warden of Nekhen” (but contradicted on p. 145, s.v. *r* “mouth”); G.T. Martin, *Private-Name Seals*, p. 184, s.v. *sb iry Nhn*; J.-L. de Cenival, *RdE* 27 (1975), 66; Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, p. 660, s.v. *zb iry Nhn*; P. de Bourget, *Mélanges Maspero* I/4, p. 14; Dimitri Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* II (Paris 1981), 78.3291.

¹⁰ Many examples in the index of Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches* III, pp. 50–52. $\text{I} \leftarrow$ is

also attested as a writing of *iry* in the Old Kingdom, albeit only rarely: *MMJ* 10 (1975), p. 20.

¹¹ *ZÄS* 105 (1978), p. 53 and note 55. Cf. also $\overline{\text{I}}$, for *iry*, note 69 below.

¹² Edel, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 9, quotes an Old Kingdom example of $\text{I} \leftarrow \overline{\text{I}}$ as a writing of the title *imy-r*, but not in the context of a formal titulary. Compare the writings of *imyt-r* staves, discussed in *MMJ* 13 (1978), 6–7. Franke (*SAK* 11 [1984], p. 210, n. 5) also cites $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{I}}$ (Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions*, no. 61, line 5, dating to Sesotris I), but this is more probably $\text{I} \leftarrow \overline{\text{I}}$.

¹³ Schenkel, *Fruhm. Studien*, § 7.

¹⁴ Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 13, 44; commented upon by Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 122, who observes that “in their respective usages $\text{N} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ never interchange.” Kaplony, *Inschriften*, p. 449, errs in transliterating an archaic example as *iry Nhn*. The sign $\text{N} \textcircled{\text{O}}$ does not have this value before the Heracleopolitan Period (*ZÄS* 105 [1978], 55, n. 70).

¹⁵ *SAK* 11 (1984), 210–11. The present discussion was originally scheduled for *MMJ* 14 (1979), as noted in *MMJ* 13 (1978), 7, n. 12.

A similar interpretation must be applied to the old title $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, which the *Wörterbuch* rightly interprets as *rP nb* “mouth of every Butite,” and which, in the Middle Kingdom, was sometimes written $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}}$.¹⁶

It is, to be sure, theoretically possible that $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ represents a reinterpretation of the Old Kingdom titles with old **iry Nhn* only secondarily read (or misread) as *r-Nhn*.¹⁷ Against that alternative is the fact that titles beginning with *iry* normally refer to keepers of things, and not of places or people.¹⁸ Virtually the only exception to this pattern is the old title $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$, which is difficult to explain otherwise than as *iry-p't*, referring to “the patricians.”¹⁹

2. Zhy-ntr

The group $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ (var. $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$) appears in a very few Old Kingdom inscriptions and in a limited number of contexts (Fig. 2)²⁰ as well as on some inscriptions of earlier date. Peter Kaplony (*Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* [Wiesbaden 1966], pp. 51–52) interprets some of the titles in question as an alias of Anubis (Fig. 2 [2–4], and possibly [5]) and others as a designation of a funerary officiant, derived from the same alias (Fig. 2 [1a–c] and possibly [5]). Here as in his *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (pp. 369, 1058), he reads *hry-sšt*²¹ and dispenses with any explanation, doubtless because he considers it self-evident that this reading is supported by the Middle Kingdom titles where *hry-sšt* is certainly to be recognized in $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$. It is by no means certain, however, that such a connection exists. There is much more reason to regard the Middle Kingdom writing of *hry-sšt* simply as one of the several ingenious substitutions that are used in contemporaneous inscriptions, dating to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, e.g., $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ for *hry-tp* and $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ for *imy-r*.²² The application of the new phonetic value of $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ is probably based on nothing more than a graphic allusion to this writing of Anubis, which goes back to offering formulae of the Sixth

¹⁶ *Wb.* II, p. 390 (4). Junker adopts the same reading, *Giza* XII, p. 171, s.v. *r Pj.w nb.w*, as does Gunn (note 8 above). But Helck transliterates *iry Pj.w nbw* (*Beamtentitel*, p. 144). Selim Hassan inconsistently transliterates this title as *rP nb* (or *r Pj.w nb.w*) in *Giza* X, p. 74, but nonetheless interprets the other title as *sšt iry Nhn*, p. 90.

¹⁷ As suggested by W. Helck in *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, p. 57.

¹⁸ See ZÄS 105 (1978), pp. 54–55. For the Middle Kingdom cf. Ward, *Index*, nos. 449a–556.

¹⁹ For the fullest discussion, see Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, pp. 16–17. See also Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984), 211, who categorically endorses the accepted reading.

²⁰ (1a, twice) Cairo CG 1417; (1b) Cairo CG 1385; (1c) Cairo CG 1385 and Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 169(7); (2a) Cairo CG 1417; (2b) Cairo CG 1564 (father of same person); (3a) Cairo CG 1564; (3b) Junker, *Giza* IX, figs. 74–75; (3c) *ibid.*, figs. 72–73, 76; (3d) *ibid.*,

fig. 73; (4) Cairo J 15048 (*Urk.* I, p. 231 [8]); (5) Leipzig 2897 and Berlin 15302–3 (W.S. Smith, *AJA* 46 [1942], 518 [fig. 7], 521 [fig. 9]).

²¹ The same reading had already been advanced for an archaic example by Scharff in *Studies in Honour of F.L.L. Griffith* (Oxford 1932) p. 348; and this is repeated by Hassan, *Giza* V, p. 89.

²² All three of these writings seem to have been created in the reign of Sesostri I. For $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ cf. Schenkel, *Frühm. Studien*, §7 (d); equally early examples of this are to be found at Aswan (*Urk.* VII, pp. 5 [10], 6 [4, 10], 7 [9]), Asyut (p. 58 [18]) and in the reign of Sesostri II at Beni Hasan (p. 37 [8]). For contemporaneous examples of $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$, which occurs only at Beni Hasan, see below, Chap. 14/4. Contemporaneous examples of $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ as *hry-sšt* appear at all three cemeteries: Aswan (*Urk.* VII, p. 1 [16]), Beni Hasan (p. 22 [9]); and from the reign of Sesostri II, *Urk.* VII, pp. 37 [7], 38 [8], Asyut (p. 65 [6]).

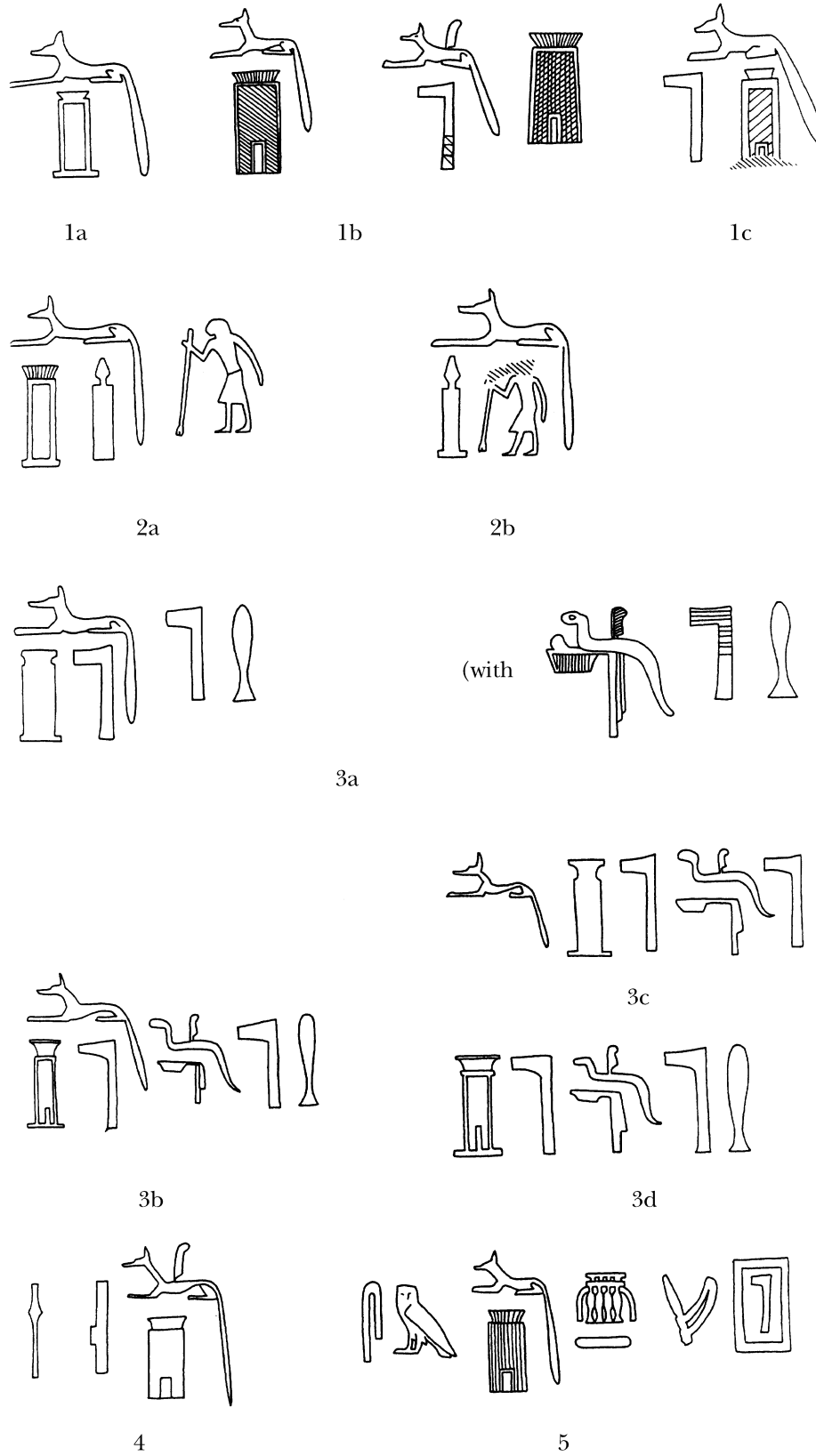














Fig. 2. Old Kingdom titles mentioning Anubis (rearranged from columnar inscriptions, except 3c, 3d)

Dynasty.²³ As for the use of *hry-sšt* as an alias of Anubis, this does not seem to be attested any earlier than the Roman Period, and only rarely at that late a date.²⁴ The alias may be based on the previous use of ,  as a sportive writing, but it seems unlikely that the sportive writing is, conversely, based on the prior use of *hry-sšt* as a divine epithet, for which we have no evidence.

Whatever reading is adopted, it is in any case clear that Fig. 2 (2a, b) cannot be combined with  *hry-sšt*, which follows it in CG 1417, since this phrase does not follow in CG 1564, which belongs to the father of the same individual. It is therefore quite impossible to interpret the title as Kaplony does: *hry-sšt Hry-sšt sr-Iwnw* “Geheimrat des Geheimrats (= Anubis), des Fürsten von *Iwnw*.”²⁵ It should also be noted that, in both cases,  is decidedly bent forward, so that *smsw* “elder” is indicated rather than *sr* ().²⁶ And with *sr* eliminated, there is no reason to interpret  as a transposed reference to *Iwnw* “Heliopolis.”²⁷

If the reading **hry-sšt Hry-sšt* is precluded for CG 1417, the same is true of Fig. 2 (3c), which is followed by *wt* “embalmer” and *hry-sšt*. In this connection it should be noted that there is no other Old Kingdom evidence for *hry-sšt* + name of god, with the god’s name honorifically transposed.²⁸ But if  and *hry-sšt* are not combined, then the first element is a separate title and can hardly have the same reading as the second.

A final objection to the reading *hry-sšt* (although it is scarcely needed) is the fact that  and  are repeatedly written side by side in Fig. 2 (3c), so that Anubis is no longer “over” (*hry*) the shrine. Here the hieroglyphs are arranged in a horizontal line, whereas in all the other cases the arrangement is columnar, and the shrine is necessarily placed beneath. But in Fig. 2 (2b) the shrine is omitted.

The correct solution, I think, is to read the group just as it appears, i.e., *zhy-ntr Inpw*. Additional support for this reading is to be found in the Pyramid Texts, where  are mentioned (Pyr. 750 d).²⁹ The title  is attributed to a lector priest in the Sun Temple of Neuserre,³⁰ and reappears as  in one of the Sixth Dynasty tombs located at Qasr

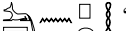
²³ For examples of this date see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 84 (14).

²⁴ The Belegstellen for *Wb.* IV, p. 298 (22), include two references, *Rituel de l'embaumement* (new edition by S. Sauneron [Cairo 1952], p. 11 [10]), and Papyrus Rhind I (pp. 11, 12). Sauneron (p. xiii) dates the first to about 50 B.C., while the second is even later, 9 B.C.





²⁵ Kaplony, *Inschriften*, p. 628.





²⁶ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 81–83.

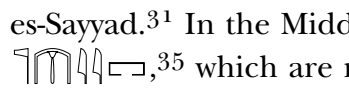
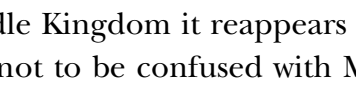
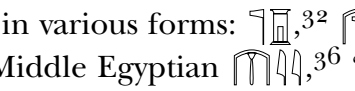



²⁷ Assuming that Kaplony’s reading is prompted by the Heliopolitan *hwt-sr* (*Wb.* IV, p. 189 [8–9]).

²⁸ One might possibly see an exception in *hry-sšt n ntr.f* “he who is privy to the secret(s) of his god” (examples in CG 1485, Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 130, 211, 295, 326, 337, etc.). But here *ntr.f* refers to the king, as also in epithets such as *ny ib ntr.f* “who belongs to the heart of his god;” see *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 268. It is only on monuments of much later date that we find titles such as  “he who is


privy to the secrets of Ptah” (CG 667).

²⁹ The version of Merenre is thus, while that of Teti has ; Sethe (*Übersetzung und Kommentar* III, p. 391) notes that this is to be read as  in Pyr. 26 b (N), “das allgemeine Personendeterminativ der Pyr.,” and he identifies *zh ntr* as the structure over which Anubis presides. The composite sign  quite frequently replaces  in the epithet of Anubis *hnty zh ntr*, and especially at Giza: Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 18; III, fig. 27; VI, figs. 28, 58, 72, etc.

³⁰ Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 23 (56b). Another Old Kingdom example, written  is given by Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* II, pl. 7 (1), but his copy is mistaken; after re-examining the fragment in question, I am quite certain that the supposed  (broken at the top) is , so that the title is actually the familiar *hry zh*. The same error is made by Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 212, where  is restored in another inscription.


es-Sayyad.³¹ In the Middle Kingdom it reappears in various forms: ,³² ,³³ ,³⁴ ,³⁵ which are not to be confused with Middle Egyptian ,³⁶ “councillor” or the like, i.e., “belonging to the council.” While none of these parallels is identical to the case at hand, there being no mention of Anubis, one of them, at Meir, appears in the context of funerary rituals, as is also true of the Sixth Dynasty example at Qasr es-Sayyad, and in the same context it is replaced by , which is patterned on one of the common epithets of this god “who presides over the divine booth.”³⁷ Thus, as Blackman has perceived,³⁸ the meaning is not “councilor of the god,” but “one who belongs to the divine booth;” one might translate it less literally as “Anubite.”

Applying this conclusion to the various examples shown in Figure 2, we may interpret the first of them as *zhy-ntr Inpw*, “he who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis.” In the second title the reading is (a) *iwn smsw Inpw zhy-ntr* and (b) *iwn smsw Inpw*, perhaps “senior pillar of Anubis.”³⁹

The third title (3a) confirms the fact that Anubis is himself called *zhy-ntr*: it is “*hm-ntr*-priest of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth.” Since the possessor of this priestly title is also “*hm-ntr*-priest of *W3dt*,” title 3 b, c cannot well be understood as Junker translates it: “Der Priester der Gotteshalle des Anubis in Aphroditopolis.”⁴⁰ The parallel indicates that it is “*hm-ntr*-priest of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth, and of *W3dt*.” The omission of  before

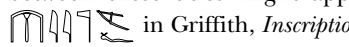
³¹ Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm 1994); the inscription in which this occurs (pl. 20) is not “giving a libation to the temple,” as stated on p. 46, but “the giving of a libation (by) the *zhy-ntr*.” A reference to *hwt-ntr* “temple” does occur in another caption below this, but the form of *hwt* is different, as is the context.


³² Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. 23 and p. 32 (cf. n. 37 below).


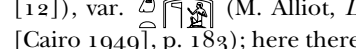
³³ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907)* (Cairo 1908), pl. 7 (3); this is probably the earliest of the Middle Kingdom examples quoted here, but it is not necessarily earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty. The official in question is also a *w3b*  “great *w3b*-priest.”

³⁴ Engelbach and Gunn, *Harageh*, p. 26, note 11, and pls. 71, 74 (3).

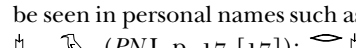
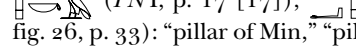
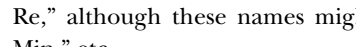
³⁵ Berlin Pap. 10003; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), p. 98. This reference is cited by Gunn (see preceding note) as well as another *zhy ntr* in F.Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pl. 21 (25). Two of the preceding references have also been cited by Grdseloff, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 139–40, and others by Ward, *Index*, no. 1322, where *zhy ntr* is translated as “counsellor^[sic] of a God.”

³⁶ *Wb.* III, p. 466 (7–9); *zhy-ntr* is not given. Cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 237, citing Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris 1916), p. 34, l. 5. A connection between these titles might appear to be suggested by  in Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût*, pls. 16 and 19. Gunn (note 33 above) evidently reads this as *zhy-ntr mry.f*, but Janssen more plausibly reads *zhy mr ntr.f* (*Egyptische*

Autobiografie I, p. 135 [III T 1]; II, p. 173, and there translated “een raadgever dien zijn god liefhad.” An anomalous writing of *zhy* is probably to be recognized in the phrase  “I was a great councilor, whom [his] lord loved” (Petrie, *Abydos* I, pl. 54, a Middle Kingdom inscription misdated to Dyn. VI). Brovanski has independently made the same observation in his *Dissertation*, p. 474 (c).

³⁷ Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. 21 and p. 28. It may be added that the priestly officiants of the Graeco-Roman temples of Dendera and Edfu included  (*Wb.* III, p. 465 [12]), var.  (M. Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou* I [Cairo 1949], p. 183); here there does not seem to be any specific connection with Anubis despite the similarity to the epithet of that god.

³⁸ See notes 32 and 37 above; the other translation is offered by Gunn (note 34).

³⁹ Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie* II, p. 174 (E), takes the second element separately as “zuil van den ouderdom” or “van den grijsaard;” but “pillar of old age” is not otherwise known before the Middle Kingdom. Other epithets mentioning *iwn* are discussed here and in *JAOS* 76 (1956), 107; *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 39–40. A closer analogy is perhaps to be seen in personal names such as  (*PN I*, p. 17 [15]);  (*PN I*, p. 17 [17]);  (Hassan, *Giza* VI, pt. 3, fig. 26, p. 33): “pillar of Min,” “pillar of (my?) *h3*,” “pillar of Re,” although these names might mean “my support is Min,” etc.

⁴⁰ Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 156.

𐎗𐎃 in 3d may be accidental, although perhaps it was considered sufficient to refer to Anubis by his epithet alone. It is also possible, but I think less likely, that this example combines Fig. 2 (1) and *hm-ntr W3dt*.

Title 4 is apparently *hrp izt Inpw zhy-ntr* “director of the troop(?)⁴¹ of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth,”⁴² and 5 is “*stm*-priest of the temple of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth, Presiding over the Sacred Land.”⁴³

It will be noticed that 𐎗 is often unaccompanied by 𐎃 in these titles, raising the possibility that, in such cases, *zhy* is the correct reading, rather than *zhy-ntr*. The absence of 𐎃 is, in fact, much less common in funerary formulae invoking Anubis *hnty zh-ntr*.⁴⁴ There is nonetheless little doubt that 𐎗 alone is to be read *zh-ntr*, as may be seen from writings such as 𐎗𐎃 (Pyr. 2100 c N)⁴⁵ and 𐎗𐎃𐎗𐎃.⁴⁶ The use of 𐎗 in titles may be explained by the fact that it is written thus in archaic examples of 𐎗.⁴⁷ On the other hand 𐎗 is not necessarily to be considered as an epithet in all cases where it appears beneath the figure of Anubis. It seems unlikely, for example, that it represents an epithet in 𐎗𐎃𐎗𐎃𐎗𐎃𐎗𐎃,⁴⁸ in which Anubis normally appears as 𐎗: “*hm-ntr*-priest of Horus-Anubis who presides over the house of the retinue.”⁴⁹ The same may be true of Fig. 2 (2a). And the group 𐎗𐎃 is obviously the precursor of 𐎗𐎃, which became a common writing of Anubis from the Sixth Dynasty onward, as mentioned earlier.

This discussion does not take account of several cases where the group in question occurs in Old Kingdom seal impressions that are incompletely preserved.⁵⁰ The tabulation equally necessarily omits the supposed title 𐎗𐎃𐎗, which Kaplony quotes from Cairo statue CG 62, and which actually represents an incorrect transcription of the personal name 𐎗𐎃𐎗.⁵¹

⁴¹ Given the context, it is difficult to believe that this is to be isolated as the rather modest title “overseer of the troop(s),” for which see Junker, *Giza* III, p. 179; IX, p. 47.

⁴² For this title see Kaplony, *Inschriften*, note 1798. The same title is probably to be seen in what Kaplony reads (*Inschriften*, p. 368) as *shd Inpw* on the First Dynasty stela of *Ssb.f* (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 30).

⁴³ This approximates one of the alternative interpretations of Kaplony in *Inschriften*, note 1811, save for his transcription of *hry-sst* (= Anubis). In *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, p. 51, he evidently prefers his other alternative: “*hry sst* dessen, der im Friedhof wohnt (*hnty-ts-dsr*, Anubis) im(?) Tempel.”

⁴⁴ See Junker, *Giza* II, p. 116, who points to examples on the sarcophagus of *Mnw-hr.f* (Cairo J 48852: *JEA* 19 [1933] pls. 21–24). But Old Kingdom examples of 𐎗 normally show the sign 𐎃 within (as in the case of Cairo CG 1495, 1587, 1788); in the case of J 48852 this and other signs show no internal detail whatever.

⁴⁵ The same writing also occurs in the epithet of Anubis

hnty zh-ntr: LD II, pl. 18; Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 117, p. 257.

⁴⁶ Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 31 (73), again in the epithet *hnty zh-ntr*. Compare, in the same context 𐎗𐎃𐎗: Lutz, *Steles*, pl. 3 (4).

⁴⁷ See Kaplony, *Inschriften*, notes 1809, 1810, and figures 119, 315, 335, 337, 482, 812.

⁴⁸ Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 15.

⁴⁹ For the normal writing see p. 9 above.

⁵⁰ Borchardt, *Grabd. Ne-user-re*, p. 132; Reisner-Smith, *Hist. Giza Necr.* II, figs. 50 (34-12-8) and 57, the latter perhaps to be read *shd wtw Inpw* “inspector of embalmers of Anubis,” and [*wtw*] is thus perhaps to be restored in an incomplete First Dynasty seal impression (Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* III [London 1958], pl. 82 [43]). Kaplony (*Inschriften*, p. 368) takes this as *shd Inpw*, as also on the stela of *Ssb.f*, but the latter is probably *hrp izt Inpw*; see note 42 above.

⁵¹ *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 58. Correctly transcribed by Ranke, *PNI*, p. 263 (10), as seen from the statue itself in Cairo.

3. The reading of \mathfrak{A} in titles

In my *Coptite Nome*, pp. 126–29, I concluded that, although there is ample evidence for *sdst* “seal” in the Old Kingdom, the determinative, when present, is consistently \mathfrak{A} , and that this determinative was evidently not replaced by \mathfrak{Q} until the Middle Kingdom. Furthermore, while there is not a great deal of evidence for phonetic writings of \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{Q} in Old Kingdom titles, which are interchangeable, all of that evidence consistently shows \mathfrak{Q} as a phonetic complement to these signs, indicating *htm* or *htmt*. Despite these indications, I still hesitated to abandon the prevailing preference for the reading of \mathfrak{A} as *sdzwt/sdzwtj* in most titles, since it seems unwise, in such cases, to replace a standard reading, however doubtful, by another that cannot be proven conclusively.⁵² In this particular instance, however, I now believe that my conservatism was misplaced.

Had I pressed my inquiry more earnestly, I should have realized that there is at least one late Middle Kingdom writing of the most recurrent title $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}$ which clearly betrays the root *htm*; $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ ⁵³ can hardly be read in any other way than *htmtj Bity*, or, more precisely *htmwtj-Bity* “treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.” There is further phonetic evidence for the word *htmt* “treasure” on which this title is based; the Old Kingdom title $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ ⁵⁴ is at least once written $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ ⁵⁵ in the Middle Kingdom, i.e., *iry htmt*, lit. “keeper of what is sealed,” and an Old Kingdom caption to an offering scene mentions $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ *htmt hrt sty-hb* “treasure (or “that which is sealed”) containing festival scent.”⁵⁶

In addition there is ample evidence, in Old Kingdom inscriptions, for humbler “treasurers” whose title is usually written \mathfrak{A} but also $\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}$, $\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{Q}$, $\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{Q}$, pl. $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}$, $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}$, *htmwtj(w)*.⁵⁷

The terms *htmt* and *htmwtj* are doubtless also to be recognized in titles referring to $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ “the treasure of the god,” as has long since been advocated by Yoyotte and Sauneron.⁵⁸

Evidently a distinction is to be made between $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$,⁵⁹ $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ ⁶⁰ “sealbearer,” “overseer of sealbearers” and the phrase $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ (var. $\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$), which occurs in the following series of titles:

⁵² To explain the odd writing of $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}$ that I discussed in *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 56, one must therefore fall back on the first alternative, i.e., that it derives from a deformation of hieratic. By the same token I absolve Detlef Franke from this particular objection to his own predilection for the reading of \mathfrak{A} as *htm* (*GM* 83 [1984], 114). On the other hand I cannot agree with Wolfgang Boochs’ reinterpretation (*Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten* [Sankt Augustin 1982], pp. 105–106) of the evidence I presented in my *Coptite Nome*; the use of \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{Q} in Pyr. 1523 does not indicate a difference in the reading of these two signs, but is to be explained as a case of graphic dissimilation, for which see Sethe, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* IV, § 151; Drioton, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 57–68; also van de Walle in *Ägyptologische Studien* (Hermann Grapow Festschrift: Berlin 1955), pp. 366–78.

⁵³ Cairo CG 20334, illustrated by Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 27 (17.4). Checked on the original in Cairo.

⁵⁴ As exemplified by Cairo CG 1369, 1443, 57196; Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 83, p. 215; VII, fig. 50, p. 135.

⁵⁵ Cairo CG 20080 (= Petrie, *Abydos* III, p. 164; cf. Ward, *Index*, no. 539).


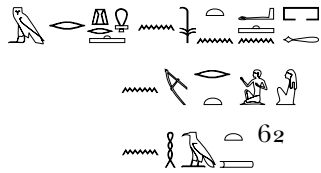


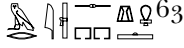
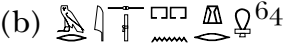





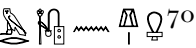






⁵⁶ Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 30.






⁵⁷ All quoted in Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, *loc. cit.*



⁵⁸ *BFAO* 51 (1952), 166.

⁵⁹ Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 64. I think a defective writing of the same title is probably to be recognized in the $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$ of James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 9 (48). But the caption $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}$, above one of three scribes who are shown in the act of writing (*LD* II, pl. 56) is more problematic. Kent Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000* (Boston 1994), p. 22 [1.8(2)], translates “writing its balance of the treasury,” which may be right, despite the reversed orientation and the lack of *n* after **dst.s*.


⁶⁰ Cairo CG 1564.

1. ⁶¹
2. 

⁶²
3. (a) ⁶³
 (b) ⁶⁴
 (c) ⁶⁵
4. ⁶⁶
5. ⁶⁷
6. (a) ⁶⁸
 (b) ⁶⁹
 (c) ⁷⁰
7. ⁷¹
8. (a) ⁷²
 (b) ⁷²
9. (a) ⁷³
 (b) ⁷⁴
10. ⁷⁵




The distinction between title 1 and  is indicated by title 3(c), which shows that  once again contains the stem *htm*,⁷⁶ probably the difference of terms reflects a difference of meaning, and the absence of  in the first case may also be significant, although this is likewise absent in titles 3(b), 5, 6(c), 9(b) and 10. Title 3(c) also indicates that *hmt* is feminine, as does title 6(b). And the examples assembled here further show that the preceding word is *hr* or *hry*; it does not seem likely that the phonetic complement  would be included in some cases—2, 3(b), 4, 6(b), 9(b), 10—and that a feminine ending would not appear just as frequently if this ending existed. Thus the reading seems to be *hry* (or *hrw*) *hmt* “containing what is sealed.”⁷⁷ The occasional absence of  shows that it is not to be

⁶¹ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 153 (38); Gunn, Notebooks XIV.46.1 (false door of *Titi*, Saqqara). For another example, on an alabaster headrest at Durham University, see J.G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* I, 2nd ed. (London 1842), p. 214; here  is accompanied by , and this detail has been verified from the original.

⁶² Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, fig. 7, p. 15.

⁶³ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pls. 4, 6, 8; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 266 (here, as in a few other cases, the critical group is written  but this arrangement is doubtless purely calligraphic).

⁶⁴ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 107 (34).

⁶⁵ Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 11. On pl. 9 the writing is apparently ; the sign  below  is partly obscured by a round accretion, as I have been able to see from a clearer print of the photograph (archive of the Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth [Brussels], Cat. No. 1371).

⁶⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 230.

⁶⁷ LD II, pl. 64 (b). Cf.  (Murray,

Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 4);  (LD II, 46).

⁶⁸ *Urk.* I, p. 282 (3); Hassan, *Giza* V, p. 62; Gunn, Notebooks (Griffith Institute, Oxford) XIV.46.2.

⁶⁹ Gunn, Notebooks XV.12 (lintel of *Titi*, Saqqara).

⁷⁰ Gunn, Notebooks XIV.46.2 (false door of *Hnw*, Saqqara).



⁷¹ Hassan, *Giza* VII, figs. 98–100, pp. 103–104.

⁷² Both (a) and (b): Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, p. 41.


⁷³ Cairo CG 101, 208, 1515.

⁷⁴ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pp. 137, 167 (140).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, (141).

⁷⁶ Contra Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 71–72, who does not mention title 3 (c). Also contra Boochs, *Siegel*, p. 121, who ignores this example despite the mention of it in my *Coptite Nome*, p. 127, n. 3. My previous discussion also provides examples of *htm* written both as  and .

⁷⁷ For the use of masculine *hry* compare the term *hryw- ϵ* , which, as I have suggested in *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 55–56, may refer to “authorizations” and which is similarly linked to *rw-nswt* “royal decrees.”

read, but it appears so frequently that its inclusion is probably meaningful. The *Wörterbuch* supposes the meaning to be something like “versiegelte Akten,”⁷⁸ which suits the generic determinative as well as the scribal titles 6–9. But in the Coptos Decrees⁷⁹ *hry htmt* is on the same basis as *pr ʿw nswt*, *pr hryw wdb* and *pr mdswt* “the house of royal decrees, the house of those in charge of reversion offerings and the house of documents.” The passage in question refers to the *iz* “bureau” of each, and the inscriptions of a somewhat earlier official include a series of titles that parallel this association;⁸⁰ he is *imy-r izwy* “overseer of the two bureaus” of the *hry-htmt*, the *pr mdswt* and *pr hry(w) wdb*, as well as the  “serfs” (who also appear in titles 2 and 5).⁸¹ Perhaps, then, *hry htmt* is best translated “registry,” as Goedicke has suggested.⁸² The various titles would then mean (1) “overseer of the registry;” (2) “overseer of the registry of royal decrees of the Great House for serfs and for fields;”⁸³ (3) “overseer of the two bureaus of the registry;” (4) “overseer of the two bureaus of the registry of royal decrees;” (5) “overseer of the two bureaus of the registry of serfs;” (6) “overseer of scribes of the registry;” (7) “overseer of scribes of the registry of royal decrees;” (8) “inspector of scribes of the registry of royal decrees;” (9) “inspector of scribes of the registry;” (10) “scribe of the registry.”

⁷⁸ *Wb.* III, p. 396 (6).

⁷⁹ *Urk.* I, pp. 281 (8) and 284 (15).

⁸⁰ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 230.

⁸¹ Compare also Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 4, where title 3 (a) is followed by *imy-r izwy mrt* “overseer of the two bureaus of serfs.”

⁸² Hans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pp. 87, 166 (the latter in reference to *Urk.* I, p. 296 [15]): “Registratur der gesiegelten Dokumente.”

⁸³ Less probably “overseer of the registry of royal decrees and of the Great House, etc.”

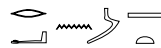
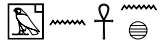




Plate 8. Metropolitan Museum 12.182.132
Rogers Fund, 1912


5. Some Theophoric Names of the Old Kingdom

The interpretation and transcription of Old Kingdom names are not infrequently obscured by one or the other of two factors, or both: honorific transposition and irregularity in the sequence of signs.¹ Honorific transposition was applied with greater consistency in the Old Kingdom than in later periods, but there are, as Ranke notes, a certain number of exceptions,² and he has exploited some of them to explain the pattern of their transposed counterparts; their usefulness for this purpose has not, however, been exhausted. To cope with the second factor one must beware of isolated cases and must attempt to gather a sufficient number of examples to eliminate the possibility of a meaningless orthographic anomaly. This study accordingly emphasizes the quantitative aspect of the Old Kingdom evidence.

1. *Ny-mꜣt-Rꜥ*

The importance of the aforementioned points is well illustrated by Westendorf's discussion of the pattern *Ny-mꜣt-Rꜥ* which he takes to be **Ny-Rꜥ-mꜣt*.³ Very little of the Old Kingdom evidence for names of this pattern particularly favors this alternative, although it is not precluded by normal writings such as . Moreover Westendorf correctly points out that the feminine examples of the well-known name that is invariably written  cannot be read *Nyt-ꜥnh-Hthꜣr* "A possessor of life is Hathor;" he fails, however, to see that it can be understood as *Ny-ꜥnh-Hthꜣr* "Life belongs to Hathor," in which the element *ny* is invariable,⁴ conforming to the pattern of  *Ny-sy-nswt*, "She belongs to the king."⁵ The alternative reading that he proposes cannot be proven by the various eccentric writings he has tabulated in favor of the sequence *ny* + NN, for the position of the initial  is

¹ Cf. *JEA* 60 (1974), 249 and note 1.

² *PNI* II, 13, note 4; delete, however, , for which see his p. 347, correcting *PNI*, 64 (15).












³ Wolfhart Westendorf, *MIO* 7 (1960), 316–29. His views are rejected by Edel in *Altäg. Gramm.* II, p. LXVII, Nachträge to § 366, and *GM* 2 (1972), 16–17, but Westendorf has subsequently presented further evidence in *SAK* 11 (1984), 381–97. Gilula, without citing Westendorf,















agrees with his position (*RdE* 20 [1968], 59 and n. 4); for the first of his examples see notes 51–52 below, and for the second see note 17.

⁴ This objection also excludes Barta's interpretation of *Ny-mꜣt-Rꜥ* as "Der zur Weltordnung des Re gehörige" (*GM* 85 [1985], 10).

⁵ *PNI*, 177 (23).




frequently more ambiguous than he indicates. To begin with those from the Old Kingdom and earlier, one finds the following (numbered according to the list in *SAK* 11 [1974], 386–87):

- (1)  is  (earlier )⁶
- (4)  is ⁷
- (5)  is ⁸
- (8)  is ⁹
- (11)  is ¹⁰

In another of Westendorf's Old Kingdom examples (no. 10) the initial  does not belong to the name, which is  *K3(.i)-wd-ꜥnh(.i)* "My *k3* is one who commands that I live."¹¹ A second name, which is thought to be , less certainly indicating **Ny-Rꜥ-wsr*, is actually  *Sšhw-Rꜥ*.¹² The reading of his no. 6, written sign-by-sign in a column (), remains uncertain.¹³ In a third name, not considered by him, the sequence of signs in  is influenced by the exigencies of available space.¹⁴ It is more difficult to explain , which is not cited either, but  may well have been considered a more pleasing arrangement than , since it occurs twice,¹⁵ and occurs twice again in  *Ny-k3(.i)-Nbw*.¹⁶ In the case of ,¹⁷ his no. 12, the first two or more signs may have been interchanged, since  is written thus on the same false door, and  is usual in other names;¹⁸ moreover, a similar interchange is attested in the name .¹⁹

⁶ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai* I, pl. 1 (2); in Vol. II, p. 54, read *ꜥnh-n.ꜥt.ꜥt.ꜥt.* with a query. For the earlier example see Kaplony, *Inschriften* III, pl. 96 (377). Another example like this one has more recently been published by El Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, Pl. 70:



Here the prominence given to  has displaced , as in (1), where the smallness of  has had the same effect.


⁷ J.-Ph. Lauer and P. Lacau, *La Pyramide à degrés* V (Cairo 1965), no. 49. Perhaps *ꜥnh-n(.i)-ntr(.i)*.

⁸ Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 16.


⁹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9; probably to be read *Htp-n(.i)-Hnmw*, for which see n. 44 below.

¹⁰ Cf. *PNI*, 171 (6). For the case in question see Wm. S. Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 512 (fig. 3). This name is also dealt with by Edel, *GM* 2 (1972), 11 and n. 1.

¹¹ *PNI* II, 295 (29). This is actually the same as *PNI*, 339 (8); the preceding name belongs to the offering formula.


¹² P. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, pl. 76 (32). Kaplony reads the Horus name and Golden Horus name correctly, but needlessly restores *hm-ntr* after the first and misreads the name in the cartouche. The golden Horus name oddly forms the top of the cartouche beneath and the name Sahure is separated from it by a horizontal line, which is not to be read as . Thus all three names belong to the




same king. The owner's title is also misread; it is not *zš-hr(t)-ꜥ* but *hry-ꜥ hrp zh* "assistant of the director of the dining pavilion."

¹³ Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 39 and fig. 13. Junker suggests *Ph-n-k3w*, comparing  (*Giza* III, fig. 43).

¹⁴ O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens* (Copenhagen 1956), pl. 25, no. 10.

¹⁵ Brooklyn Museum 49.215; see *MMJ* 8 (1973), 12, fig. 9. An identical writing of this name appears on the detachable limestone base of a statue, formerly belonging to Ernst Kofler at Lucerne.

¹⁶ *PNI*, 192 (6), II, 368, from Boston MFA 27.1131; also : *PNI*, 430 (4), from an offering basin on the market, Berlin. This is probably the same name, to be read in reversed sequence, although it may possibly be read on the pattern of *K3(.i)-ny NN*, to be discussed presently.

¹⁷ *PNI*, 180 (28); the same example is miscopied on p. 430 (12). A displaced  also seems to occur in the name beside it;  is probably to be read *Hnwt.sn* (*ibid.*, 244 [1]) rather than *Ny-sy-hnwt*, for which see *ibid.*, 178 (4), for in that case one might expect *ny-sy* to be written .

¹⁸ *PNI*, 64 (10); 273 (10); 340 (1); 417 (17); II, 266 (1); 305 (17).

¹⁹ *PM III*², p. 56 (Giza 1171).

For the displacement of $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ one may compare names in which $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ is written $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ ²⁰ or $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$,²¹ and $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ is written $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ ²² or $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$.²³ This comparison suggests that theophoric names of the type that is under discussion should even more frequently show $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ at the end rather than at the beginning, since the sequence then becomes retrograde, i.e., NN-x-ny instead of Ny-x-NN, and a retrograde sequence likewise appears in some other tripartite theophoric names of the Old Kingdom.²⁴ There are, in fact, a greater number of examples of this kind:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -W3dt ²⁵ | (9) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>hpt</i> -Rr ³³ |
| (2) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$, $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -Pth ²⁶ | (10) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>h3swt</i> - <i>nswt</i> ³⁴ |
| (3) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -Nhb ²⁷ | (11) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>swt</i> -Pth ³⁵ |
| (4) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> - <i>nswt</i> ²⁸ | (12) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>šps</i> -Pth ³⁶ |
| (5) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -Rr ²⁹ | (13) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>k3(.i)</i> -Rr ³⁷ |
| (6) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -Hthr ³⁰ | (14) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>k3(.i)</i> -Hr ³⁸ |
| (7) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$, $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>cnh</i> -Hnmw ³¹ | (15) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>k3w</i> -Nt ³⁹ |
| (8) $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny- <i>hpt</i> -Pth ³² | |

²⁰ Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 104; VII, figs. 47, 48 a; CG 1590.

²¹ PNI, 303 (19), reading *sbm* (with a query); Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 537; Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 29A; Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani*, fig. 38; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr.* I, pl. 57 (b); LD II, 94 a, c.

²² Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 83. Cf. also $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ S*cnh.n*-Hthr (Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, p. 155).

²³ Hassan, *Giza* I, pl. 44 (1). Also $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (Málek, *BSEG* 6 [1982], 59).

²⁴ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 100.

²⁵ Wm. S. Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), 513, fig. 4; cf. Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, no. 17 (p. 117).

²⁶ PNI, 64 (22). For the normal writing see *ibid.*, 171 (11).

²⁷ Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani*, pl. 28 (b). Cairo CG 1682 and 1700 (belonging to the same person) show the normal form; also Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 5, fig. 4.

²⁸ PNII, 294 (3), for which see PM III², pp. 694–96; also Málek, *SAK* 8 (1980), 204. Cf. $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (Reisner's G 2435, records of MFA, Boston); also PM III², p. 247; $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$: Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 65 (35).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 72 c; ten other examples are all written normally.

³⁰ Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 222 (also the normal writing); Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 49. For the normal writing see also PNI, 171 (18).

³¹ Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 12 (top); Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, p. 47 (not illustrated); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 12 (also normal on pls. 8, 9, 12); Moussa and Altenmüller,

Nianchchnum, fig. 4 (= pl. 3 b) and pl. 90 (and 92). The normal form predominates in this tomb chapel and elsewhere; see PNI, 171 (21, 22).

³² Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 94, 95A, C.

³³ *Mereruka* I, pl. 82.

³⁴ PNI, 422 (22). Another example occurs on the false door of $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (PM III², 179, miscopied), excavated by Abu-Bakr at Giza: $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$. For this name cf. Edel, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 80–81. A similar name, $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ is to be found in Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 11 (1); cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* I, Tableau V. For the more normal sequence in a name of this pattern see *JARCE* 30 (1993), 5–6.

³⁵ Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 204, noted in PNII, 295 (27). Leipzig 2557 has the sequence $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (PNI, 173 [11], for which see Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches* [Heidelberg 1915], p. 130, fig. 102).

³⁶ Moussa, *SAK* 16 (1983), 276 and pl. 8. Cf. $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ Ny-*šps*-*nswt* (PNI, 180 [8] and XXIV [for which see PM III², p. 127]; similarly Ny-*šps*-Rr (PNI, 180 [9]).

³⁷ Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 127. Cf. $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (PNI, 180 [16]); Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 33), and other names of the same pattern: $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, p. 32 [26]); $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (PNI, 180 [17]; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 44).

³⁸ BM 1603 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 41 [1]), Cf. $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ (PM III², p. 207, same as PNII, 296 [1]).

³⁹ PNI, 423 (5).

The terminal position of $\overline{\text{mnm}}$ also appears in some names of Old Kingdom estates, and notably:

$$(16) \Rightarrow \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{f}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{mnm}} \text{ Ny-nfrt-Ty}^{40}$$

$$(17) \Rightarrow \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{k}} \overline{\text{s}} \overline{\text{.i}} \overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{mnm}} \text{ Ny-k3(.i)-Ty}^{41}$$

Both names are consistently written in this form, the only variable element being the transposed name of the owner.

One might be tempted to read the first seven examples as $\overline{\text{nh-n(.i)-NN}}$,⁴² but, as the appended documentation shows, there is ample evidence for the reading given here.⁴³ On the other hand I have omitted names such as $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-NN}}$ because the weight of evidence conversely favors $\overline{\text{Htp-n(.i)-NN}}$ rather than $\overline{\text{Ny-htp-NN}}$.⁴⁴ While the inclusion of nos. 13 and 14 seems warranted by other examples of $\overline{\text{Ny-k3(.i)-NN}}$,⁴⁵ Ranke is probably right in reading $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{g}} \overline{\text{U}}^{46}$ and $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{.i}} \overline{\text{ny}} \overline{\text{nbty/nswt}}^{47}$ as $\overline{\text{K3(.i)-ny nbty/nswt}}$ “My *k3* is one who belongs to the king,” since these two names, while not very common, virtually always show $\overline{\text{mnm}}$ at the end; the first is known from at least seven sources, the second from at least three. The same pattern may occur in $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{.i}} \overline{\text{ny-nb.f}}$ “My *k3* is one who belongs to its lord,” (although it is possible that the sign $\overline{\text{mnm}}$ belongs to *nb*);⁴⁸ also in $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{.i}} \overline{\text{ny-it.f}}$ “My *k3* belongs to his father.”⁴⁹ This pattern would also explain the apparent transposition of *k3* in $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{-nh-k3(.i)}}$,⁵⁰ which need not be read $\overline{\text{Ny-nh-k3(.i)}}$,⁵⁰ but is more probably $\overline{\text{K3(.i)-ny-nh}}$.

⁴⁰ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 359; see also pp. 339, 422–24, and cf. *Ny-nfrt-Mnw* (Edwards, *British Museum Quarterly* 16 [1951], 16 and pl. 7); *Ny-nfrt-nswt* *PNI*, 294 (17). Cf. p. 64 below, n. 147.

⁴¹ Jacquet-Gordon, *loc. cit.*; see also pp. 131, 136, 166, 226, 341; cf. nos. 12 and 13 in the foregoing list.

⁴² So Ranke, *PNI*, 64 (22). The writings of similar pattern are all to be eliminated: *PNI*, 64 (21) is discarded in Vol. II, 347, and this is listed correctly in Vol. I, 65 (2). Vol. II, 271 (6, 7) should be read $\overline{\text{Ny-nh-NN}}$; cf. *PNI*, 171 (9, 10, 13, 14), 422 (16), II, 294 (2) or, in the case of *PNI*, 271 (7), $\overline{\text{nh-NN}}$ (cf. *PNI*, 66 [19], 417 [7, 8], II, 270 [23, 24], 271 [3, 24]).

⁴³ See notes 25–31 above.

⁴⁴ Thus $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-Hnmw}}$ (Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 8, 10) is $\overline{\text{Htp-n(.i)-Hnmw}}$ (or *B3*) as shown by the more frequent writing $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-Hnmw}}$ in the same tomb chapel (*ibid.*, figs. 10, 11, 13, 14). The same two writings of the name occur, once each, in Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. 37, 38. This is correctly interpreted by Ranke in *PNI*, 258 (13), but *PNI*, 173 (5) should be read identically. The name $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-Pth}}$ is also well attested: *PNI*, 258 (14); P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés V* (Cairo 1959), no. 65; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 29; Fitzwilliam SS 77 (Málek, *BSEG* 6 [1982], 53–54); Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 68 (d 1, 6). In the index of names given by

Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, p. 652, the name $\overline{\text{Ny-htp-Pth}}$ is read on pl. 68 (d 2, 5), but this is by no means certain, and a second example (pl. 97 e) is clearly $\overline{\text{Htp-Pth}}$. The name $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-wr}}$ (pl. 74 [A]) is read $\overline{\text{Ny-htp-wr}}$, but may be $\overline{\text{Htp-n(.i)-wr}}$. An example of $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{-n(.i)-Hnmw}}$ (Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 9, read Khenemhotpe on p. 32) may similarly be $\overline{\text{Htp-n(.i)-Hnmw}}$.

⁴⁵ Notes 37–38 above.

⁴⁶ *PNI*, 180 (12, 13); Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 95 A, B; Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, p. 99 and pl. 38 c; Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 17, p. 148; CG 57192. The reading $\overline{\text{K3(.j)-nj-nbty}}$ is advocated in *PNI*, 340 (8); cf. *PNI*, 366 (referring to I, 180 [14]).

⁴⁷ Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, figs. 269, 270; Junker, *Giza II*, figs. 15, 18, 22, 24 (but $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{.j}} \overline{\text{ny-nbty}}$, figs. 18, 19); III, figs. 20, 21, 24 (but $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{.j}} \overline{\text{ny-nbty}}$, fig. 22). The reading $\overline{\text{K3(.j)-nj-nswt}}$ is advocated in *PNI*, 340 (9).

⁴⁸ Discussed in *JEA* 60 (1974), 248.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 5; also attested by Louvre E. 11161 and 25408 (Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, nos. 46, 47).

⁵⁰ As proposed by Ranke, *PNI*, 172 (7); II, 208, n. 9 (although he admits the possibility of $\overline{\text{K3(.i)-ny-nh}}$ on p. 214), and by Edel, *Alläg. Gramm. I*, § 99. This would be the only case in which *k3* is transposed in a personal name. The other exception cited by Ranke is likewise invalid: *PNI*, 341 (6); the initial $\overline{\text{N}}$ is $\overline{\text{N}}$ (Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 38b). The apparent transposition of the last two elements

The only way to reconcile an example such as $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (Westendorf's no. 11) and $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (my no. 1, from the same source) is to conclude that $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ has been moved up in the first case and moved down in the second; in other words, it properly belongs midway between the other two elements in the name.

In contrast to all the examples considered thus far, the remaining Old Kingdom name which Westendorf has put forward in defense of his interpretation, $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (his no. 9), is abundantly attested and almost invariable.⁵¹ Although it is rightly read *Ny-k3(.i)-nh*, it does not mean "Zu meinem Ka gehörig ist das Leben," however, since *nh* is a divinity, as Junker has pointed out.⁵² The correct interpretation is therefore "My *k3* belongs to *nh*." This case is particularly significant because it is one of the theophoric names in which honorific transposition does not occur, and therefore offers conclusive evidence for the pattern *Ny-x-NN*. Nor is it the only example of its kind. The name $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ ⁵³ clearly shows the same pattern, *Ny-nh-Ssi*, referring to an individual named $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$.⁵⁴

Westendorf has also, in defense of his interpretation of these names, taken up Ranke's suggestion that the name *Impy* may have derived from $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$, with which it is linked, in which case the latter should be read *Ny-Pth-k3w*.⁵⁵ Nor is Westendorf deterred by the fact that the same nickname is also linked with $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$,⁵⁶ since he takes these two names to be abbreviations of a hypothetical $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$, which he reads *Ny-Pth-šps*. The only evidence for this prototype (my no. 12) precludes this reading. It was certainly uncommon, whereas $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ occurs frequently—so frequently⁵⁷ that it can hardly be regarded as an abbreviation, but is a name of different pattern, in which *šps* is a verb rather than a noun. This difference is clearly demonstrated by $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ which are consistently distinguished from one another in the rock tombs at Meir.⁵⁸ As will be indicated presently, in section 3, the first is probably to be read *nh-Ppy* and it should not in any case be regarded as an abbreviation of the second. The same is true of *šps*, which may be an abbreviation of *šps-Pth*, but probably not of *Ny-šps-Pth*. The argument for $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ as the origin of *Impy* is actually weakened by the two cases where *Impy* is associated with other names, and

of $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 40), instead of the more usual writing $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (*PNI*, 40 [22]) exemplifies the retrograde sequence mentioned by Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 100. It is true that the title *hm-k3* consistently shows transposition in the few cases where the signs are separated; in addition to the example of $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ quoted by Edel (Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 38) one may compare $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (twice, Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 70), $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (Cairo CG 1384), $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Samml. I, Atlas*, pl. 17; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, p. 69 and pl. 14) and both $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ (Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 51 [2]). All these cases are doubtless explained by the apparent precedence of $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ in the normal composite writing of the title as $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$.

⁵¹ *PNI*, 180 (10); written $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ in Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 77 (B), but normal in pl. 22 (B). Cf. $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$, pls. 45 (A), 75 (Q).

⁵² Junker, "Der Lebendige"; this name is dealt with on

p. 178.

⁵³ So Ranke *PNI*, 172 (5); see also E. Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches* (Opladen, 1981), fig. 20; on p. 422 Ranke (*PNI*) compares $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$, but this is a Middle Kingdom name $\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}\overset{\sim}{\text{𓏏}}$ *Dhwty-nht/Nht-Dhwty*, L.P.H., as may be seen from Anthes, *Hatnub*, pl. 6a.




⁵⁴ For which see *PNI*, 320 (11).

⁵⁵ *SAK* 11 (1984), 389, referring to *PNII*, 128.

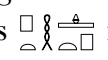
⁵⁶ Referring to *PNI*, 26 (13, where it should be noted that the first example is also combined with *šps-Pth*). For another example of the first combination see *PM III*², p. 626 and two more in the auction catalogues of Sotheby's, New York, June 8, 1984, no. 50, and *The Breitbart Collection*, June 20, 1990.

⁵⁷ *PN* 1, 326 (19); Murray, *Index*, pl. 6.

⁵⁸ *Ny-nh-Ppy*: Blackman, *Meir IV*, passim; Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, (chapel A 1). *nh-Ppy*: *ibid.*, (A 2).

,⁷² where the theophoric element *Wsrt* similarly fails to show honorific transposition. The correct reading is certainly *Ihy-n.s*, meaning “She (the mother) has an *Ihy*.” Here *Ihy* must be regarded as an exemplary son, in much the same way as a calf called  in an Old Kingdom scene: “the *Ihy* of the cattle” or “an *Ihy* for the cattle.”⁷³ The point, in this scene, is that the calf is held in a boat so as to induce its mother to go through the water, leading the rest of the herd to safety. For the interpretation of the name one may compare *Hrd-n(.i)* “I have a child”⁷⁴ and *Iw.f-n-mwt.f* “He belongs to his mother,”⁷⁵ and perhaps  *Z3-n-ít.f* “A son for his father,”⁷⁶ and Middle Kingdom *Z3-n-mwt.f* “A son for his mother.”⁷⁷

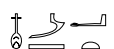
3. The avoidance of the old perfective in theophoric names

Since it is certain that the old perfective occurred in theophoric names as late as the New Kingdom and even after—notably in the royal name Amenophis (cuneiform *Amanḥatpi*)⁷⁸—it is only reasonable to assume that this form must have been even more prevalent in such names during the Old Kingdom. Thus, unless there is specific evidence to the contrary, a name such as  is generally read *Pth-htp* rather than *Htp-Pth*.⁷⁹ The Old Kingdom evidence to the contrary is so abundant, however, that it seems useful to re-examine the question.⁸⁰ To begin with, there are Old Kingdom names referring to the god *Ihy* and the goddess *M3t*, both of which fail to show honorific transposition. These names uniformly employ the predicative participle in place of the expected old perfective form:

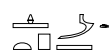
 *Mn-Ihy*⁸¹

 *Nfr-Ihy*⁸²

 *Q3-Ihy*⁸³

 *Nfr-M3t*⁸⁴

 *Nht-M3t*⁸⁵

 *Htp-M3t*⁸⁶

 *Q3-M3t*⁸⁷

⁷² *PNI*, 174 (13), citing several examples.

⁷³ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 52 and p. 114.

⁷⁴ *PNI*, 277 (15).


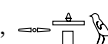
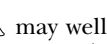
⁷⁵ To be distinguished from *iw-n.f-ít.f*, *iw-n.f-mwt.f*, for which see p. 69 below and n. 206.

⁷⁶ *PNI*, 283 (5), not explained.

⁷⁷ *PNI*, 289 (23).

⁷⁸ See Ranke, *PNII*, p. 13, where it is also noted that the cuneiform and Greek transcriptions likewise provide evidence for *Htp-Imn* (Hatpimunu, Etpemounis).

⁷⁹ This is generally the policy of Ranke; for *Pth-htp* see *PNI*, 141 (5). In *PNII*, 61, he concedes that this reading is not certainly preferable to *Htp-Pth*. Here he mentions the occasional addition of an ending *-w*, which is not, however, as clear an indication of the old perfective as he supposes; Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 573) observes that names

such as ,  may well represent *nhwy-Pth* and *Htpwy-Mn*, as it clearly does in  *Htpwy-sy*, where *-wy* is the intensive ending added to a participle.

⁸⁰ Some of this evidence is considered by Ranke in *PNII*, pp. 13, 71, and by Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 237, but its extent and implications are not fully realized.

⁸¹ *PNI*, 150 (4); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pls. 30–31 (referring to the same individual).

⁸² *PNI*, 195 (12); also Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 27, 28, 30; Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 56; Moussa and Nassar, *SAK 7* (1979), 156.

⁸³ *PNI*, 332 (9); also p. XXIX (cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 47).

⁸⁴ *PNI*, 196 (17).

⁸⁵ *PNI*, 424 (20).

⁸⁶ Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 13 (cf. *PNI*, 258 [9] M.K.).

⁸⁷ *PNI*, 332 (11).

One name referring to *Mst* is $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$,⁸⁸ and here the theophoric element seems, exceptionally, to be transposed (*Hc-Mst*), for there is no feminine ending after 𓄏 , as would be expected if the form were old perfective. Some other cases of this kind, involving feminine divinities, will be examined later.

The same pattern is attested by a number of other theophoric names of the Old Kingdom, all of which likewise fail to show honorific transposition:

$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>sh-Nbty</i> ⁸⁹	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Nbw</i> ⁹⁶
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Im-Nt</i> ⁹⁰	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Zpt</i> ⁹⁷
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Wr-Hcpy</i> ⁹¹	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Nftr</i> ⁹⁸
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Nfr-ꜥnqt</i> ⁹²	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Rc</i> ⁹⁹
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Nfr-Inpw-nb-Zh-ntr</i> ⁹³	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Hnmw</i> ¹⁰⁰
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Nfr-Sst</i> ⁹⁴	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Hnmw(?)</i> ¹⁰¹
$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Bz</i> ⁹⁵	$\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ <i>Htp-Qisy</i> ¹⁰²

In a few of these examples the theophoric element is an epithet of a kind that customarily retains its syntactical position, and is not transposed: *Nbty* “The Ombite” (Seth), *Nftr* “The Beautiful One” (Hathor?),¹⁰³ *Qisy* “The Cusite” (Ukh). *Zpt* is more difficult to explain, but it evidently refers to a divine entity or possibly to a “divinized” individual (for which see pp. 69–71 below). In the remaining cases the theophoric element would ordinarily show honorific transposition: *ꜥnqt* “Anukis,” *Inpw* “Anubis,” *Ihy*, *Bz*, *Nt* “Neith,” *Nbw* “Gold”

⁸⁸ PNI, 264 (6).

⁸⁹ PNI, 3 (2). This has been verified from a copy by Newberry in the Griffith Institute. I do not know of any other clear evidence for $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$. Ranke’s $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ (PNI, p. 181 [5]) is written $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, and the final *t* may belong to *msꜥt hrw*. The name $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ (PNI, 312 [12]) may be $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ *Zs-Šzmtt*. While $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ is regarded as a feminine epithet, designating Hathor, it would not, in the Old Kingdom, have received a feminine ending. The only alternative is to read $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ *Nbty* “Ombite” (*Wb*, II, p. 242 [6]).

⁹⁰ Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 152.

⁹¹ BM 529; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 15. Another apparently Old Kingdom name mentioning *Hcpy* is to be found in Blackman and Apter, *Meir* V, pl. 48: $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ *Dfs(.i)-Hcpy*; this should be added to the Middle Kingdom examples of Ranke, PNI, 406 (16), where *Hcpy* is sometimes honorifically transposed, sometimes not. For *Wr-Hcpy* cf. the New Kingdom names *Hcpy-ꜥz*, *Hcpy-wr* (PNI, 234 [8, 9]), but here the meaning is probably “a great Nile;” cf. PNI, pp. 375–76.

⁹² PNI, 298 (13) and M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de*

Tell Edfou (1933) (Cairo 1935), p. 25.

⁹³ Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI, pls. 6–7 (= Koefoed-Petersen, *Stèles*, no. 18).

⁹⁴ Cairo CG 17002 (Charles Kuentz, *Obélisques* [Cairo 1932], p. 9 and pl. 3).

⁹⁵ PNI, 308 (24).

⁹⁶ PNI, 258 (19); Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 145; Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, p. 24.

⁹⁷ PNI, 259 (7); the reference to Junker is *Giza* II, fig. 22.

⁹⁸ PNI, 258 (20); Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 26; also probably LD II, pl. 109.

⁹⁹ Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 76.

¹⁰⁰ PNI, 426 (27).

¹⁰¹ Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 107 and p. 238, where the divinity is taken as feminine *Hnmt*; possibly, however, the final 𓄏 belongs to *hꜥp*. Or it may feminize the entire name; cf. p. 23 above, n. 68.

¹⁰² Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, fig. 13 and pl. 13.

¹⁰³ Cf. Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (Munich 1963), p. 131.

(Hathor), *Rr* “Re,” *Hnmw* “Khnum.” To this group we may also add $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \cup \text{Htp-nb}(\cdot i)^{104}$ The apparently similar $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \cup$ ¹⁰⁵ may, on the other hand, be interpreted in a quite different way, either as “content of *ks*,” or possibly as the abbreviation of a longer name such as *Htp-ks-Rr*¹⁰⁶ and so too probably $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \cup \text{𓆏}$.¹⁰⁷ These possibilities will be given further attention presently.

The most likely case I know of in which the old perfective may occur in this group of theophoric names is $\cup \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{Nb}(\cdot i)\text{-ims}$,¹⁰⁸ but even here *nb*(*i*) may be honorifically transposed; see Excursus II.

Other indications are provided by theophoric names of the same period, usually belonging to women, in which the divinity is a goddess. In such cases one would expect the other element to display a feminine ending if the form were old perfective.¹⁰⁹ The old perfective has, in fact, sometimes been recognized in examples as $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁰ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹¹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ ¹¹² and $\text{𓆏} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹³ but none of these cases is by any means conclusive. Both $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ and $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ occur fairly frequently as writings of *htp*; examples may be found in personal names¹¹⁴ such as $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁵ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁶ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁷ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁸ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹¹⁹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ ¹²⁰ and $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹²¹ as well as in writings of *Htp-hr.s*: $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏}$,¹²² $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏}$.¹²³ If *Htp* is less frequently written $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ or $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, that is because the last two signs are in any case more rarely arranged vertically, but examples may nonetheless be found in $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏}$,¹²⁴ $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$ (quoted earlier), and $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.¹²⁵ Furthermore the writing $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ more usually follows the name of a divinity in this group of names: $\text{𓆏} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹²⁶ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹²⁷ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹²⁸ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹²⁹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁰ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³¹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.¹³² Here

¹⁰⁴ PNI, 258 (16); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 2, 3 (and 36, post-Old Kingdom). Also BM 46629 (A.W. Shorter and I.E.S. Edwards, *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins* [London 1938], pp. 23–24), where the name was subsequently revised to $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, with honorific transposition.

¹⁰⁵ PNI, 259 (19).

¹⁰⁶ So Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 105.

¹⁰⁷ PNI, 257 (27). A very clear example of such an abbreviation is *Nfr-htp*, PNI, 198 (14), which is a contraction of *Nfr-htp-NN* (PNI, 198 [16–18], 423 [29]; II, 298 [29]).

¹⁰⁸ From the unpublished false door of *Snu*, excavated by Abu Bakr at Giza. This name can hardly be interpreted as *nb-ims(t)* “possessor of graciousness;” not only is the feminine \cup missing, but there is no evidence that this phrase was used as an epithet until some time after the Old Kingdom (cf. Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie* I, p. 140).

¹⁰⁹ Junker, *Giza* II, p. 188, points out, in this connection, that a feminine name often lacks \cup if this element appears elsewhere nearby, but his examples (*ibid.*, p. 163) show that this situation occurs chiefly after *nswt*, in which the phonetic complement \cup is optional.

¹¹⁰ Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, fig. 119.

¹¹¹ Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 51; also a false door in the Metropolitan Museum, MMA 68.13: *Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*, p. 72.

¹¹² PNI, 192 (1).

¹¹³ PNI, 75 (9) (= Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 18).

¹¹⁴ Some of the evidence has already been cited by Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 11, nn. 6, 7. The same writing sometimes appears in the offering formula *htp di nswt* (*ibid.*, § 12).

¹¹⁵ For the first writing see Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 13, 15; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 19, and Hans Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 33; for the second see Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 169, and Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 73.

¹¹⁶ Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 29.

¹¹⁷ Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 72.

¹¹⁸ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9.

¹¹⁹ Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 54.

¹²⁰ Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 14.

¹²¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 14.

¹²² Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 492.

¹²³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 90–91.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 14.

¹²⁶ PNI, 308 (22), 348 (to I, 75 [9]); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 17.

¹²⁷ PNI, 258 (19); Hassan, *Giza* IV, figs. 81, 82; VI/3, fig. 129; Simpson, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.

¹²⁸ PNI, 190 (2); II, 367.

¹²⁹ PNI, 258 (23).

¹³⁰ PNI, 259 (4).

¹³¹ PNI, 259 (15).

¹³² PNI, 259 (18); reference to Junker: *Giza* II, fig. 28.

the reading is clearly *Htp-W3dt*, *Htp-Mnw*, *Htp-Nbty*, *Htp-Hth*, *Htp-Hqt*, *Htp-sht*, *Htp-Ztt* and *Htp-S3st*. I have not found a single Old Kingdom case in which this type of theophoric name shows a clearer feminine form such as $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.¹³³ Edel has noted, in his discussion of Old Kingdom personal names from Aswan, that Tomb 35 shows a woman named $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏}$, immediately followed by another named $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}} \text{𓆏}$; the second case indicates that the first does not contain the old perfective *htpti*, or it would have certainly been written like the second. He concludes that it is to be interpreted as *Htp-Ztt* + the diminutive ending *-i*.¹³⁴

In addition, the feminine ending of the old perfective is similarly missing in $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁵ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁶ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁷ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁸ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹³⁹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, (quoted earlier), $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴⁰ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴¹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴² and these are accordingly to be read *3-Hth*, *nh-Nbw*, *nh-Hth*, *Wr-Hth*, *Nfr-Hth*, *H-M3t*, *Shm-Hth*, *Šps-Hth*, and *Ndm-S3st*. There are, to be sure, some examples which are apparently comparable, and which do show a feminine ending: $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴³ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴⁴ and $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴⁵ but they are so few that one suspects that the ending applies to the entire name as a mechanical addition, as in the case of $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ *Nfr-nh-t*.¹⁴⁶ Quite possibly, however, the last two are *Nfrt-Hth*¹⁴⁷ and *Špst-Nbty*.¹⁴⁸ In three other cases of this kind, $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁴⁹ $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁵⁰ and $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$,¹⁵¹ the second element clearly precedes the name of the goddess. The first of them is probably to be read *Hzyt-Nbw* “She who is praised of Gold,” which is comparable to masculine examples such as $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ *Hzy-R*,¹⁵² and by feminine $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ *Hzyt-Pth*,¹⁵³ where the masculine name of the god precludes the old perfective. The other names are probably *Dw3t-Nbw*, *Dw3t-Hth* “She who worships Gold/Hathor,”

¹³³ And even this writing is not quite conclusive; see Ranke, *PNII*, 5 and note 9; also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 11 (1).

¹³⁴ E. Edel, *Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan II* 1/2, p. 52.

¹³⁵ *PN I*, 58 (1); *II*, p. 345; Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 144.

¹³⁶ *PN I*, 190 (14); the reference to Junker is *Giza VII*, fig. 108.

¹³⁷ *PN I*, 65 (24); *II*, p. 347, and Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 59.

¹³⁸ *PN I*, 417 (26), and Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 70.

¹³⁹ *PN I*, 198 (22).

¹⁴⁰ *PN I*, 319 (16).

¹⁴¹ *PN I*, 326 (22), and Hassan, *Giza IX*, fig. 20.

¹⁴² *PN II*, 301 (31).

¹⁴³ *PN I*, 235 (10).

¹⁴⁴ *PN I*, 235 (14).

¹⁴⁵ *PN I*, 327 (6).

¹⁴⁶ *PN I*, 195 (17); cf. Junker, “Der Lebendige,” p. 180. See also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom* (New York 1989), pp. 47–48, n. 150, and p. 23 above.

¹⁴⁷ In the Heracleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom the female retinue of Hathor received epithets such as *nfrt hkr(wt)* “most beautiful of ornaments” and *nfrt* “the beautiful ones.” *JAOS* 76 (1956), pp. 106–107 and 108, note 52. One may also compare $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ (*PN I*, 65 [6]; *II*, p. 347) and $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ (*PN I*, 202 [14]), but the latter is

clearly *Ny-nfrt-nswt*, as Ranke suggests in *PNII*, p. 370, where he quotes a masculine example from Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 91 and pl. 27; some of the feminine examples are written $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ (also to be found in *PNII*, p. 294 [17]) and $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ (Leipzig 2557). It does not seem likely that $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ is to be interpreted in the same way, however, since the other *nfrt* names of the O.K. all apply to the king (*PN I*, 202 [20–22], 203 [2]), with the exception of $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ *Nfrt-n-3t.s* (*PN I*, 202 [12]; *II*, p. 370) which may mean “a beauty (is born) to her father.” For *Nfrt-nh* see also note 165 below.

¹⁴⁸ This is, in fact, Ranke’s interpretation (*PN I*, 327 [6]): “die Haremsdame des *nb.ty* (d.i. des Königs).”

¹⁴⁹ *PN I*, 191 (26); also an offering basin in Cairo: T 19/6/46/1 (PM III², p. 293).

¹⁵⁰ *PN II*, 332 (22).

¹⁵¹ *PN I*, 398 (22).

¹⁵² *PN I*, 255 (3).

¹⁵³ *PN II*, 308 (3). Analogous epithets came into use after the Old Kingdom: $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ “praised of Hathor” (Černý, *JEA* 47 [1961] p. 7, lines 15–16); $\text{𓆎} \frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ “praised of Heqet” (Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 13). The Old Kingdom example quoted by Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, p. 21 (from Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 16) may be defective, to be read [*irt*] *hzst Hth* “who does what Hathor praises,” since *ir hzst nb.f*, etc. is well known in this period

echoing a familiar epithet of the Old Kingdom priestesses of Hathor: *dwst Hthr* or *dwst Hthr r^c nb* “who worships Hathor every day.”¹⁵⁴ Some problems are presented by other names containing *hzi* and *dwz* (which are discussed in the following excursus), but they do not affect the question at issue here. Finally there is the feminine name $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$,¹⁵⁵ which is certainly to be read *Nfrt-sdmt*. It is less certain, however, whether *sdmt* is the old perfective (“*Nfrt* is heard”) or whether it is a participle (“*Nfrt* is a listener”). And in the latter case *Nfrt* need not refer to a divinity, for the meaning may also be “A good one is one who listens,” or the like.

It is true that the old perfective is well attested in Old Kingdom names containing the element *kz*, which is not subject to honorific transposition.¹⁵⁶ But there is, in fact, so much evidence for the old perfective in these cases, compared to the demonstrated rarity of its use in theophoric names, that one immediately suspects the validity of the parallel. While $\overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ ¹⁵⁷ represents *Kz(.i)-nfr* “My *kz* is good” (old perfective), $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ ¹⁵⁸ is not *Nfr-kz(.i)* with the same meaning, but *Nfr-kz*, which is probably to be interpreted as “one who is beautiful of *kz*,”¹⁵⁹ as is shown by its apparent feminine counterpart $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Nfrt-kz*.¹⁶⁰ The same pattern is attested by $\overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ ¹⁶¹ *Kz(.i)-wsr* and (m.) $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Wsr-kz*,¹⁶² (f.) $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Wsr-t-kz*.¹⁶³ Although it is difficult to find other sets of the three variations that are as complete as these, additional evidence can be cited for comparisons such as *Kz(.i)-nfr* and *Nfr-kz*,¹⁶⁴ or for comparisons such as *Nfr-kz* and *Nfrt-kz*.¹⁶⁵ The interpretation of these names is also borne out by $\overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Kz(.i)-hnt*¹⁶⁶ “My *kz* is foremost” and (m.) $\overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Hnty-kz*,¹⁶⁷ (f.) $\overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ *Hnty-t-kz*¹⁶⁸ “One who is preeminent of *kz*,” where the verbal element is replaced by a preposition and its masculine and feminine nisba forms. It remains possible, as Junker has pointed out,¹⁶⁹ that masculine forms such as *Nfr-kz* and *Wsr-kz* may be abbreviations of longer names like

(Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie* I, p. 47 [140–46]).

¹⁵⁴ See Allam, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21, but note that his epithet “welche das Gold (i.e., Hathor) preist” is actually a personal name, one of those that are under consideration.

¹⁵⁵ Two occurrences: *PNI*, 203 (4); *II*, p. 370.

¹⁵⁶ See Ranke, *PNI*, 14, 208, and note 50 above.

¹⁵⁷ *PNI*, 340 (10) and Junker, *Giza* VII, figs. 31, 33b.

¹⁵⁸ *PNI*, p. 200 (16). The form $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ (200 [18]) probably does not indicate, as Junker argues (*Giza* IX, p. 105), the first pers. suffix, since $\overline{\text{ⲓ}}$ may simply be a terminal ending; cf. *PNI*, p. 133, where this is cited.

¹⁵⁹ So Gunn, in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 130, continuation of note 3.

¹⁶⁰ *PNI*, 203 (5); Junker’s example is *Giza* V, p. 152. Cf. also *Nfrt-kw*, *PNI*, p. 203 (6) and *ASAE* 40 (1941) p. 679.

¹⁶¹ *PNI*, 339 (5).

¹⁶² *PNI*, 86 (12).

¹⁶³ *PNI*, 86 (24) and Hassan, *Giza* IX, figs. 15–17. Cf. also *Wsr-t-kw*: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, no. 48.

¹⁶⁴ *Kz(.i)-whm* (*PNI*, 339 [3]), *Whm-kz* (*PNI*, 83 [23]); *Kz(.i)-mni* (*PNI*, 340 [2]); Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 63; Martin

Hetepka, pl. 16 [17]), *Mn-kz* (*PNI*, 150 [19]). Cf. also *Kz(.i)-nh* (*PNI*, 338 [25]) and (f.) *nh-t-kz* (next note).

¹⁶⁵ *Wsr-kz* (*PNI*, 74 [12]), *Wsr-t-kz* (*PNI*, 74 [13]); *Wr-kz* (*PNI*, 81 [26]); Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 9; VI, fig. 103; VII, p. 72), *Wrt-kz* (*PNI*, 82 [19]); *Šps-kw* (Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, fig. 41; and cf. *Šps-kz*, *PNI*, 327 [1]; Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 28), *Šps-t-kw* (*PNI*, p. 327 [7, 9], Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 6). These forms may be supplemented by some for which we do not yet have a masculine equivalent: $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ (*PNI*, 68 [18]); $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ (*PNI*, 425 [29]); $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ (*PNI*, 239 [4]; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 28). It does not seem possible to regard the feminine forms as mere “feminizations” of the masculine name, for in this case the *t* would not follow the first element but would come at the end. Junker, “Der Lebendige,” p. 180, evidently recognizes such a case in $\dagger \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ (*PNI*, 65 [6]) but Ranke is probably right in suggesting (*PNI*, p. 347) that the meaning is “die mit schönen Leben.”

¹⁶⁶ *PNI*, 340 (19); Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 11.

¹⁶⁷ *PNI*, 273 (6).

¹⁶⁸ *PNI*, 273 (13).

¹⁶⁹ Junker, *Giza* IX, pp. 105–106.

⊙𓆎𓆏 | *Nfr-k3-Rr* and ⊙𓆎𓆏 | 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 *Wsr-k3w-Rrḥr.f.*¹⁷⁰ But even if this were the case, the transcription of 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 would still be *Nfr-k3* rather than *Nfr-k3(.i)*. In contrast to the theophoric names, the *k3*-names do not seem ever to have used the latter form in place of the old perfective.

One is therefore left with the conclusion that there is extraordinarily little evidence for the old perfective in Old Kingdom theophoric names of two kinds, each of which should be expected to reveal its presence: namely those in which honorific transposition is inoperative and those in which the name of the divinity is feminine. To judge from this evidence, it was used infrequently. Thus, whenever we have to make a choice between *Nfr*-NN and NN-*nfr*; or between *Htp*-NN and NN-*htp*, we are more likely to be right if we adhere to the first alternative.

The same conclusion is probably applicable to theophoric names containing verbs of motion, although the evidence for such names is relatively sparse. At least two examples may be quoted in which the old perfective is definitely excluded: 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 *Ti-Nfrt*¹⁷¹ and 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 *Iwt-n.i-Pth*;¹⁷² but probably not 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 *Phr-nfrt*,¹⁷³ since this name does not seem to be theophoric. I know of no Old Kingdom evidence, however, that demonstrates the contrary.

¹⁷⁰ PNI, 86 (14), var. *Wsr-k3w*.

¹⁷¹ PNI, 10 (7). For *Nfrt* in another theophoric name see above, p. 62 and notes 98, 103.

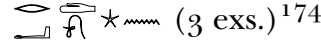
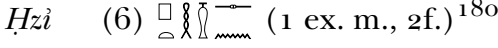

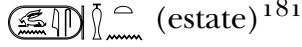
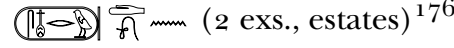
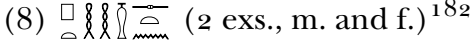
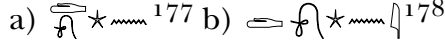
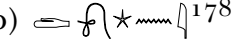
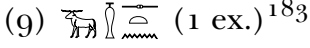


¹⁷² PNI, 138 (13). Here the old perfective is excluded by the use of the *sdm.f* form *iwt*.






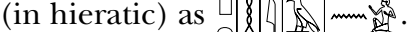
¹⁷³ PNI, 136 (5). Not to be read *Phrt-Nfrt*, as Ranke

does; the writing 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 is from ASAE 15 (1915) 227; and, as may be seen from Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14, this may be read as follows: 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏. Thus it is no different from the writing of the same name on the plate following. The meaning of the name is discussed in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston 1996), forthcoming.

Excursus I: *hzi* and *dw3*

The Old Kingdom theophoric names containing *hzi* and *dw3* show some curious similarities, given the fact that these verbs involve a quite different relationship between men and the gods: *hzi* refers to praise, in the sense of commendation of someone, by the gods; *dw3* to praise, in the sense of worship by someone, of the gods. Hence names of the type *Dw3*-NN, *Dw3t*-NN and *Hzi*-NN, *Hzzt*-NN evidently mean “He/she who worships NN” and “He/she who is praised of NN,” as noted earlier. In addition to these forms there are several that pose problems:

<i>Dw3</i>	(1)  (3 exs.) ¹⁷⁴	<i>Hzi</i>	(6)  (1 ex. m., 2f.) ¹⁸⁰
	(2)  ¹⁷⁵		(7)  (estate) ¹⁸¹
	(3)  (2 exs., estates) ¹⁷⁶		(8)  (2 exs., m. and f.) ¹⁸²
	(4) a)  ¹⁷⁷ b)  ¹⁷⁸		(9)  (1 ex.) ¹⁸³
	(5)  (m.) ¹⁷⁹		(10)  (m.) ¹⁸⁴

It is tempting to explain most of these two series of problematic names as *Ny-dw3*-NN (nos. 1–3) “Worship belongs to NN” and *Ny-hzt*-NN (nos. 7–9) “Praise belongs to NN,”¹⁸⁵ although the meaning of *hzt* becomes rather forced; *dw3* would be worship that NN receives, whereas *hzt* would be praise that NN possesses in order to dispense it. In any case this interpretation is excluded by the fact that the sign  is placed at the end without exception; if it were correct, one should expect  to precede *dw3* and *hzt* in some of the examples—and indeed in most of them.¹⁸⁶ The same is true of a closely related masculine name which is known from three sources—once as , where the position of  is ambiguous,¹⁸⁷ once, more clearly, as ,¹⁸⁸ and once (in hieratic) as .¹⁸⁹

¹⁷⁴ *PNI*, 398 (17), and II, p. 400, citing Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 348–50 (Cairo CG 1511); *ibid.*, pp. 445–46 (same person); Reisner G 5110, G 7530.

¹⁷⁵ *PN* 1, 398 (18), citing *LD* II, 82 (a).

¹⁷⁶ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 131 (30), 136 (95), 115, n. 4 (=Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, p. 105).

¹⁷⁷ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 316 (4).

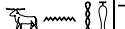
¹⁷⁸ *PNI*, 398 (16), citing Berlin 1108 (E, 2).

¹⁷⁹ *PN* II, 332 (23), citing BM 1324 (=James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 10).


¹⁸⁰ *PNI*, 254 (23), citing Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 269 (m); Berlin 7969 (f); Cairo CG 1466 (f).

¹⁸¹ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 180 (107).


¹⁸² *PNI*, 426 (22), II, 308 (4), citing Borchardt, *Grabd. Ne-user-Re*, pp. 74, 82 (same man); also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, p. 35 (51) and fig. 11.

¹⁸³ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 65 (23, 42); the example of  on pl. 45



(A) is highly doubtful.



¹⁸⁴ Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, fig. 144. The expected form  is also attested (*PNI*, 254 [14]).

¹⁸⁵ Nos. 3, 4 a, and 7 are understood thus by Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 465; so also Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, p. 652, in respect to no. 9.

¹⁸⁶ As in  *Ny-hwt-Pth* (masc.): *PNI*, 173 (6).

¹⁸⁷ Steindorff, in Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig 1912), fig. 166. Not recorded by Ranke, but in *PM* III², p. 292, it is read Niaptah.

¹⁸⁸ Louvre E 25508 (Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 32, 128 [read Iouenptah], 143); in this example  seems to have replaced a mistaken .

¹⁸⁹ Thus in Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 64 (A). In *Archives* II, p. 690, Posener-Kriéger omits the terminal , but it is evidently present as well as . As she notes on p. 648, the name *Isw-Pth* is also known (*PNI*, 6 [9]).

Ranke initially thought that nos. 1–3 contained an imperative: *Dw3-n(.i)-NN* “Pray NN for me!,”¹⁹⁰ while no. 4 would be an abbreviation of the same: *Dw3-n(.i)* “Pray for me.” This interpretation was abandoned in the second volume of *Personennamen* in favor of *Dw3-n-NN* “worshiper of NN.”¹⁹¹ He recognizes, however, that no. 4 does not suit this interpretation.¹⁹² Furthermore the location of $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m}$ again presents a difficulty, although it is not quite so serious as the one that has just been mentioned: at least one or two examples of nos. 1–3 might be expected to show the “graphic transposition of the indirect genitive.”¹⁹³ It therefore seems safer to return to Ranke’s earlier solution, even though there is little further evidence of the imperative in Old Kingdom names.¹⁹⁴ If the feminine ending of no. 5 is not an error, this name might be explained as *dw3-ti-Snfrw* “Sneferu is worshiped” or “May Sneferu be worshiped.”

The series containing the verb *hzi* is even more perplexing. If nos. 7–9 are not *Ny-hzt-NN*, the only reasonable alternative is the relative form: *Hzt-n-NN* “One whom NN has praised,”¹⁹⁵ with the masculine equivalent represented by no. 6. But the gender of these forms is oddly at variance with that of the persons to whom it is applied. The apparently masculine form of no. 6 is known for two women and one man, while the apparently feminine form (nos. 8–9) is conversely known for two men and one woman. No. 7 is excluded from the comparison because it is the name of an estate. The problem cannot be explained away as scribal error, for if one compares examples of the relative form in names containing the verb *hwi* “protect,” there is hardly a single instance in which the feminine ending is inappropriately appended or omitted, and this despite the fact that these names are of much more frequent occurrence.¹⁹⁶ An isolated occurrence of $\square \overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$,¹⁹⁷ referring to a man, suggests that the two masculine examples of nos. 8 and 9 might possibly be read *Ny-hzt-NN*. But this does not explain the two cases where no. 6 is applied to women. The incorrect omission of the feminine ending is more understandable, to be sure, than its appearance in masculine names, but this omission occurs only rarely in other names.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁰ *PNI*, 398 (17, 18).

¹⁹¹ *PNII*, p. 400 (referring to I, 398 [12 and 17–20]).

¹⁹² *Ibid.* (referring to *PNI*, 398 [17]).

¹⁹³ *JARCE* 3 (1964), 123–24.

¹⁹⁴ *PNII*, p. 40, gives no examples, but one is to be found in $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ *Mi-n(.i)-Sbk* “come to me Sobek” (Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel Auktion 49 [June 27, 1974], no. 19). And perhaps also in $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ “bring counsel” (*PNI*, 415 [4]); $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ *im-n(.i)-ib(.i)* “give me my heart” (*PNII*, 293 [29], rather than *Ny-ib-im*).

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *PNI*, 254 (23) and II, p. 378.

¹⁹⁶ *PNI*, 266 (18–25), 267 (1); II, 309 (28–29), 310 (1); for feminine examples see *PNI*, 267 (21–22, 25) (the last two in Junker, *Giza* VI, pl. 16a and Simpson, *Western*

Cemetery, fig. 31); *PNII*, 427 (7); also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, p. 35 and pl. 72; Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 234 and pl. VI (b).

¹⁹⁷ *PNI*, 173 (c), referring to LD II, 53 (a).

¹⁹⁸ Ranke (*PNII*, p. 3 and n. 7) cites three Old Kingdom examples that lack the feminine ending: *Ndm-ib* (*PNI*, 215 [19], and Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 12); *Nfr* (*PNI*, 194 [1]); *Wsr* (*PNI*, 85 [6]). Note also fem. $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ (CG 1592; the masc. form is common: *PNI*, 254 [28]) and fem. $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ (*PNI*, 421 [14], II, 403, and p. 70 below). More surprising is fem. $\overline{\text{m}}\text{m} \overline{\text{h}}\text{w} \overline{\text{t}}\text{m}$ (*PNI*, 17 [6], where masc. examples are also given); this may be an abbreviation of *Ny-nh-If*, for which again see p. 70 below.

Excursus II: Some exceptional transpositions

In *PNII*, p. 15, Ranke argues that $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ ¹⁹⁹ and $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ ²⁰⁰ do not show honorific transposition of the word $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}$ “father,” but are to be read *it(.i)-nh-n(.i)/n.f*. But, as he himself notes on p. 347 of the same volume, the first of these names is a misreading of the other, and the two references are identical. In the same place he also observes that this name is written $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ on a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga ed-Deir.²⁰¹ It is therefore highly probable that $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}$ is indeed transposed in the other case, which is accordingly to be read *nh-n.f-it.f*.

In the same discussion Ranke notes that the feminine name $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ ²⁰² does show honorific transposition of the same element in *Mryt-it.s*, but points out that the transposition is more understandable in this case since, in this variant of the usual writing $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$, the woman in question is a “king’s daughter;”²⁰³ she is actually his granddaughter, through her mother, but there is nonetheless a motivation for according the word “father/ancestor” special respect. This is less clearly true of the second occurrence of the same variant, where the preceding title is only $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}$, but the woman’s mother is again a “king’s daughter.”²⁰⁴ No such connection can be seen, however, in another case, not noted in *PN*, where a woman is $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$.²⁰⁵ This corresponds to Middle Kingdom $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ ²⁰⁶ and is to be read *iw-n.s-it.s* “Her father belongs to her.” Perhaps one should conclude that the transposition of $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}$ originated in situations where it referred to the king, but was secondarily applied in some cases where it did not.

The word *nb* is seldom transposed in names of the Old Kingdom. One exceptional example has already been noted,²⁰⁷ and another occurs in $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}$,²⁰⁸ which is probably to be understood as *nh-n.f-nb(.i)*, “my lord lives for him,” on the pattern of $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ “Anubis lives for him.”²⁰⁹ Yet another may be found in $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆎}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}$ *Ny-k3(.i)-nbt(.i)* “My *k3* belongs to my mistress.”²¹⁰

Given the paucity of evidence that can be firmly dated to the Old Kingdom, it is difficult to say to what extent honorific transposition was applied to names of theophoric pattern that refer neither to a king nor a divinity, but involve the so-called deification of a non-royal person. To the best of my knowledge, there are scarcely more than five indisputable cases

¹⁹⁹ *PNI*, 64 (21).

²⁰⁰ *PNI*, 65 (2).

²⁰¹ Two examples are cited from the source, but only the first of these is valid.

²⁰² *PNII*, 362, referring to *PNI*, 158 (18).

²⁰³ Her name does not show the same transposition in her father’s tomb, where the title *zst-nswt* evidently does not precede it (Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pp. 93, 163 [inscr. 120]). For other examples lacking transpositions see *PM III*², pp. 82, 124, 143, 145, 146, 149, 185, 200.

²⁰⁴ Junker, *Giza I*, fig. 63, p. 252; cf. p. 254.

²⁰⁵ Kamal, *ASAE* 9 (1908), 90; this belongs to another

fragment of the same false door (Hassan, *Giza IX*, fig. 35), as noted in *PM III*², p. 274.

²⁰⁶ *PNI*, 13 (24) and II, 338 (corrected). Cf. $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ *iw-n.f-it.f* (*Mereruka I*, pl. 99 [5]) and $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ *iw-n.f-mwt.f* (CG 1595, Heracleopolitan Period).

²⁰⁷ Note 108 above, and also note 104.

²⁰⁸ Macramallah, *Idout*, p. 11 and pl. 9, following the title *hꜣp zh*.

²⁰⁹ *PNI*, 65 (1). It seems less likely that this is to be read $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆏}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆑}}\overset{\circ}{\text{𓆒}}$ (*PNI*, 64 [26]) and II, 347.

²¹⁰ Cairo J 37718: *PM III*², p. 54.

²¹¹ *PM III*², pp. 741–42. Not in *PN*.

of this kind that can be dated to the Old Kingdom. The earliest is $\overset{\circ}{\Delta} \text{Ny-}^{\text{rnh}}\text{-Tt}$, clearly dating to the Fourth Dynasty.²¹¹ A second reference to *Tt* occurs in $\overset{\circ}{\Delta} \text{Ny-kz}(\text{i})\text{-Tt}$, of later date, perhaps the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.²¹² The third case, which belongs to the early Fifth Dynasty, is $\text{Ny-}^{\text{rnh}}\text{-Ssi}$.²¹³ As has already been noted, this refers to an individual called *Ssi*, whose name is not transposed: “Life belongs to *Ssi*.” The fourth case, dating to the Sixth Dynasty, belongs to a woman called $\text{Mry}(\text{t})\text{-Ifi}$ “Beloved of *Ifi*.”²¹⁴ The name *Ifi* is well known from other sources,²¹⁵ and it is probably to be recognized in another feminine name: $\text{Ny-}^{\text{rnh}}\text{-If}$ rather than *Iw.f-n-rnh*, which is hardly suitable for a woman.²¹⁶ It seems more than coincidental that these two names come from tomb chapels that are very nearly adjacent. The fifth case, probably dating to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, is $\text{Nb}(\text{i})\text{-pw-Mhw}$, where honorific transposition is applied to the mention of the vizier *Mhw*, whose tomb chapel was again nearby: “*Mhw* is my lord.”²¹⁷ The same veneration of an individual is perhaps to be seen in $\text{Mr-sy Th}^{\text{i}}/\text{Tt}^{\text{i}}$ ²¹⁸ and $\text{Mr-sy Th}^{\text{i}}/\text{Tt}^{\text{i}}$ ²¹⁹ *Mr-sy Thⁱ/Ttⁱ*, but *Thⁱ* may possibly be the god *Thy*, and *Ttⁱ* may conceivably refer to the king of that name; in the second case the absence of honorific transposition would be irregular, however, in the name of the king, and even more so the absence of a cartouche. Yet another possibility is $\text{D}^{\text{i}}\text{-sw-Snb}$ (rather than *Snb-dⁱ-sw*).²²⁰ It may be added that the names of funerary estates often refer to their non-royal owners, and that, in such cases, the owner’s name is again transposed; two examples have been quoted earlier (p. 58).

Some other possibilities must be discarded. Ranke’s $\text{W}^{\text{b}}\text{-Bsw}$, for example, is surely not *W^b-Bsw*, as he says, but *W^b-sw*, as Junker reads it:²²¹ “He is pure.” And the name $\text{K}^{\text{s}}(\text{i})\text{-m-Nfr-kzw}$, which might conceivably be interpreted as *Ks(i)-m-Nfr-kzw*, is equally certainly *Nfr-kzw-km* “*Nfr-kzw* the black” as Abu Bakr takes it,²²² despite the fact that one would expect *km* to be written km , as it is in other cases.²²³ There is, however, at least one further possibility that is more difficult to eliminate. It is the label Snb , which occurs in a scene from the tomb of *Snb*, showing men paddling a series of three boats.²²⁴ The label is one of four

²¹² Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, Sales Catalogue, *Egyptian, Classical, and Near Eastern Antiquities*, June 10–11, 1983, no. 35; Ghalioungui, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 31–32 and pl. 10.

²¹³ See above, note 53.

²¹⁴ *PNI*, 421 (14); II, 403, referring to Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 210.

²¹⁵ *PNI*, 24 (22). Also Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, fig. 220.

²¹⁶ *PNI*, 414 (19); II, 402, referring to Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 193. Not, apparently, related to fem. *Iw.f-n.i* (p. 23 above, comment 1).

²¹⁷ Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 244. For the identification of *Mhw* see also *JARCE* 4 (1965), 51.

²¹⁸ Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 33, 35.

²¹⁹ *PNI*, 291 (4).

²²⁰ Ranke, *PNI*, 313 (22), and p. XXIX, who assumes


that the second transliteration is correct; similarly Junker, *Giza* II, p. 167, who reads *Snb-rdj-sw*, without discussion. For the common name *Snb* see *PNI*, 312 (15); II, 387.

²²¹ *PNI*, 417 (22), correcting the reference to Junker, *Giza* II, p. 167.


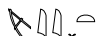
²²² Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 54, p. 77; in n. 1 Abu Bakr notes that the epithet distinguishes two sons who have the same name. For the hypothetical reading one might compare $\text{K}^{\text{s}}(\text{i})\text{-m-Nfr-kzw}$ in *PNI*, p. 339 (21), but this name is apparently to be deleted; it does not appear in the final index of names in Junker, *Giza* XII.




²²³ *PNI*, p. 11; all the references given in Ranke’s n. 21 are so written (the last should be *PNI*, 149 [20]).

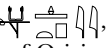
²²⁴ Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 16, discussed on p. 66.

designations, the other three of which are apparently place-names, perhaps referring to the destination or provenance of the boats. The fourth label can hardly be explained in the same way, if only because the boat in question is already designated, and so the additional designation may name the first boatman. Junker hesitantly suggests reading *Z-n-htp-k3*, referring to a divinity named *Htp-k3*;²²⁵ *Htp-k3(.i)* is also known as a personal name in the Old Kingdom.²²⁶ As he also observes, however, one would expect *Z-n* to be written ; it is normally so written in names of the Old Kingdom including another name from the same tomb (added at a later date).²²⁷

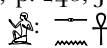
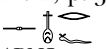
Excursus III: Two names mentioning Horus

To the best of my knowledge only two examples of the name  have come to light. Ranke read one of them²²⁸ as *ht-nt* (with a query), but subsequently wondered if it might be feminine,²²⁹ comparing the other example,²³⁰ which he had read as *ni.t-ht(w)*. This reading cannot be correct, however, since both occurrences are masculine. The confusion is probably due to the epithet  which precedes the first example; this is not *mry.t.f* “his beloved,” but *mry.it.f* “beloved of his father.” The individual in question is the son of a king, presumably Redjedef, and it is to him that the epithet refers. The correct reading is probably *Ny-it(.i)-Hr*²³¹ “my father belongs to Horus,” which may be compared to *Ny-sw-Hr* “he belongs to Horus.”²³²

The second name is not recorded by Ranke. It occurs repeatedly beneath each item in a fragmentary list of offerings at Vienna,²³³ thus: . The first sign is to be understood as the preposition “to,” and the remainder is to be read *Hr-h(wi).f*. The closest parallel is  which occurs in precisely the same context, repeatedly following  at the bottom of a list of offerings.²³⁴ The meaning is “Horus smites” and “My *k3* smites,” or “Horus/my *k3*

²²⁵ Cf. , known from the Middle Kingdom as an epithet of Osiris (Blackman and Apted, *Meir* VI, pl. 18 and p. 18, n. 2).




²²⁶ *PNI*, 259 (19); II, p. 380.

²²⁷ As pointed out in *JEA* 60 (1974), 248. In a later volume, *Giza* XI, p. 240, Junker produces an example that fails to show , which he reads *Z-n-nb*; cf. Junker, “Der Lebendige,” p. 171. This is more probably to be read *Ny-nb-Mn* (*PNI*, p. 171 [12]), and the entry in *PN* II, p. 311 (23) should accordingly be deleted. So too  (Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 59), which is *Nfr-Mnw* (*PNI*, 152 [5]); cf. *Orientalia* 60 (1991), 296–97.

²²⁸ See *PM* III², p. 3, where the name is read Harnit. The inscribed base of the fragmentary scribal statue, formerly T 5/11/24/16, is now CG 57013; the number of the fragmentary offering table (*ibid.*, p. 10) is unknown. The base of the statue is published by A. Moret and Dia Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* III (Cairo, 1978).


²²⁹ *PNI*, 249 (6), II, 378.


²³⁰ *Mereruka* II, pl. 167.

²³¹ For the writing of “father” cf.  *iw-n.s.it.s* quoted on p. 69 above, with note 205. Possibly, however, this word is *ity* “master,” as in , Hassan, *Giza* V, figs. 119–35, more usually written  or the like (*PNI*, 49 [26]).

²³² Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 27.

²³³ W. Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien* (Leipzig 1906), pp. 1–2. For the name see also *PNI*, 340 (15) and II, 392.


²³⁴ Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 33. Cf. CG 1485 and Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17, for which see also Málek in *BSEG* 6 (1982), p. 62; here the name, preceded by  again follows each item in the list, as also in Wild, *Ti* III, pls. 157, 158, and P. de Bourget, *Mélanges Maspero* IV (*MIFAO* 66 [1961]), 11 and pls. 1–5. For later examples, where the repeated name is introduced by the epithet “Osiris,” see *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37, n. 2.

is one who smites," on the pattern of the priestly title *z3 mr:f* "loving son."²³⁵ In the present case the signs are curiously framed by the other four signs, and it is doubtless for the sake of this arrangement that *h(wi)* is written so briefly. The same writing is, however, attested on a statue of  from Saqqara,²³⁶ and a false door at Abu Roash.²³⁷


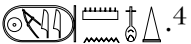
²³⁵ See p. 157 below.

²³⁶ *PNI*, 340 (15): Cairo CG 268.

²³⁷ F. Bisson de la Roque, *Abou-Roach* (Cairo 1924),

p. 58 and pl. 33. Elsewhere in the text the name is mistakenly transcribed as , and this error is repeated by Ranke, *PNI*, 256 (26) and *PM III*², p. 5.

6. On the Interpretation of Names of Pyramids

While there seems to be a well-established consensus as to how the names of Old Kingdom pyramids are to be read and interpreted, this matter—like the reading of many personal names of the Old Kingdom—cannot be taken for granted. At least one challenge to the accepted reading was offered almost thirty years ago by John Bennett,¹ but it has not, to my knowledge, been conclusively endorsed² or refuted.³ Bennett argues that since the names of kings were sometimes omitted from the names of their pyramids, it follows that an example such as  means “Pepy I’s pyramid, the enduring and beautiful.” In other words, *mn-nfr* represents a pair of masculine participles and not, as customarily thought, the old perfective (“Pepy Abides and is Beautiful”). A further argument that Bennett might have brought forward in support of his idea is the fact that the reference to the king may employ either the nomen or prenomen: thus the example that has just been cited may take the form .

The omission of the royal name might, however, be explained with equal plausibility as an abbreviation. Egyptian personal names at all periods were frequently reduced to hypocoristica,⁵ and toponyms were similarly curtailed, one of the most striking examples being *Hwt-shm-Hprkꜣrꜣ-mꜣ-hrw* “The Mansion Kheperkare (Justified)-is-Powerful,” which was soon shortened to *Hwt-shm* and finally *Hw(t)*, the modern Hu.⁶ This case is particularly apt because the abbreviation took place by the Thirteenth Dynasty, if not earlier, and the only valid examples that Bennett cites for pyramid names are those mentioned in the Middle Kingdom tale of Sinuhe. *Mn-nfr* “Memphis,” which he also cites, is not known to have been used until the Middle Kingdom,⁷ although it was applied to the pyramid somewhat earlier,⁸

¹ *JEA* 52 (1966), 174–76. A supplement appears in *JEA* 55 (1969), 216, but does not contribute to the argument.

² It has apparently influenced some of the translations in Ward’s *Index*, but is not applied consistently; cf. my comment in *Titles*, p. 60 (641, 878, etc.).

³ Goedicke, *BiOr* 37 (1980), 316–17, offers a negative opinion, but no discussion.

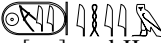


⁴ *Mryrꜣ*: Cairo CG 1404, 1431, 1438, 1522, 1574. *Ppy*: CG 1406, 1407, 1579, 1730.


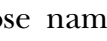

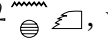
⁵ *PNII*, 95 ff.




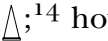

⁶ *JARCE* 1 (1962), 15 and n. 61.


⁷ See Gomaà, *Besiedlung* II, p. 8.

⁸ In the name  (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 27)

which is probably to be compared with the equally puzzling name  (*Urk.* I, p. 209 [15]; compare *PN I*, 44 [25] and II, 223, n. 12, 344). The last sign may be an abbreviated writing of *ṯw* “breath” although *ṯw* does not seem to be attested otherwise in personal names at so early a date: “*Mn-nfr* is my breath,” “*Thy* is the breath of *Mryrꜣ*.” Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 58 (8) suggests  in the second case, but has not taken account of the first one. Cf. also the names *ꜣḥ-Ppy-m-Mn-nfr* (*PN I*, 63 [20]) and *ꜣḥ(.i)-m-Mn-nfr* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, p. 112 [miscopied] and pl. 15), where *Mn-nfr* is again written , and in the second case it is honorifically transposed.

and his remaining example, the supposed name *Hr*, is simply another term for the pyramid and its temple.⁹ Nor can any greater significance be attached to the second consideration, the variable use of the royal nomen or prenomen, for this is likewise paralleled by personal names; compare, for example,  whose name is also written ,¹⁰ or  whose name is also written .¹¹ In both these cases, the name of the king was, of course, an integral part of the name of the official, although it is difficult to say whether both variations of the royal name were used when the personal names were spoken.

The last point is equally true of the mention of pyramids in personal names. Such cases are very rare but at least one of them is worth quoting in this connection. The name  is explained by Ranke as *nh-pjpi-m-mn-nfr* “König Phiops lebte in Memphis.”¹² In view of the fact that *mn-nfr* would necessarily, in the Old Kingdom, refer to the pyramid rather than the city Memphis, this interpretation would favor Bennett’s theory—or, in any case, would not speak against it. It seems more probable, however, that this name follows the pattern of  = *nh-m-tnnt* “Life (or *nh.i* “my life”) is in the *Tnnt*-shrine,” with the name of the pyramid replacing *Tnnt*.¹³ At the very end of the Old Kingdom, probably dating to the Eighth Dynasty, another personal name is oddly written ; however the form of  is to be interpreted, this second example even more certainly indicates that the royal name belongs to the name of the pyramid. So also does  “my *ks* is (or “is in”) *Hr-nfr-Mrrr*.”¹⁵

The best comparative evidence, of course, is to be found among other Old Kingdom names of temples and funerary estates. Bennett cites a single example of a temple designated  which he interprets as “Sahurê’s building (where) the *wrt*-crown appears in splendour.” This is more probably to be translated “The *Wrt*-crown of Sahure Appears,” and it is in any case certain that the names of royal funerary estates quite often include the name of the king; the most common examples follow the pattern *Mr-NN* (god)-*nh-NN* (king), “The God NN Desires that King NN Live,” and, *Snh-NN* (god)-*NN* (king), “The God NN Causes King NN to Live.”¹⁷ One might, to be sure, read the king’s name twice in such cases (“The Estate of King, NN named ‘The God NN Causes King NN to Live’”), but that possibility does not affect the question under consideration. In many cases these estate names are differentiated only by the names of the rulers, so that the royal name is a distinctive and essential element. The same is true of estates such as *Wr-Wnîs*, *Wr-Sshur*; *Nfr-Wnîs*, *Nfr-Rhf*, *Nfr-Hwfw*; *Hr-[Nfrk]r*, *Hr-Hwfw*,¹⁸ and all three of these

⁹ Most recently discussed by Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* I, pp. 23–24 and Goedicke, in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg 1979), pp. 142–51.

¹⁰ *Urk.* I, pp. 251–55; the variant with *Ppy* occurs on the upper architrave; compare Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 136.

¹¹ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pls. 5–40. The variant with *Mrrr* occurs on pl. 6. Similarly *nh-n-s-Ppy* (Petrie, *Abydos* II, pls. 19, 21) and *nh-n-s-Mrrr* (CG 1431, etc.).

¹² See n. 8 above.

¹³ See Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 13, and Junker, “Der Lebendige,” p. 179.

¹⁴ *PNI*, 132 (3).


¹⁵ Cairo CG 1717.

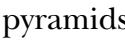

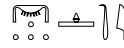
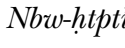

¹⁶ Citing *Urk.* I, 38.

¹⁷ See Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 462–64 and p. 470.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 465–66, 469.

repeated patterns occur in the names of pyramids—those of Chephren (*wr*), Isesi (*nfr*) and Sneferu (*h^c*). Furthermore some similar patterns are repeated in the Twelfth Dynasty, when *h^c* is likewise applied, for example, to Sesostris I, and *sh^m* is applied to Sesostris II.

Theophoric personal names provide further examples of *Wr*-NN, *Nfr*-NN and *H^c*-NN,¹⁹ and this class of evidence likewise includes parallels for the pyramid-name *H^c-bzw-Sshwr^c*, including *H^c-bzw-Pth*, *H^c-bzw-Hwth^r* and *H^c-bzw-Zkr*.²⁰ In the latter cases it is apparent that the royal name must come at the end, and the same is apparently true of the pyramid names that have generally been transcribed as *Ppy-mn-nfr*, *Ppy-mn-^cnh* and the like. These probably do not contain two old perfective forms, but rather consist of a verb + noun, the latter genitively linked with the name of the king. For this pattern one may also compare the personal name *Mn-dfj-Nfrirk^r*²¹ “The Nourishment of Neferirkare Abides,” or “May the nourishment of Neferirkare Abide.” Thus it seems preferable to read *Mn-nfr-Ppy* “The Beauty²² of Pepy Abides” and *Mn-^cnh-Ppy* “The Life of Pepy Abides.” For *Mn-nfr-Ppy* one may compare the name of a temple in an inscription of Pepy II:  *Wr-nfr-R^c* “Great is the Beauty of Re.”²³ And in the case of *Mn-^cnh-Ppy* it should be noted how much more appropriately life is attributed to the king than to his pyramid; it is true that the coffin is designated as *nb ^cnh* “possessor of life,”²⁴ but this phrase does not refer to its own longevity, but rather to the life that it encloses. It seems unlikely that, in the Old Kingdom, a building would itself be said to live or to be “abiding of life.”

These last cases raise yet another objection to Bennett’s theory, and specifically his explanation of *mn-^cnh* as a pair of masculine participles. Although the usual term for pyramid, *mr*, is in fact masculine, it was, in the Old Kingdom, personified as a female, and in one case an official of that period refers to the pyramid of his king as *hnwt(.i)* “my mistress.”²⁵ The feminine role is probably explained by the fact that the pyramid complex was regarded as a city, as in the Dahshur decree, concerning the two pyramids of Sneferu, which consistently refers to the pyramids as  “these two (pyramid) cities.”²⁶ One might compare the masculine word *nbw* “gold,” which, as an epithet of the goddess Hathor, is followed by feminine forms in personal names such as Old Kingdom  *Nbw-hntt*, and Middle Kingdom  *Nbw-htpti*,  *Nbw-h^c.s*,  *Nbw-hr-š.s*.²⁷ Thus if the name of a pyramid consisted of nothing but one or two participles, as Bennett assumes, one might well expect them to be feminine, and some further evidence for that conclusion is forthcoming from the Middle Kingdom, as will be seen presently.

¹⁹ *Wr-šhty* (PNI, 80 [14]); *Wr-Hth^r* (PNII, 274 [20]); *Nfr-Mst* (PNI, 196 [17]); *Nfr-Hth^r* (PNI, 198 [22]); *Nfr-^cnt* (PNII, 298 [13]); *H^c-Inpw* (PNI, 263 [10]).

²⁰ PNI, 263 (12–14).

²¹ For this and other estate names of the same pattern see Jaquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 462.

²² For *nfr* as a substantive, see *Wb.* II, p. 258 (11–17).


²³ Cairo CG 1747.

²⁴ *Urk.* I, 106 (15), and see also *Wb.* I, p. 199 (14), where late examples are cited.

²⁵ *Urk.* I, 106 (17), 107 (6); I follow Gardiner’s explanation (*JEA* 41 [1955] p. 121) as opposed to that of Goedicke in *WZKM* 56 (1960) pp. 52–54.

²⁶ *Urk.* I, 210 (2, 7, 17), 211 (6, 14), etc.

²⁷ PNI, 192 (5, 1, 3), 191 (23). Further evidence is provided by a psalm in Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9:

 “Gold appears in the great portal: ‘Thy (f.) power is exalted,’ says Horus.”

Bennett's explanation of the pyramid names mentioning a plurality of *swt* "places" is, I must admit, very plausible, but its plausibility is outweighed by the arguments that have just been adduced. Instead of a pyramid that is "most enduring of places," one must therefore prefer the traditional translation "The places of Merenre abide" or "May the places of Merenre abide." This may be compared with the personal name $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$, which Junker convincingly explains as *Mn-swt-ît.î-nswt* "The places of my father, the king, abide."²⁸ In such cases the "places" are probably to be regarded as the several points within the pyramid complex where offerings were made,²⁹ but may possibly refer to the entire system of funerary estates which supplied the pyramid cult.

A particularly interesting occurrence of *swt* is to be found in a title dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, which is claimed by a governor of the Heracleopolitan Nome at El Saff: $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$.³⁰ As in other titles in which a *hm-ntr* priest is associated with a pyramid, this must refer to a specific funerary cult, and the cult is apparently that of Merykare, for his pyramid is elsewhere designated as $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$, again omitting the initial element 𓆑 .³¹ The geographical and chronological context evidently sufficed to identify even so undistinctive an abbreviation as "the places."

In other cases one is faced with the more difficult choice of *Nfr-Izzi* and *Wr-R^ch^c.f*, as quoted above, or *Izzi-nfr(w)* and *R^c-h^c.f-wr(w)*. A comparison of theophoric names³² suggests that the second alternative, employing the old perfective, was not so popular as is generally assumed, and was particularly unlikely to be used in the case of an adjectival verb.³³ While the choice cannot be conclusively resolved in any specific case, the first alternative has, in general, a greater chance of being correct.

Some of the Middle Kingdom pyramid names differ significantly from the patterns established in the Old Kingdom, and notably $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$.³⁴ This is evidently "The Places of the Appearances of Amenemhet (I)" as initially suggested by Mace.³⁵ The name $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ ³⁶ is also unusual; *hnmt* looks like a feminine participle, "She Who Encompasses the Places of Khakheperre," and this case points up the absence of the ending 𓆑 in the Old Kingdom names. Such an ending is not, however, to be recognized in Bennett's listing of $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ for the pyramid of Mentuhotep II, which should be corrected to $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ "Glorious are the places of Nebhepetre," later abbreviated to $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$.³⁷

²⁸ Junker, *Giza V*, p. 188.

²⁹ For the association of *st* with provisioning see A. Varille, *Mélanges Maspero I*, pp. 557–58; Fischer, *RdE* 24 (1972) p. 70, note 2.

³⁰ Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff*, p. 26 (21) and pl. G.

³¹ J. Málek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo 1994) IV, p. 205. The context is missing, but the title at El Saff speaks against Málek's assumption that *swt* refers to more than one pyramid.

³² See Chapter 5, section 3.

³³ Cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 362 bb, who cites the case of Pyr. 658 c to show that the old perfective is at least theoretically possible. But in this exceptional case the old per-






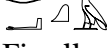
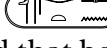
fective is used to ring a change on the expected use of participle + noun, and this is done to create the chiasmic ABBA pattern that has been favored by stylists down through the ages: $\text{𓆑} \text{rd.k, rd.k wri}$ "great is thy foot; thy foot is large."



³⁴ On foundation deposit plaques from Lisht (MMA 22.1.1015–1017); cf. those in Dieter Arnold, *Pyramid of Sesostri I* (New York 1988), fig. 37, p. 91.

³⁵ *BMMA* (Nov. 1921) p. 17. So too Helck, *LÄ V*, col. 6.

³⁶ Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. 5.

³⁷ H.R. Hall in Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple I*, p. 10; also Cairo CG 20088.




As for the pyramid of Amenemhet I, which is the point of departure for Bennett's discussion, this fully conforms to Old Kingdom tradition. It is written   on a Twelfth Dynasty stela,³⁸ but the abbreviation of it in Sinuhe (R5) is  and this supports the interpretation of  as a substantive and argues against Bennett's translation "The high and Beautiful," and against the traditional translation "Amenemhet is High and Beautiful." The correct interpretation is surely "Exalted is the Beauty of Amenemhet." While the *Wörterbuch* offers no equally early evidence for *q3* meaning "exalted" or "great,"³⁹ one may compare the Old Kingdom personal name  "Her Power is Great,"⁴⁰ and  "Great is the Might of Re," the latter perhaps dating to the Eighth Dynasty.⁴¹ Finally there is the unusual name ; here again it does not seem necessary to assume that it is the pyramid that beholds, or, as Bennett puts it, "overlooks" the Two Lands. If the name is translated "Sesostris Beholds the Two Lands," we may understand this as an allusion to the pair of *wḏst*-eyes that were carved on pyramidia of the Middle Kingdom and that, like the eyes on the coffin and offering niche, enabled the deceased to maintain contact with the external world. The pyramidion of Sesostris I has not survived, but that of Amenemhet III shows the *wḏst*-eyes,⁴² as does that of Khendjer, dating to the following dynasty.⁴³

To sum up, I think Bennett's interpretation of pyramid names is definitely to be rejected in favor of the traditional interpretation, although the latter should be modified in one significant respect: names such as  and  are not to be read *Mryrꜥ-mn(w)-nfr(w)* and *Imnmḥst-q3(w)-nfr(w)*, but *Mn-nfr(w)-Mryrꜥ* and *Q3-nfr(w)-Imnmḥst*.

³⁸ Louvre C 2: Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 44.

³⁹ *Wb.* V, p. 2 (13).

⁴⁰ *PNII*, p. 439, referring to *PNI*, 332 (10).

⁴¹ *PNI*, 332 (18), and correct the reference to Dunham's no. 68. This and the preceding case exemplify the usefulness of onomastic evidence for lexicographical purposes. Presumably the same meaning of *q3* is to be recognized in names such as  (*PNII*, 319 [28]) "Ptah is exalted,"  "Maat is exalted," and 

"*Ihy* is exalted," both cited on p. 61 above. See also the passage quoted above in note 27.



⁴² Cairo J 35133: Dieter Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III* (Mainz 1987), pl. 38. The eyes head a group of signs that are flanked by the king's names, to be understood as *ptr NN nfrw Rꜥ* "NN regards the beauty of Re."



⁴³ G. Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* (Cairo 1933), pl. 6 and fig. 17, p. 21.


7. Provincial Inscriptions of the Heracleopolitan Period

1. Stelae from Naqada

In addition to a stela in the Brooklyn Museum which Richard Fazzini has correctly attributed to Naqada,¹ there are two other monuments that might be added to the corpus I have assembled for this cemetery, the first with a reasonable degree of certainty, the second less so, owing to its ruinous condition.

The stela shown in Figure 1 has already been published by Sergio Donadoni,² and my drawing is made from his photograph. It is hardly necessary to repeat his description and comments in entirety, but a few observations may be added. First, the stela formerly belonged to the collection of Georges Michailidis in Cairo. Secondly, the name of the owner is definitely *Dꜩg* and not *Dmg* or a variant of *Dng*, as has been considered possible. And finally it should be noted that a line of text begins above the head of the deceased, terminating before the face of the woman who accompanies him:  “his wife, his beloved, *Nni*.” Her name is known from the same period at Naga ed-Deir,³ while at Naqada there is a masculine occurrence of the virtually identical .⁴

Inasmuch as the masculine name *Dꜩg* (var. *Dꜩgi*) is well known from contemporaneous stelae from Naqada,⁵ it must be considered whether the present example may have the same provenance—especially since the two writings of *Dꜩgi* show somewhat similar geometric stylizations of the ear-determinative: . Although the stela displays only one of the more salient palaeographic features of Naqada—a reversal of  that is not confined to that site⁶—the provenance seems confirmed by the style and format, and most particu-

¹ Accession no. 69.74.1, in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), p. 40 and fig. 6. The name of the owner, *ꜥnh-[n].[s]-it.s* is evidently the same as the *ꜥnh-[n].[s]-it.s* in Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 26. This provides another example of a feminine determinative like , as in nos. 39, and more particularly no. 35, which likewise shows a long wig. Note also that a Sixth Dynasty fragment from Naqada is published in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo 1994) I, pp. 181–88.

² “Due pietri egiziane dell’Università di Roma,” in *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Botti* (Rome 1967), pp. 103–105 and pl. 36.

³ Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 63; cf. Ranke, *PNI*, 205 (26), and II, 370.

⁴ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 36; *Dꜩgi*, nos. 18, 26. This name, when followed by the ear, does not seem to be attested elsewhere before the Middle Kingdom: see Ranke, *PNI*, 396 (3–4); II, 400.



⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55; cf. *JAOS* 76 (1956), 101, nn. 8–10; *BiOr* 36 (1979), 32 (g). Note also the divine determinative  with projecting arms, as in the case of the feminine determinative  in the Eighth Dynasty Coptos Decrees, and at Naqada and elsewhere: Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 82 and n. 347.

Fig. 1. Stela of *Dsg* in the University of Rome

larly by the group of offerings, including a jar filled with lotus blossoms, one of which has an odd protuberance below the central bud. It occurs on one of the stelae previously identified as having come from Naqada.⁷ In this other case the comparable jar may or may not have had a ringstand, for the bottom is missing, but it is attested on another Naqada stela.⁸ At first sight it is not clear whether the detail between the shoulder straps of the woman resembles that which is frequent at Naqada,⁹ but the apparent resemblance is due to a break in the surface, as shown in the figure. As in the case of two other Naqada stelae,¹⁰ the seam of her skirt is parted between the legs.

The more distinctive of the owner's two titles is most peculiar. Donadoni hazards the suggestion that it may represent *smsw hst* "seniore del portale," but without great conviction. The older writing of this title is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, the last sign sometimes taking the form 𓂏 ;¹¹ in the Middle Kingdom it was at least once replaced by $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (= $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$),¹² but the word

⁷ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 5, p. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 25, 32.

¹¹ *Wb. Belegstellen* II, to 476 (11), cites CG 23; to this may be added the examples given on p. 229 below, and n. 418.

¹² CG 20017, illustrated in Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 20 (where the CG nos. are transposed).

in question was not determined by a domed structure until the Graeco-Roman Period,¹³ and the detail at the top can hardly represent a dome in any case. It is true, however, that in most of the early titles where *smsw* precedes another element, that element represents a structure of some kind.¹⁴ In addition to the aforementioned $\text{𓄏} \square$, there are $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \square$ (var. $\text{𓄏} \square$) and $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \square$, written $\text{𓄏} \square$ in the late Old Kingdom and the Heraclopolitan Period.¹⁵ To these may be added $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ *smsw iz(t)* “elder of the chamber,” in which the two elements have been transposed for aesthetic reasons.¹⁶ In the present case the enigmatic sign may be the result of a correction, the title *smsw pr* “eldest of the domain,” having replaced *smsw whrt* “eldest of the dockyard.” As shown in Figure 2a, this would account for nearly all of the space within the rectangular portion; the remaining area at the center would have been so vestigial and isolated that it was readily lost along with the plaster filling of the erased signs. The reverse of this sequence of replacement (Figure 2b) is less likely, in view of the fact that there is evidently no room for \square in the assumed writing of *whrt*; if this had been the replacement, it would have been easier to erase the stroke of \square , and to have placed Δ or $\Delta \square$ above it. But the change to *smsw pr* would more understandably have required \square to be moved higher, with the addition of the stroke that generally appears in this title; two such examples have already been attested at Naqada.¹⁷ If the sign in question is not to be explained as a palimpsest revision, it is difficult to see how it can be regarded as a structure of any sort, much less one that is known from titles of the period.

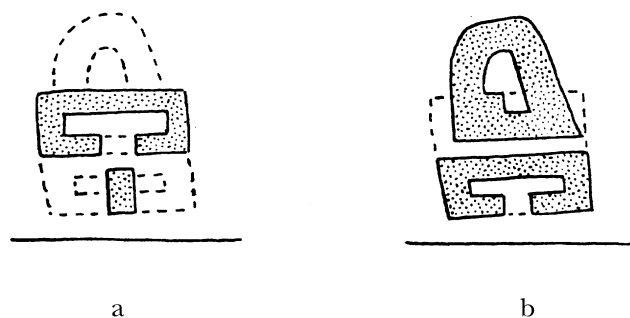


Fig. 2. Possible alterations of the problematic title

¹³ *Wb. Belegstellen* II, to 476 (6, 7).

¹⁴ The sole exception is $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ “elder of the fowlers,” which is known from two examples, both dating to the Fifth Dynasty: Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 240, and Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, p. 95, pl. 36 a, fig. 12. The supervisor of fowlers (or fishermen) is more usually $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$: Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 91; Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 123; Bissing *Gem-ni-kai* II, pl. 8; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 8; V, pl. 30; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 12; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, figs. 33–36; Moussa and Altenmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 93 and fig. 12. Also $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$: *ibid.*, pp. 96–97 and fig. 12; LD II, 105 (b); Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, pl. 13. In none of these cases is the title followed by a personal name.

¹⁵ For examples see Murray, *Index*, pl. 41, but note that $\text{𓄏} \square$ and $\text{𓄏} \square$ are actually $\text{𓄏} \square$ (for the second cf. CG 1516, belonging to the same person). And for the writings of *smsw whrt* see also Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 212; a late Old Kingdom example of the later writing of this is attested by a provincial stela illustrated in the sales catalogue of Drouot Richelieu, Paris: *Archéologie: Egyptienne et Greco-Romaine*, Dec. 1, 1993, p. 15 (111).

¹⁶ See *Wb.* I, 127 (9), where the Old and Middle Kingdom writings may be compared.

¹⁷ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 19, 20. The only examples I know of that omit the stroke are: Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 11; LD II, 74c; H. Kayser, *Uhenka*, p. 33, and perhaps Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9.

A clearer example of a contemporary *smsw whrt* is known, however, from a stela which I previously thought of including with the Naqada material, but omitted because the indications for the provenance seemed inadequate (Pl. 9 and Fig. 3).¹⁸ The figures are almost entirely obliterated, as is much of the inscription, but one can see that the dress of the woman is again parted at the bottom. The surviving traces may be translated as follows: (1) An offering that [the king] gives, and Anubis Who is Upon his [Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land] (2) that funerary offerings be invoked for the Sole Companion, the Eldest of the Dockyard^a [*M*]r[*ī*](?),^b (3) [who says]:^c “I made a boat for the Hereditary Prince and Overseer of Priests (4) NN^d He [prai]sed^e me (5) [for it] ... in the northern Head of Upper Egypt.^f (6) I came back from there in peace.^g I was one beloved of his father (7) one praised of his mother, whom [his] broth[ers] loved.”

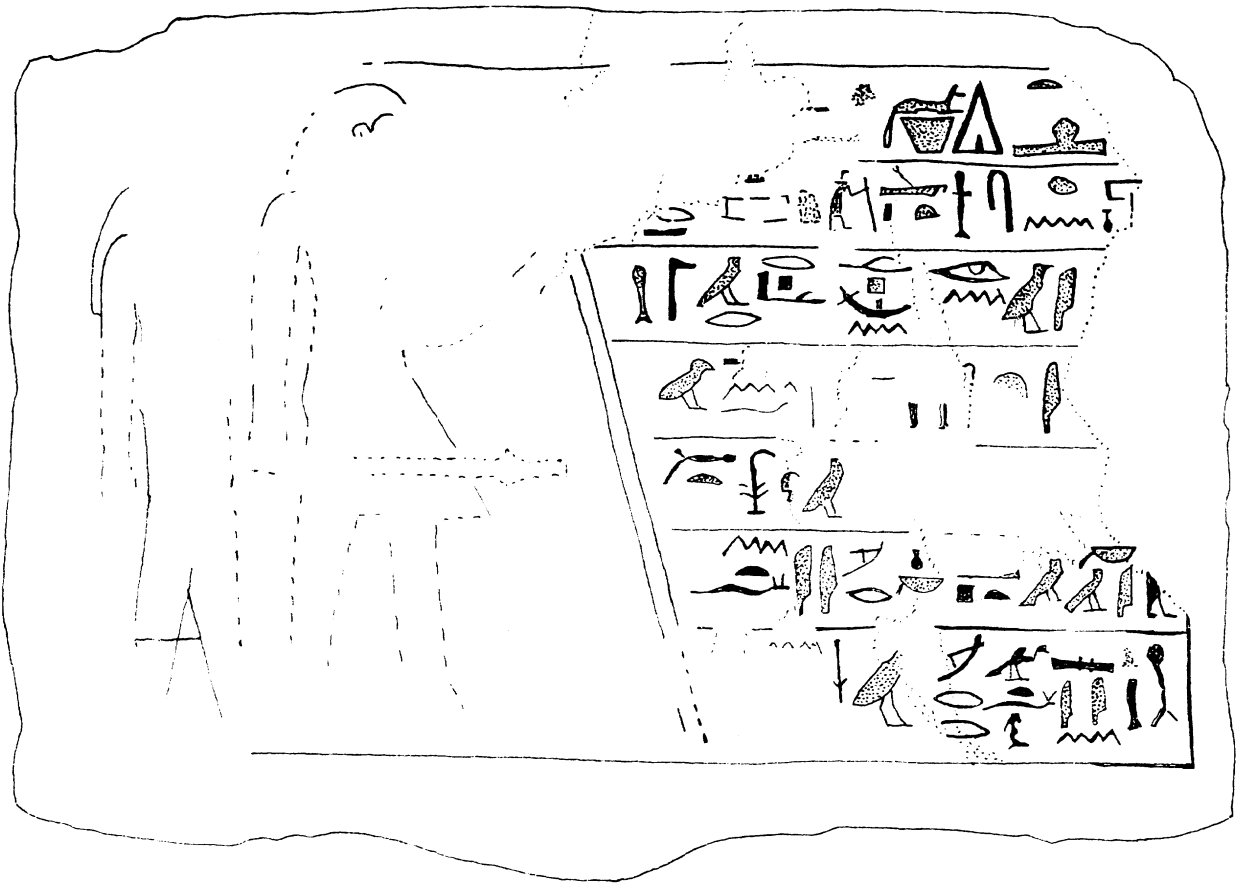


Fig. 3. Anonymous stela, Turin Suppl. 1292

¹⁸ Turin Suppl. 1292, measuring 23 x 32.5 cm. The drawing is based on a copy made from the original and from photographs provided by Ernesto Scamuzzi and

Silvio Curto. The stela is among the 1,392 antiquities that Schiaparelli acquired in Egypt during the winter of 1900–1901.

Comments: (a) The amount of space between $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ favors the presence of Δ , of which some traces seem visible. The arrangement of $\Delta\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ occurs on a stela from Akhmim (CG 1581). Furthermore, the reading of the title is also supported by the making of a boat in line 3.

(b) Cf. $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$, Ranke, *PNI*, 159 (21).

(c) There is just enough room for $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$.

(d) Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 18 and 19, belonging to two officials who performed their duties for the Hereditary Prince, Count and Overseer of Priests *Dfi*, who is again mentioned on no. 17. See also comment g below.

(e) It is difficult to identify the first sign; it could be $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ or $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ (cf. line 7), and $[h]z.n.f$ $w(.i)$ $[hr.s]$ is in fact the likeliest restoration.

(f) The sign $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ seems certain from a close examination of the original, although I do not know of an equally early reference to the “Head of Upper Egypt” that does not occur in a title or epithet. In the present case, however, it is evidently defined as “northern,” and this must be correct, rather than “the head of Upper Egypt and the North” because a fairly well-defined area is indicated by the statement “I returned from there in peace.” This area must have been in the region of the Thinite Nome. The sign $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ (with a base) is, in any case, to be read $\check{S}m\epsilon w$, as in the inscription of *Hr-hw.f* at Aswan; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 43 (1957), 6 f. The same reading is likewise favored by other Old Kingdom examples at Aswan, as I have noted in *Dendera*, p. 68, n. 276; also in Dyn. XII: Annie Gasse, *BIFAO* 88 [1988], p. 94, fig. 1, and Habachi, *Heqaib*, p. 29 f. and fig. 3 a. Evidently there were two terms for the southern nomes, *Tp-Šmεw* and *Tp-rs*, a possibility that Gardiner concedes (*ibid.*, p. 8), although he favors the latter alone.

(g) This phrase is applied to the successful accomplishment of missions; cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 16, referring to a mission (*wpt*) performed for the Overseer of Priests *Wsr*, which similarly concludes with *ii.kwi m htp*.

2. Words and weapons at Thebes

As Edel has already suspected,¹⁹ the fragmentary inscription known as Florence 7595 is more intact than Bosticco realised when he published it.²⁰ Moreover it virtually completes the upper part of a stela in Strasbourg, which is of considerable historical interest because it mentions an *In-it.f* who held the title “Great Overlord of Upper Egypt” (Fig. 4).²¹ The stela belongs to a subordinate of the same name, whose name is evidently repeated at the end of the fragment in Florence. He and his wife are represented in deep but rather flat

¹⁹ ZÄS 85 (1960), 83.

²⁰ Bosticco, *Stele* I, p. 31, fig 26.

²¹ Collection de l'Université 345; Spiegelberg-Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine* I, pl. 11 (18); Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*,

§ 11. I am indebted to Prof. Jean Leclant for a rubbing that has enabled me to draw this portion of the stela with considerable accuracy, and to Dr. Maria Cristina Guidotti for a rubbing and photograph of the lower fragment.

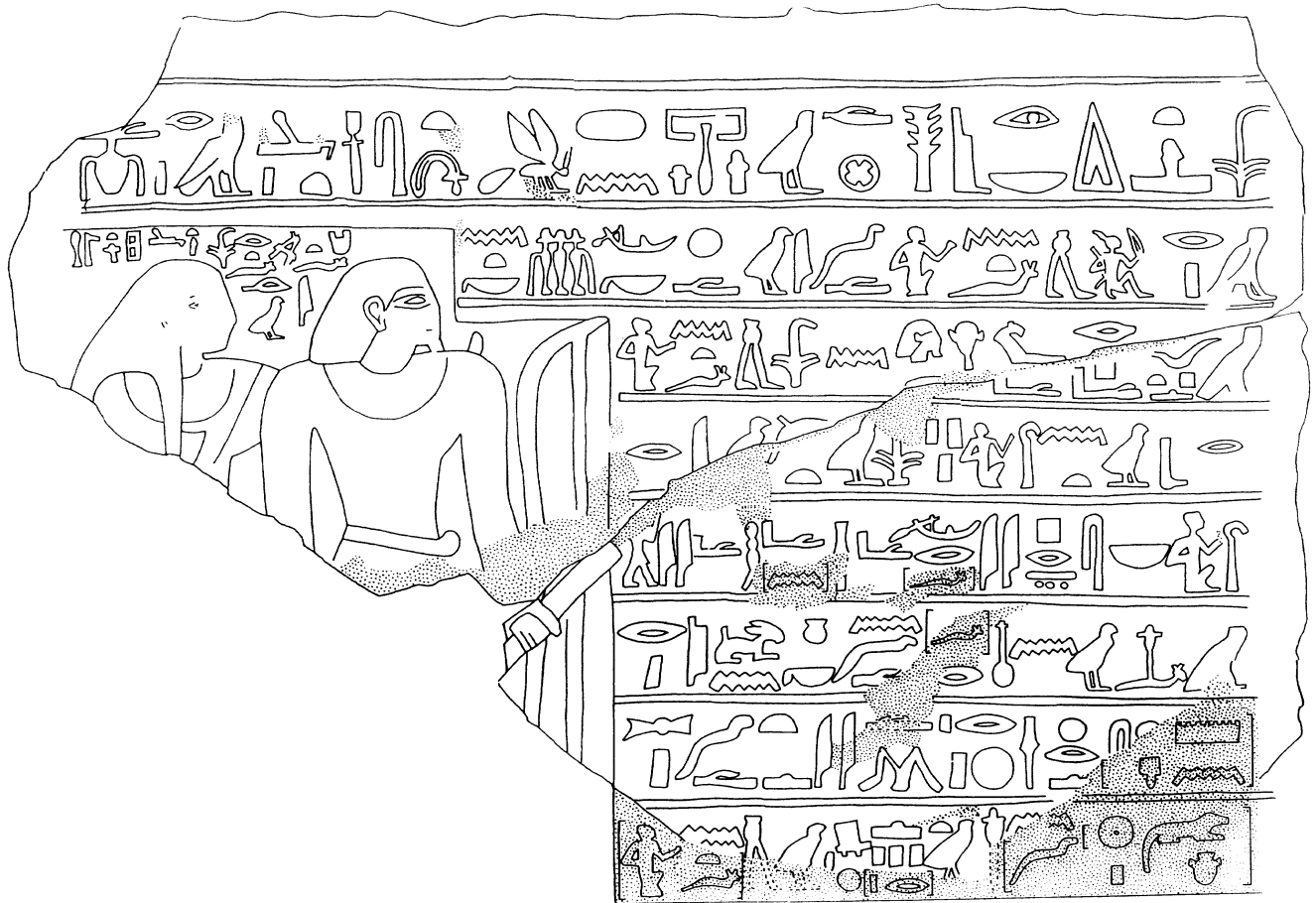


Fig. 4. Stela of *In-It.f*, combining Strasbourg 345 and Florence 7595

relief within a recessed area that is well-defined, whereas the incised inscription, above and to the right of this area, lacks a vertical border on either side.²² It is the lack of such a border that has previously made it difficult to determine how much was missing at the right edge of the lower fragment.

Both fragments show that the owner holds a bow, but on the fragment in Florence it may be seen that the same hand also holds a sheaf of arrows.²³ The initial titles of the great over-

²² So also many other Dyn. XI stelae of somewhat later date: e.g., Cairo CG 20007, 20505, 20512, 20514; BM 614 (Blackman, *JEA* 17 [1931], pl. 8); MMA 13.182.3 (Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 90); Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 8.

²³ Stelae from Gebelein generally show the bow and arrows together, but held with both hands (*Kush* 9 [1961], 57, 60 and pls. 11–13). Here and elsewhere the bow is also carried in one hand, the arrows in another: for Gebelein see BM 1671 (Polotsky, *JEA* 16 [1930], pl. 29, where the son holds the weapons) and a fragment from the Rustafjaell Collection (Sotheby Catalogue, Dec. 19–21, 1906, pl. 9 [5]); for Naqada see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 16, 27, 36–41, as well as 30, 31; also the Theban stela MMA 20.2.29 (Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 280 and fig. 183), MMA

26.3.316 (*ibid.*, p. 330). BM 647 (n. 25 below) is so similar to MMA 20.2.29 that it too probably comes from Thebes. Dendera has yielded only a single stela with the same motif (a fragment, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, 29-66-800), as has Abydos (H.W. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 [1933], 187). The motif is scarcely known from Twelfth Dynasty stelae; the only one known to me is Berlin 22820 (*ibid.*, pl. 33 [2] and Anthes, *ZÄS* 65 [1930], 108 ff.); this late a date is indicated by 𓂏 for *imy-r* and 𓂏 instead of 𓂏 ; the provenance is said to be Qamula, in the Coptite Nome, and it might be regarded as a survival of earlier tradition, although the weapons are well suited to the owner's functions.

lord are completed by the lower fragment at precisely the right point, and in line 4 the two fragments both show traces of the sign $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. The lack of detail in the wigs and clothing of the man and wife corresponds to the style of the hieroglyphs, and notably \circ (for \ominus) and $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. The shoulder-straps of the wife seem to show a peculiarity mentioned earlier, which is known not only from Thebes, the presumed provenance of the stela, but from other sites throughout the southernmost nomes,²⁴ to judge from the inner contour of the strap that is visible. The form of the man's kilt is uncertain; the sheaf of arrows hardly leaves sufficient room for the projecting kilt of traditional form. If the arrows did not overlap the kilt, it must have been the close-fitting $\overline{\text{šndt}}$, which occurs on a few other stelae of this period, including one belonging to another general.²⁵ For the same reason I doubt that the other hand held a scepter or an axe.²⁶

Brief as it is, the autobiographical text is not without problems, and it is ironic that these problems arise most particularly from the union of the two fragments. They will be examined in the comments appended to the following translation, which accepts the text as it is, without emendation: (1) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that funerary offerings go forth to the Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Companion, the Overseer of Foreign Mercenaries,^a (2) the Overseer of the Army *In-it.f*, who says: I went downstream and upstream^b (3) on a mission for the Hereditary Prince, Count, Great Overlord of Upper Egypt^c *In-it.f* (4) to the place^d to which^e the chiefs^f of Upper and Lower Egypt^g (were going). (5) Every chief, having arrived there,^h then rejoicedⁱ (6) on meeting me,^j because I was good of speech. I am one who is outspoken^k (7) [and is efficient^l of] counsel, commanding of voice^m on the day of assembling,ⁿ who declares a statement.^o (8) [being self-collected^p on the day of] conference,^q the revered *In-[it.f]*.^r

Comments: (a) For this title see Lanny Bell, *Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians* (University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1976).

(b) "I went downstream and upstream" is difficult to reconcile with a single destination unless it means a round trip. From the following dynasty there is, in fact, evidence that $\overline{\text{šm}}$ and $\overline{\text{iw}}$, "going" and "coming," were used in this fashion; a Twelfth Dynasty inscription at one of the turquoise mines of Sinai speaks of $\overline{\text{šm iy nb r st tn}}$ "every going and coming to this place." (Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, pl. 17 [53] and p. 80). And if "upstream" were literally taken to mean a trip south of Thebes, this mission would be rather different from one made downstream. The nomes that lay upstream must already have come under control of

²⁴ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 52–53 and fig. 52.

²⁵ There is little to add to the evidence presented in *Kush* 9 (1961), 67, n. 52. For Boston MFA 04.1851 see E. Brovarski, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago 1976), 37–41 and fig. 11; he thinks this may come from Gebelein, but concedes (n. 36) that the palaeographic features favor Thebes. BM 647 is most accurately presented by James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 35 [2] and Florence 7588, from Gebelein, is illustrated by Bosticco, *Stele I*,

no. 12. Yet another example from Gebelein is to be recognized in the fragment from the Rustafjaell Collection (note 23 above). There is also a fragmentary example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. 1248, of unknown provenance.

²⁶ Cf. the examples shown by W.V. Davies, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum VII, Tools and Weapons I: Axes* (London 1987), pls. 38 (2), 41 (1–2).

the Great Overlord of Upper Egypt since he presumably assumed this title after his Theban-Coptite coalition had broken the resistance of U.E. Nomes 1–3, which had hitherto prevailed under the leadership of *ḥnty.fy* of Mo^oalla.²⁷

(c) Not simply “nomarch of Thebes,” as Bell says (*ibid.*, n. 1036), following Clère-Vandier (n. 21 above) and not “Great Overlord of the King,” as Eric Doret translates in *The Narrative Verbal System* (Geneva 1986), p. 146 (ex. 253). The title “Great Overlord of the King” is indeed attested twice at Aswan (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 69, n. 279) but there the word in question is written $\text{𓆎} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{𓆎}}$. In another example of “Great Overlord of Upper Egypt,” probably referring to the same person (*ibid.*, pl. 29), *Šm^ow* shows the normal form: 𓆎 . For further examples where it is written 𓆎 see comment g below.

(d) As the text stands, this is clearly a singular, since *nb* “every” would otherwise be added.

(e) I know of no parallel for this use of *bw nty ... ỉry*, as distinguished from the usual *bw nty ... im*, for which see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 1062, and Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 200 (2).

(f) *Hq3* is perhaps the most malleable of administrative terms. In the late Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period it designated the “rulers of the Oasis” at Balat,²⁸ recalling an Eleventh Dynasty reference to $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ “the chiefs who ruled over the desert” (Clère-Vandier *TPPI*, § 20 A, 6). And it is frequently applied to the rulers of Nubian lands in Old Kingdom texts.²⁹ In the present case, however, I believe it refers to nomarchs, as it clearly does in the inscriptions of the nearly contemporaneous *ḥnty.fy* (Vandier, *Mo^oalla III*, θ, 3; IV, 20; XVI, 11), and the same meaning is probably to be applied to this term in inscriptions from the region of Gebelein, in the Theban Nome (Polotsky, *JEA* 16 [1930], 195 [10]); Černý, *JEA* 47 [1961], 7 [2–3]). In all these cases the determinative is similarly 𓆎 . Cf. also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 67, where *hq3w* evidently refers to the three overseers of priests whom the deceased served, but they too probably acted as nomarchs (*ibid.*, p. 60). *Hq3* is also known to have designated nomarchs in titularies of much earlier date, in Dyns. III–IV (Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 11–12).

(g) The sign 𓆎 in *mḥwt* is certain, for the two fragments show traces of the front and rear end of the sign, as seen from the original in Florence; for the piece in Strasbourg cf. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, § 21. The reading of *Šm^ow* is equally certain, with 𓆎 represented by 𓆎 as in Turin Suppl. 1292, discussed previously; also Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, pp. 12 (top left), 15, Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 27, 39; see also *ibid.*, p. 41 and n. 9; and for Old Kingdom examples: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 9; Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 14. For the phrase cf. $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ in Vandier, *Mo^oalla*, p. 186 (II, β, 2). Vandier translates “le Sud et le Nord, ce pays tout entier,” and plausibly recognizes the same combination of


²⁷ For the Theban–Coptite coalition see Vandier, *Mo^oalla*, p. 198 (II, ε, 3). For the extent of *ḥnty.fy*’s domain see p. 242 (VI, α, 3–4).

²⁸ Osing et al., *Denkmäler*, pls. 53–61; Valloggia, *Balat I: Le Mastaba de Medou-nefer* (Cairo 1986), pp. 71–74; *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 118–120; *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 279; El Khouli,

BIFAO 83 (1983), pl. 23; Pantalucci, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 248; Minault-Gout, *ASAE* 70 (1984–85), 131.

²⁹ *Urk.* I, 109 (1), 125 (8), 126 (15), 127 (7), 133 (13), 134 (6, 10). Also in Old Kingdom Execration texts: Osing, *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 112; 32 (1976), 135.

kind in the late Heracleopolitan Period and Twelfth Dynasty; see p. 103 below. For the entire phrase cf.  (Anthes, *Hatnub*, Gr. 20 [5]).

(r) The use of the name-determinative  is rather unusual at the end of the Heracleopolitan Period in situations where the name is adjacent to a large-scale representation of the individual in question (cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 124–25), but two further Theban examples are to be found in Hayes, *Scepter I*, figs. 91, 183; for the second of these cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 131, n. 576.

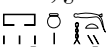
Thus the entire autobiography appears to be centered upon a single event, a meeting of the nomarchs of Upper Egypt and the North, to which the deceased general was sent to represent his master, the chief Overlord of Upper Egypt *In-it.f*, elsewhere known as *In-it.f* ʒ (“the Elder”). While his opening words, “I went downstream and upstream,” probably mean no more than that he made a round-trip to his destination, it is possible that he began this journey by collecting representatives of the three nomes south of Thebes that had already come under Theban domination. There can, in any case, be little doubt that Thebes has rightly been taken to be the provenance of the stela, and that it comes from the cemetery of Dra-abu’l-Naga.³⁰

It remains uncertain where the supposed meeting took place, other than the fact that it was some distance away. If it had been located at Heracleopolis, one might perhaps expect a reference to the “House of Khety,” as is found in slightly later inscriptions dating to the reign of *Wsh-ꜥnh In-it.f*.³¹ This nonetheless seems probable if “Upper Egypt and the North” embraces the whole of Egypt, and is not to be interpreted as “northern Upper Egypt.” In the second case Abydos would be the most likely alternative, since it probably retained, well into the Heracleopolitan Period, some of the importance it had acquired as the administrative center of Upper Egypt during the Old Kingdom.³²

The weapon carried by the emissary may seem at variance with the purely diplomatic nature of this mission, but it echoes a contemporaneous epithet that has been quoted earlier: “one who opens his mouth on the day of speech, a possessor of a (strong) arm on the day of fighting.” One suspects, moreover, that his master was employing diplomacy in the north at the same time that he was subduing his immediate neighbors by military force.

Even in the reign of *Wsh-ꜥnh*, who pushed his conquests as far as the ten southernmost nomes, the use of persuasion, or legal argument, seems not to have been abandoned, for a fragmentary inscription of his time speaks of petitioners who evidently made some claim or complaint against his adversary, the aforementioned “House of Khety.”³³ As in other periods of pharaonic history, words seem to have been given as much weight as weapons, even if weapons, in this case, had the final word.

³⁰ So PM I/2², p. 595 f.

³¹ *JEA* 61 (1975), 35–37, and Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, § 18 (3). Another Eleventh Dynasty text refers to  “the domains of the Northerner” (Gardiner, *JEA* 4 [1917],

35, and pl. 9 [line 3]).

³² Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 201 f.

³³ *JEA* 61 (1975), 35–37.



Plate 9. Turin Suppl. 1292
Courtesy Museo Egizio



Plate 10a. Strasbourg 345
Courtesy of the University



Plate 10b. Florence, Museo Archeologico 7595
Courtesy Soprintendenza alla Antichità

8. Egyptian Doors, Inside and Out

Ancient Egyptian doors were usually made of wood and consisted of a number of vertical planks that were secured and reinforced by a series of half-rounded battens.¹ Projections at the upper and lower corners, adjacent to the jamb, enabled the door to pivot inward; and, as might be expected, the battens were on the inside, so that they were completely out of sight when the door was fully opened (Fig. 1).² But in the case of the naos, the small structure that housed the statue of a deceased person or a divinity, there was no space for the doors to open inward, so that the usual situation was reversed. Here the bolts that locked the doors were understandably located on the outside instead of inside, as they were in houses. It is less easy, however, to understand why the battens should be also placed on the outside in such cases. This arrangement is illustrated by a wooden naos of the Middle Kingdom that comes from a chamber east of the pyramid of Sesostri I at Lisht (Pl. 11a)³ and that contained the fetish of Anubis, the patron god of the necropolis and of embalming. The same arrangement is attested by the left-hand door of an ebony shrine from Hatshepsut's funerary temple at Deir el Bahri, inscribed for Amenophis II (Pl. 11b).⁴ The inside of the door displays reliefs of the king ministering to the god Amun, whose statue was placed within; these reliefs were revealed when the doors were opened, and in that position they show the king facing inward, the god outward, as would be expected.

The evidence from the Old Kingdom, although less direct, leaves little doubt that battens were similarly located on the outside of the doors belonging to naoi of that period. A pair of miniature dummy naoi of the late Old Kingdom, from Saqqara (Fig. 2)⁵ show bolts on the doors; battens are omitted, but in view of the crudeness of these models, the omission may not be significant. Clearer evidence is to be found in the tomb chapel of *Htp-ḥr-šḥty* in Leiden, in which a shrine for the statue of the deceased shows the bolt and battens when

¹ For examples of the Old Kingdom see Moḥammad Zaki Nour, Zaky Iskander, Moḥammad Salah Osman, and Aḥmad Youssef Moustafa, *The Cheops Boats I* (Cairo 1960), p. 9 and pls. 14, 40(A), 47, 48, 52. An Eleventh Dynasty example, MMA 23.3.174, is shown in situ by Winlock, *BMMA* 18 (Dec. 1923, part II), fig. 5, p. 15, and more clearly in Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 163, p. 257. For details of construction see also Otto Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür* (Glückstadt 1936).

² Attested by many examples in Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, D (pl. 59); E (pl. 60); F (pls. 20, 62); G (pls. 22, 64); H (pls. 25, 66); J (pls. 28, 29, 68); N (pls. 39, 70); O (pls. 39, 72, 84). Except for the models of the portico (A, B, pls.

10, 57), these doors are single-valved and usually open inward towards the right (as in the case of the Eleventh Dynasty example mentioned in the preceding note), much more rarely towards the left. The figure shows the doors of the granary (F), pl. 63.

³ MMA 14.3.18. Height 58.7 cm, width 31.5 cm, diameter 22.5 cm. Initially published by Lythgoe in *BMMA* 10 (Feb. 1915, Supplement), pp. 12–19 and figs. 12, 13, 16, 17.

⁴ Cairo CG 70001: Günther Roeder, *Naos* (Leipzig 1914), pl. 3; Naville, *Deir el Bahari II*, pp. 1–4 and pl. 29.

⁵ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, p. 76, fig. 84.

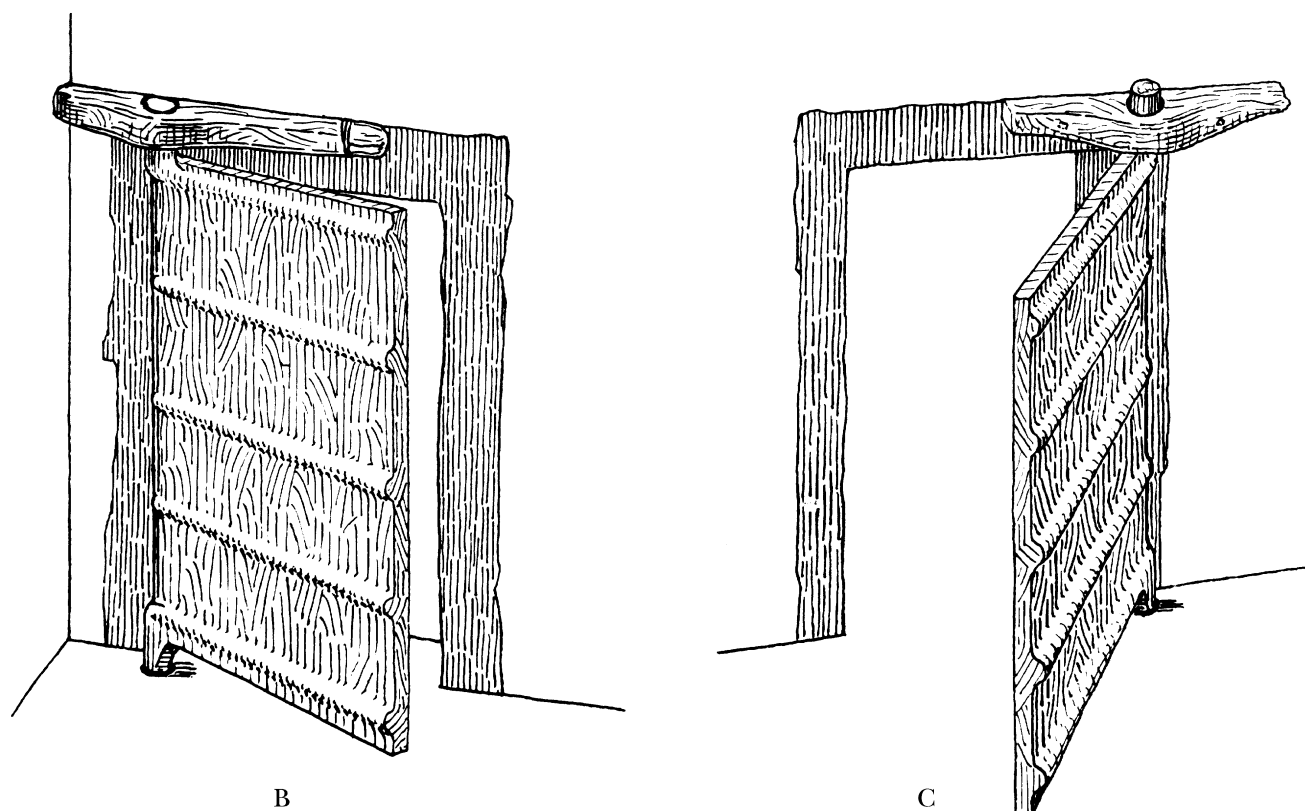


Fig. 1. Doors from Middle Kingdom models. Drawing by Lindsley Hall

the doors are closed, and omits the battens when the doors are open (Pl. 12).⁶ Another clue is provided by the mastaba of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*, where a naos was built into the rear wall of the pillared court (Pl. 13a).⁷ The doors have vanished, but their existence is clearly indicated by holes in the outer corners of the limestone threshold, where copper sockets have been removed. And the doors were certainly made of wood, with battened reinforcement, for the left and right walls of the interior are painted with horizontal yellow bands, which also appear on the rabbeted front edge of each. These bands imitate the channels that were sometimes carved on the walls of the entrance passage, against which the doors were opened, and into which the battens fitted. An example of such channels is known from Old Kingdom tomb chapels at Giza (Fig. 3).⁸ Although the stylized representations of channels might be taken to imply that the battens were on the back of the missing doors, that is not necessarily the case since the battened side of the doors would not have turned inward against them.⁹ A further clue to the resolution of this question is provided by one of the two

⁶ Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg. I, Atlas*, pl. 9. The same distinction may be seen in Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pls. 6–13, showing the battens on the closed doors of shrines; pls. 16, 17, 19 (a) show the doors open, without battens. The battens are similarly omitted in other tomb chapels where the doors of such shrines are open.

⁷ *Mereruka*, pls. 123, 125 (A), 147, 148 (the last in color).

⁸ *LD Text I*, p. 45, where it is noted that this feature also occurs in the chapel of *Rch.f-nh* (G 7948); also *LD, Ergänzungsband*, pl. 8.

⁹ In the case of the New Kingdom naos (note 4 above) a banded pattern appears on the exterior walls (Roeder's pl. 2), but this arrangement was, of course, impossible when the naos was imbedded in a wall.

false doors of the same individual (Fig. 4).¹⁰ This shows, within the central niche, the two leaves of a double-valved door, complete with pivots, battens, and a pair of bolts. Since false doors of the same period frequently contain a standing or emergent statue,¹¹ one might reasonably interpret the bolted doors as the doors of a naos. Still further evidence may be seen in the cavetto cornice, which now began to appear at the top of the false door, and, even more conclusively, in the torus molding that accompanied it, and extended down each side of the ensemble of niches. For the torus molding is not primarily associated with doorways; it frames an entire wall or facade—in this particular case, the facade of a naos.¹² And that conclusion suggests that the missing doors of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*'s naos similarly displayed battens on the outside.

The bolted and battened niche of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*'s false door is one of the earliest examples of a tradition that continues sporadically throughout the Sixth Dynasty and down to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom,¹³ although the detail is more usually limited to a verti-

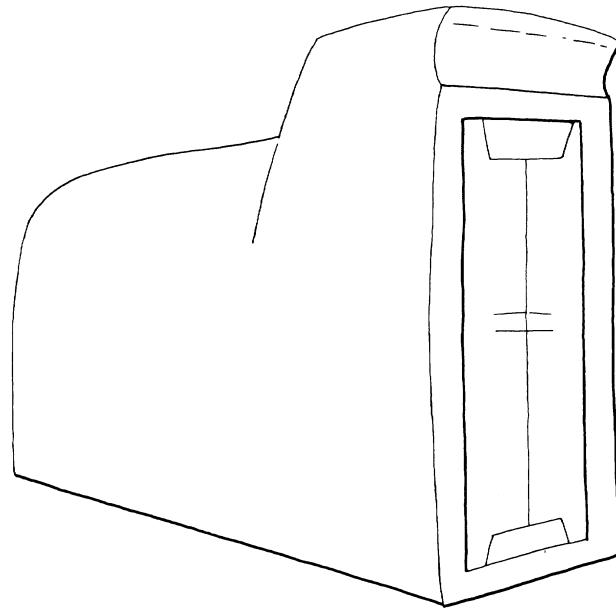


Fig. 2. Limestone model naos. After Jéquier

¹⁰ *Mereruka*, pl. 107.

¹¹ Examples in Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 57 (a-c); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 19 (Cairo CG 57190); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I²*, pl. 4 (1); Cairo CG 1447.

¹² For these naotropic features compare Alexander Badawy, *ASAE* 48 (1948), p. 236. Regardless of whether these features specifically derive from the shrine of Anubis, as he maintains, it is in any case certain that they likewise appear in early naoi such as those shown by him on p. 242 (figs. 14 and 15). Since this paper was written the character of the false door as a shrine has also been emphasized by Silvia Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür*

(Hamburg 1981), p. 141, and much of the evidence for bolts and battens is covered in pp. 154–58, without, however, coming to the conclusions made here.

¹³ The battens are shown on a false door in Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 11, dating to Pepy II, and another example is at least this early: Cairo CG 1425. CG 1442 is Heracleopolitan Period (see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 40–41); two other examples (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 67 [2], 69) are of the same date, or only slightly earlier, and yet another example (H.W. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 [1933], p. 187, fig. 11) is Eleventh Dynasty.

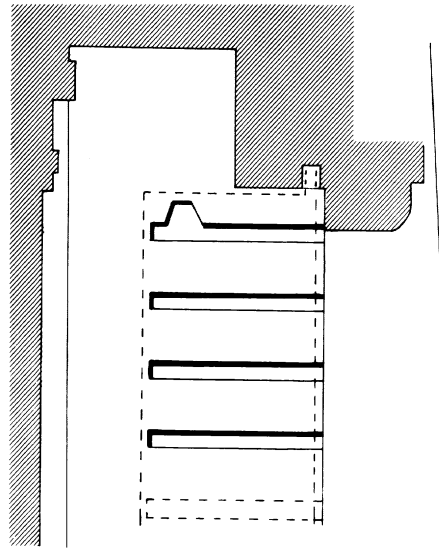


Fig. 3. Entrance passage of mastaba at Giza. After Lepsius

cal median line and the two bolts.¹⁴ Vandier has also been struck by the orientation of these details, but concludes that it is meaningless because: “L’art égyptien s’est toujours complu à rendre visibles ceux des éléments d’un ensemble qui auraient dû rester cachés.”¹⁵ In support of his view one might also cite several cases where the hieroglyph \Rightarrow , representing a door, shows battens (Fig. 5).¹⁶ This detail is usually omitted in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs, however.¹⁷ Moreover, it must be acknowledged that there are some earlier examples of dummy doors in which the orientation of bolts and battens is clearly significant. The southern tomb of the Step Pyramid contains a series of doorlike niches, each containing a representation of King Djoser in relief, and around the corner from these, in a corridor parallel to the first and west of it, are three niches containing the backs of these doors and designated as such by battens in relief.¹⁸ And from the Fifth Dynasty, in or near the reign of Neuserre,¹⁹ there is a series of four dummy doors in the tomb chapel of *Sšm-nfr* II

¹⁴ Bolts are attested by Cairo CG 1401, 1404, 1407, 1439, 1459, 1499, 1574, 1576, 1617, etc. Also Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi* II, pl. 11. There are also several cases where a vertical line appears, but not the pair of bolts, as, for example, in Wild, *Ti* III pls. 182–85.

¹⁵ Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie* II, p. 412.

¹⁶ Fig. 5a is from Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 18 (4). This also occurs on the famous palette of Narmer. Fig. 5b is Thirteenth Dynasty: J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin, 1894* (Vienna 1895), p. 102, fig. 241 (shown here; p. 111, fig. 263). A very late Old Kingdom example is to be found in Labib Habachi’s *Obelisks of Egypt* (New York 1977), p. 40, fig. 16. See also the Dyn. XIX example illustrated by Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, p. 15, fig. 12.

¹⁷ See in particular Mereruka, pl. 30 (10, and the door on which the carpenters are working) and Bissing, *Re-*

Heiligtum, Beiblatt A, and pls. 4, 5, etc. An Old Kingdom example with battens appears in Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, pl. 30, but this is roughly painted in black pigment and may be subject to the tendency, particularly noticeable in semi-cursive inscriptions, towards stereotyped inner detail, as described in Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, pp. 40–42. Compare also the hieratic forms in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, p. 34 (364). A much clearer hieroglyphic example with battens is to be found in Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 4. Further hieroglyphic examples with battens might also be cited from later periods.

¹⁸ C.M. Firth and J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step Pyramid* (Cairo 1935), pl. 45 (3); Lauer, *ASAE* 54 (1956–1957), p. 106 and pl. 4.

¹⁹ See Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 131–32 [477].

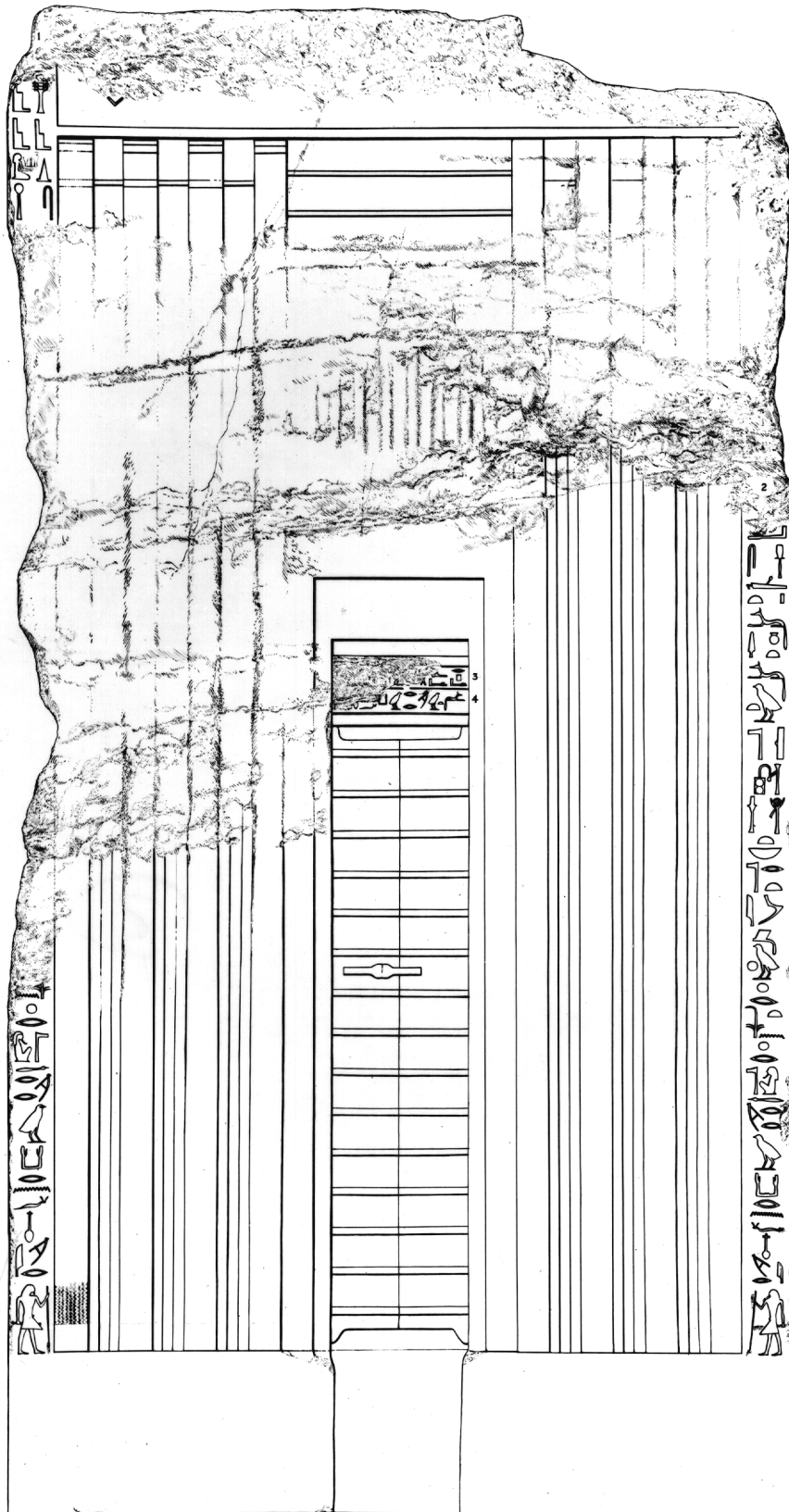


Fig. 4. False door in mastaba of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*. Drawing by S.R. Shepherd

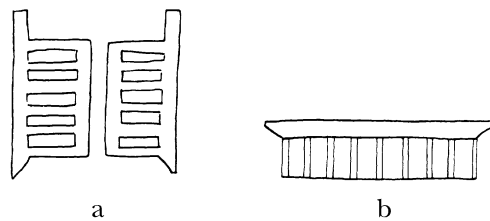


Fig. 5. Hieroglyphs representing doors

(Pl. 13b).²⁰ They represent the pivots, battens, and bolts in such depth and detail that it seems hardly possible that these features were intended merely to characterize them as doors—the more so since, in the center of the same wall, flanked by two of the battened doors on either side of it, was a fifth door that was quite plain except for a vertical groove at the center; this is evidently viewed from the front, and opened in the reverse direction. Apparently the principal idea of these dummy doors is to provide entry to the tomb chapel for the deceased from each of four serdabs located behind them. The fifth door may have been designed for the return, or it may have enhanced the possibility of access by providing at least one case where the bolt was on the other side. These examples, combined with the later examples of naoi with external battens, strongly reinforce the probability that the bolts and battens in the central niches of false doors are more significant than Vandier supposes, and that they do not merely enhance the characterization of any door, but specifically characterize the niche as a naos.

Here it may be noted that false doors are also represented in Sixth Dynasty burial chambers, where the doors within the central niche are again bolted.²¹ If these doors intentionally show the inner side, then sarcophagi and coffins of later date, displaying a false door on the exterior, should show the door's outer face. That is, in fact, true of the earliest and most elaborately decorated sarcophagi that have the detail in question, namely those belonging to the female retinue of the Eleventh Dynasty King *Nb-hpt-Rc* Mentuhotep, and one of them, in addition, shows a battened door on the inside, directly behind the other (Pl. 14).²² It is true that a certain number of coffins do not conform to this pattern, but I know of only one case where bolts are mechanically repeated on both the interior and exterior and none where battens are so repeated.²³ Thus one need not conclude that such details are merely intended to characterize the door without specific reference to the inner side of it.

²⁰ Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 34 following p. 190.

²¹ Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 19; James and Apton, *Khentika*, pl. 40; Borchartdt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II*, p. 46 (Cairo CG 1572); Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pls. 3, 6, 11, 12, 16.

²² For the sarcophagus of *ḥsyt* see H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York 1942), pls. 8 (outside), 10 (inside). The same views may be found in *BMMA* 16 (Nov. 1921, part II), figs. 19, p. 43, and 22, p. 47. The outsides of two others similarly show the outsides of the door: Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple I*, pls. 19

(A–B), 20, 23.

²³ A bolted and battened door evidently appears on the exterior of a coffin that antedates the end of the Old Kingdom: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 27, and several examples of external bolts are illustrated in Lacau, *Sarcophages*, CG 28115 (pl. 6); 28038 (pl. 8); 28061 (pl. 10); 28036 (pl. 13); 28029 (pl. 15); 28030 (pl. 16). On the other hand, one example (28083) has bolts on the door inside, none on the door outside, as may be seen from pls. 11 and 24.

Dr. W. Raymond Johnson has made, on my behalf, a tally of examples in the photographic archives of the Univer-

the doors of the shrine are attributed to heaven, as also in the New Kingdom.²⁷ But they are, in effect, the back door of the temple; the naos is vestibular, the threshold between heaven and earth, and it is not the priest who crosses this threshold but the god who does so. The priest, as “he who opens the doors of heaven,”²⁸ acts as the doorkeeper who admits the god to his earthly abode. And in a very real sense, by reversing the doors of the naos, its occupant is summoned forth.

²⁷ See the scene and text from Karnak illustrated by Nelson in *JNES* 8 (1949), fig. 3 (D), p. 205, and Jaroslav Černý, *JEA* 34 (1948), p. 120, who comments on the later use of the term *ḥwy-pt* meaning “shrine,” and Edward Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), pp. 107–15, who points

out that the doors of the purification booth (*ibw*) likewise seem to have been considered as “doors of heaven” in the Old Kingdom.

²⁸ *Wb.* I, p. 311 (5).



Plate 11a. Metropolitan Museum 14.3.18
Rogers Fund, 1912, and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1914

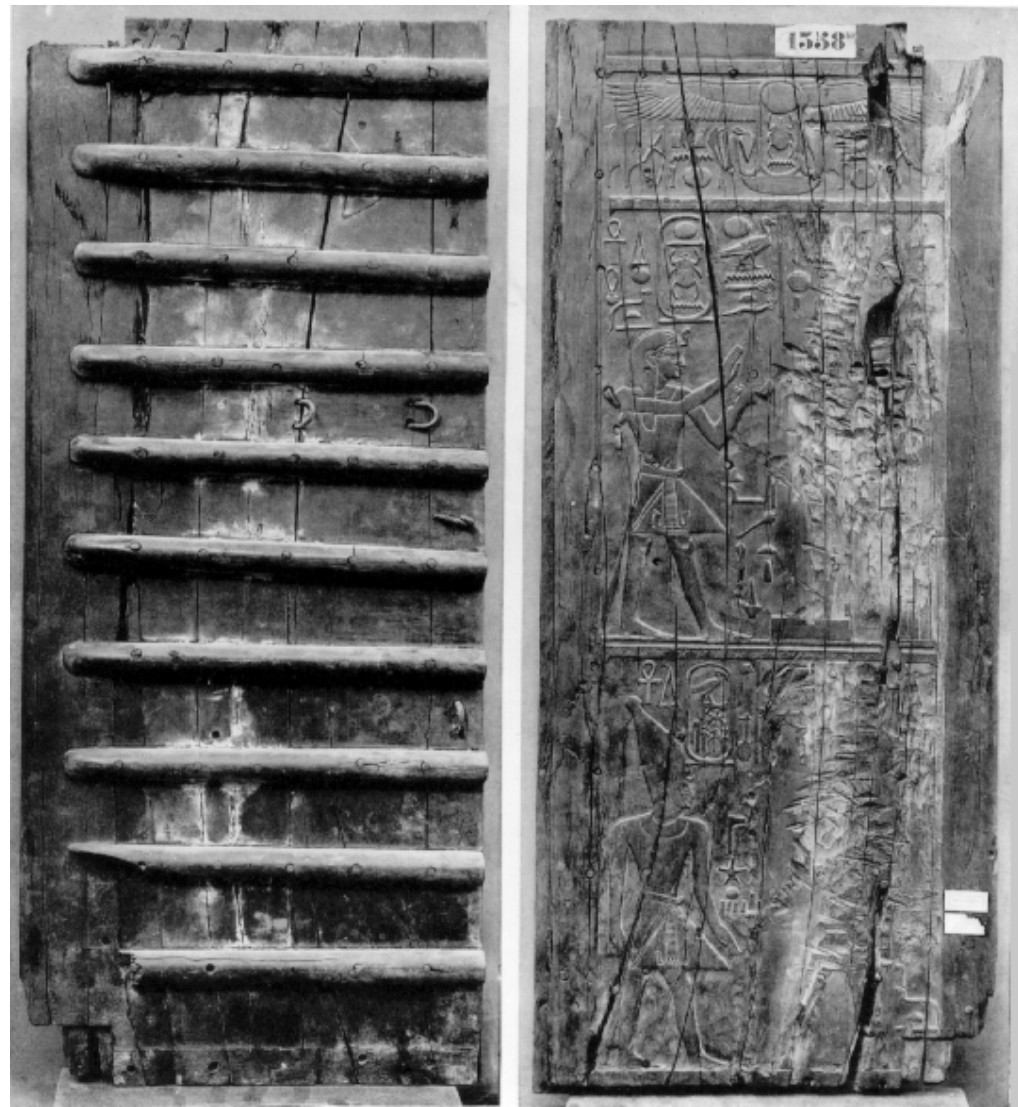


Plate 11b. Cairo CG 70001, after Roeder

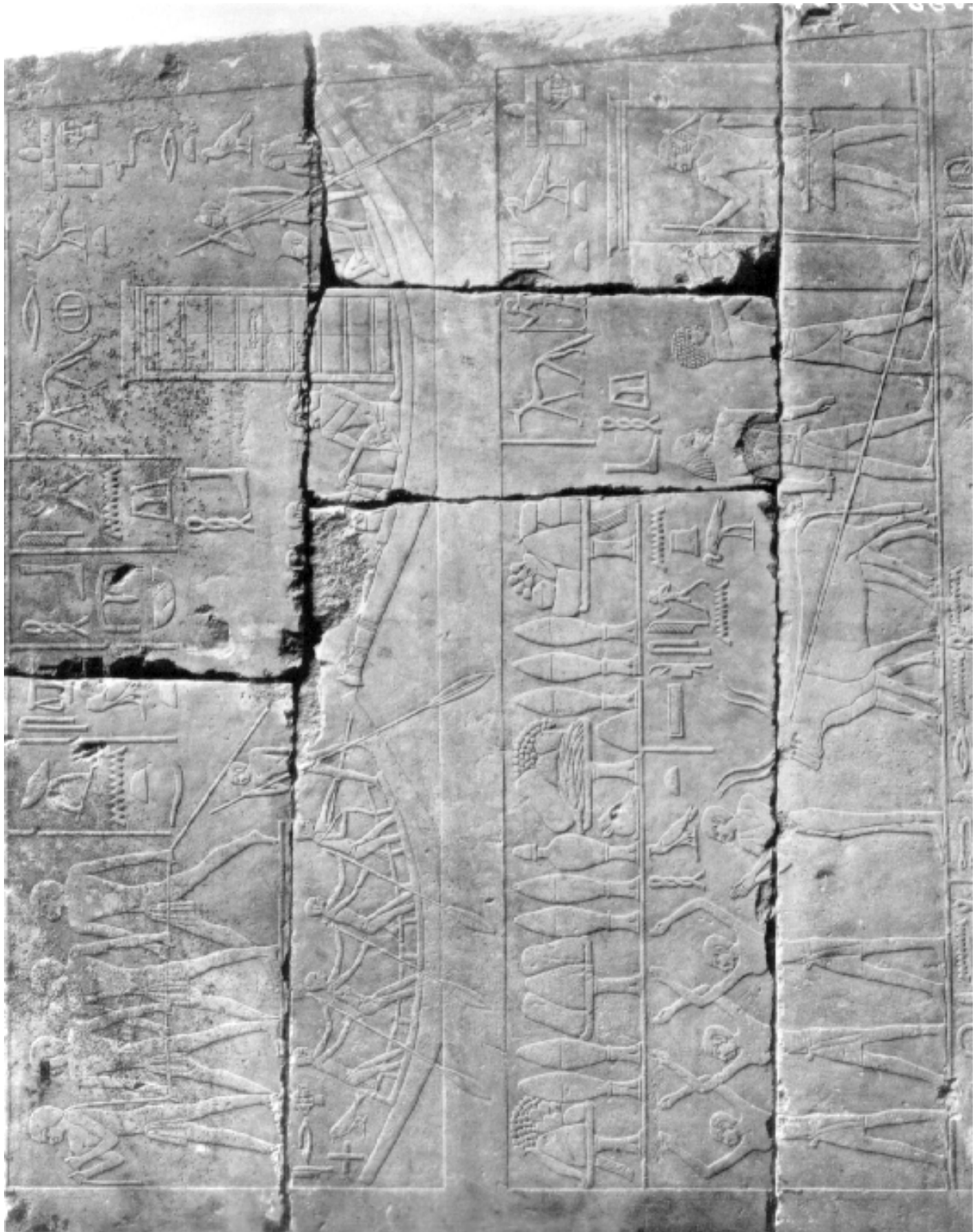


Plate 12. Leiden chapel of *Htt-hr-shty*, after Boeser

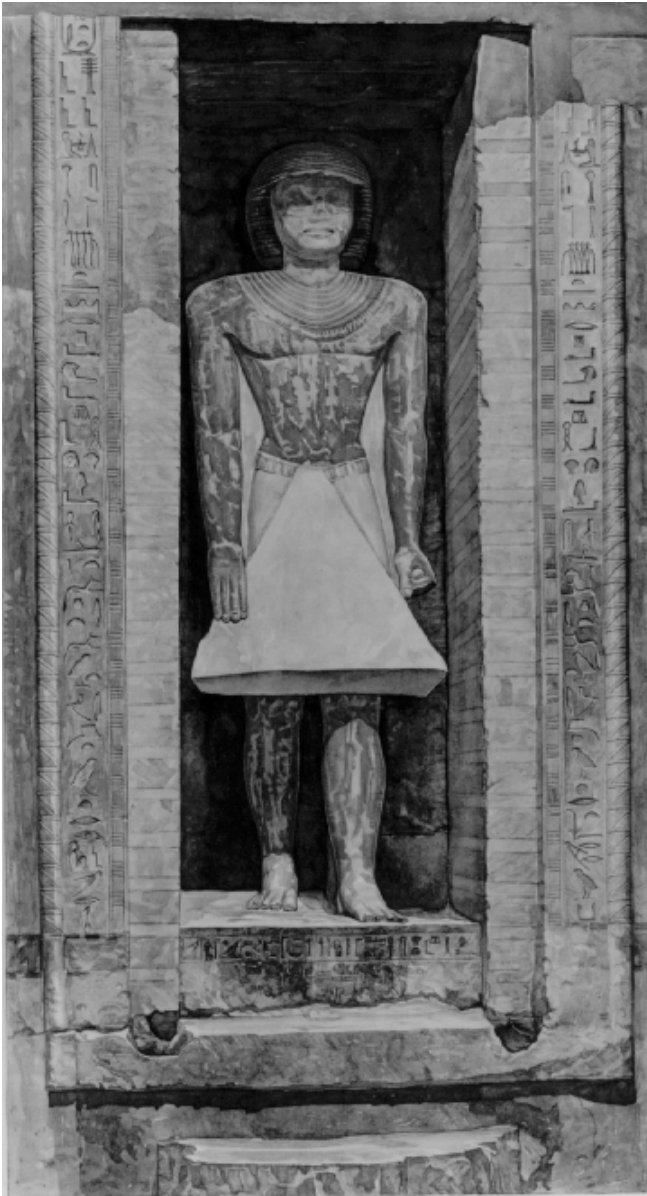


Plate 13a. Shrine of *Mrr-wi-k3.i*, after Strelakowski

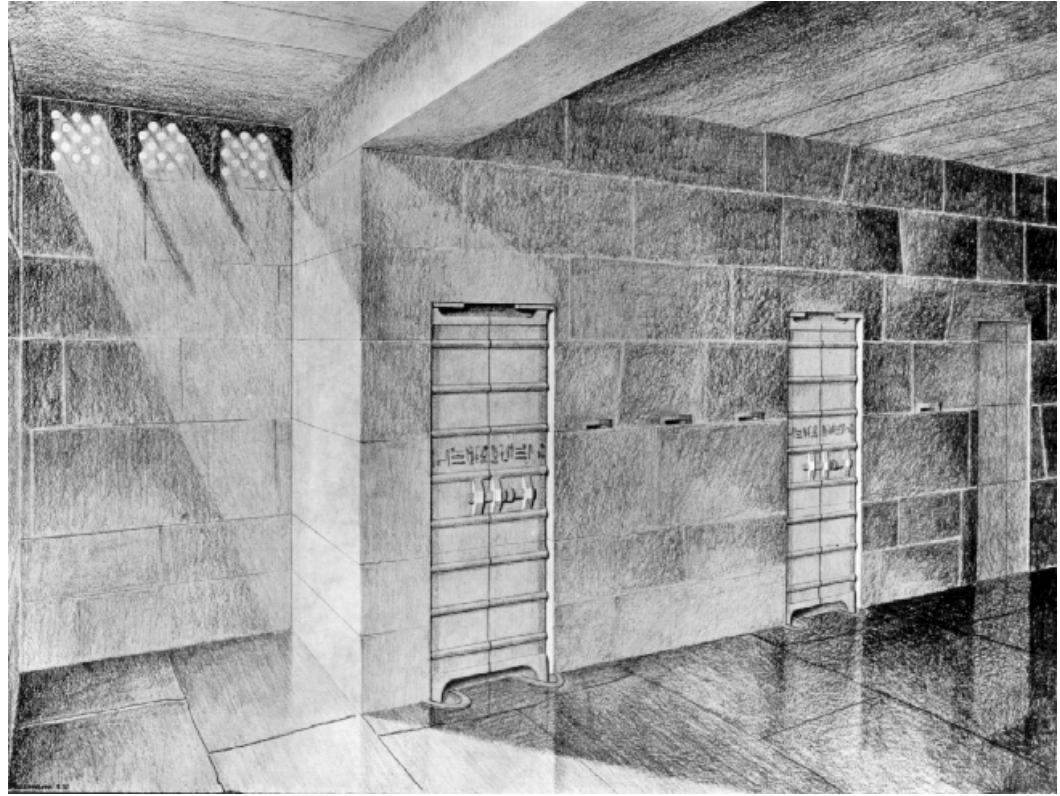


Plate 13b. Dummy doors in tomb of *Sšm-nfr* II, after Junker

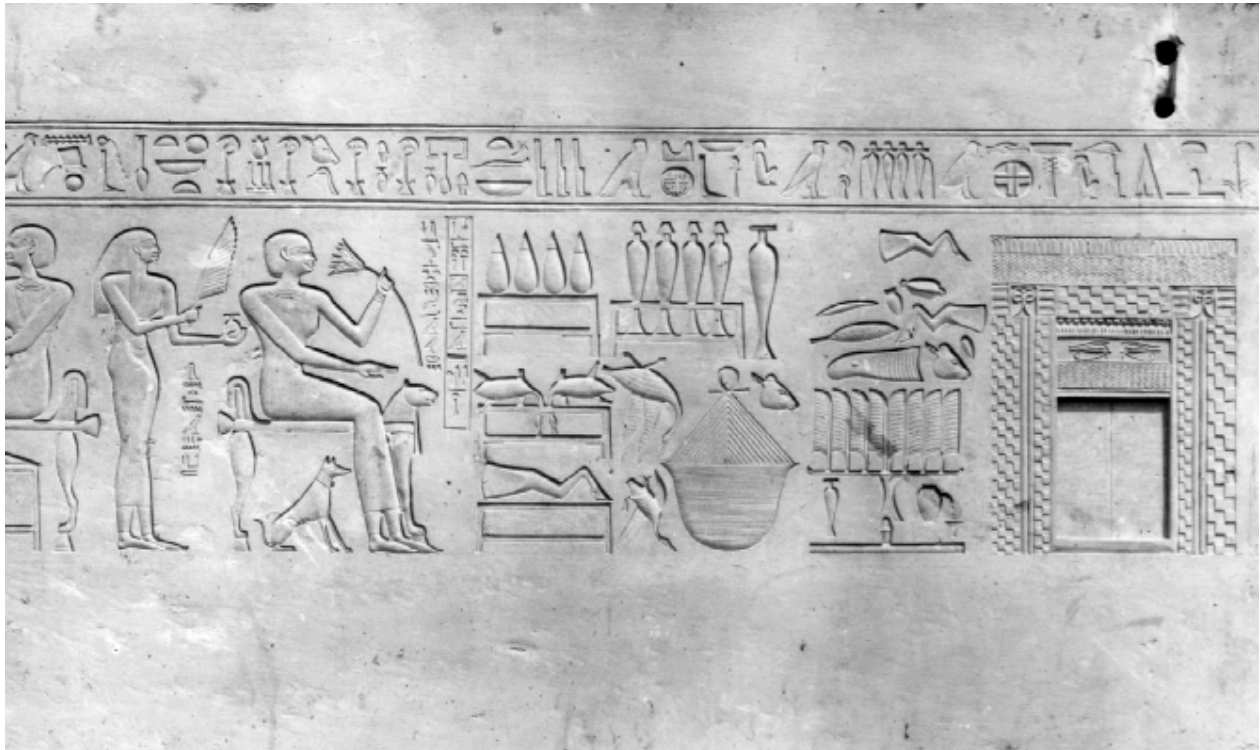


Plate 14a. Exterior of sarcophagus, Cairo J 47267
MMA field photograph

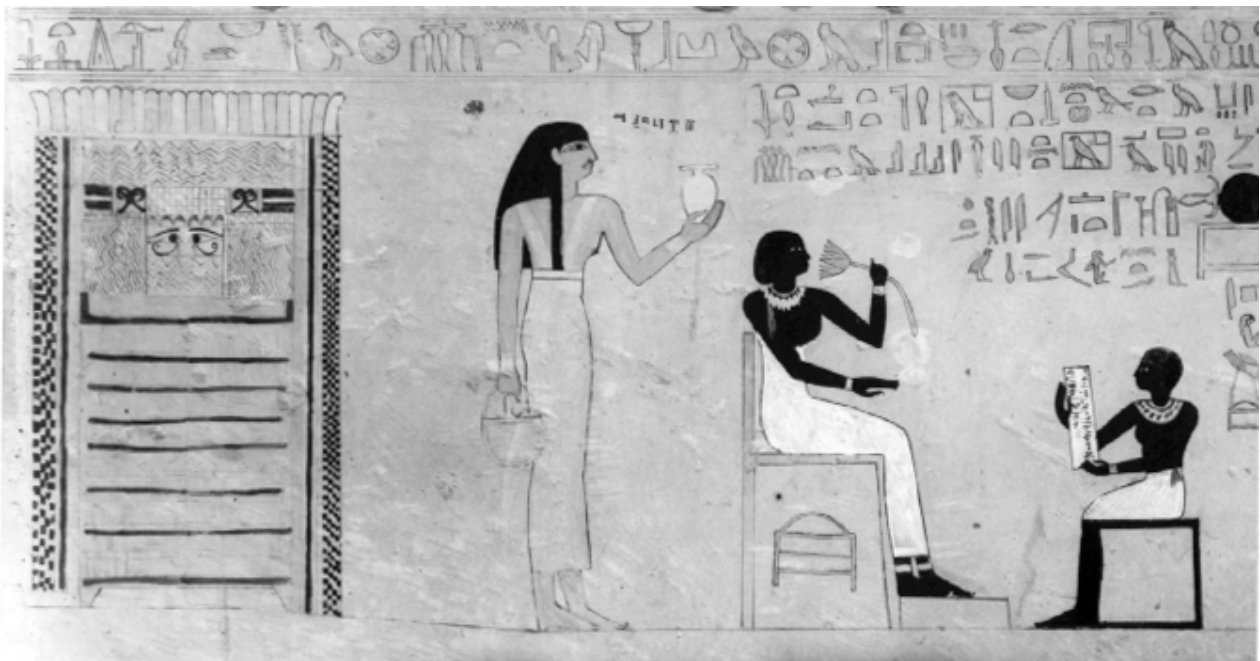



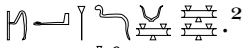
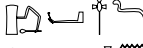

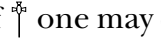



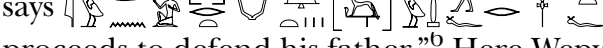






Plate 14b. Interior of same sarcophagus

9. Sacerdotal Titles and Epithets of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties

I have had occasion, more than once, to comment on the curious use of forms resembling  in place of  in hieroglyphic texts of the Heracleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom, a substitution that evidently derives from hieratic forms such as .¹ In the meantime another Twelfth Dynasty example has come to my attention, and one that is so interesting in its own right that it deserves to be pointed out. It occurs at the beginning of a long title that precedes the name of a certain *Hnw*, on a stela in the Cairo Museum, CG 20138: .² There can be no doubt that the first two words are to be interpreted as . For the form of  one may compare  in Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, § 15, line 6, and  in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 26, line 151, and probably also , *ndt-r* on a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga-ed-Deir, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, 14-19-1.³ An earlier example, dating to the end of the Old Kingdom, occurs in the name *Dr-snd*.⁴ Once again the source is probably hieratic, where forms such as  were in use in the Middle Kingdom and earlier.⁵ Thus the title may be translated “warrior who defends Wepwawet” or “warrior and defender of Wepwawet.” The second possibility is favored by a passage from the well-known stela of *Ḥ-hr-nfrt*, Berlin 1204, where the deceased says  “I made the procession of Wepwawet, when he proceeds to defend his father.”⁶ Here Wepwawet takes on the role of Horus as defender of Osiris.⁷ This suggests that, in *Hnw*'s title, the relation of Wepwawet to *nd* is subjective rather than objective genitive; in other words *Hnw* might be a fighter and defender who is in the

¹ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 72; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, p. 145 (g), where it should be noted that the reference to University of Pennsylvania Museum stela 29-66-603 should be 29-66-693. Cf. also the semi-cursive forms  and  in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 19.

² Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, p. 161; III, p. 77 (among the titles the reading of which could not be established); IV, pl. 12. A rather similar example of *ḥs* is apparently to be interpreted as the title “warrior” in CG 20313; also *ḥsty* () in CG 20746.


³ Most recently published in C. Vandersleyn, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pl. 24 and p. 297. The passage in question is an epithet . Wolfgang Schenkel, *Memphis-Heracleopolis-Theben* (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 189, note 2, reads *tpt-rs* “Ausspruch,” but *ndt-r* seems




much likelier and more apt: “I was excellent of counsel in the council of Thinis.”

⁴ Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, fig. 130 (top left).


⁵ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, no. 587.

⁶ Most conveniently consulted in K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig 1928), p. 71 (12); for further bibliography see PM V, p. 97. Also, in connection with the meaning of *nd*, Griffiths, *JEA* 37 (1951), 32–37.

⁷ One cannot accept, however, Munro's translation of a reference to  “Wpwswt beim ersten Auszug als streitbarer Horus” (*ZAS* 86 [1961], 72, referring to CG 20516, c 2). The last words are not “als streitbarer Horus,” but “from Shenhor.” For this locality see Kees, *ZAS* 64 (1929), 104; Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 18 and n. 83.

Finally it may be noted that a certain *Nfr-n3y*, again probably dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty, is  “follower of Sokaris and bowman” on his stela in the Louvre.¹⁶ The omission of a determinative after the name of the god does not seem unusual,¹⁷ and the title or epithet may be compared with another epithet on a stela of the same period (CG 20101 [d, 5–6]):  “revered as a follower of Sokar.” This in turn may be compared with the statement on the Twelfth Dynasty stela (CG 20538 [II, 7]) of a second “loving son” of Osiris:  “thus I was a follower of the god.” In both cases one might also translate “in the following of Sokar/the god,” but the absence of plural strokes after *šms* seems more than coincidental.

These titles and epithets are characteristic of a period in which a personal relationship to the gods had acquired more importance as compared with the Old Kingdom, when it was all but precluded by the king as the intermediary between gods and mankind. The ground for the later development was prepared in the Heracleopolitan Period, when the local god tended to replace the king as the focus of society,¹⁸ and as commoners began to view themselves as the dutiful son (*z3 iqr*) in the role of Horus who repelled his father’s enemies and assumed his responsibilities,¹⁹ ultimately taking on the identity of Osiris in death.²⁰

¹⁶ Louvre C 206: Paul Pierret, *Recueil d’inscriptions II* (Paris 1878), p. 42. Also seen from the stela itself. Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 209, identifies  as the same individual (Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 18 [8]).

¹⁷ E.g. CG 20443, 20529.

¹⁸ *JARCE* 3 (1964), 26 f., and Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 115, 137 f., 208 f.; *Studies in Honor of Dows Dunham* (Boston 1981), p. 61.

¹⁹ Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 147.

²⁰ *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 35–38.



Plate 15. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, 59-23-1
Courtesy of the Museum

10. A Statuette of the Late Middle Kingdom

The statuette shown in Plate 16¹ is made of a dense black variety of stone, probably basalt, the hardness of which is manifest from the treatment of the sculpture and the inscriptions. The height is 23 cm, and the width and depth are 8 x 14.3 cm at the base. It evidently came to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, in 1898, having been entered in the register of the American Exploration Society on October 24th of that year, and there assigned the number 57, later changed to E 3381. The register gives the provenance as Fayum. The other objects listed on that date include a few more that are said to come from the Fayum (one changed to Thebes), along with a papyrus from Thebes and an alabaster shawabty from Dahshur, but some are without any provenance. The circumstances of these acquisitions are not otherwise recorded, but in February of the following year F. Ll. Griffith spoke of “cases of bought antiquities” that had been sent to Philadelphia by Max Müller.² At all events it seems likely that they were purchased rather than excavated, so that the provenance was probably attributed on the word of a dealer.

Like several other statuettes of the late Middle Kingdom,³ the man who is represented wears a long cloak and holds his arms folded across his chest, the right hand closed, the other open, palm downward. His disproportionately large head, framed by a long wig with pointed lappets, seems to sink between his shoulders, reinforcing the huddled attitude. The compactness of his attitude is reinforced by the back pillar which curves out of the seat and curves into the wig, both of which present a continuous surface. The connection between the back pillar and the wig is particularly striking when viewed from the side.

¹ I am indebted to David O'Connor for these photographs, for his permission to publish them, and for his help in enabling me to make a facsimile of the inscriptions and to consult the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

² Letter of February 18, 1899, to Sara Yorke Stevenson, the first curator of the Egyptian Section, for whom see the articles by O'Connor and Silverman in *Expedition* 21/2 (Winter 1979), 5-7, 13-15, 33-37. The only excavation undertaken for the American Exploration Society was a fortnight's extension of Petrie's season at Dendera by Charles Rosher in 1898, from April 2 onward. After terminating his connection with the A.E.S. in July, Rosher offered some coffins and other antiquities for sale at the



end of September, too late to have sent anything that might have arrived before October 24, and there is no indication that Mrs. Stevenson pursued his offer. She herself went to Egypt at the end of the year and brought back many cases of material for the collection, including finds from Dendera. Bernard P. Grenfell sent pottery from his excavations for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the Fayum, but not until the following year (letter of Joseph Cotton to Mrs. Stevenson, February 15, 1899); there is no mention of Middle Kingdom finds in Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri* (London 1900).

³ Berlin 4435, 15700; Brooklyn 41.83; Cairo CG 532, 1082, J 34572; Copenhagen, Glyptothèque ÆIN 932; Durham 501 (Farouk Gomaà, *SAK* 11 [1984], 107-12,

One of the statuettes of the same type, Durham 501, shows a hieroglyph (□) with inner detail that is associated with the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.⁴ The date of the University of Pennsylvania Museum statuette cannot in any case be earlier than the reign of Amenemhet III, to whom the face shows a certain resemblance, and it may well be as late as the Thirteenth Dynasty, as are a good many other cloaked statuettes of Middle Kingdom style.

A column of inscription appears on (1) the back pillar, (2) the proper right side of the seat, and (3) the left side of the seat, respectively, and the three columns are to be translated as follows:

- (1) Revered with Hathor, Who Presides^a over the Western Nome (L.E. 3),^b the Steward and Deputy^c *Sbk-ḥtp* (or *Htp-Sbk*^d)
- (2) The revered son of the Steward *Dḥwty-ḥtp* (? or *Htp?*),^e *Sbk-ḥtp*
- (3) The revered Steward *Sbk-ḥtp*, born of *Nfr*; justified


Comments: (a) One expects   or the like, but the present variant is known from the Twelfth Dynasty, albeit rarely (Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 174; e.g., Newberry, *Bersheh* II, pl. 13 [14, 20], alongside normal writings).

(b) Presumably referring to Hathor Mistress of *Imrw*, Kom el Hisn, for which see Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (Wiesbaden 1974), pp. 154–56, and Gomaà, *Besiedlung* II; pp. 80–83. A priestess of this cult of Hathor is known from the Old Kingdom (Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 164). Although the town of *Hwt-ihyt* “Estate of Cattle” is named as the principal city on the geographical list of Sesostri I at Karnak along with its divinity, Apis (Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79), the present inscription seems to indicate that Hathor’s cult had become more important by the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is possible however, that her preëminence in this case merely reflects the local sympathies of a native of Kom el Hisn.

(c) See Ward, *Index*, no. 573. This occurrence is peculiar, for it can hardly refer to the preceding title “steward,” which in any case recurs independently in both the other columns. It is tempting to regard it as a name, as in the series of compounds discussed by Vernus, *RdE* 23 (1971), 193–99, and *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire* (Rome 1986), but such a name does not seem to be attested; the single (feminine) example given by Ranke, *PNI*, 54 (12), is actually to be read *Inw* (for which see *PNI*, 36 [19]).

(d) For the alternative see *PNI*, 259 (12).

and pls. 2–3); Edinburgh 1952.137; MMA 30.8.73 (Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 126, p. 209); Rome, Museo Barracco 11 (Giorgio Careddu, *Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica: La Collezione Egizia* [Rome 1985], no. 15); Louvre N 1586; quartzite statue of the Overseer of Disputes *R*s (seen on the London market in 1970); Habachi, *Heqaib*, pl. 73. Many of these are listed by Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie* III, p. 231. The position of the hands is also to be found in some cloaked standing figures, including BM 1237 (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* [Munich 1929], pl. 98); MMA 66.123.1 (Frontispiece); Louvre E 11573 (Boreux, *Mon. Piot* 25

[1921–22], pl. 7). Also cloaked squatting figures: Baltimore 22.313; Bayonne B 509; Bologna 1839; Brooklyn 62.77.1; Cairo CG 480; Louvre E 11196, E 10975, E 20171; MMA 22.1.199 (all cited by Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 233 [Cb]), MMA 15.3.226, 30.8.78. For the attitude cf. the determinative of  “one who is cold” in Louvre stela C 1, line 11, dating to the 24th year of Amenemhet I (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, p. 82 [5], checked against a handcopy by J.J. Clère).

⁴For the statuette see the preceding note. For the hieroglyph see *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 109, fig. 16 (a–c, q–u).

(e) The question is whether the sign between \square and ⌘ belongs to the former or the latter. Note that a stroke accompanies \square on the back pillar, but not on the other side of the seat. The thickness of it speaks against this alternative, and the form suggests ⌘ ; the projections on either side may be accidental, however, and this writing of *Dhwtj* is unexpected on such a monument (see pp. 203–204 below). But it may have been inserted here as a correction, in which case it may replace ⌘ because there was insufficient space for the latter.

The mention of Hathor of Lower Egyptian Nome 3 brings us back to the question of provenance. It seems unlikely that the statuette came from the Fayum. It more probably derives from Abydos or Kom el Hisn, which in any case seems to have been the owner's birthplace. In favor of the second alternative, it may be noted that another Middle Kingdom statuette, Cairo J 37891, is said to come from this locality.⁵

⁵ As noted by Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V (Munksgaard 1966), pl. 1165.

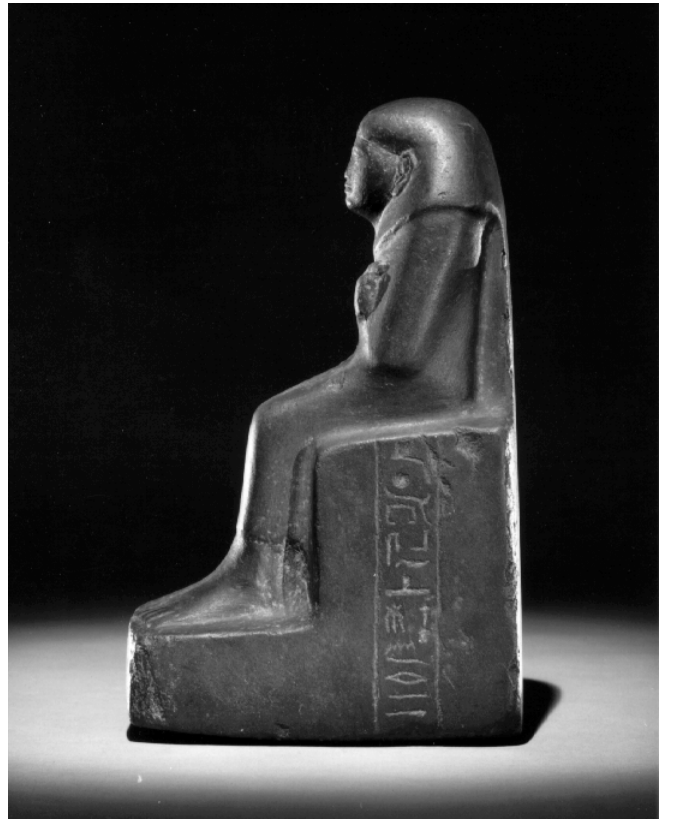


Plate 16. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, E 3381
Courtesy of the Museum

11. Archaisms in a Statuette of Middle Kingdom Style

The upper part of a schist statuette shown in Plates 17–18¹ poses a most interesting problem, since it combines the style of the later Twelfth Dynasty with an attitude, cloak and coiffure that harken back to the beginning of the Old Kingdom, or even earlier, and that were no longer in fashion beyond Dynasty IV.

To judge from a profile view of the fragment, the woman who is represented was probably seated, a conclusion which is by no means contradicted by traces of a back pillar. In this case the height, now 16.3 cm, would originally have been more than twice that amount. It is a little difficult to establish the precise angle of the figure in profile, but there seems little doubt that the level of the chin was lower than the shoulders. Aside from this feature, which occurs occasionally in Middle Kingdom statuary, the head seems disproportionately large in relation to the arms; for both features cf. Plate 16 above.² Both arms are folded upon the chest, but only the left hand is visible, placed flat upon a cloak that leaves the upper part of the chest bare, and the shoulders partly exposed. The line of the arms and the opening of the cloak very nearly form an x-shaped cross. There is no parallel for such an attitude in the Middle Kingdom; although the arms may be slightly crossed, both hands are normally visible, one clenched,³ and while a cloak may leave the upper chest exposed, the form of the opening is rather different, as shown by the examples in Plate 19a–d,⁴ where the shoulders are partly exposed but the cloak does not stand out sharply from the body. Furthermore all these other examples of the cloak appear on statuettes of men. Statuettes of women rarely show a cloak of any kind; as is well demonstrated by the group shown in Plate 15 above, where three men wear a cloak, while the woman who accompanies them

¹ MMA acc. no. 65.59.1; the acquisition, by purchase, is noted in *BMMA* 24 (1965), p. 54, and I have there said that it is “probably XXV Dynasty.” The provenance is unknown.

² Similarly Louvre C 16287 (Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie* III, pl. 83 [2]) and BM 100 (*ibid.*, pl. 92 [6]).

³ All examples are male: e.g., Alnwick 501 (Gomaà, *SAK* 11 [1984], 107 ff., pl. 2); BM 1237 (Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 75); Brooklyn 41.83 (*ibid.*, pl. 89); Cairo J 34572: plate 24. One cloaked figure, Cairo CG 460, exceptionally crosses both hands outspread, but they are both uncovered (*ibid.*, pl. 80). Conversely, Berlin 12485 crosses both hands fistled (Jürgen Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*

[1980], no. 18).

⁴ Plate 19a is Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 932 (sic): Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues* (Copenhagen 1950), p. 20, and pl. 30 (name effaced). Plate 19b is Berlin 4435: Hans Gerhard Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich 1929), pl. 95. Plate 19c is Louvre E 11576 (Elisabeth Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* [Paris 1987], pp. 148–50). Plate 19d is Cairo J 34572, from Kamal, *ASAE* 2 (1901), pl. 1 to p. 12. For the first three figures I am indebted to Mogens Jørgensen, K.-H. Priese and J.-L. de Cenival, all of whom generously provided photographs.

does not. I know of only one exception, and here the woman's cloak is quite different, leaving one shoulder exposed.⁵

Of the face only the proper left side is preserved; there is scarcely any trace of the nose and no trace whatever of the mouth. The left eye is heavy-lidded and the lower lid slightly pouted. The line of the brow is undercut in a continuous curve, beginning at the root of the nose, and defining the upper edge of the orbital cavity, but the eyebrow itself is not indicated. The ears are large, splayed against a rounded shoulder-length wig. The wig is covered with a series of horizontal striations that continue all around it except for a vertical zone at the front, which becomes somewhat narrower as it progresses upwards to its termination at the crown of the head. This zone displays, in relief, the hood and sinuous body of a royal cobra, the head of which is lost. It is flanked, on the crown of the woman's head, by a pair of vultures in relief, oriented towards the center, their outspread wings parallel to the central band, their heads turned forward.

Except for the striations on the wig, which are somewhat uneven, the workmanship is excellent, and the subtle modelling of the cloak is comparable to the best standards of the late Middle Kingdom, as illustrated by a statuette from the Price Collection, where the treatment of the flattened hand is also similar (Frontispiece).⁶

One of the closest parallels for the archaic elements occurs in a fragmentary relief of the Third Dynasty showing King Djoser accompanied by a daughter of his named *Init-k3.s* and his wife "She who beholds Horus, *Htp-hr-nbty*" (Fig. 1).⁷ The wife wears a wig of similar shape with a seemingly bald area at the forehead, and a cloak of nearly identical pattern; she also holds her arms crossed in the same manner. The wig is paralleled even more closely on the archaic Bankfield stela, formerly in the Halifax Museum, which Wm. Stevenson Smith rightly identifies as a woman (Fig. 2a);⁸ it has the horizontal bands, which are not to be seen in the less detailed wig of Djoser's wife. The banded wig reappears in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of *Hwfw-hr.f*, where it is worn by his mother Queen *Mrt-it.s* (Fig. 2b);⁹ since she holds her son's hand, the cloak and gesture are represented only in part, but both these features are attested by the tomb of Queen *Mr-sy-ꜥnh* III, in a representation of her mother, Queen *Htp-hr.s* (Fig. 2c).¹⁰ In the last case, dating to the later years of the same dynasty, the "bald" area is reduced so that it corresponds almost exactly to the statue of Middle Kingdom style, viewed in profile. Here the arms are again folded on the chest, and, together with the cloak,

⁵ MMA 18.2.2, for which see PM VII, 398, and Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 215. Many other groups similarly combine cloaked male figures and uncloaked females; see Vandier, *op. cit.*, pls. 84–85, and Pl. 15 above.

⁶ MMA acc. no. 66.123.1; illustrated in *B MMA* 25 (1966), p. 76, and F.G. Hilton Price, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* II (London 1908), pl. 21 (4707); the latter shows that the base was inscribed in paint on at least one side, but the name was evidently too unclear to be read, and no trace of any signs can now be seen.

⁷ The drawing is taken from Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 48, p. 133.

⁸ The drawing has been made from Gardiner's photograph in *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 55. The figure has erroneously been identified as a man by Gardiner, *ibid.*, 258, and by Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie* I, p. 738; cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Kaplony, *Inschriften* II, p. 602, identifies the woman as a princess (*zst-nswt*).

⁹ The drawing is taken from Wm. K. Simpson, *Kawab. Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 26; for further bibliography see PM III², p. 188 (G 7140, I [2]).

¹⁰ The drawing is from Dunham and Simpson, *Mersy-anhk*, fig. 7; cf. PM III², p. 198 (6).

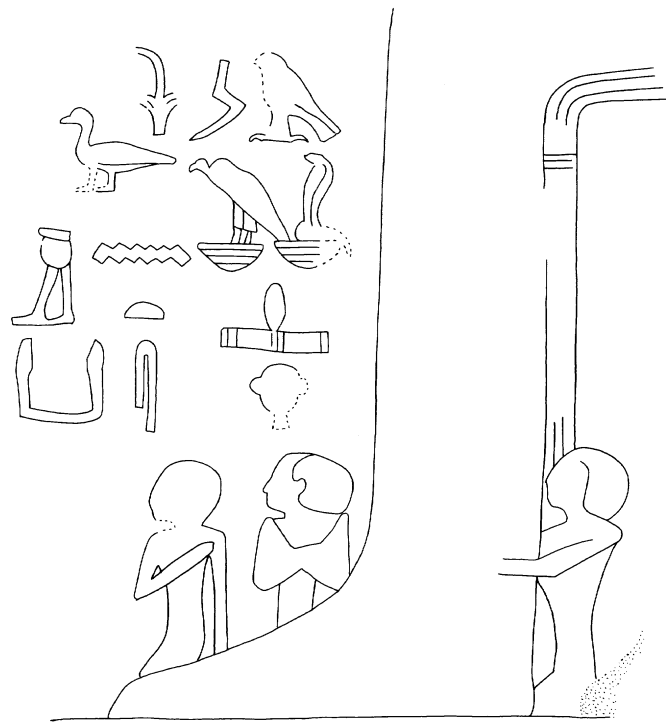


Fig. 1. Detail of relief of Djoser, Turin. After W.S. Smith

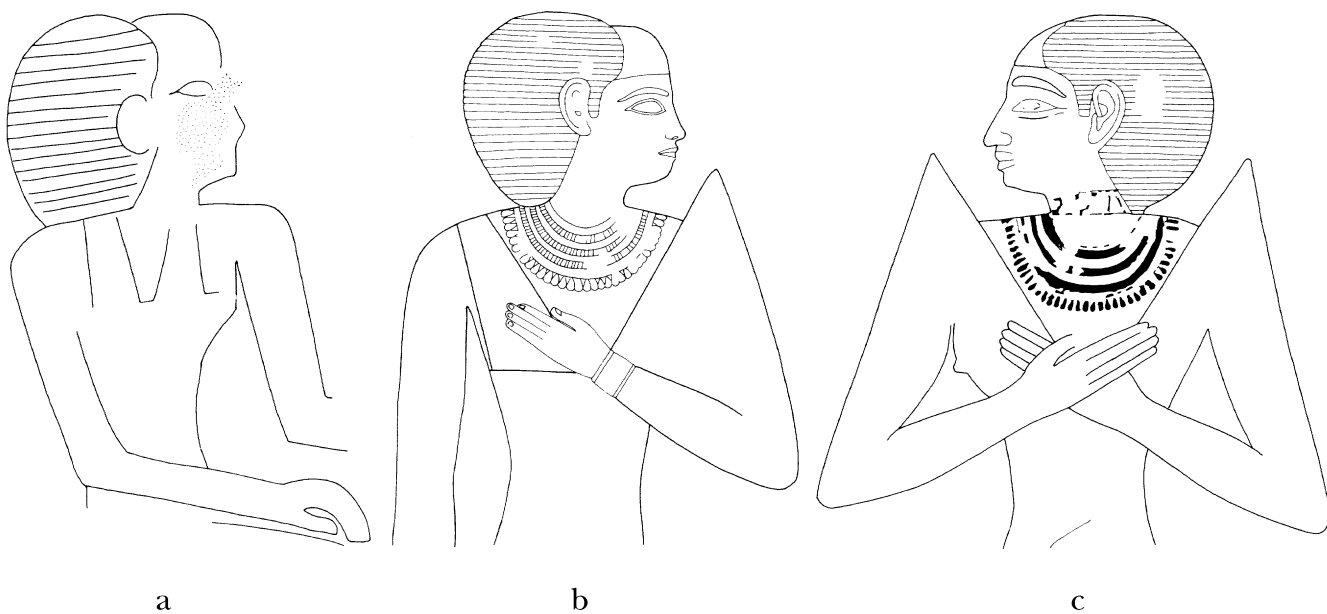


Fig. 2. Women's wigs: (a) Archaic stela; (b) Dyn. IV relief of *Hwfw-h^c.f*'s mother, after Smith; (c) Mother of *Mr-sy-nh* III, after Dunham and Simpson

they again form a pattern in the shape of x. Only the top of the cloak is indicated, confirming that it is also only partially indicated in the previous case. Unlike that of Djoser's queen, the cloak forms an angular peak high above the shoulders, but this feature was probably modified in three-dimensional sculpture, for the same form of cloak is evidently to be recognized in the early Fourth Dynasty statue of *Nfrt* from Medum (Fig. 3b),¹¹ and in a fragmentary statue of a woman which may come from the tomb of *Mr-sy-nh* III (Fig. 3a).¹²

Since we have no example of the horizontally banded wig in three-dimensional sculpture of the Old Kingdom, it remains uncertain whether the later statuette borrowed from such a source, or whether the borrowing derives from a two-dimensional representation. In any case two elements were added that are not to be found in any of the Third and Fourth Dynasty examples, namely the royal uraeus and the pair of vultures. A vulture headdress that covered the entire head was probably initially restricted to goddesses—most naturally Nekhbet, as well as to Nekhbet's Lower Egyptian counterpart, the cobra-goddess Uto. In the latter case the head of the vulture was replaced by that of a uraeus,¹³ and this may also have been true of the Lower Egyptian *Mrt*, for the two *Mrt*-goddesses originally seem to have been assimilated to Nekhbet and Uto, since the Old Kingdom representations (unlike later ones)¹⁴ show that they too wore the vulture headdress.¹⁵ Although some alabaster fragments of such a headdress have been attributed to queens of the Fourth Dynasty,¹⁶ the headdress is not known with certainty to have been attributed to queens until the later half of the Sixth Dynasty, when it became customary.¹⁷ A uraeus seemingly appears on the brow of the mother of Pepy II in a crude relief at Serabit el Khadim in the Sinai,¹⁸ as also in

¹¹ Cairo CG 4: PM IV, 91.

¹² MFA 30.1461. The drawing is from Wm. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 14 c, p. 43; cf. Dunham and Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 19.

¹³ Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re* II, pl. 21; *Grabd. Ne-us-er-re*, pl. 16 (cf. PM III², p. 337, Room west of Columned Hall). Dyn. VI: J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Le Temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Teti* (Cairo 1977), fig. 23; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II* III, pls. 36, 39.

¹⁴ A fragment of relief in the Brooklyn Museum (L 67.1) is the earliest example of the change, now dated by R. Fazzini to the reign of Amenophis I (*The Collector's Eye: The Ernest Erickson Collections at The Brooklyn Museum* [1987], no. 74). But this change may well have occurred in the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁵ See Fig. 3, p. 184 below, and the references on p. 183, n. 79. Also Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re* II, pl. 22. None of the few Old Kingdom examples is known to pertain to Lower Egypt, however.

¹⁶ Uvo Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig 1912), figs. 140, 141–44, pp. 102–103, show two alabaster heads of women, one more or less complete, the other fragmentary, each of which has a striated wig of unknown length surmounted by a vulture in relief. These might possibly belong to a group showing the king with a

goddess. The same is true of some similar alabaster fragments from Pyramid 3a, south of the Mycerinus Pyramid (George Reisner, *Mycerinus* [Cambridge, Mass. 1931], p. 108 and pl. 17d). The colossal statue of Queen *H'c-mrr-nbty*, Cairo J 48856 (PM III², p. 274), has no vulture on the head, nor does it appear in the dyad of Mycerinus and his wife (perhaps the same queen), for which see Reisner, *op. cit.*, pls. 54–60. And it is not to be seen in the Fourth Dynasty representations of queens mentioned earlier, nor in one dating to the Fifth Dynasty (Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re* II, pl. 16).

¹⁷ Cairo CG 1431 (facsimile in Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, fig. 58); Brooklyn 39.119 (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie* III, pl. 8 [4]; a vulture's head, supplementing the relief on top, presumably projected from the hole above the forehead; for further bibliography see James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, p. 28); Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 57 (7); Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II* III, pl. 4; *Pyrs. des reines*, fig. 2, pls. 4–5 (the drawing in pl. 4 mistakenly suggests that the broken head of the vulture is a uraeus); Cairo CG 255 (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie* III, pl. 9).

¹⁸ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, pl. 9 (17); cf. PM VII, p. 342.

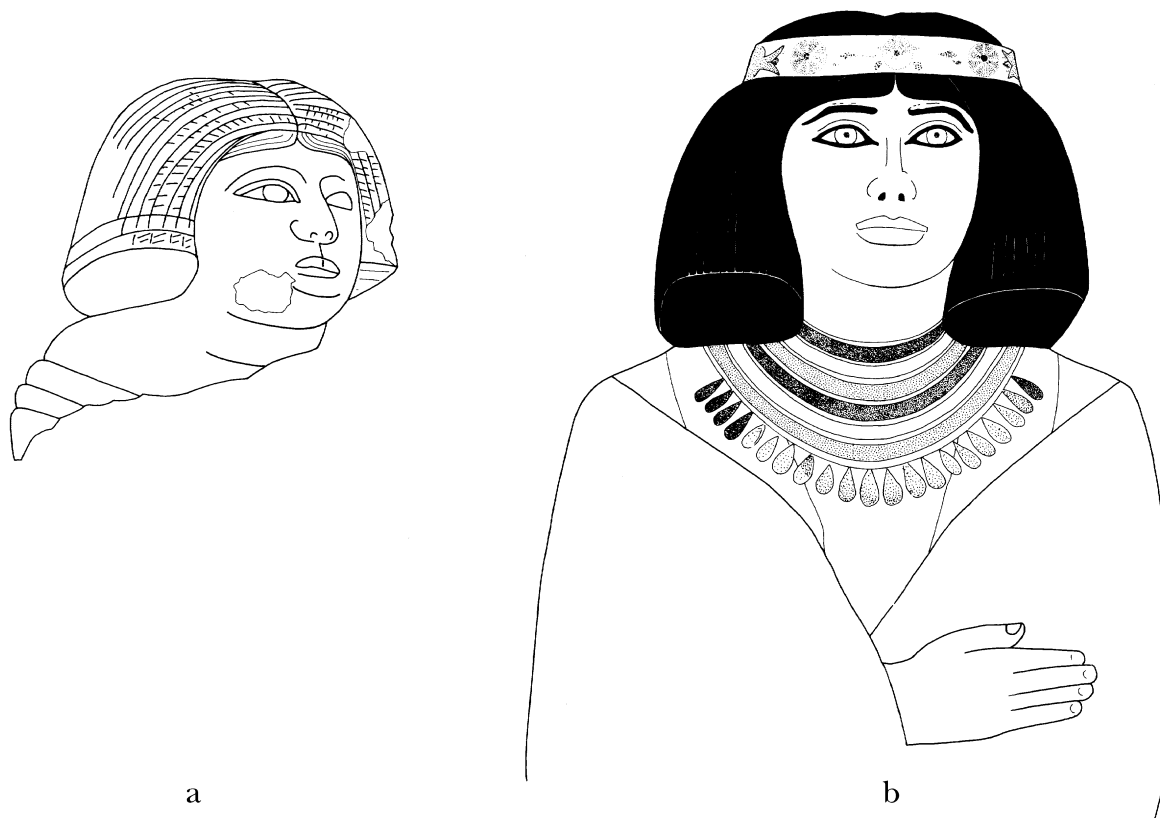


Fig. 3. Women's cloaks: (a) Dyn. IV statuette, after Smith;
(b) Dyn. IV statue of *Nfrt*, from a photograph

another case, where the same queen may be represented.¹⁹ It is not to be seen in other representations of the queen that are earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty,²⁰ at which point it is exemplified by the renowned pair of statues portraying the wife of Sesostris II,²¹ and at least a dozen other statuettes of queens and princesses, some doubtless belonging to the following dynasty.²² As far as sculpture is concerned, the vulture headdress apparently did not

¹⁹ Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 20, representing one of two wives of Pepy I.

²⁰ Representations of Dyn. VI queens lacking both vulture headdress and uraeus: Jequier, *Pyrs. des reines*, figs. 22, 24; *Oudjebten*, figs. 3, 6, 8, 26, pl. 13. Similar examples in Dyn. XI: Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple I*, pl. 17 (B, E, the latter also in Vol. II, pl. 18); Beatrix Geßler-Löhr and H.W. Müller, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (Munich 1972), p. 47 and pl. 20 (for which cf. Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re' II*, pl. 48).

²¹ Cairo CG 381–382; Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie* III, pl. 74 (1, 3); cf. PM IV, pp. 18–19.

²² Berlin 013.255 (–948: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, photo 10.424); Paris BN 24 (Vandier, *loc. cit.*, [2]); Cairo J 39741 (*ibid.*, [5]); MMA 08.202.7 (*ibid.*, [6]); Brooklyn 56.85 (Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951–1956* [Brooklyn 1956], p. 3, pls. 7–10, sphinx); Munich AS 5551 (*Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer*

Kunst [Munich 1972], p. 57 and pl. 25 [41]); Moscow, Pushkin Museum 1013 (V.V. Pavlov and S.I. Hodjash, *Egipetskaia Plastika Malji Form* [Moscow 1985], pl. 33); diorite torso, Sotheby's Monaco, *Catalogue of the Béhague Collection*, Dec. 5, 1987, no. 113; University College, London, 16657 (Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* [Cambridge 1988], no. 14); Walters Art Gallery 22.376 (G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore 1946], no. 65, uraeus erased for reuse by a non-royal woman; cf. *MMJ* 9 [1974], 7, n. 13); Brooklyn 43.137 (Romano, *MDAIK* 48 [1992], 131–43 and pl. 29); Boston MFA 67.9 (Terrace, *Connoisseur*, August 1968, 269); Istanbul Eski Sark Eserleri Müzesi, 1036 (B.V. Bothmer, *SAK* 6 [1978], pl. 8). Possibly one should add Uppsala 31 (Pehr Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden* [Leipzig 1922], pl. 1).

reappear until the New Kingdom,²³ although the wife of Amenemhet III wears it in a two-dimensional representation on her false door,²⁴ and a small vulture is affixed to one of the inlaid gold diadems from Dahshur, dating to the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty.²⁵ It became frequent in statuary of the New Kingdom, where the head of the vulture is usually replaced by that of the uraeus.²⁶ One curious statuette apparently dating to the Middle Kingdom represents a queen in the form of a human-headed bird, presumably a vulture, but the hair is not covered with plumage and the queen wears a uraeus.²⁷ This is as close an association of the vulture and uraeus as is found in Middle Kingdom statuary representing queens, and from no period, to my knowledge, is there a parallel for the combination of these elements as in the present case, with a pair of vultures flanking a complete uraeus.

The earliest possible date of the statuette is indicated by the very large ears and more particularly by the rather heavy lids of the remaining eye—features which are first encountered in representations of Sesostris III, and which are echoed in private statuary, both male and female²⁸ throughout the remainder of the Twelfth Dynasty, and in the Thirteenth Dynasty as well. No comparable example of archaism is known from this period—a borrowing of older features which, in this case, spans at least six centuries. Nor is archaism of any kind to be expected in the late Middle Kingdom. While the artistic production of the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty was inspired, to a considerable degree, by the Sixth Dynasty,²⁹ that source of inspiration had now been left behind in favor of changes that affected both style and iconography.

One is therefore impelled to consider the possibility that the fragment may be a composite of Old and Middle Kingdom archaisms that was created in the later half of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when the style of the Middle Kingdom exercised particularly strong influence.³⁰ As Bernard Bothmer has pointed out, however, no stone sculpture of a queen

²³ A life-sized head, Brooklyn 65.134.3, was initially thought to be early 12th Dyn., but is now dated later than the New Kingdom; this will be published by Biri Fay. Walters Art Gallery 22.405, which also has the vulture headdress, is considered by Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie III*, p. 315 to be early Dyn. XVIII rather than Middle Kingdom as Steindorff supposes (*op. cit.*, no. 31), and Edna Russmann informs me that she believes it may belong to the Late Period.

²⁴ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II* (Vienna 1903), fig. 147. Another example appears on a stela of the end of Dyn. XIII: Louvre C 13; the date of which is discussed by Spalinger, *RdE* 32 (1980), 95–116, and illustrated on pl. 8.

²⁵ Cairo CG 52860: Erika Feucht, in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, p. 388 and pl. LVa. For the date (not much before Neferhotep I) see Bruce Williams, *Serapis* 3 (1975–76), 48.

²⁶ E.g., Cairo CG 572, CG 42009, J 45076 (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie III*, pl. 104 [5–7]; the cobra head evidently appears in the first two cases, and probably all

three); MMA 16.10.224 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 26, p. 55); Barracco 13 (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie III*, pl. 98 [7], Giorgio Carredu, *Museo Barracco di scultura antica: la collezione egizia*, no. 17); Vienna ÄS 5778 (Brigitte Jaroš-Decker, *Statuen des Mittleren Reichs und der 18. Dynastie* [CAA Wien, Mainz/ Rhein 1988], pp. 126–31).

²⁷ Keimer, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 182–92.

²⁸ The most striking example is Berlin 14475 (Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie III*, pl. 74 [4]), which he believes to be a queen, and specifically the wife of Sesostris III (*ibid.*, p. 223, n. 5); but the head bears neither the vulture headdress nor the uraeus.

²⁹ For the Eleventh Dynasty see *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 240–52. For the early Twelfth Dynasty see Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 183 and fig. 114 on p. 186.

³⁰ Bernard V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn 1960), p. xxxvii. E. Russmann also notes archaisms of other periods, ranging from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty onward, but not so early as the Middle Kingdom (*MMJ8* [1973], 39–40 and n. 22).

or non-royal woman is known to have been made during that dynasty, and although a few statues of couples may be attributed to it, and some representing women are known from the following dynasty, they are still infrequent at that time.³¹ The only other point that might be made in favor of this alternative is the fact that globular wigs reappear on most of the surviving statues of queens and non-royal women dating to Dyns. XXII–XXVI,³² having gone out of fashion since the Eleventh Dynasty. While these wigs show the conventional pattern of overlapping locks, their shape may have favored the reappearance of the more distinctively archaic style.

In short, one must weigh two improbabilities. It seems extraordinary that archaisms drawn from the early Old Kingdom would appear in statuary of the late Middle Kingdom, precisely when traditions of the Old Kingdom had been so completely abandoned in sculpture; and to this difficulty is added the unexpected pair of vultures. On the other hand, while the combination of Old and Middle Kingdom archaisms is known from the Late Period,³³ one hesitates to attribute the statuette of a queen to the period when such archaism was most favored. Furthermore it must be acknowledged that the late Middle Kingdom style of the fragment is so pronounced that one would hardly conceive it to be a work of the Late Period were it not for its anachronistic peculiarities.³⁴

Addendum

As this volume was nearing readiness for the press, I learned that, owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of The Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Department, Biri Fay has taken up the same subject, covering most of the essential points of this chapter, in a symposium organised by the French Institute in Cairo, at the end of 1994. On hearing that this topic had already been discussed in the present volume, she has very graciously withdrawn the relevant portion of her remarks from her written report. Even more generously, she has offered me a most interesting discovery of her own, namely the existence of

³¹ Bothmer et al., *loc. cit.*

³² Keromama, Louvre N 500, Dyn. XXII: Aldred et al., *L'Égypte du crépuscule* (Paris 1980), pls. 105, 108, 176. Takushit, Athens, Dyn. XXIV: *ibid.*, pl. 275. Non-royal, Berlin 2309, Dyn. XXV: Steffen Wenig, *Die Frau im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1967), pl. 93. Ankhnesneferibre, Cairo CG 42205, Dyn. XXVI. Cf. also the other naked statuette of a woman, dating to Dyn. XXVI, MMA 30.8.93, which probably wore a uraeus (L. Becker, L. Pilosi, D. Schorsch, *MMJ* 29 [1994], 37–56) and the somewhat earlier statuettes discussed by Elizabeth Riefstahl, *Brooklyn Museum Journal* 1943–1944, 7–23.

³³ A very good example is to be found in Louvre A 89, dated by Bothmer to Dyn. XXV (*ibid.*, p. 8). This shows a standing couple; the man has an Old Kingdom wig and Middle Kingdom kilt, while the woman conversely has a

Middle Kingdom wig and an Old Kingdom style of dress, with the shoulder straps forming an angle. In this case, however, the faces betray the later period. I am obliged to Professor Bothmer for providing me with a photograph of the statue, which I know only from the original. He also notes that the provenance is thought to be Heliopolis, and that he knows of several other couples, both in stone and in wood, that are archaizing in the same manner.

³⁴ The difficulty of distinguishing late Middle Kingdom style from that of Dyn. XXV is illustrated by MMA 02.4.191, which is dated “probably” to the later period by Bothmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9, but subsequently redated to Dyn. XIII: Bothmer and De Meulenaere, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard Parker* (Hanover, N.H. 1986), p. 11, n. 34.

a hitherto unnoticed granite head, which, although much battered, shows the same type of archaizing wig as does the fragmentary statue in New York: Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 595 (Pl. 20).³⁵ The overall shape of the globular wig is in fact more similar than one might suppose from a front view, for the apparent crease at the center is due to a large pit in the crown of the head. The horizontal striations are much the same, as is the shape of the smooth central area, and the half-erased features again reflect the royal physiognomy of the late Middle Kingdom.³⁶ The surface is too worn to detect any trace of a pair of vultures, if these were present, but the ghostly outline of cobra's hood confirms the existence of a uraeus. Traces of a half-dozen evenly spaced lines, which are visible at spectator's left, below the wig, are suggestive of a necklace, but there is no trace of beaded segmentation, and the lines are so nearly vertical that they may belong to a shoulder strap,³⁷ in which case there would not have been a cloak. The use of a harder type of stone³⁸ probably explains the lesser depth of undercutting at the edge of the wig. Although both heads belonged to statuettes, the scale in this case is decidedly larger, by about a third. But there is little doubt that both belong to the same period. And the survival of two such examples—so similar, yet of different scale and material—seems more understandable if they derive from the Middle Kingdom than if one accepts the later alternative.

³⁵ See Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (Copenhagen 1950), no. 116, described as "tête d'une statuette d'homme. Acquisée en 1894 dans le commerce de l'art, en Egypte. Granit. ... Basse époque." There is no illustration. Biri Fay came upon it in the Late Period photographic archives of Bernard Bothmer, where the date was left in doubt. Koefoed-Petersen gives the height as 13 cm, subsequently revised to 12 cm. The surface is so abraded on all sides that the head, once detached, must have been used for grinding or pounding.

³⁶ This face, unlike the other one, has not been photo-

graphed at eye level, but from below, making it somewhat difficult to compare the two.

³⁷ The statues of Queen Nofret, CG 381–382, show a necklace and pectoral, but necklaces are not usual on Middle Kingdom statues of either sex. Probably nothing is to be made of the absence of vertical lines on the corresponding area on the opposite side, of which much less is preserved.

³⁸ Although its identification may not be altogether accurate, the stone is certainly quite hard, as is indicated by the reuse of the head as a tool.

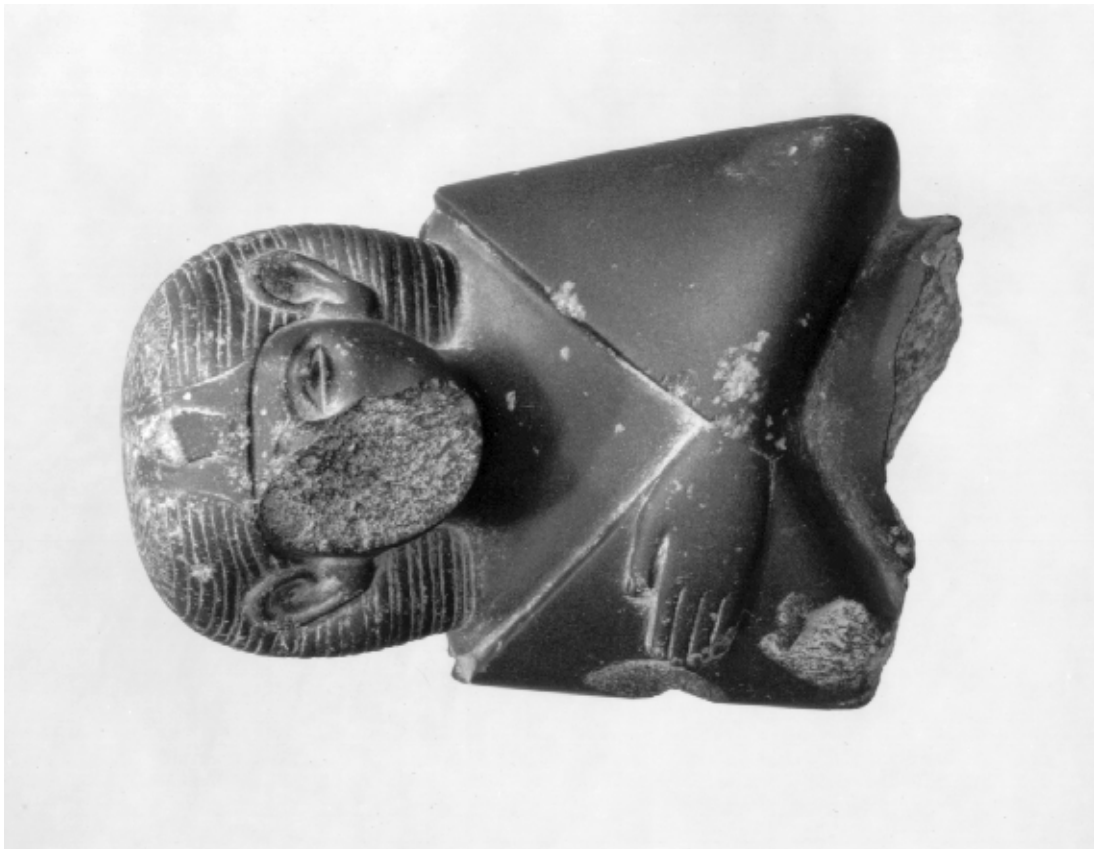


Plate 17. Metropolitan Museum 65.59.1
Rogers Fund, 1965



Plate 18. Metropolitan Museum 65.59.1



Plate 19a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 932. *Courtesy of the Museum*



Plate 19b. Berlin 4435
Courtesy Staatliche Museen



Plate 19c. Louvre E 11576
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 19d. Cairo J 345572, after Kamal

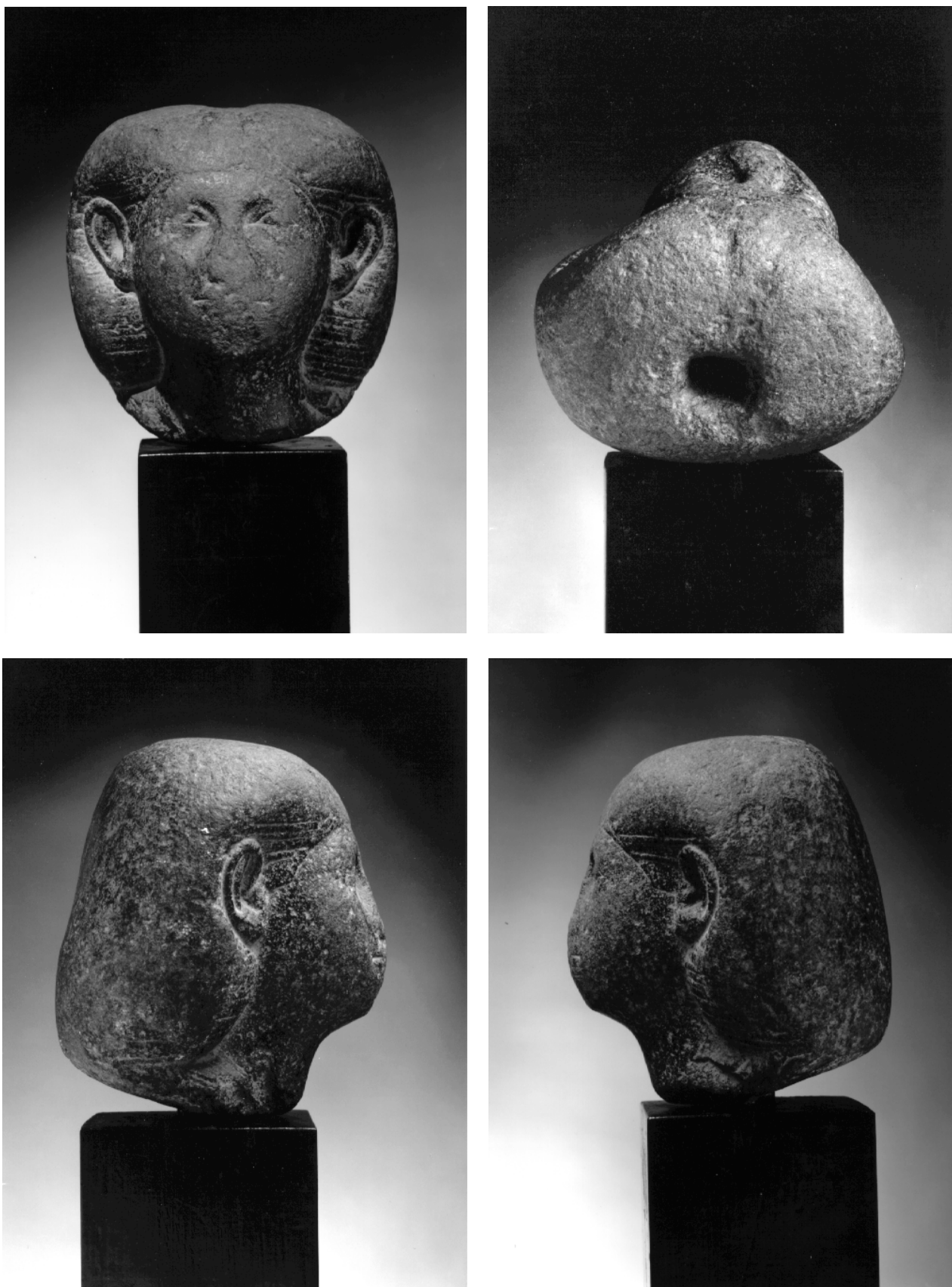


Plate 20. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 595
Courtesy of the Museum

12. A Shrine and Statue of the Thirteenth Dynasty

The painted limestone monument shown in Plate 21 (MMA 69.30) is clearly to be identified as the back of a miniature chapel, more complete examples of which are to be found in the Hermitage¹ and the Louvre.² The sides of the two chapels are about twice as broad as the end piece, which, in the present case is 33.5 x 53 cm. To judge from these other examples, the missing wall on the left portrayed the deceased in the company of his family, while the one on the right was occupied by scenes of daily life. The date of the chapel in Leningrad is established by one of the owner's titles; he is "the treasurer of the vizier *nḥw*," who is known to have lived in the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably as late as the reign of Khendjer.³ There is no reason to think that the other chapels are much earlier, although the piece in New York shows better workmanship.

As in the chapels that have just been mentioned, the top is surmounted by a *hkr*-frieze, below which is a large pair of *wḏst*-eyes flanking the *šn*-sign. The tomb owner and his wife stand at the left, accompanied by a woman of smaller size whose relationship is not specified but, like the wife, is a "mistress of the house." On the right, below a chest in the form of a shrine, are a kneeling woman and a standing man, each of whom presents offerings—the first, apparently, two bags of incense, and the second a jar of ointment.

Three of the figures call for further comment. The triple kilt is to be found on a few other stelae of the Thirteenth Dynasty, including BM 254,⁴ MMA 63.154 (Plate 26) and Copenhagen ÆIN 964, the last two belonging to the same individual.⁵ It is known again from the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Tuthmosis III.⁶ Suggestions of double kilts are first known from the reign of Amenemhet II;⁷ they appear more clearly on a stela of the reign of Amenemhet III,⁸ and in the latest of the Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Meir,⁹ as well as

¹ Hermitage 1063, 1064, and 1075; Lourié, *Mélanges Maspero* I, 907 f.; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pls. 78 f.

² Louvre C 16–18; Boreux, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 45–48; Simpson, *op. cit.*, pls. 70 f.

³ For the dossier of the vizier and his date see Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 173.

⁴ *Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. 26.

⁵ See Excursus III below.

⁶ Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, pls. 3, 4.

⁷ Louvre E 3462 (*RdE* 24 [1972], pl. 7 [B], foll. p. 66;

really a translucent underwrapping of the same kilt) and CG 20538 (the latter doubtful; see Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* IV, pl. 75 [272]. Rita Freed, in an M.A. dissertation for New York University, *Representation and Style of Dated Private Stelae of Dyn. XII* (1976), pp. 56–57 refers to these examples as well as to Leiden V 5, which is equally well dated (Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 34 and cf. pl. 35).

⁸ Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 7.

⁹ Blackman, *Meir* VI, pls. 11, 13, 17, 19.

on a number of stelae, some of which are probably as late as the dynasty following.¹⁰ This fashion is attested in the Seventeenth Dynasty,¹¹ and in the Eighteenth down to the reign of Amenophis III.¹²

The attire of the servant girl is particularly interesting (Pl. 22a). She wears a strapless skirt that leaves her breasts exposed, and her coiffure tapers to a point from which a pigtail falls rather abruptly. The hair is also traversed by wavy lines added in black paint, which emphasize a rippled contour.

A stela of the same period in Moscow shows a servant with a similar strapless skirt and coiffure, the latter banded by incised lines¹³ (Fig. 1a). Although young women,¹⁴ as well as boys,¹⁵ sometimes show a pigtail or pendant lock at the back of the head, I know of only four other cases in which the shape of the hair is otherwise similar. One of these appears on the contemporaneous MMA 63.154 (Pl. 22b) and here the girl is exceptionally labelled "Asiatic" rather than "servant."¹⁶ Another example, probably equally late (Fig. 1b)¹⁷ is much less detailed than a third (Fig. 1c)¹⁸ which is surprisingly early—probably dating to the Twelfth Dynasty. The most detailed rendering of the coiffure is provided by the head of a statuette of indurated limestone in Brussels, 9 cm high (Pl. 23).¹⁹ It has previously been described as Hittite and dated to the New Kingdom, but, in view of its relationship to the reliefs, it is presumably Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty. Regardless of the attitude, this was originally a fairly sizable piece of sculpture, about two-thirds life size, and its scale suggests that the coiffure in question may not have been confined to servants. The hair appears to be encircled by six bands, which may, however, simply be a conventionalized rendering of natural waves; it is braided at the top and the braid falls straight downward. This is probably not a foreign feature, and in any case I have been unable to identify it with certainty from the representations of foreigners of earlier and later date.

¹⁰ BM 1562 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. 34); 928 (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 30); Liverpool E 30 (Kitchen, *JEA* 47 [1961], 10–18 and pl. II; 48 [1962], 159 f. Dyn. XIII, temp. Khendjer); CG 20498, 20243 (evidently Dyn. XII).

¹¹ *Hieroglyphic Texts* IV, pls. 18–21.

¹² Tuthmosis III: Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, pls. 2, 8, 10; Tuthmosis IV: Norman Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials* (London 1923), pls. 13, 14, 15, 20, 26; Amenophis II: Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, p. 24 and pl. 52.

¹³ Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 40, pp. 86–89.

¹⁴ Cairo J 49927 (servant in tomb of Queen *Njrw*, Dyn. XI: MMA photo M7C 174); late M.K. or Dyn. XIII examples include CG 20549 (Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 41), CG 20709, 20706, 20694, 20731, 20376, 20736 (pictured in this sequence, Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* IV, pls. 67 [163–67], 68 [169]); Garstang, *El Arábah* (London 1901), pl. 12 (E 312, servant in bottom register).

¹⁵ Engelbach and Gunn, *Harageh*, pls. 71, 73; Cairo CG

20290, 20331, 20679, 20440, 20346, 20394, 20629, 20672 (pictured in this sequence, Lange and Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 (97–104)). Also CG 1481. Cf. the discussion of statuettes presenting jars by Barry Kemp in Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz 1980), pp. 147–50.

¹⁶ Note, however, that the same individual wears a long wig on the Copenhagen stela, and also has a different designation (probably *wbsyt*) before the name: see Excursus III below, comment m.

¹⁷ Cairo CG 20747: Lange and Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pls. 67 (168), 114 (959).

¹⁸ BM 162: *Hieroglyphic Texts* IV, pl. 33; Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 6.

¹⁹ Brussels E 6749: M. Werbrouck, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire: Département Egyptien: Album* (Brussels 1934), pl. 25. I am indebted to Arpag Mekhitarian for preparing the photographs shown here, and to Pierre Gilbert for permitting me to publish them.

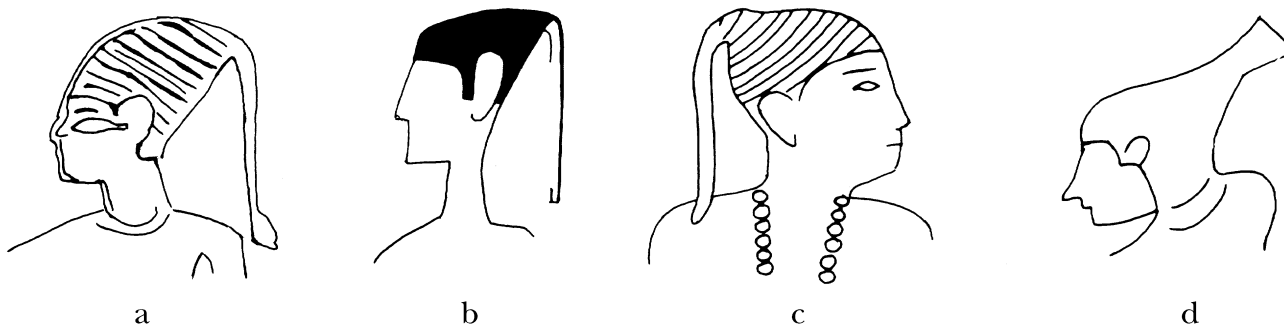


Fig. 1. Hair of servant girl and comparable examples, Dyns. XII–XIII

It may also be considered whether there is any relationship between the coiffure in question and another worn by servants, as shown in Fig. 1d).²⁰ Here the hair might conceivably be held in a similar way, but in no case is there any evidence of ribbing, and the hair does not terminate in a pigtail.

Finally, it should be noted that the presentation of a jar of ointment is attested fairly early in the Twelfth Dynasty,²¹ in the reign of Sesostris I, but is more commonly encountered on stelae dating to the end of the dynasty and Dynasty XIII, and in such cases it is usually the sole presentation; MMA 68.14 (Pl. 25) provides a typical example.²²

The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

Above the owner: (1) An offering which the king gives and Amen-[Re], Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, that he may give (2) exhalations of myrrh and incense^a (3) to the *k3* of the Judge and Voice of Nekhen^b *ꜥn*,^c born of *Hw*,^d justified.

Above his wife: (1) And to the *k3* of his wife, the Mistress of the House *Z3t-Imn*^e (2) born of *Nfrw*,^f justified.

Above second woman: The Mistress of the House, *Snbty*,^g justified.

Before offering bearers: The sweet breath of life^h to thy nose,ⁱ Judge and Voice of Nekhen *ꜥn*, justified. Making (over) *mdt-oil*^j to the *k3* of the Judge and Voice of Nekhen *ꜥn*, justified.

Before the kneeling woman: The maidservant^k *Snb-Dd3-m3-ḥrw*^l

Before the standing man: The *wꜥb*-priest of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, *Rn(.i)-snb*.^m

Comments (a) *ḫw m* (lit. “wind from”) is unexpected. The preposition evidently expresses either equivalence (“namely”) or kind (“consisting of”); see Gardiner, *Grammar*,

²⁰ From Lange and Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pl. 67 (158), a detail of CG 20346 uniformly painted black. This occurs as early as Dyn. XI (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XI, bottom left), in Dyn. XII (Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 29 [mourners, a weaver]) and Dyn. XIII (Kitchen, *JEA* 47 [1961], pl. 3, opp. p. 13). In the last case the coiffure comes to a point at the end. The head of a glazed statuette (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* [New York 1906], p. 150 and pl. 155 [1] following) shows a similar coiffure, the end of which again shows an enlargement, but is possibly broken; the date is uncertain, but may well be New Kingdom.

²¹ Alnwick (Durham University) 1932: Simpson, *op. cit.*,

pl. 48; CG 20516.

²² See Excursus II below. Other examples include Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* II, pls. 15 (15), 27 (37), 33 (43); *Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pls. 46 (BM 215), 48 (BM 239); W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische Grabsteine* III (Strasbourg 1906), pl. 2; CG 20226, 20476, 20556, 20754; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London 1880), pl. 7; B. Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968), 14, fig. 2; Louvre C 85 (*MMJ* 5 [1972], 20); Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1951.344, Berlin 7286 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 28), Parma 178 (*ibid.*, pl. 83).

Black: Traces in incised border line at top; over entire rim of *wḏst*-eyes; in incised dividing line below *wḏst*-eyes; in dividing lines above, below and between broad bands at bottom of stela. All hair; in the case of the offering woman the pattern of hair is indicated by wavy lines of heavier black pigment. Staff, except tip. Inner outline of tomb owner's kilt. Outline of eye of the man presenting a jar.

Excursus II: MMA 68.14

The limestone stela shown in Plate 25, 39 cm in height, is of unknown provenance (most probably Abydos). The figures, arranged in three registers are reduced to mere silhouettes, probably originally filled uniformly with green or blue along with the hieroglyphs, although there is now no trace of pigment.

In the uppermost register the owner is seated at the left, wearing a shoulder-length wig and long kilt, one hand extended towards a pair of tall offering stands supporting bowls, an offering table and two jars of wine perched on ringstands. His inscription reads: (1) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Abydos, to the *k3* of (2) the Overseer of Treasurers and Liegemen of the King^a *Izi*,^b (3) born of the Mistress of the House *Bwḏw*,^c justified, (4) engendered by the revered *Ibi*, justified.

A man standing opposite, presenting a jar of ointment, is wigless and wears a projecting kilt; he is: The son of the Supervisor of the *tm*,^d *Rn-snb*, justified, (named) *Rs*, justified, born of the Mistress of the House *Hmt*, justified.

Middle register, man at left: (1) The liegeman *Z3-Imn*, justified, born of (2) the Mistress of the House *ḥnh-it.i*.^e The man facing him is: (1) The revered *P3-ḥm(t).nw*,^f justified, born of *Rn.s-snb*. The woman at right: The mistress of the House *Hmt*, justified, possessor of reverence.

Bottom register, man at left: (1) The attendant(?)^g *Htp-Hnmw*,^h born of (2) the Mistress of the House *Ik*, justified. The man facing him: (1) The Liegeman of the Ruler,ⁱ *Tti*, justified (2) born of *Mwt*, justified. Three columns at the right identify two(?) other women as follows: (1) The Mistress of the House *Snb*, justified, born of (2) the Mistress of the House *Rn.s-snb*, justified, (3) (and?) her daughter, *Hc-kzw*,^j justified.

Comments: (a) Cf. Ward, *Index*, no. 1523, where 𓂏 normally shows honorific transposition.

(b) Ranke, *PNI*, 46 (5) gives a single example of the same period, but probably not the same person although the mother's name is rather similar: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

(c) *PNII*, 276 (25) gives a single example from the New Kingdom.

(d) See Ward, *Index*, no. 1087; judging from the variant writing $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG 20430) *tm* refers to land, and the same connection is suggested by the hymn quoted by Schafer, *ZÄS* 40 (1903), 96.

(e) Cf. *PNI*, 63 (3), where *ḥnh* clearly precedes. Note 𓂏 for suffix *i*.

(f) Evidently $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is the same as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, "The Third" (*PNI*, 116 [12], II, 354).

(g) I.e., ḥ^{c} (Ward, *Index*, no. 625) rather than šm^{c} (*ibid.*, no. 1339), although the choice is difficult; cf. my *Titles*, p. 74.

(h) Or Ḥnmw-ḥtp ; but cf. *PNI*, 276 (6) and 426 (27), II, 404.

(i) Ward, *Index*, no. 1526. The writing of Ḥ in the present case is exceptional.

(j) *PNI*, 264 (24) gives only masculine examples, but (25) both a feminine and a masculine example of $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{-kzw-R}^{\text{c}}$; these may be abbreviations of longer names mentioning Sesostri III (*PNI*, 264 [26], 265 [1–2], 315 [17]). For the fusion of Ḥ Ḥ cf. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. 17 (1, 2).

As is so often the case in stelae of the late Middle Kingdom and Dyn. XIII, many individuals are named whose relationship to the owner is not specified. His wife, who is mentioned as his son's mother in the uppermost register, presumably appears at the right of the register beneath. The *Rn.s-nb* mentioned in the middle and bottom registers may or may not be the same person since the name is very common, as are all the other names except those mentioned in the comments.

Excursus III, MMA 63.154 (Pl. 26)

The height of the stela is 120 cm. Although some of the figures are darkened, there is no clear evidence of the pigments that were originally applied. The stone had been clumsily repaired before it was purchased, with an excessive amount of plaster filling the cracks. After this plaster had been removed in the process of desalinization, some recutting of detail became evident, most notably in the figure of the dwarf before the deceased, in the second register from the bottom. This recutting could be distinguished from the original carving by means of ultra-violet light, and has been eliminated.

The stela displays five registers, which will be labeled A–E, from top to bottom. At the top (A) are a pair of *wdwt*-eyes flanked by “Anubis of Upper Egypt” (left) and “Anubis of Lower Egypt” (right). The next register (B) contains three horizontal lines of inscription (→). Register C shows the deceased and his wife standing at the left, addressed by two smaller registers of sons (at the top) and daughters (below). In the next register (D) the deceased is shown seated at the right (←) receiving offerings from six servants, including two men, two women and two male dwarfs. The bottom register (E) shows the parents of the deceased seated at the right (←), addressed by “his son” (probably a brother of the deceased), who invokes offerings, and by four other men who carry lotus blossoms.

Wm. K. Simpson has mentioned the fact that two other stelae belong to the same individual: Cairo CG 20612 and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 964.²⁹ Many of the same individuals appear on the latter, and these have been marked with an asterisk (*).

²⁹ Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 59, pp. 21, 24 and pl. 81. Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 373, suggests that the same *Rn(i)-snb*, with the title štw n Tt ḥq (which appears on the Copenhagen stela) is mentioned in Papyrus Boulaq 18 and on the fragment in D. Randall-MacIver,

El Amrah and Abydos (London 1902), pl. 38; but in the latter case this is the father of a woman who is not mentioned among the daughters on MMA 63.154 or the Copenhagen stela; the name of the man's wife is also different. For the Copenhagen stela see Koefoed-Petersen,

The texts of registers B–E may be translated as follows:

B (1) An offering that the king gives (to) Osiris Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he may give invocation offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (jars of ointment) and clothing, libations and incense,^a oil, offerings of food, and every offering,^b (2) all yearly offerings,^c and everything goodly and pure on which a god lives, that which the sky bestows, earth creates and the inundation brings;^d the two hands, that they may give; (3) the flood, that it may purify; Thoth, that he offer^e to the *k3* of the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Director of the Broad Hall^f *Rn(.i)-snb** possessor of reverence, born of *Znt*, justified. And his wife, his beloved, the Mistress of the House *Nhy**, justified.

C (1) His son, the Inspector of Liegemen, *Rn.frs**,^g justified

(2) His son, the Inspector of Liegemen, *Ddw-Sbk**, justified

(3) His son, the Supervisor of the *tm*, *Nb-Swmnw**

(5) His daughter, *Hnsw-ir.f-ib**^h

(6) His daughter, *Nbw-hr-hnt**

(7) His daughter, *Ti-nt-Nbw**ⁱ

D (1) The Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Director of the Broad Hall, *Rn(.i)-snb**

(2) [The baker(?)]^j *3-Hr*(*)

(3) The major domo *Wr-n(.i)-Imn*, who is called *Rsi**^k

(4) The major domo *Ii.wy**^l

(5) The Asiatic^m *Snb-Rn(.i)-snb**

(6) The servant *Rn(.i)-snb*

(7) *Zst-k3-Iwnw* (another servant)*

E (1) His father, the stalwart of the townⁿ *cnhhw**

(2) His (his father's) wife, the Mistress of the House *Znt**

(3) His (his father's) son, the stalwart of the town, *Ddw-Sbk**^o

(4) The Inspector of Liegemen *Ib-ir**

(5) The Inspector of Liegemen *Mny**

(6) The Inspector of Liegemen *Mntw-htp**^p

(7) The Inspector of Liegemen *In**^q

Comments: (a) For this combination, which may be reversed, see *Wb.* V, 28 (15), 29 (1–2).

(b) The terminal sign is well discussed by Jéquier, *BIFAO* 7 (1910), 89–94, but he misleadingly gives the impression that it is to be read *hnkt*; the rectangular basket is only known as a determinative of this word and of various feasts entailing offerings. See also Lapp, *Opferformel*, §§ 247–50.

Stèles, no. 16, pp. XXII–XXIV, 15–17 (where, on p. 16, it is noted that the reading of many of the inscriptions relies on

Henry Madsen, *Revue égyptologique* 12 [1907], 218–20), pls. 16a, 16b.

(c) Junker (*Giza* III, pp. 111–13; IV, p. 27) persuasively argues that the generally accepted translation “vegetables” should be revised thus in the present context, and the counter-arguments of Lapp, *Opferformel*, §§ 243–46, are not entirely convincing except for his evidence from the New Kingdom. In § 243 the determinative of $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$ cannot be considered the equivalent of $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$, to which it is sometimes added.

(d) Considered to be a late Middle Kingdom formula by Bennet, *JEA* 44 (1958), 121. Also noted by Barta, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 79 (Bitte 108) for the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Dynasty generally. An apparently early Twelfth Dynasty occurrence is to be found in Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 12, lacking “what the inundation brings.” This much of the phrase is also known from Old Kingdom titles (for which see my *Titles*, p. 7 [289d]), and from a title in the late Eleventh Dynasty tomb of *Dꜥgi* (*ibid.*, p. 10 [420a]), while the addition of *innt hꜥpy* occurs in a second title of the same date (*ibid.*, [420b]).

(e) For this formula see Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 65, 79, Bitte 82, and Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 5 (c). Like the preceding formula, it occurs in Blackman, *Meir* II, pls. 6–7, where the two arms are oddly specified as “my two arms,” *bsw* appears instead of *bꜥh* “flood,” and Anubis instead of Thoth (in this case noted by Barta). An even earlier example, on a stela of the Eleventh Dynasty (Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, p. 69 [no. 26]), shows the first two phrases in what was to become the traditional form $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \text{ 𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \text{ 𓄏} \end{array}$.

(f) For further examples see Ward, *Index*, no. 1147. Presumably a judicial title, as it was in the Old Kingdom (Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 34, 72 f.). In one case it is preceded by the title “vizier” (J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* [Cairo 1902], fig. 119) and in two other cases it is held by the father or son of a vizier (Habachi, *Heqaib*, p. 67, fig. 1; p. 69, fig. 5, the latter the same individual mentioned in Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 227, top center, as Habachi notes).

(g) Evidently misread as *Rn.f-snb* on the Stockholm stela, the surface of which is less well preserved (Koefoed-Petersen, *Stèles*, p. XXII). The title (identical in both cases) is a common one (Ward, *Index*, no. 1336).

(h) The name of this daughter is reduced to *Hnsw* on the Copenhagen stela. The full name is not recorded by Ranke, but comparable names are to be found in *PNI*, 12 (9, 11).

(i) The name transcribed $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$ by Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII, is to be emended accordingly.

(j) Restoring $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$ (Ward, *Index*, no. 860). A man of the same name on the Copenhagen stela is *wꜥpw* “butler” but may possibly represent the same individual.

(k) Neither name is recorded by Ranke, but for the first cf. *PNI*, 81 (9, 11).

(l) The Copenhagen stela has $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$, in which $\begin{array}{c} \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} \end{array}$ is apparently a determinative of the title (contra Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. XXIV).

(m) The Copenhagen stela precedes this name by a different designation, which is probably to be read *wꜥꜣyt*. There the same title *wꜥꜣyt* is applied to the other maidservant (D, 7 below).

(n) Discussed by Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971), 23–48, who emphasizes the military and quasi-military association of the title.

(o) Assuming that “his” refers to the father rather than to the owner of the stela, this would be a brother of the latter; his title does not agree with that of the owner’s son who has the same name. Furthermore the Copenhagen stela likewise represents two men named *Ddw-Sbk*, one of whom is the owner’s son, and has his title, while the other, whose relationship is unspecified, is similarly *ꜥnh n nꜣwt*.

(p) Identified on the Copenhagen stela as *sn.f n mwt.f* (in Madsen’s copy), evidently not “maternal uncle” as Koefoed-Petersen says, but a brother born of the same mother.

(q) Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII, indicates a lacuna at the end of this name, but the lacuna is probably to be deleted since the title is likewise the same, and it probably represents the same individual.



Plate 21. Metropolitan Museum 69.30
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Fund Gift, 1969



Plate 22a. Detail of Metropolitan Museum 69.30



Plate 22b. Detail of Metropolitan Museum 63.154
Pulitzer Bequest Fund, 1963

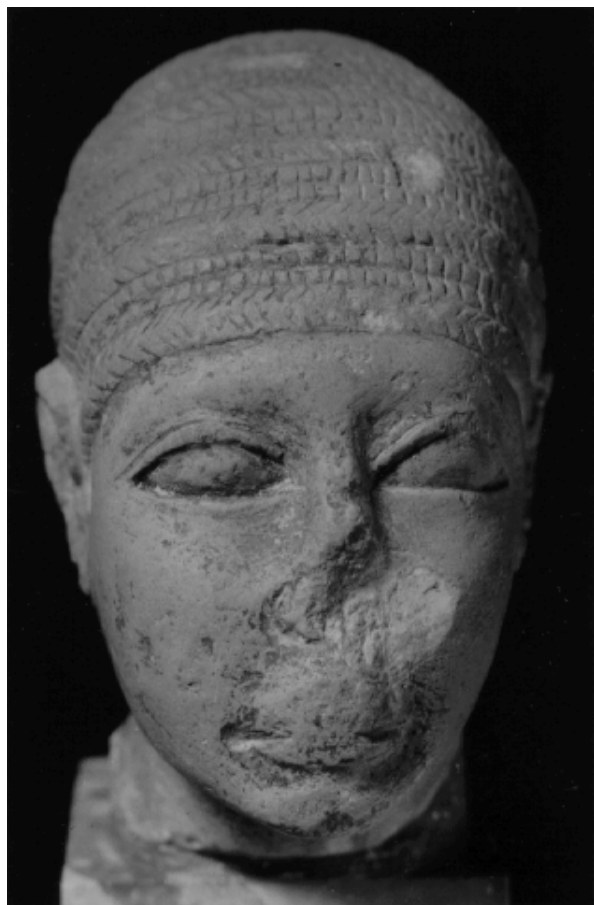


Plate 23. Brussels E 6749
Courtesy Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire



Plate 24. Metropolitan Museum 1976.383
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1976



Plate 25. Metropolitan Museum 68.14
Purchase, Dr. and Mrs. Edmundo Lasalle Gift, 1968

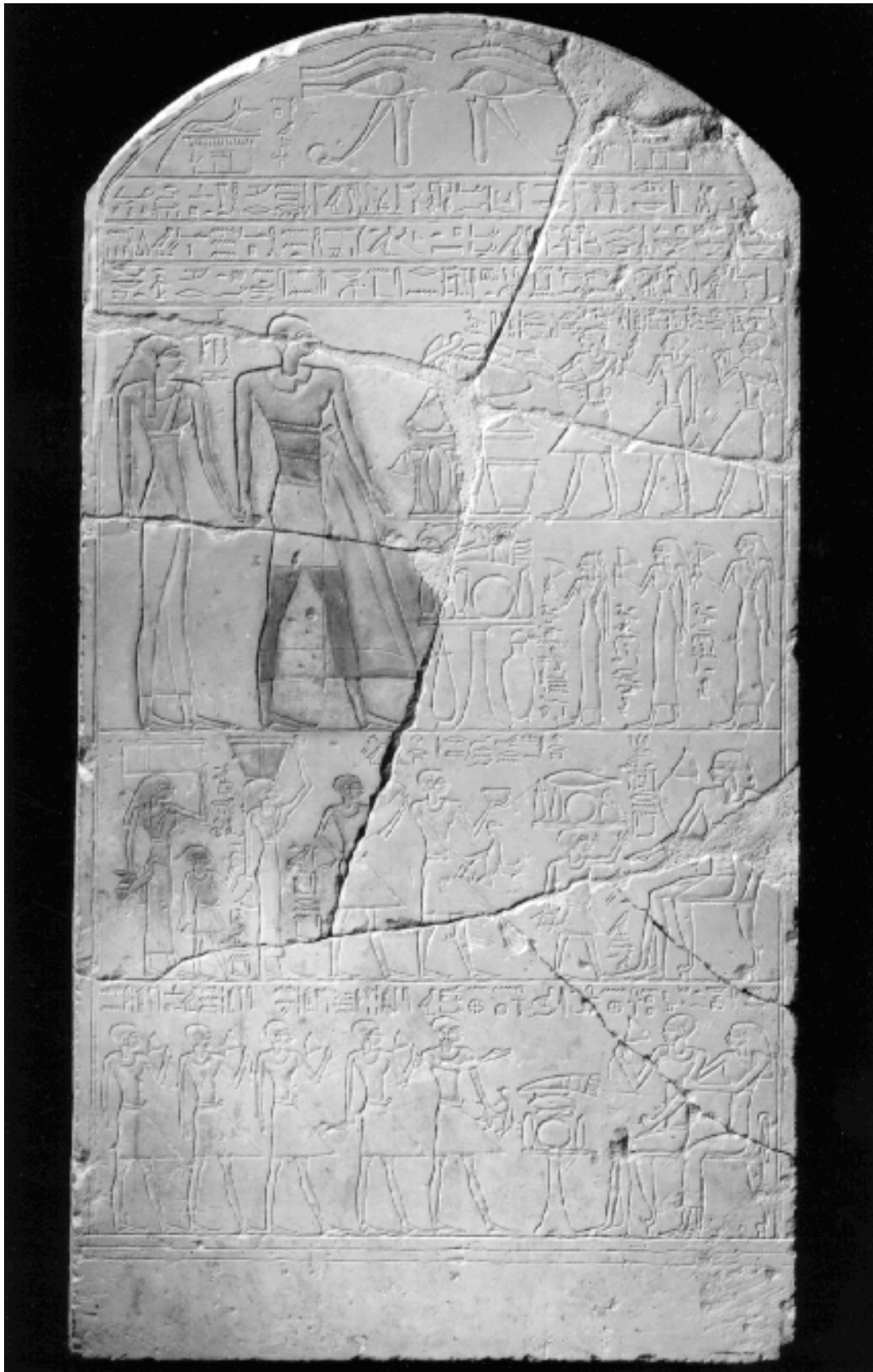



Plate 26. Metropolitan Museum 63.154
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963

13. A Chair of the Early New Kingdom

The wooden furniture of ancient Egypt is fascinating for two reasons: first because—in contrast to that of other cultures that antedate our era—a great deal of it has survived in remarkably sound condition, and secondly because much that has survived is admirable in craftsmanship and design. Both of these merits are particularly apparent in the type of chair that is the subject of the following pages,¹ and the example in question is one of the most exceptional of its kind (Pls. 27–31).

1. Construction and materials

To facilitate the description of its construction, a sketch is supplied in Figure 1, giving current terminology. Both the leonine legs and the “coasters” on which they are mounted are made of a single piece of a species of salt cedar (tamerisk),² a native wood which is also used throughout the basic structure of the chair. In the absence of stretchers, the legs are braced by the structure of the side rails, as shown in Figure 2, while reinforcement at the front and back is supplied by a pair of knee braces that join, half-lapped, at the center (). These are attached to the legs by mortise and tenon, and are glued and pegged to the underside of the crossrails. The shorter cross rails are mortised into the longer side ones, and the space that they frame was originally filled with a webbing of linen cord³ drawn through a total of 68 holes, sixteen on each side and one in each corner. A sufficient amount remained, in the front left corner, so that the seat could be restored to its original appearance.⁴ A total of thirty cords was passed through each of the holes; these subdivide into two groups of fifteen, which are in turn composed of three groups of five. Five cords thus make

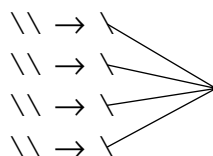
¹ MMA 68.58, purchased with funds donated by Edmundo and Patricia Lassalle. The height is 86.2 cm, the width 49.3 cm. Initially illustrated and briefly described in *BMMA* 27 (1968), 90, it has subsequently appeared in several other publications: Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975* (New York 1975), p. 76; Nora E. Scott in *BMMA* 31 (1973), 142, fig. 15; H.G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art*, pls. 86–88. Some of the points made in the present article are summarized in the final chapter of that work, and especially pp. 189–96.

² Analysis by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Products Laboratory. For this and other data I have drawn on notes compiled in 1968 by Miss Kate C. Lefferts, who

was then in charge of the Metropolitan Museum's Conservation Department.

³ *Linum usitatissimum*; analysis by Malcolm Delacorte.

⁴ The design has been established by Miss Nobuko Kajatoni, and the reweaving executed by Charles Anello. Miss Kajatoni has analyzed the yarn makeup as follows: the yarns are two single spun “S,” plied again into “S” and four plied yarns replied into “S,” thus:



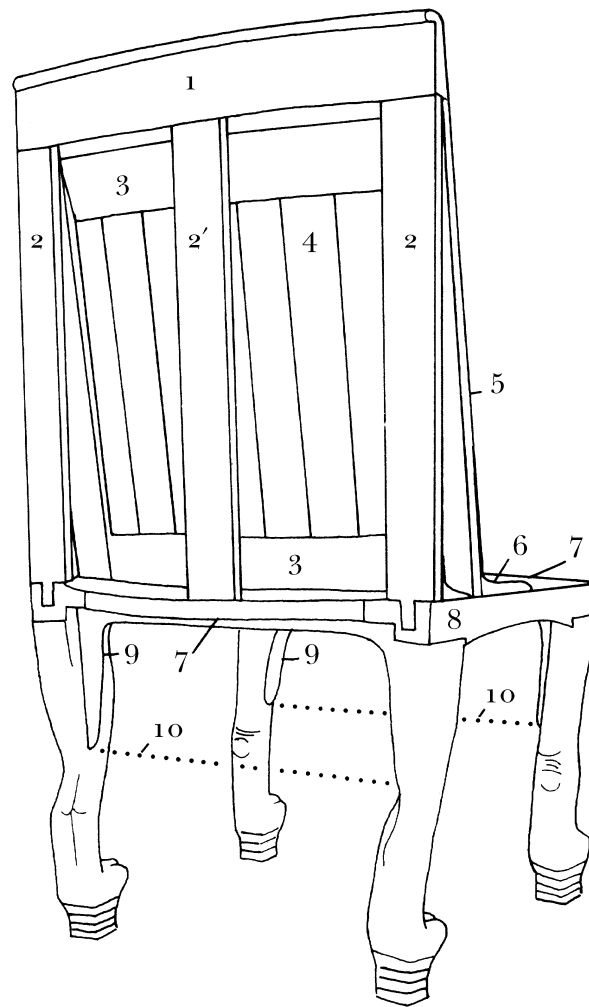


Fig. 1. Structure of New Kingdom chairs

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Headrail | 3. Backrail | 6. Brace (angle brace) | 9. Knee brace |
| 2. Stile (stay) | 4. Splat | 7. Crossrail | 10. Emplacement of stretchers |
| 2'. Center brace | 5. Crestrail | 8. Side rail | (from mid-Dyn. XVIII onward) |

up one unit of the weave, and the three groups of five were woven into each hole twice, from opposite sides of the chair diagonally, to create the plain weave. The pattern is shown in Figure 3.

As in the case of all animal-legged chairs, the back is mounted separately upon the frame of the seat. The backrest, curved laterally and inclined rearward, is supported by two perpendicular stiles and a center brace between them; both the backrest and its supports are mortised into the rails of the seat frame below them, and into the headrail above. A horizontal board (backrail) is mortised into the crestrails at a distance of about 5 cm below the headrail and a lower one about the same distance above the rear crossrail; a series of seven vertical slats are mortised between these, each isolated by a space of a little less than 4 cm. All the mortise-and-tenon joints are glued with a black adhesive, to be described presently, and secured with blackwood pegs that run completely through the thickness of the wood.

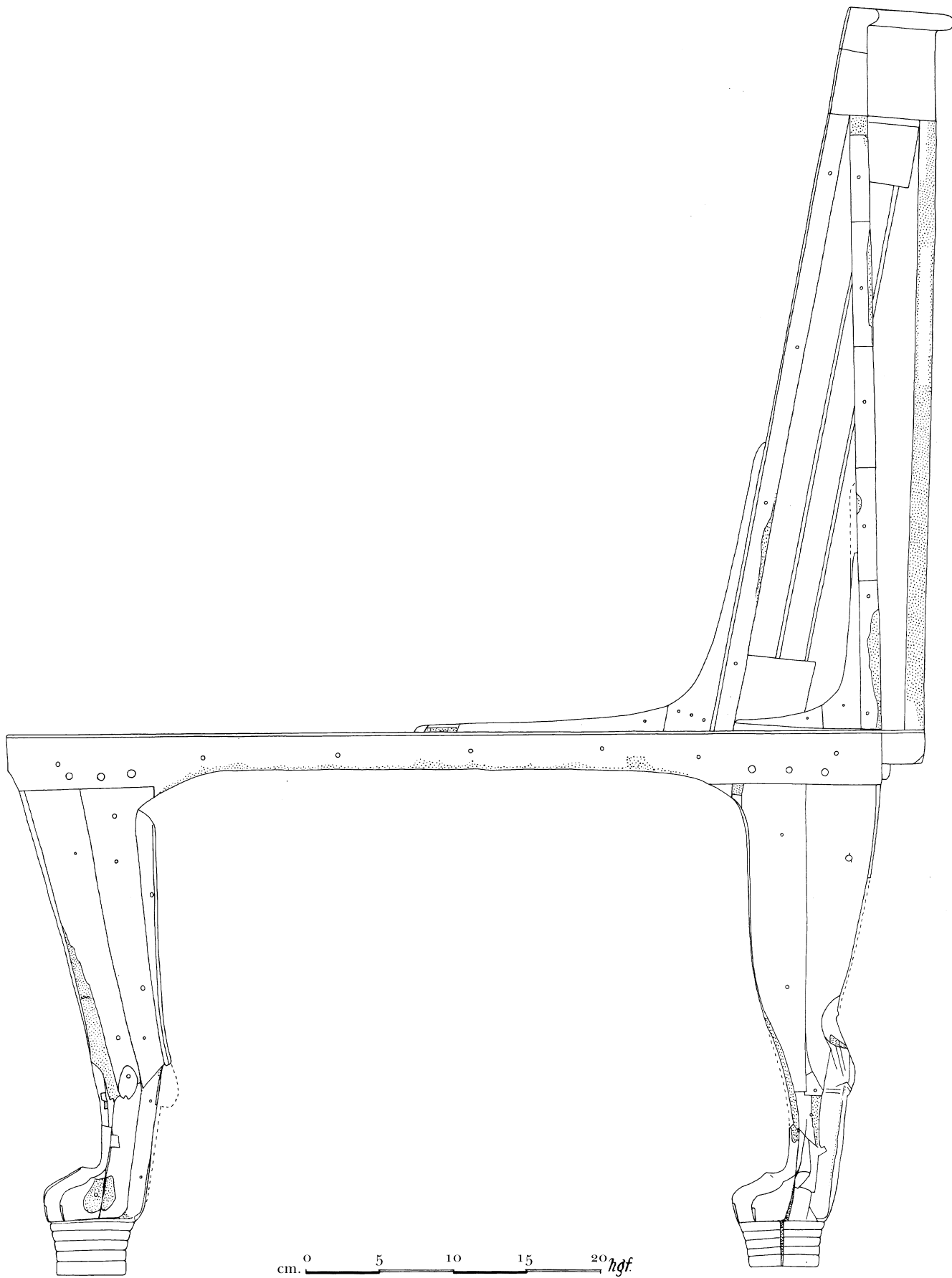


Fig. 2. Chair of *Rn.i-snb*, side view

East African blackwood (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*)⁵ has been used to cover the front, upper surfaces and sides of the chair with a veneer that varies from 1.5 to 2.5 cm, being thicker on the seat and back than on the legs. All of this is glued and pegged, the pegs varying from 0.02 to 0.04 cm. It shows evidence of a thin oil resin finish that appears to be of considerable age, since it is slightly raised where the pores of the wood have shrunk. In most cases the blackwood is applied to flat surfaces in single pieces, covering the entire area, the chief exception being, apart from the legs, the lateral surface of the stiles and braces. Knots in the veneer have been excised and replaced with boat-shaped insertions (“flying Dutchmen”). The blackwood veneer on the legs is necessarily more piecemeal (Fig. 2 and Pl. 29), and its lesser thickness is doubtless due to its having sustained the final stages of shaping. This is, to my knowledge, the only case where veneer has been used on the animal legs of furniture, and indeed, the only case where it has been used on three-dimensional sculpture of any kind in ancient Egypt.

No veneer was used, however, on the reverse of the backrest, on the stiles and center brace, or on the underside of the seat, and it is very probably for this reason that all of these surfaces have been damaged by rodents, while the more resistant veneered surfaces have been spared.

Ivory veneer, again applied in single pieces of about 2.5 cm thickness, is extensively used on the front of the backrest, where it alternates with blackwood on four of the seven splats, and also covers the horizontal elements to which the slats are attached. In the latter case the veneer was carved with great precision to fit the curved surface, as also in the case of the narrow strips that cover the tops of the braces in front of the crestrails. All of this makes for a beautiful balance of dark and light, and the contrast is cunningly exploited by the use of blackwood pegs on the ivory covering of the forward braces, negatively echoed by ivory pegs on the blackwood veneer of the braces behind them (Pl. 30). Another felicitous touch is the application of ivory inlay for the claws of the lion’s feet, which is known from some other chairs, but with less effect.

A further refinement is the presence of blackening in the animal glue used for the attachment of wood, to match the veneer, while an amber-colored animal glue was used to secure the elements of ivory.⁶

Apart from the loss of nearly all the linen webbing of the seat, the most extensive damage sustained by the chair affects the two stiles and center back brace, parts of which have been gnawed away (Pl. 31a). These losses have been repaired with balsa wood, attached with brass screws (Pl. 31b). The broken-off corners of the headrail have been repaired with balsa and capped with Brazilian rosewood, and a square of missing veneer on the right and left side of the front rail has likewise been restored with rosewood and doweled with rose-

⁵ Analysis by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Products Laboratory.

⁶ Analyzed, using infra-red spectroscopy, by James Howard, at the Institute of Fine Arts Conservation Center, New York University. Both adhesives are animal glue. The

black glue has more bulk than usual, containing carbon that is composed of short fibrous lengths unlike the usual carbon blacks. The presence of no other material was noted and the testing of a sample was negative for carbonate.

wood pins set in the original holes. Finally, three small missing pieces of ivory on the left back brace have been replaced with new ivory.⁷

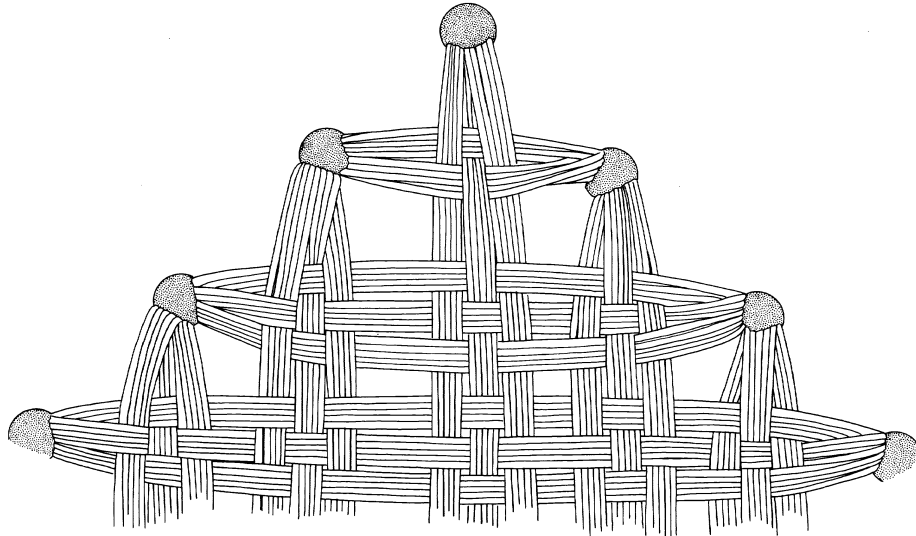


Fig. 3. Chair of *Rn. i-snb*, pattern of cords in seat

2. Comparative evidence: the legs

The legs of the chair should be considered first because their form, depending on whether or not they are theriomorphic, affects the other elements of construction. The earliest animal legs, as attested by ivory examples from the royal tombs of the first two dynasties, were uniformly bovine,⁸ as in Mesopotamian representations of furniture, but the Egyptians, unlike the Mesopotamians,⁹ supplied a full complement of front and rear legs, and in some cases these were so detailed that the left ones can also be distinguished from the

⁷ The remaining restoration is principally a matter of regluing and other means of reinforcement; all of this work was executed by John Canonico.

⁸ Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, p. 27 f. and pls. 12 (9), 37 (17, of wood); II, p. 34, and pls. 32, 34, 39, 40, 43. It is not possible to distinguish which of the larger ones were used for stools, chairs or beds; the smallest have been attributed to chests or boxes, but it seems likelier that they were used for gaming boards, as in later periods, from the Middle Kingdom onward (MMA 26.7.1287: Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 160, p. 250; MMA 26.3.154 [less complete]: *BMMA* February 1928, section II, fig. 10, p. 10); see also p. 226 below, Fig. 32).

⁹ In several cases, dating to early Dynastic III, about the time of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, a single leg appears at the front or back and is incorporated into a plain rectan-

gular framework containing vertical or horizontal reinforcements: see Hollis Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York 1966), figs. 246, 256, 271. Some examples on cylinder seals show two feet, but they are identical and turn outward (L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations III: Archaic Seal Impressions* [Oxford 1936], pls. 8 [169], 19 [382], 20 [384]); in the last case they also are connected by a stretcher. The combination of an animal leg (at the rear) and a straight leg occurs on a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty false door, some two thousand years later (P. Vernus, *Athribis* [Cairo 1978], pl. 13), but this is to be explained differently: it is evidently a misinterpretation of an Old Kingdom representation in which the front leg of the chair is concealed by the legs of the person who is seated; cf. Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire* (Brussels 1989), p. 41 and fig. 26.

right. That is true of the front legs of the present example.

The gradual replacement of bull's legs by those of leonine form may be observed in a private monument that is as early as Dyn. III and belongs to a non-royal woman whose husband sits on a chair with legs of the older form.¹⁰ At the very beginning of the next dynasty there is evidence of a lion's leg on a fragmentary hieroglyph from the Valley Temple of Sneferu, which probably represented the king.¹¹ Lion's legs also appear on the two chairs of his queen Hetep-heres¹² and on statues of King Chephren,¹³ but in the latter case the legs are paired on each side and each of the front pairs is surmounted by the head of the lion. Since there is a great deal of further evidence for the association of lions and thrones,¹⁴ one may well suspect that the leonine legs of chairs were initially an attribute of royalty, despite the fact that there is no evidence that it was used by kings before it was adopted by non-royal persons. It might, however, be argued that the use of bull's legs could also be regarded as an allusion to another avatar of the king, so that the use of animal-legged chairs of any kind might have originated as a royal privilege. However this may be, lion's legs are relatively infrequent in non-royal reliefs of the Fourth Dynasty;¹⁵ they became much more frequent on those dating to the end of the Fifth Dynasty,¹⁶ and are quite common on those of the Sixth.¹⁷ In the Middle Kingdom they were more frequently represented than bull's legs. There are few representations of the latter after this period, but bull's legs continued to be used, for they appear on beds (or biers) of the Second Intermediate Period at Kerma,¹⁸ on a stool of the Seventeenth Dynasty from Gurna¹⁹ and on a fragmentary royal bed in the British Museum that is attributed to Queen Hatshepsut.²⁰ Furthermore there is, at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, a stool with bull legs that must be still

¹⁰ CG 57129; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 2.

¹¹ Ahmed Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu at Dashur II*, Pt. 1 (Cairo 1951), fig. 184.

¹² Reisner-Smith, *Hist. Giza Necr. II*, pls. 15-16 and figs. 31-32.

¹³ CG 9, 13, 14.

¹⁴ See Klaus P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt 1977), pp. 61-69, 86-89. He does not, however, cite Old Kingdom representations showing lions flanking the thrones of queens, as an addition rather than as an integral part of the chair: Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 7; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 11; Jéquier, *Pyrs. des reines*, pls. 4-5 (on the diadem). Eleventh Dynasty representations show the lion head on chairs of a king (Habachi, *MDAIK 19* [1963], 26 and fig. 8 [where the ear should be added] and pl. 8); of royal consorts (Navelle, *XIth Dyn. Temple II*, pl. 20; H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911-1931* [New York 1942], pl. 8) and of a non-royal couple (Faulkner, *JEA 37* [1951], pl. 7 facing p. 47). Cf. also the Sixth Dynasty funerary bier with lion's head in Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pls. 42-43 (clearly a borrowing of a royal prerogative to facilitate access to the afterlife). For this last subject see also Winifred Needler,

An Egyptian Funerary Bed (Toronto 1963), p. 5; her example from Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 3, is no earlier than Dyn. IX, but she cites others from Heliopolis (*ASAE 16* [1916], 196, 202); cf. also Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl. 16, apparently showing a chest on a bier, but this can hardly be earlier than the example from Dendera.

¹⁵ Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, pls. 18 (a, b), 39 (a), 40 (b), 259; LD II, pl. 3.

¹⁶ E.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pls. 13, 14, 24, 34; Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. 34, 35, 38, 39.

¹⁷ E.g., *Mereruka*, passim; James and Apted, *Khentika*, passim; Blackman, *Meir IV*, passim; Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, passim; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, passim; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, passim. A more detailed summary is given by Strudwick, *RdE 38* (1987), 144-46, although he overlooks some of the early evidence, including the example cited in n. 10 above. Cf. also N. Cherpion, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁸ George Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma IV-V* (Cambridge, Mass. 1923), pp. 214 f.; figs. 191, 207-208, 212, pl. 51.

¹⁹ Petrie, *Qurneh* (London 1909), pl. 26.

²⁰ BM 21574 Baker, *op. cit.*, figs. 64-65 and PM I², p. 586.

later, for it has stretchers on all four sides (Pl. 32a).²¹

Stretchers are, to be sure, known from representations of chairs with plain legs from the Archaic Period onward.²² They also appear on a fragmentary stool from Naga ed Deir, dating to the early Eleventh Dynasty, which has legs somewhat resembling those of an animal (Pl. 32b–c);²³ if they derive from animal legs, however, the degree of stylization is strangely un-Egyptian. This form is also known from representations and tomb models of the Eleventh Dynasty, where the stylized feet turn inward, front to back (cf. Pl. 36 below)²⁴ as was probably the case in the example from Naga ed-Deir. It is known once more from Thebes at the very beginning of the New Kingdom,²⁵ and survives, perhaps archaistically, in some ritual scenes of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁶ Since such legs appear in an early Twelfth Dynasty representation of a chest, it is apparent that they were not regarded as animal legs, which were not used for this type of furniture.²⁷

The earliest evidence for stretchers between true animal legs is no earlier than the reign of Tuthmosis IV in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty,²⁸ while further examples are known from the reign of his successor, Amenophis III;²⁹ in these cases the stretchers were placed in front and back only, replacing the knee braces, as also in the case of the two stools of earlier date that have just been mentioned. In the next reign, that of Amenophis IV (Akhenaton)

²¹ Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 10550. One of the inlays is shown by H.S. Cartwright, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 45 (1928–1929), 191, fig. 23. The stool is made of nakharu wood (*Cordia Mysca*), inlaid with ebony as well as ivory. The provenance is unknown. Marianne Eaton-Krauss discusses the peculiarities of the stool in *Divitiae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden 1995), pp. 85–87, and doubts its authenticity. It has occurred to me that further New Kingdom evidence for the bovine leg of a chair is perhaps to be seen in the hieroglyph for *wḥm* (F 25) as represented in Calverly, *Temple of Sethos I* III, pl. 30 (b); IV, pls. 63 (Fig. 4), 79 (6w). But if so, one might expect the top to be more horizontal and the “tenon” to be distinctly broader.



Fig. 4.

²² Baker, *op. cit.*, figs. 24–25.

²³ Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California 6–1024. It is this fragment (and others) and not the chair from the same site, that came from tomb N 3765, which also contained Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 69; cf. n. 45 below. The fragment is shown in my *L'écriture et l'art*, pl. 84.

²⁴ Some of the earliest examples are from Gebelein (painting from the tomb of *Iti* in Turin, showing the owner seated on such a chair), Moalla (Vandier, *Moalla*, fig. 36, p. 82; CG 28116: Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, pl. 6), Thebes (sarcophagi: Cairo J 47267: C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors* [Munich 1979], fig. 129, and Cairo J 47397:

Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple I*, pl. 20), El Deir (Fischer, *Coptische Nome*, p. 113, fig. 16 [b], line 9 [det. *khzzt*]), Farshut (coffin, Boston MFA 03.1631: Wm. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 4th ed. [Boston 1960], p. 84, fig. 48). For the later Eleventh Dynasty see Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pls. 34, 38–39, 70, and Fig. 15 below. The evidence from the Twelfth Dynasty includes Petrie, *Labyrinth, Gerzeh, Mazghunah* (London 1912), pl. 30 (a model couch); Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 13; *Bersheh I*, pl. 13. It seems possible that such legs are the result of foreign influence and they have in fact been found at Jericho (Baker, *op. cit.*, figs. 358–59 and p. 224), but these Palestinian examples are of later date—ca. 1600 B.C.

²⁵ Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, pl. 71. Other early Dyn. XVIII evidence: Tylor, *Renni*, pls. 7, 13; BM 43467 (T.G.H. James, *Egyptian Painting* [London 1985], p. 22); MMA 19.3.32 (Pl. 33 below).

²⁶ Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re'*, pls. 83, 105–106; also in Theban Tomb 295 (MMA neg. T 2805). Cf. also Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London 1913), pl. 21, where the feet of the legs turn out rather than inward.

²⁷ Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 10.

²⁸ Norman Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht* (New York 1917), pp. 40–41, pl. 29.

²⁹ Cairo CG 51113 (Theodore Davis et al., *The Tomb of Louiya and Touiyou* [London 1907], pls. 33–34 [chair]); CG 51110 (*ibid.*, pl. 37 [bed]).

they were used on all four sides,³⁰ and sometimes with the addition of diagonal braces³¹ that had been used to reinforce stands, tables and chairs with plain legs as early as the reign of Tuthmosis III.³² Thus the absence of structural elements between the animal legs of chairs and beds remained, for more than 1,500 years, a carefully observed propriety, the breach of which must be regarded, in terms of older tradition, as a lapse of taste.³³

3. Comparative evidence: the seat

The scale of the chair, and more particularly the height of the seat (36.5 cm) is quite different from another chair in The Metropolitan Museum which has a seat only 20–23 cm high.³⁴ The difference is evidently explained by the fact that the first belongs to a man, the second to a woman. Although the use of lower seats for women is not apparent in earlier iconography,³⁵ that of the New Kingdom provides ample evidence for it. In the earliest examples, dating to the first years of the Eighteenth Dynasty, women sit on low stools (more rarely chairs) with their legs curled under them (Pl. 33).³⁶ In the case of later examples, where their feet are on the ground, their chairs are often so low that their knees are perched high above the level of the seat.³⁷ Men are occasionally represented in the same way, but much more rarely, and always on low stools rather than chairs with backs.³⁸ The preference of low

³⁰ Norman Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II* (London 1905), pl. 14; III (1905), pls. 18, 24.

³¹ *Ibid.*, V (1908), pls. 21, 23.

³² Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls. 37, 44, 51 (tables and stools); Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, pl. 3 (plain-legged chair with low back).

³³ Cf. the following statement about the advent of the rocking chair of more recent times: "... the idea of fitting bends or rockers to the feet of chairs had not apparently occurred to anybody before the second half of the eighteenth century, or if it had was not practically applied, possibly because the aura of dignity and power that surrounded chairs in mediaeval times and long after forbade any tampering with their static majesty" (John Gloag, *The Chair* [London 1964], p. 158). It is significant, in this connection, that rockers have enjoyed far greater popularity in America than in England, where the aura of dignity and power would have been felt more strongly.

³⁴ MMA 36.3.152; Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (Jan. 1937, Pt. 2), p. 21, fig. 23; Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 115.

³⁵ The seats of men and women are normally represented on the same level in this period. When a smaller seat accompanies a larger one, as sometimes occurs on stelae of the Middle Kingdom, this is evidently to be attributed to a difference in scale: e.g., CG 20514, 20544, BM 569 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 18), Alnwick 1932 (*ibid.*, pl. 48), Florence 2504 (*ibid.*, pl. 51). In one case (CG 20518) a seated couple are shown on a smaller scale

than the owner. Similar examples are known from the Old Kingdom: e.g., CG 1415, 1417, 1444.

³⁶ MMA 19.3.32 (Lansing, *BMMA* 15, July 1920, Pt. II, fig. 3, p. 14). Other examples: G. Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun* (Cairo 1928), fig. 28, p. 33; Theban Tomb 12 (MMA Neg. T 3720); BM 218 (Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts VII*, pl. 10). Cf. also MMA 12.182.3 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 93), now considered a forgery, but undoubtedly copied from a genuine original.

³⁷ E.g., MMA 15.2.4 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 91); Davies, *Rekh-mi-re*, pl. 64; Davies, *Ramose*, pls. 9, 10; Annalies and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni* (Mainz 1977), pl. 21 (a); E. Dziobek and M. Abdel Raziq, *Grab des Sobekhotep* (Mainz 1990), pl. 28 (b); Berlin 14122 (Spiegelberg and Erman, *ZÄS* 36 [1898], pl. 17, a stool).

³⁸ Most frequently workers on low stools: Davies, *Rekh-mi-re*, pls. 50, 52–55; Norman Davies, *Tomb of Two Officials*, pls. 8, 10; *Menkheperasonb* (London 1933) pl. 11; Nina Davies, *Private Tombs IV*, (Oxford 1963), pl. 9. But one banquet scene shows men thus, on low stools, while the women crouch on mats: Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. 15; in Davies, *Rekh-mi-re*, pl. 109, a single example of the same kind follows a row of men who sit on full-sized chairs; and yet another isolated example appears at the beginning of a row of women, all on low stools: K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine II: München* (Strasbourg 1904), pl. 13 [19]).

chairs for women is particularly apparent in a number of banquet scenes where all the women have them in contrast to the men, who occupy much higher chairs or stools (Pl. 34).³⁹

The distinction I have proposed may be applicable to the early Fourth Dynasty chairs of Queen *Htp-hr.s*, one of which has a seat 28 cm in front and 26 cm at the back, while the other (restored only on paper) is about the same.⁴⁰ The mid-Eighteenth Dynasty chairs of the Princess *Zst-Imn* are much more variable, the height of the seats being 34 cm and 23.5 cm respectively,⁴¹ perhaps because the higher one much more definitely has the character of a throne.

4. Comparative evidence: the back

Although straight-backed chairs are known from representations as early as the Archaic Period,⁴² the curved reclining back, supported by stiles, is not attested with certainty before the reign of Sesostri I, when it was represented twice in the tomb of *In-ît.f-îqr* and *Znt* at Thebes⁴³ (Pl. 35). A chair from Naga ed-Deir showing this feature was initially dated to the Second or Third Dynasty,⁴⁴ and subsequently attributed to a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty,⁴⁵ but it has now proven to come from another tomb that contained a stela of about that date, along with some material belonging to the early New Kingdom.⁴⁶ A radiocarbon test has recently supported the later alternative, for it indicates an adjusted calendar age of 1880–1450 bc.⁴⁷ The representation in the tomb of *In-ît.f-îqr* does not provide evidence

³⁹ Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 272; Norman Davies, *Nakht*, pl. 15; *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, (New York 1925), pls. 5–7; Davies, *Private Tombs IV*, pl. 6; also Theban Tomb nos. 22 (MMA negs. T 3408–3411, the last shown in Pl. 34); 38 (MMA neg. T 1083); 85 (MMA neg. T 2617); 200 (MMA neg. T 3545); 295 (MMA neg. T 2800, simply holding flowers). In two other scenes of this kind the distinction is not observed: Theban Tomb 53 (MMA neg. T 3621) and 139 (MMA neg. T 1355), but in the latter case it appears in the representation of the deceased and his wife.

⁴⁰ See note 12 above.

⁴¹ Theodore Davis et al., *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, pp. 37, 43.

⁴² See note 22 above.

⁴³ Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. 25 (shown here, from MMA neg. T 1373), 30.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, Vol. I (Warminster 1980), p. 51 f. and pl. 85.

⁴⁵ In my article “Stuhl,” *LÄ VI*, col. 93 and n. 14; similarly *L'écriture et l'art*, p. 189. This attribution is to be blamed on the ineptness of my initial query to Dr. Frank Norick, which produced a subsequent confusion between the fragments from N 3765 (see n. 23 above) and the more complete chair (Hearst Museum of Archaeology, University of California 6–2062).

⁴⁶ For the correct provenance of the chair I am indebted to Patricia V. Podzorski, who found a numbered drawing of it on one of Reisner's tomb cards, listing the tomb number as N 3746; she reports that the field notes for N 3746 indicate that the chair and a stool were found within a pit in chamber C. This pit contained a stela of the late Heracleopolitan Period or early Eleventh Dynasty (Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 30) and other material of the same period. The New Kingdom material includes pottery, two conical game pieces, one of faience and one of ivory, flat disk beads of purple/black glass and a scarab of early New Kingdom type. Dr. Norick has kindly supplied a photograph, not shown here, and the dimensions: the height is 69 cm, width 43 cm, the depth of the seat 42 cm and the height of the seat (to the top of the rails) 27.5 cm. The lowness of the seat suggests that it may have belonged to a woman.

⁴⁷ Made by Beta Analytic Inc., Coral Gables, Florida (Beta 26901) and the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich (ETH 4411). It should be pointed out, however, that the stiles of the chair (one of which has been restored) were evidently both mounted on bridle joints, unlike the most comparable New Kingdom examples, in which the plain rear legs and stiles are continuous, made from a single piece of wood.

for the arrangement of slats in the back, but this is to be seen in a straight-backed chair placed within one of the model boats of *Mkt-Rc*, dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty (Pl. 36),⁴⁸ while a reclining back with similar slats is represented in a chair placed within another model boat, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty (Pl. 37).⁴⁹ This miniature chair again has straight legs as well as a considerable amount of painted detail, including the webbing of the seat and the distribution of dowels. It also provides firm Middle Kingdom evidence for the two stiles and the center brace between them, which are prefigured in the vertical reinforcement of straight backs of Fourth Dynasty chairs from the tomb of Queen *Htp-hr.s*.⁵⁰ A full scale example of this type of chair is also known from the Middle Kingdom, as described by Petrie in his account of his excavations at El Lahun:⁵¹

One beautifully made chair is formed of dark wood with ivory pegs in the back. The back was curved, and formed of vertical slips joined together in a top and bottom bar; this all slanted somewhat backwards, and was maintained in place by two [sic] upright struts behind it which joined it at the top, thus forming an acute triangle in side view. The angles of this, as of other chairs, were strengthened by L-angle pieces cut of selected curve-grained wood, and carefully pinned on with a large number of wooden pins.

Petrie provides no illustration, and it has not been possible to discover where the chair is at present.⁵² The same was true, for some years, of the remnants of a chair which, along with many other pieces of furniture, was found in a Theban burial dated either to the end of the Seventeenth or the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. William C. Hayes describes it as follows:⁵³

What was once a handsome chair is now represented only by numerous fragments of its dark wood veneer and ebony and ivory overlay. The decoration of the back of the chair evidently consisted of alternating vertical bands of ebony and ivory topped by a horizontal panel of ivory, some sixteen inches in length, on which was engraved the winged sun's disk flanked on either side by the sun god's epithet "the Behdetite," written in monumental hieroglyphs. Other bits of the chair ... include the ivory overlays for the angle braces joining the back to the seat, thin strips of hardwood veneer which had served as edging for the back and seat, and a great quantity of small notched pieces of ebony inlay of undetermined use.

Some of these pieces are now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (Pl. 38).⁵⁴ Although the presence of the winged disk seems to indicate that the chair

⁴⁸ Cairo J 46720: Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pl. 38.

⁴⁹ MMA 12.183.4. The entire boat is illustrated in Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 179.

⁵⁰ See note 12 above.

⁵¹ Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London 1891), p. 24 (41); more briefly described in his *Ten Years Digging in Egypt* (New York 1892), p. 117.

⁵² I have not been able to locate this chair in the Cairo Museum, nor has Edna Russmann, who kindly consulted the *Journal d'Entrée* on my behalf. Inquiries to the Topographical Bibliography and University College have likewise been fruitless, although University College has a few

angle braces from the same source: U.C. 7112-4 (W.M.F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* [London 1927], p. 46 [26-28], also a "slip of veneer from an angle piece" (*ibid.*, [29])).

⁵³ Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 28. A sketch of some of the pieces, among notes made for this work, has been located by Marsha Hill; here the provenance is given as 5A.P3-Pit 3 in Lansing's Court Tomb.

⁵⁴ Again determined through Marsha Hill's work on the departmental archives; they were sold in 1958, during the disposal of Egyptian antiquities which had been decreed by Francis Henry Taylor before his retirement as director in 1955.

belonged to a member of the royal family,⁵⁵ the pattern of ivory and ebony in this example may nonetheless be identical to that of the chair under discussion and suggests that the date may also be similar. Otherwise the use of large overlays of ivory, recalling that of some small chests of the Twelfth Dynasty,⁵⁶ might lead one to assign it to this earlier period. The top of a fragmentary chair in the Metropolitan Museum, of similar date and provenance (Pl. 39) has a single slat, inlaid with ivory, as are the siderails, and the back is also framed by a thin strip of ivory inlaid in a wider strip of ebony.⁵⁷ Later chairs of the Eighteenth Dynasty generally display ivory much more sparingly, in the form of small elements such as concentric circles or flowers.⁵⁸ A miniature chair from the tomb of Tutankhamun again has alternating slats of ebony and ivory,⁵⁹ but the ivory panels are framed and the transverse element above them contains a more complex pattern of inlay. The effect is less austere—one might even say finicky.

5. Comparative evidence: the materials

The use of ivory in chairs having been discussed, it remains to be observed that African blackwood is a species of rosewood (French palissandre) and, like the other species, is dark reddish brown, richly grained with black layers and occasional layers of much lighter hue, as may be seen to best advantage in Plate 29. It is not mentioned by Lucas,⁶⁰ but I have observed some other examples in Eighteenth Dynasty furniture—notably the fragmentary bed attributed to Queen Hatshepsut, in the British Museum,⁶¹ and a bed from the tomb of the parents-in-law of Amenophis III.⁶²

6. The Representation on the back

The representation and inscription of the owner, on the central splat of the backrest (Pl. 40) is the only non-royal example known to me that appears on a functional chair—one that would have withstood actual use, and was not designed as an insubstantial piece of tomb equipment. Funerary formulae appear on the chair of *H^c* in Turin, which is equally serviceable, but the inscriptions and decorations on the back, imitating inlay, are simply painted, and would not have withstood much use.⁶³ The chair of *Snn^dm* in Cairo likewise bears inscriptions identifying him on the crestrails and upper part of the back, but this

⁵⁵ It appears on the headrail of *Zst-Imn*'s throne: CG 51112 (Theodore Davis et al., *Tomb of Louiyou and Touiyou*, pl. 33), and on the headrail of a chair of King Tutankhamun (Carter, *Tut-ankh-Amen I*, pls. 60–61).

⁵⁶ Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art*, pls. 50 (MMA 16.1.2), 51 (MMA 16.1.1), 55 (MMA 26.7.1438); for the last two see also Hayes, *Scepter I*, figs. 155, 157.

⁵⁷ MMA 25.3.308A. Width 44 cm.

⁵⁸ E.g., Brooklyn 37.40E (Baker, *op. cit.*, pl. 173); Lou-

vre 2950 (*ibid.*, pl. 176); BM 2480 (*ibid.*, pl. 184).

⁵⁹ Carter, *op. cit.* I, pl. 59.

⁶⁰ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed., revised by J.R. Harris (London 1961), pp. 429 ff.

⁶¹ See n. 20 above.

⁶² Cairo CG 51110: Theodore Davis et al., *Tomb of Louiyou and Touiyou*, pl. 37.

⁶³ Ernesto Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha* (Turin 1927), p. 113; Baker, *op. cit.*, fig. 160.

flimsy piece of furniture was evidently made expressly for the tomb.⁶⁴ That is also true of a fragmentary example in the Louvre, where the owner and his wife are represented in a painted scene at the very top of the back, receiving offerings from a daughter (Pl. 41a).⁶⁵ A few folding chairs are inscribed with the name of the owner on one of the legs,⁶⁶ but this inconspicuous sort of identification is hardly comparable.

In the present case the simplicity of the composition is thoroughly in keeping with the austere style of the adjacent inlay—so much so that it is difficult to believe that they are not contemporaneous. A minute examination of the splats veneered with African blackwood precludes the possibility that the central one has been substituted, and it seems almost certain that the veneer was already applied when the carving was executed. This is indicated by one of the blackwood pegs, located at the bottom of the owner's kilt, just above the chair he sits in, for the peg would not have been inserted at this point after the carving had been made; as it is, the head of it is bevelled to correspond to the contour of the kilt. This peg has expanded slightly above the surrounding surface, just as have the pegs on the other slats. It is difficult to conceive of such fine work having been executed after the central slat was put in place; the projecting seat would have made that task rather awkward. The presence of an offering formula does not necessarily indicate that the inscription was not present during the owner's lifetime,⁶⁷ nor does the epithet *msr hrw* "justified" after his name.⁶⁸ It is true that the carving does not show signs of wear, but it is uncertain how much wear should be expected.⁶⁹ It may be shown, moreover, that the representation belongs to the same period that is suggested by the similar ivory decoration of a fragmentary chair dating to the very beginning of the New Kingdom.

7. The Representation: the figure of the owner

The owner is seated upon a chair that is virtually identical to the one on which he is represented; the only difference is that it lacks braces in front of the crestrails. He wears the short

⁶⁴ Cairo J 27256; *ibid.*, fig. 179.

⁶⁵ Louvre A.F. 538 = N 3312. I am indebted to J.J. Vandier for the photographs and his permission to use them here.

⁶⁶ Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976), 21 ff., discusses two examples, both dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. n. 68 below); a third example is to be recognized in Brooklyn Museum 37. 446E, another leg that clearly belonged to a folding stool. I am indebted to Richard Fazzini for data concerning this example. A fourth example is in the Leiden Museum: Leemans, *Monumens égyptiens* II (1842), no. H. 551, pl. 74 (cf. Hayes, *JEA*, 24 [1938], 12). Yet another example is given by Birch, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in Alnwick Castle* (London 1880), p. 77 (no. 527), but the inscription is doubted.

⁶⁷ The clearest evidence for this is provided by the inscriptions on the door frames of habitations of the New

Kingdom (Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh [1934–1935]* [Cairo 1939], pp. 40–45; Manfred Bietak, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 [1979], 230 and pl. 2B). Cf. a late New Kingdom staff, the inscription of which seems to be worn by use; it begins *n ks n* and concludes with the epithet *msr hrw* (*MMJ* 13 [1978], 31); also the same phrases on gold and silver vessels from Tell Basta (Simpson, *AJA* 63 [1959], 34 f.).

⁶⁸ It is clear that *msr hrw* was applied to the living prior to the New Kingdom (*JNES* 16 [1957], p. 225, n. 12). Later evidence is provided by Spalinger, *JNES* 38 (1979), 272 and n. 6; see also the preceding note and T. Eric Peet et al., *The City of Akhenaten I* (London 1923), pp. 8, 145. In the case of the legs of folding stools, described by Harris (n. 66 above), the name is followed by *msr hrw*. It seems doubtful that they were inscribed for the tomb.

⁶⁹ Especially since a cloth was frequently laid over the

wig, consisting of overlapping locks, that was popular in the Old Kingdom and was revived at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Somewhat similar wigs appear in reliefs of the early Middle Kingdom and occasionally later, but the resemblance is rarely this close, and the ear is usually exposed,⁷⁰ as it is again in some of the Eighteenth Dynasty examples. His long kilt, pointed downward at the front, is known from the mid-Twelfth to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷¹ In addition he has the traditional broad collar, but without any internal detail. One hand holds a fragrant blue lotus to his face—a motif that goes back to the Old Kingdom, although it was rather infrequently applied to men before the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty;⁷² it should be noted that the stem forms a simple curve, as on many stelae of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and has not yet acquired the convolution that is known from that time onward.⁷³ All three of the principal features that have just been mentioned—the short wig that covers the ear, the long kilt, and the lotus—are to be found on a number of early Eighteenth Dynasty stelae.⁷⁴ A further indication of the date is provided by the physiognomy: the entire lower part of the face, from the root of the nose downward, projects more distinctly and squarely forward than in representations prior to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, at which time it is known, for example, from the tomb of *Rnni* at El Kab (Pl. 41b).⁷⁵ These indications only provide a terminus post quem, however, and do not, in themselves, indicate a more specific date than the first half of the dynasty.

8. The Representation: the *k3*-emblem

The most remarkable feature of the representation is the *k3*-emblem on a standard, toward which the owner extends a hand in the traditional gesture that the deceased makes when

back; for an Old Kingdom example see Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14. For the Middle Kingdom see Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* III, pls. 95 (608–609, 612), 96 (621); Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29 (carrying chair). For the New Kingdom see Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pl. 56; *Nefer-hotep*, pls. 25, 26, 29.

⁷⁰ For some exceptions, where the ear is covered, see Norman Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London 1913), pl. 30; Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 114 (clearly patterned on older Memphite models); Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* IV, pls. 62–63; Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 7 (temp. Amenemhet III).

⁷¹ Temp. Amenemhet II: Louvre stela C 243 (*RdE* 24 [1972], pl. 7 [B]); temp. Sesostris III: Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pls. 7, 13, 20, 23; Blackman and Apted, *Meir* VI, pls. 12, 13, 20; temp. Amenemhet III: CG 20538.

⁷² In the earlier Old Kingdom the tomb owner simply receives the lotus from an attendant (e.g., Junker, *Giza* III, pl. 2; VI, fig. 13; VII, fig. 71); for Old Kingdom scenes in which the owner smells the lotus see Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 104; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 20; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, fig. 9; Cairo J 43370 (false door of *Qr*, Edfu); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 42. On Eleventh

Dynasty stelae men usually hold a jar of ointment rather than the lotus; MMA 57.95 is an exception (*JNES* 19 [1960], pl. 7). For the Twelfth Dynasty see Pflüger, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 130 (5), 132, n. 25.

⁷³ E.g., on stelae with an otherwise similar representation: Winlock, *BMMA* 18 (Dec. 1923, Pt. 2), 36; Smither and Dakin, *JEA* 25 (1939), pl. 21 (5); CG 34107, 34114, 34119; J.E. Quibell, *Ramesseum* (London 1898), pl. 27 (5).

⁷⁴ E.g., Bosticco, *Stele* II, pls. 1, 6, 14; Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* II, pl. 18 (18), VI, pls. 5 (9), 9 (6); Alexander Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Galerie Egyptienne* (Paris 1909), pls. 14 (15), 16 (18); A. Wiedemann and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine* III (Strasbourg 1906), pl. 3 (6); Berlin (West) 9610 (Werner Kaiser et al., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* [Berlin 1967], no. 640); CG 34008, 34105, 34109, 34110; BM 1370 (*Hier. Texts* V, pl. 20); Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pl. 50 (frontispiece); Turin Suppl. no. 9492 (Ernesto Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art* [New York 1965], pl. 53). In a number of other cases the kilt has been lost: e.g., W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London 1897), pl. 9 (1); *Labyrinth, Gerzeh, Mazghunah* (London 1912), pl. 20 (13).

seated in the presence of offerings. As early as the First Dynasty this hieroglyph is similarly dignified by being placed on the standard that supports the emblems of divinities,⁷⁶ and toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty the phrase *n k3 NN* (with or without the standard) makes its first appearance in offering scenes, to link the funerary formula with the name of the recipient.⁷⁷ A more direct precursor of the present motif is to be found in a Twelfth Dynasty coffin, where the emblem is introduced at the beginning of the “frieze of offerings.”⁷⁸ Since it is oriented towards the tomb owner, and in opposition to the inscription above the frieze, which concludes with his name, I cannot accept Jéquier’s idea that this emblem represents the deceased himself.⁷⁹ It is true that the *k3*-emblem in the case at hand is indeed oriented as he is, but the comparative evidence of the New Kingdom shows that this circumstance is exceptional.

It is only when we come to the beginning of the New Kingdom that really close parallels can be found for the motif in question.⁸⁰ The earliest of these, in a tomb at El Kab, dates to the reign of Tuthmosis I (Figure 5).⁸¹ A large-scale representation of 𓆎 is placed between the offering table and the deceased, facing him, and his gesture, which is identical to that shown on the back of the chair, is appropriately described as “extending a hand towards his *k3*.” The offering table similarly accompanies the *k3*-emblem on a false door made by Hatshepsut for Tuthmosis I⁸² and on two false doors of non-royal persons, both dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III.⁸³ A further example occurs in a tomb belonging to the reign of Amenophis II.⁸⁴

In all five of these parallel cases the *k3*-emblem is empty-handed, apparently serving as an intermediary between the deceased and his offerings, whereas later examples, from the reign of Amenophis III onward, place the offerings between the arms of the *k3*-emblem. Once this development had occurred, the motif evidently became more popular. At least four occurrences are known from tombs dating to the reign of Amenophis III or Amenophis III–IV, or slightly later,⁸⁵ while no fewer than ten are known from those of the

⁷⁵ Tylor, *Renni*, pl. 8. Some of the stelae cited in the preceding note also provide good comparisons: e.g., Moret, *op. cit.*; Wiedemann and Pörtner, *op. cit.* Cf. also Sotheby Catalogue, June 1921 (Amherst Coll.), pl. 4 (191); Brooklyn 07.420 (Richard Fazzini, *Art of Ancient Egypt* [Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, 1971], no. 14). This feature persists later in the same dynasty: e.g., Hayes, *Scepter* II, figs. 166, 167.

⁷⁶ Ursula Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt 1956), p. 22, figs. 2–3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷⁸ Georg Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II: Der Sarg des Sebko* (Berlin 1901), pl. 2. A second, almost identical example is to be found in R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI, pl. 23; here no stand is visible, but the position of 𓆎 suggests that a very low one is to be restored.

⁷⁹ Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, p. 339.

⁸⁰ The apparent Old Kingdom example of a *k3*-emblem filled with offerings shown by Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 248, actually represents a basket in the form of a boat; cf. the more accurate copy of Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9. In a later Twelfth Dynasty tomb in the same cemetery a *k3*-emblem on a standard appears before the deceased in an unclear context, but it is not located immediately before him in any case (Blackman and Apted, *Meir* VI, pl. 13, lintel above recess for statue).

⁸¹ After Weigall, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 173.

⁸² Louvre C 48: Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), pls. 11 (2), 13.

⁸³ Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* VI, pl. 18 (28); CG 34047 (Davies, *Puyemre* II, pls. 48, 51 [B]).

⁸⁴ Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, p. 55.

⁸⁵ Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef* (Chicago 1980), pls. 67, 70, 72; Norman Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pls. 18, 27, 29 (two examples, including CG 34051); *Ramose* (New York 1941), pl. 19; *Nefer-hotep*,

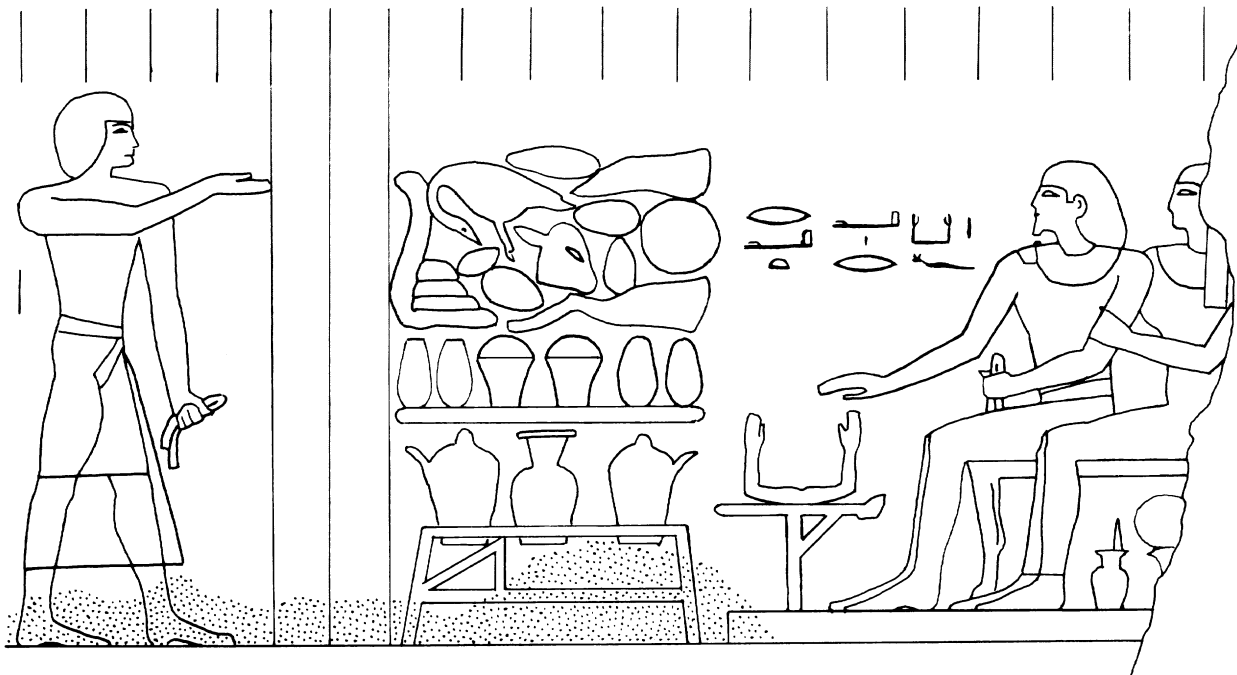


Fig. 5. Scene from Dyn. XVIII tomb at El Kab. After Weigall

Nineteenth Dynasty (e.g. Pl. 42a).⁸⁶ And in one of these ten cases (Pl. 43)⁸⁷ the motif appears three times, and not only before the deceased and his forebears, but also before Osiris and other divinities.

This motif has been linked—mistakenly, I believe—with spell 105 in the Book of the Dead, the “spell for propitiating the *k3* of NN,” which speaks of censuring and giving libation to the *k3*.⁸⁸ The accompanying vignettes show the deceased standing in an attitude of respect or, more usually, adoration; in at least one case incense and a libation are offered,⁸⁹ as the text indicates, but the emphasis of the text is not on nourishment. In some cases, to be sure, the *k3*-emblem is filled with offerings,⁹⁰ but these may be influenced by the late New

pl. 19 (A). The last seems to be as late as the reign of Ay.

⁸⁶ The one illustrated is from Theban Tomb 178 (MMA neg. T 2856). Several examples of this motif, including some of those cited above, are listed by M. Abdel-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo 1966), pp. 105–106, and two of them, dating to Ramesses II are unpublished: Tombs 35 and 157. For the rest see Siegfried Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser* (Chicago 1957), pl. 1; Keith Seele, *Tomb of Tjanefer* (Chicago 1959), pl. 11 (cf. Walter Wreszinski, *Bericht* [Halle a.d. Saale 1927], pl. 73); Davies, *Seven Private Tombs* (New York 1948), pl. 28; Boeser, *op. cit.*, pl. 3 (12); Cairo J 8380 (described without accession number by Weigall, *loc. cit.*); Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs* (New York 1927), pl. 5.

⁸⁷ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. Nr. 126. I am

indebted to Dr. E. Haslauer for bringing this stela to my attention and supplying me with a photograph, and to her and Dr. Satzinger for allowing me to reproduce it here.

⁸⁸ Mohamed Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz 1984), pp. 55–56.

⁸⁹ Edouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch* (Berlin 1886), pl. 117 (P d).

⁹⁰ It is empty in the preceding reference and *loc. cit.* (P c), as also in a tomb at Deir el Medineh: Henri Wild, *Le Tombe de Néfer-hotep (I) et Neb-nefer* (Cairo 1979), pl. 5. It is filled with offerings in R. Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter* (Leipzig 1842), pl. 38; Paul Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts* (Paris 1967), p. 140 (Louvre I 3248 [11]); Thos. George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Chicago 1960), pls. 29–30, 72. Probably another example is to be recognized in G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb of Mose* (Warminster 1977), pl. 30.

Kingdom version of the motif under discussion. This influence appears more clearly in three Twenty-first Dynasty copies of the Book of the Dead. In two cases the *k3*-emblem, filled with offerings, is given by the deceased to Osiris, as already attested in the Nineteenth Dynasty stela mentioned earlier;⁹¹ in the other the deceased is twice shown seated before a similar representation of offerings, one of which is labelled $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ “the *k3* of Ptah.”⁹² Although the page in question precedes the one on which spell 105 occurs, there is apparently no more connection with this than there is between the other vignettes of this papyrus and spells that appear beneath them, and the seated position of the deceased belies such a connection.

There is, however, another spell, on the wall of a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb, that is indisputably associated with a representation of the deceased seated before the *k3*-emblem (Pl. 42b).⁹³ Quite exceptionally, in view of the period, the *k3* is not filled with offerings, nor are offerings placed beside it. In both respects it resembles the example on the chair, and it may or may not be significant that the standard supporting the empty *k3*-emblem again faces in the same direction as the deceased. The accompanying text is “a spell for bringing nourishment (*k3w*) from the Field of Reeds so as to go with all the gods (and) do work in it.”

From all this evidence one may conclude that the *k3*-emblem on the back of the chair is intended to transmit offerings, which might have been placed beside it, had there been more space, although the presence of the offering formula may have been felt to have supplied this element. But the spell that has just been mentioned suggests that the emblem itself may have signified nourishment, since *k3* or *k3w* is known to have had that meaning from the Middle Kingdom onward.⁹⁴

One further detail remains to be noted. The double brace that reinforces the top of the standard is well known from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, but it was normally replaced by a single brace thereafter.⁹⁵ The double brace continued to be used from the beginning⁹⁶ to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty,⁹⁷ however, and is attested at least once in an inscription of Ahmosis I.⁹⁸ Thus its occurrence on a chair dating to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while unexpected, is not implausible.

⁹¹ Alexander Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York 1957), p. 133, n. 2, and pl. 15.

⁹² BM 10554: E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus* (London 1912), pl. 20. This is attributed to spell 105 by Carol Andrews in *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, translated by R.O. Faulkner (London 1985), p. 102. The caption might be read $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ with Budge (*op. cit.*, p. 18), who interprets it as “Ptah-ka.” But one is reminded of $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, the name of Ptah’s Memphite temple, which is known at least as early as Dyn. XII: Leclant, *Orientalia* 47 (1978), pl. 23 (17); for other evidence of this date see Gomaà, *Besiedlung* II, p. 9.

⁹³ From MMA neg. T 3762, Theban Tomb no. 359. Reproduced by Mohamed Saleh, *loc. cit.* Cf. Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1930)* (Cairo 1933), pl. 15; Saleh translates: “... um mit allen Göttern

zu ziehen, die die Nahrung dort machen.” For the titles that follow the epithet “Osiris” see Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes* (Cairo 1973), p. 132.

⁹⁴ *Wb.* V, 91–92 and Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁹⁵ An exception occurs on an axehead from a foundation deposit of Tuthmosis III: Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 15 (68), a later one in Pl. 43 below.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 8, a stela of the first king of the dynasty; cf. J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt 1965), pp. 169–71, 280–83.








⁹⁷ Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt 1972), p. 42 and pl. 7 (l. 35); this occurs in a standard supporting 𓆐 .




⁹⁸ D. Randall-MacIver and C.L. Wooley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia 1911), pl. 35, in the emblem of Min.

9. The inscription

The inscription is presented in six columns: (1) A gift which the king gives, and Amun, Lord of Karnak, (2) that offerings go forth (including) bread, beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (jars of ointment), clothing, incense and oil, offerings (3) of food and everything (4) goodly and pure that comes forth in the presence of (5) the Lord of the Gods (scil. Amun) in the course of every day (6) to the Loving Son of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Scribe *Rn(.i)-snb*, justified.

From this it may be surmised that the provenance is Thebes. The commonplace title “scribe” is preceded by one that is attested here for the first time in this particular form, and its significance is difficult to define with certainty. *Z3-mry.f* “loving son”⁹⁹ is known from an Old Kingdom titulary,¹⁰⁰ where the context does not clarify the meaning, and from several later references, dating to the Middle Kingdom and later. In the Twelfth Dynasty it refers to the priest who impersonated Horus in the ritualistic dramatization of the rescue of his father Osiris from his enemies.¹⁰¹ From the New Kingdom onward it designated a funerary priest who was primarily concerned with the opening-of-the-mouth ritual, but was included in other rituals as well.¹⁰² Here it may mean that *Rn(.i)-snb* participated in the funerary rituals of a deceased king. In the Late Period it designated the high priest of Heracleopolis,¹⁰³ but that can hardly be so in the present case, and the adjunct *nb tswy*, to be discussed presently, certainly refers to the king rather than to a god.

The inscription is executed in a linear style that is characteristic of hieroglyphs incised in metal, wood or occasionally hard stone.¹⁰⁴ In the present case ,  and  are the most distinctive examples, as well as , with tufted “ears.” On the other hand,  has the normal form rather than , and there is less use of stippling or hatching within the signs than is frequently the case. In general the use of this style precludes any palaeographic indications of dating; there is almost nothing about the aforementioned signs that might not be expected in inscriptions of either the Twelfth or Eighteenth Dynasty. But the top of the pence in  suggests the later period; cf. p. 224 below.

Some details of phrasing and orthography are likewise suggestive of the New Kingdom, but in all such cases Middle Kingdom examples may also be cited. Thus the group   

⁹⁹ For the translation cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 145 and n. 2a; the interpretation as “his beloved son” is still used occasionally (e.g., Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* [Berkeley 1973], p. 124), but should be discarded.

¹⁰⁰ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 3.

¹⁰¹ CG 20538 (II c, 3); CG 20539 (II b, 7).

¹⁰² Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. 17 and pp. 59–60; Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls. 106–107 and p. 77. In both cases he performs the opening-of-the-mouth ritual. Jéquier, *BFAO* 19 (1922), 170, aptly cites Pyr. 11 and 15 in this connection, but these passages refer to “thy son thy be-

loved/whom thou lovest.” According to the *Wb. Belegstellen III*, p. 118 (to p. 410 [4]) Theban Tomb 106 (temp. Seti I–Ramesses II) shows this priest purifying the deceased. Further evidence of such activities is to be found in Theban Tomb 33 (Dyn. XXVI): Johannes Duemichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap* (Leipzig 1884–94) II, pls. 4–5.

¹⁰³ *Wb. III*, 410 (6); Pascal Vernus, *Athribis*, p. 77 (c); Moh. Gamal El-Din Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina* (Cairo 1983), pp. 196–97.

¹⁰⁴ Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, pp. 40–42.

is known from the reign of Tuthmosis III,¹⁰⁵ but 𓄏 occurs in inscriptions of the late Middle Kingdom or Dyn. XIII,¹⁰⁶ as does 𓄏 ,¹⁰⁷ although the latter became more common thereafter. Similarly the writing of 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 ¹¹¹ is said by the *Wörterbuch* to be attested from the Middle Kingdom onward;¹⁰⁸ no examples are given, and I know of only one Middle Kingdom example, which again may be either late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁰⁹ This writing certainly became more common in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The same is true of the independent use of *nb ntrw*,¹¹⁰ which is known at least as far back as the end of Dynasty XI,¹¹¹ while the close grouping of 𓄏 in this phrase is known both from the Middle¹¹² and New Kingdom.¹¹³ According to the *Wörterbuch*, the phrase *nb tswy* occurs only occasionally in titles and epithets of the Middle Kingdom, with a single example cited of each; it is again said to have become more common in the New Kingdom.¹¹⁴ The last statement is true, but I have collected 16 Middle Kingdom examples, ranging in date from the end of Dynasty XI to the end of Dynasty XII (Excursus I). These might well be interpreted as epithets in every case, and it was probably only in the New Kingdom that the phrase was added to titles.

The name *Rn(.i)-snb* was, conversely, most commonly used in the Middle Kingdom, although a few occurrences are known from the end of the Second Intermediate Period¹¹⁵ and from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹¹⁶

In short, the evidence of the inscription, taken together, offers further support for dating the chair early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, even though this evidence is less conclusive than the indications that have been adduced previously.

Excursus: Middle Kingdom epithets referring to *nb tswy*

(1) 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 “who is in the heart of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands.” Blackman, *Meir III*, pl. 19 (temp. Amenemhet II)

(2) 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 “revered with the Lord of the Two Lands.” CG 20476, a 5

¹⁰⁵ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. 25.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Wb.* IV, 541; e.g., CG 20694; John Garstang, *El Arābah*, pl. 8 (E 236, E 345), Bologna KS 1937 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 73).

¹⁰⁷ For the entire group see Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* II, pl. 24; Berlin 7732 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 205); CG 20093; Munich GL WAF 34 (Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 63).

¹⁰⁸ *Wb.* V, 569.

¹⁰⁹ Louvre C 43. Note, however, that even before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty writings such as 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 and 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏 appear in two stelae of the same individual: Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 32 (5), § 33 (6).

¹¹⁰ *Wb.* II, 227 (7), citing CG 20633 for the Middle Kingdom (“Osiris, lord of all the gods”); cf. Louvre C 170 (temp. Sesostris I) where Osiris is “the Great God, lord of the gods.”

¹¹¹ Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 33 (6).

¹¹² E.g., CG 20093, 20515, 20539 (I, b 4), 20720.

¹¹³ E.g., CG 34003, 34025 (recto, last line) 34119; Bosticco, *Stele II*, pl. 11.

¹¹⁴ *Wb. Belegstellen* to V, 218, 13: “vereinzelt schon im MR nachzuweisen (vgl. z.B.: Louvre C 176, C 243) und ist seit D. 18 außerordentlich häufig in vielen Titelverbindungen.”

¹¹⁵ Ranke, *PNI*, 222 (26); for examples of Dyn. XVII see Bosticco, *Stele I*, pl. 51; Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), 219, n. 1; Frankfort, *JEA* 16 (1930), 219 and pl. 28; Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, *Theban Necropolis* (London 1908), p. 17 (3), pl. 16 (10–11).

¹¹⁶ J. Garstang, *El Arābah*, pl. 22 (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia E 6783).



Plate 27. Metropolitan Museum 68.58
Purchase, Patricia R. Lasalle Gift, 1968



Plate 28. Metropolitan Museum 68.58



Plate 29. Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58



Plate 30. Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58



Plate 31a. Rear view of Metropolitan Museum 68.58,
before restoration



Plate 31b. Rear view after restoration



Plate 32a. Oriental Institute, Chicago, 10550
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 32b. Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-1024
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 32c. Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-1024
Courtesy of the Museum

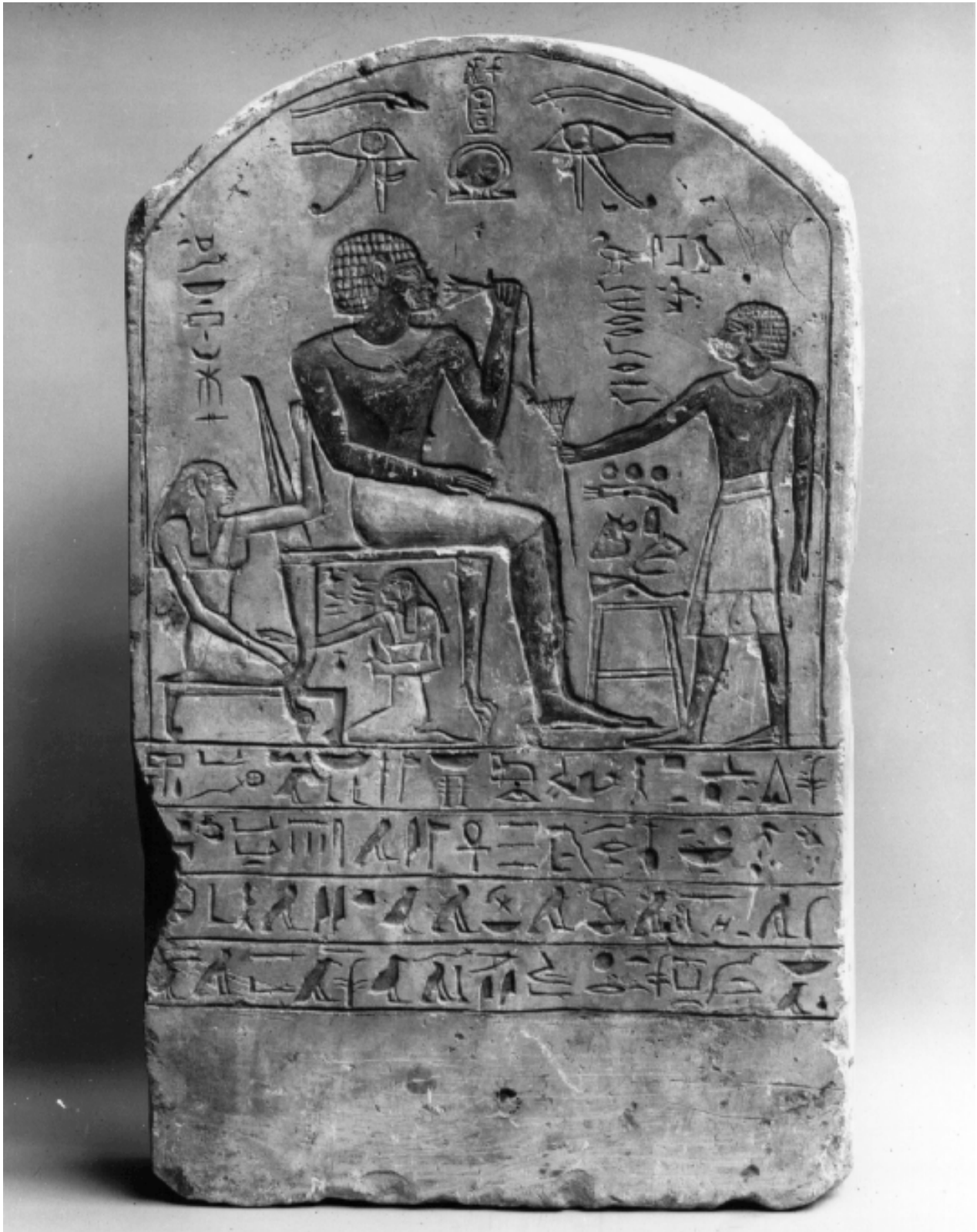


Plate 33. Metropolitan Museum 19.3.32
Rogers Fund, 1919



Plate 34. Theban Tomb no. 22. Photography by
The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Plate 35a-b. Theban Tomb no. 60. Photography by
The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Plate 36. Detail of Cairo J 56720. Photography by
The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

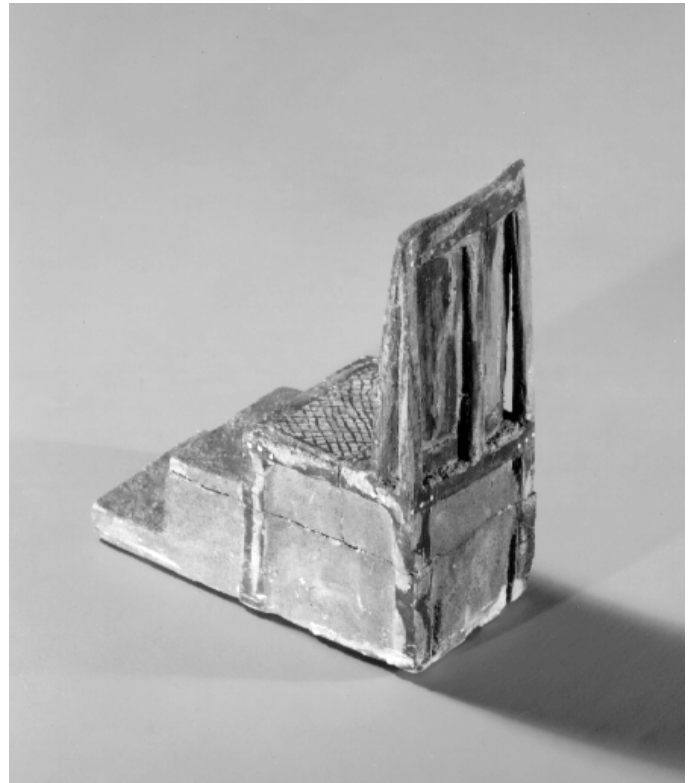


Plate 37. Chair from model boat, Metropolitan Museum 12.183.4
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1912

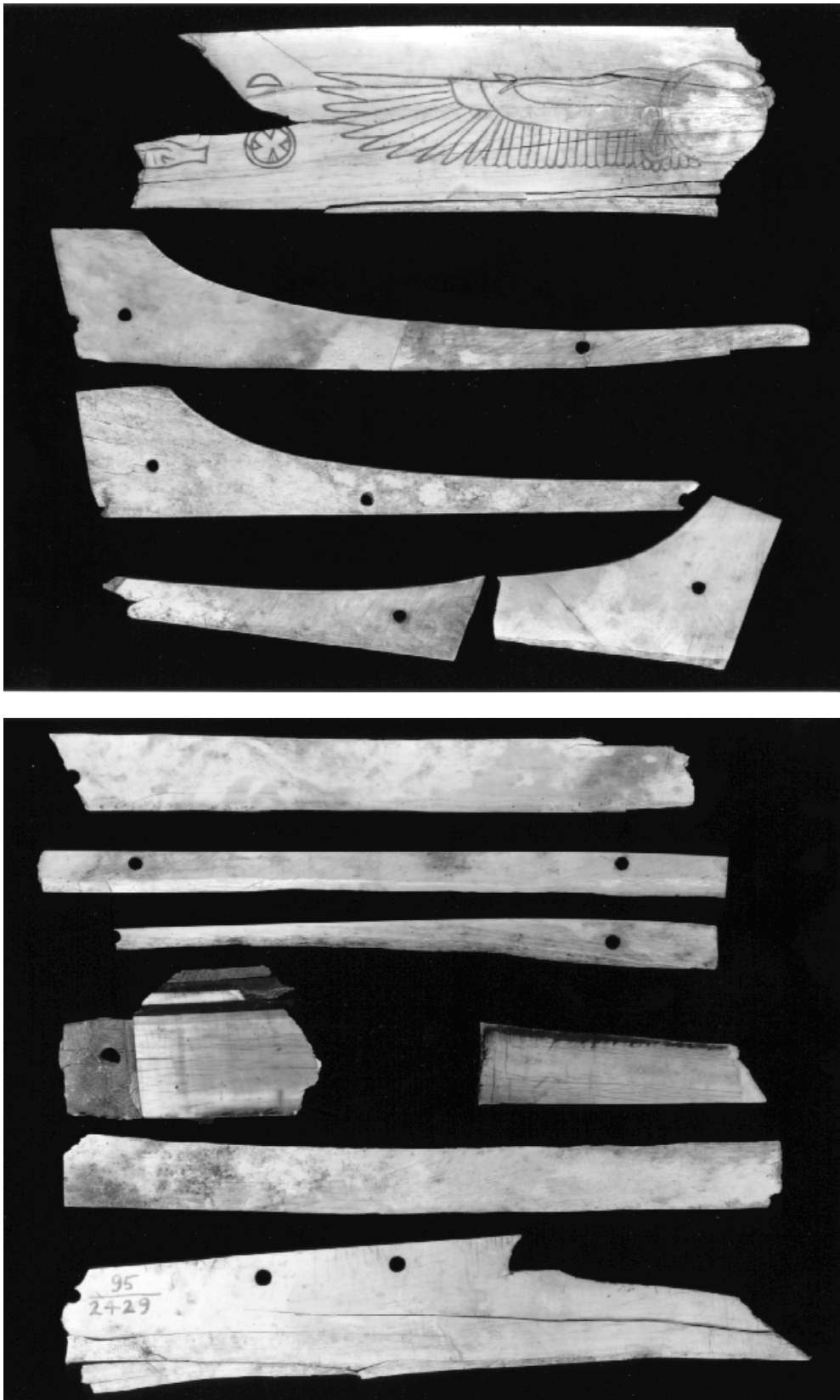


Plate 38a-b. Fragments of ivory overlay from a chair
Courtesy American Museum of Natural History



Plate 39. Remains of a chair, Metropolitan Museum 25.3.308
Rogers Fund, 1925



Plate 40. Detail of Metropolitan Museum 68.58



Plate 41a. Louvre N 3312
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 41b. Detail from tomb of *Rnni*,
El Kab, after Tylor

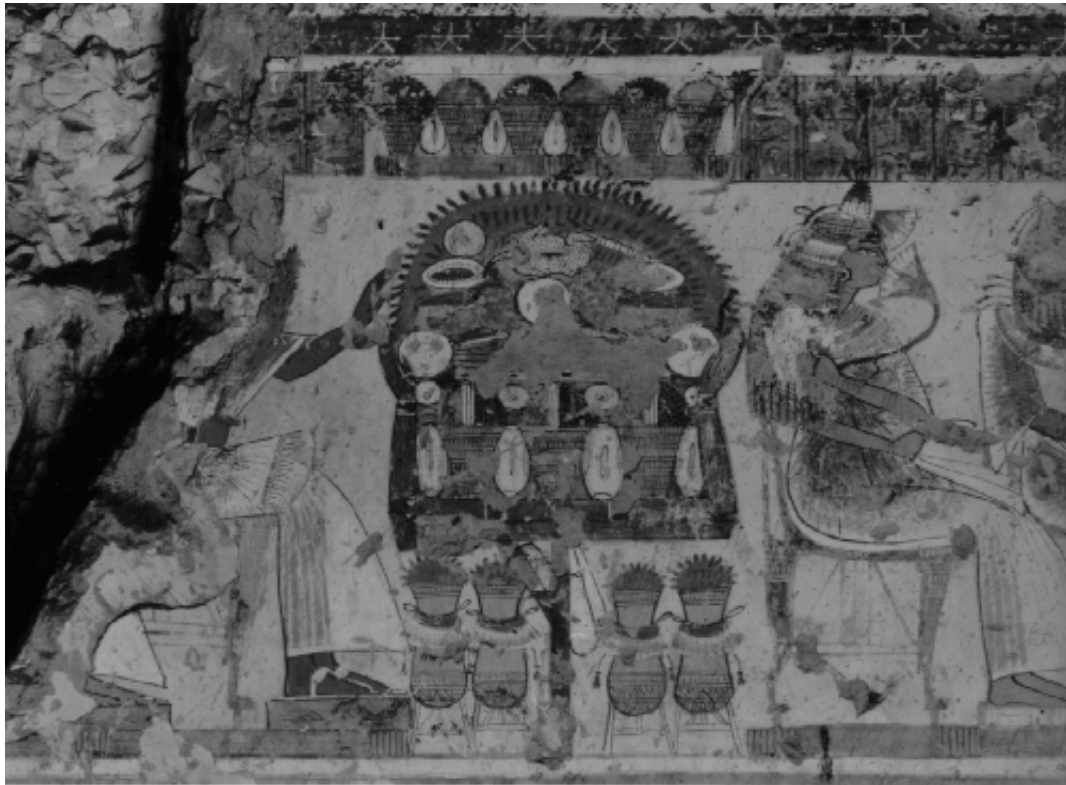


Plate 42a. Theban Tomb no. 178, Photography by
The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

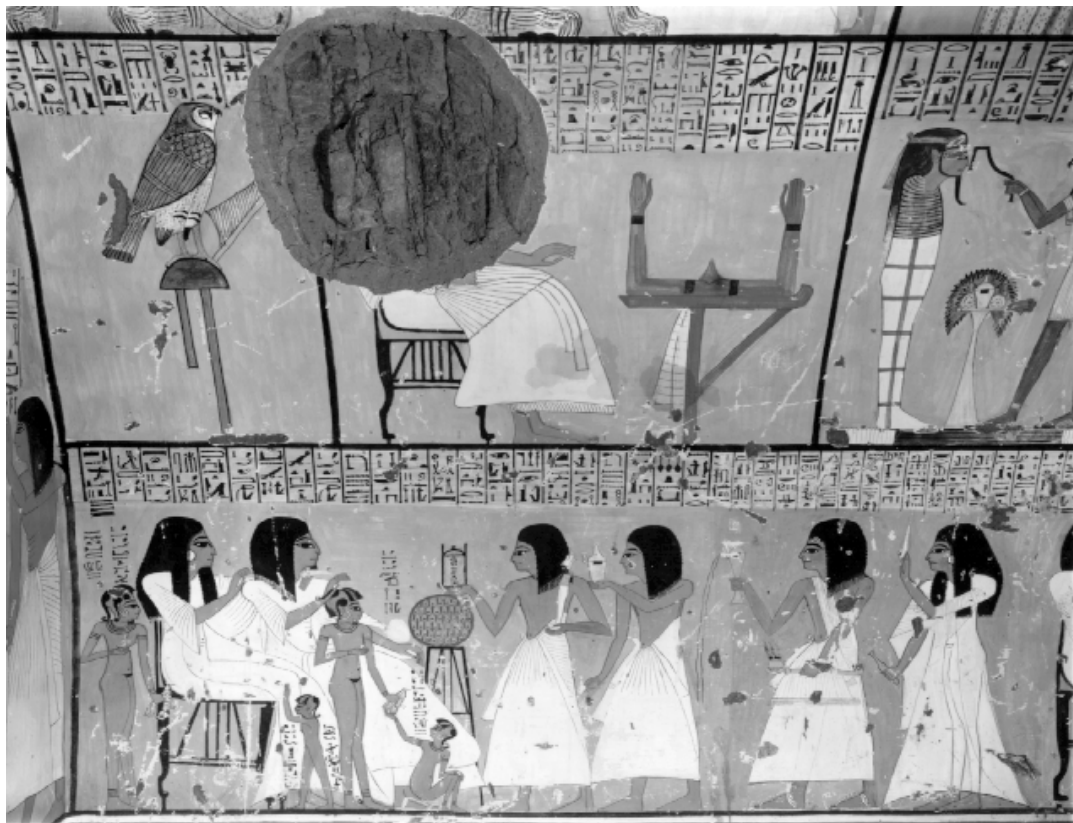










Plate 42b. Theban Tomb no. 359, Photography by
The Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art










Plate 43. Vienna Inv. Nr. 126
Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum

14. Notes on Hieroglyphic Palaeography

1. The evolution of the signs for “herdsman” (A24, 25, 33, 47)

Gardiner, writing more than ninety years ago,¹ could find no certain examples of  (A47) for “herdsman” in hieroglyphic texts of the New Kingdom, apart from its use in the royal epithet   “the good herdsman.”² And he observes that this sign was normally replaced by  (A33) in that period. In the meantime the *Belegstellen* volume of *Wb.* II, 75, makes it clear that  continued to be used in other contexts,³ and that, in addition to , the form  (A24) or  (A25) was also used in the New Kingdom.⁴

The *Wörterbuch* fails, however, to note that the last of these writings was already used for the word “herdsman” as early as the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, on two stelae of the early Twelfth Dynasty, one dated to the reign of Sesostris I. In both cases the writing is , and there can be no doubt of the meaning since, in each case, the individual to which this word is applied carries a calf.⁵ An Eleventh Dynasty example shows the more unusual variant   .⁶ Furthermore at least one occurrence of  is known from the Twelfth Dynasty;⁷ it very probably belongs to a personal name  [] rather than to the title “herdsman,”⁸ but the reading and meaning are in any case the same. This is less surprising than it may seem, since the iconography of scenes in earlier and contemporary tombs provides


¹ ZÄS 42 (1905), 119.

² Now dealt with in considerable detail by Dieter Müller, “Der gute Hirte,” ZÄS 86 (1961), 126–44.

³ Theban Tombs 56 (*Urk.* IV, 1477 [9], temp. Amenophis II); 127 (*Urk.* IV, 512 [11], temp. Tuthmosis III). Additional examples: Tylor, *Renni*, pl. 4 (temp. Amenophis I); Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, pl. 7; Norman Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 39 (both ca. temp. Tuthmosis III); Davies, *Private Tombs*, pls. 1, 2; Davies, *Ramose*, pl. 26 (temp. Amenophis III); Norman Davies and F.L. Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* (Oxford 1957), no. 212.

⁴ One unidentified example in *Belegstellen*, in addition to which see G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 52, no. 281; Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, p. 54* (the first a title, the latter a personal name, for which see Ranke, *PNI*, 151 [5], II, 360). Both these examples are early Dyn. XVIII. For later ones see *Hieroglyphic*





Texts VIII, p. 24, second reg., 11 and pl. 21 (temp. Amenophis IV) and K. Kitchen, *RII*, 39 (6) (CG 34501, temp. Seti I). These two cases refer to the god Re and to the king, respectively.

⁵ Turin stela Cat. 1534 (Maspero, *Rec Trav.* 3 [1882], 117, seen on the original); Boeser, *Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.* II, pl. 2 (no. 3) (temp. Sesostris I). For the branched stick cf. *MMJ* 12 (1977), 11, n. 34; also CG 20314 in  (*iry*).

⁶ *MMJ* 12 (1977), 22, fig. 35 (b).

⁷ CG 20457 (o). Lange and Schäfer provide no photograph, but May Trad has kindly checked this hieroglyph in the Cairo Museum, and it quite certainly has this form.

⁸ Apart from the fact that there is just enough space for the suggested restoration, one would not expect this “friend” of the owner to be a simple herdsman, since the other friends include two lector priests and a sculptor. For the name see n. 4 above.

parallels, even though the object carried at the end of the staff is rather different; in a relief from the late Old Kingdom this is , i.e., the float carried by herdsmen traversing marshes and canals;⁹ in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty tomb chapels at Beni Hasan it is replaced by a basket or jars, i.e., provisions.¹⁰ The form it takes in  is probably borrowed from contemporary examples of , where  replaces the goad that is held by their Old Kingdom counterpart.¹¹









The Twelfth Dynasty occurrence of  is nonetheless quite isolated, because there was little or no use of it before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (temp. Ay),¹² although it was used somewhat earlier as a determinative of words for “wander.”¹³ One might well expect further examples from this period, for the iconographic evidence from tomb scenes provides even closer parallels, from the reign of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 1).¹⁴ As in the Middle Kingdom parallels, the other hand holds a short stick, a detail that is known from a variant of the hieroglyph in the temple of Seti I at Abydos (Fig. 2).¹⁵ In the Nineteenth Dynasty, and later, the sign  was used frequently,¹⁶ almost completely supplanting ¹⁷ but not , which is known from the beginning of the New Kingdom down to the reign of Seti I and even after.¹⁸ At either end of this span of time and particularly at the very end, it assumes the form ¹⁹ The New Kingdom hieratic



Fig. 1. Dyn. XVIII herdsman. After Davies


⁹ CG 1419 (see the drawing in Borchardt, *Denkmäler des A.R.* I, p. 101); for the float see Fischer, *Calligraphy*, p. 48.

¹⁰ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 13 (with stick in other hand) and 30; II, pl. 12 (again with stick in other hand, or a pair of jars on a pole supported by both hands).

¹¹ E.g., *ibid.*, pls. 7, 8 (6, 16), 17, 29 (*iry*), 30. This may represent a piece of cloth; cf. the herdsmen in Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pls. 17, 18, who hold a stick in one hand and a cloth () in the other. For the Old Kingdom goad see Fischer, *Calligraphy*, p. 16 (A 47), where other forms of this sign are also noted. This object is replaced by  in an example of  for both *mnw* and *iry*, dating to the Heracleopolitan Period (note 24 below).


¹² Davies, *Nesfer-hotep I*, pl. 24.

¹³ Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 445 (A33), citing Davies, *Puyemrê II*, pl. 50, and Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 113 for the verb *rwi* “wander” and *Urk.* IV, 390 (8) for *šmw* “wanderers.” For the latter see also Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 266, translated “foreigners.”

¹⁴ The example illustrated is from Davies, *Puyemrê I*, pl. 12; in a register above this the other hand holds the -staff.

For another example of about the same period (reign of Tuthmosis III) see Tylor and Griffith, *Pahevi*, pl. 3; here the other hand holds a whip.



¹⁵ Calverley, *Temple of Sethos IV*, pl. 65, Architrave 10, N (e) (= Kitchen, *RII*, 138 [16]).




¹⁶ Two good examples are to be found in James, *Hieroglyphic Texts IX*, pls. 28 (no. 156), 49 (304); see also Kitchen, *RII*, 311 (7); III, 429 (8); IV, 4 (5); V, 39 (12), 223 (7–8) and the *Wb. Belegstellen*. Also note the use of  in a Dyn. XXVI funerary text as determinative of *phrr* “runner:” M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor I* (Vienna 1978), fig. 44, p. 119 and Plan 24.













¹⁷ Still exemplified in the reign of Horemhab: *Urk.* IV, 2174 (7).

¹⁸ Müller, *op. cit.*, 142 f., notes a Dyn. XXII example: ZÄS 28 (1890), 40, and one of Dyn. XXV: *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 128; the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* II, 75, cite Louvre A 90 (Dyn. XXVI).

¹⁹ Earlier and later examples of n. 4 above. Also examples from Dyns. XXV–XXVI: *Urk.* III, 87 (5); Louvre A 90 (cited by *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* II, 75).

form  poses a problem, for it does not correspond to any of the foregoing signs; perhaps one should transcribe it as .²⁰

There are also a few further Nineteenth Dynasty variants of  such as  (apparently holding a stick in one hand, and a loop of rope or cloth in the other)²¹ and .²²

In hieroglyphic texts of all periods the sign for herdsman need not be followed by other signs except in the case of  which also has the value *nht* “strong,” and had to be distinguished from the latter.²³ The sign  was used alone in the Old Kingdom; in the Middle Kingdom, when both  and  served for *iry* “keeper” as well as *mnw*,²⁴ it was often followed by the phonetic complement ;²⁵ in the early New Kingdom  was added; while the later variants of the additions include  ,   and  .

The evidence for the writings of “herdsman” may be summarized as follows:

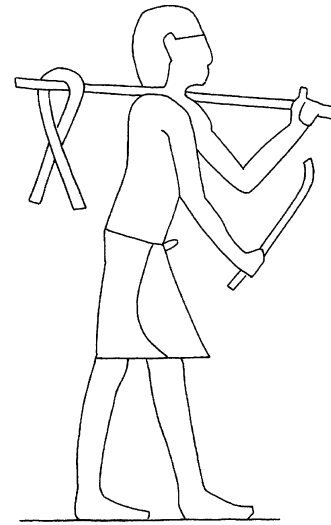


























Fig. 2. Dyn. XIX hieroglyph, herdsman. After Calverly


O.K.		-----	-----	-----
M.K.		()	 rarely)	+ 
Dyn. XVIII (to Ay)		() 	-----	+  
Dyn. XIX (and later)	----		 ,  etc.	+   ,   ,  etc.

²⁰ For the sign in question see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, no. 48, as compared with 47 (); Möller states: “Die hieratischen Formen können nicht auf  zurückgehen. Sie stellen einen Mann dar, der einen Stab vor sich hält.” Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 15 (1929), 54. It is also distinct from hieratic ,  however (Möller’s nos. 15, 16).

²¹ M. Baud and E. Drioton, *Tombeau de Panehsy (MIFAO 57/2, Cairo 1932)*, fig. 22, following p. 42.

²² Kitchen, *RI I*, 65 (6); the same text has the normal form of , p. 66 (13). The unusual form is to be distinguished from  in Ch. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramses II à Louxor* (Cairo 1971), pl. 21. This is followed by *mhrw* and the whole is evidently to be read *hry mhrw* “bearer of milk bottles;” cf. Kitchen, *RI II*, 348 (3), where the sign is copied inaccurately. In other cases, dating to the

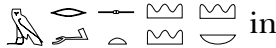

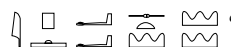
Heracleopolitan Period and the New Kingdom, this sign is read *hmy* “gardener” (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 155 [b] and n. 681), but a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period shows a shepherd carrying provisions much like the Ramesside example in question (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 10, bottom center).


















²³ As in a Middle Kingdom occurrence of the title  *nht-hrw* (Spiegelberg-Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine* I, no. 3; cf. Ward, *Index*, no. 837), or the writing of some New Kingdom names: Ranke, *PNI*, 209 (22); 210 (18); 211 (3) (also somewhat earlier: *ibid.*, 211 [1]).









²⁴ This usage goes back to the Heracleopolitan Period (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 133, fig. 23 [5]).





²⁵ E.g., Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 13, 17, 30, 35; Faulkner, *JEA* 37 (1951), 52.


2. The sign  as dual of  (D2) in the Old Kingdom

Elsewhere in this volume (p. 32) I have drawn attention to a title  in which  is to be read *ꜥwy*, as attested in another title or epithet which begins  “one who takes stock of the produce of the deserts.” As indicated in note 43 below, Sethe took note of this usage as early as 1913, but he did not go into any detail, and his observation seems subsequently to have been overlooked by others, including myself.


Additional evidence is to be found in the Pyramid Texts, which regularly employ  for dual *ꜥwy*, while  or  is used for the singular. It is true that *ꜥwy* is written   in Pyr. 119b, while the singular is  in 574b,²⁶ but this interchange is rare. Often  alone expresses the dual, where a parallel version shows  (Pyr. 189b, 190b, 375a, 886) or  (1653a). In another case  appears in 1425a (P), while the other versions have . The same distinction occurs in the funerary inscriptions of *Bib* at Saqqara, where *ꜥwy* is written ²⁷ and the singular is written .²⁸ In three other cases the writing of *ꜥwy* is  or  in a similar context, where the Western desert extends her arms to the deceased,²⁹ and in another it is apparently ³⁰ although the formula more usually shows  in inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom.³¹

The same tendency to use  in place of  appears in variants of  *tpy-ꜥwy*, a term for “best quality” (of cloth): Edel has cited four cases that have  and one that has .³² He also discusses the legend  in the tomb of *Snb* (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 7 and p. 41) and a virtually identical parallel in LD II, 20a, agreeing with Junker that the meaning is “viewing the cloth of the weaver’s house,” but hesitating to read  as *ꜥwy*.³³ The evidence shown above removes all doubt on this point, but *ꜥwy* is “production,” not a specific term for cloth. This is the same term (but written ) that refers to the “production” of cloth by female servants in Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 15.

There are also several cases where *tp(w)-ꜥwy* “predecessors” is written ³⁴ or ³⁵ whereas at least two examples of  “before” show .³⁶ And there is a term


²⁶ A variant of  and not *rmn*, which normally shows the shoulder in the Pyramid Texts.




²⁷ Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), pl. 18.

²⁸ *JARCE* 4 (1965), pl. 29. Note that *rmn* is here distinguished by the form  in the phrase *iw(.i) <r> rmn.f* “I will be his support.”

²⁹ Cairo CG 1434; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35, and Fischer, *JEA* 67 (1981), 166. The third case, in *Mereruka*, pls. 26–27, 211, is a little out of the ordinary: *m htp m htp in zmt imntt ꜥwy.s r.s(n)* (var. ... *in imntt nfrt ꜥwy.s r NN* on pl. 211) “welcome, welcome, says the western desert, her two arms towards them.” Marianne Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary* (Wiesbaden 1984), pp. 65, 164, takes “them” to refer to statues being transported before the owner and his wife; the variant has “... says the good west, her two arms towards NN.”



³⁰ Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 208 and pl. 62, whereas Simpson,










Western Cemetery I, pl. 18 and fig. 16, clearly shows .



³¹ Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 58; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 2; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, figs. 37b, 39; CG 1403 ( ); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 6; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pls. 8, 21; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5A (C–D). But James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 19, evidently has . Cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 96.









³² *ZAS* 102 (1979), 22.
















³³ *Ibid.*, 27 f. Note that a third example of the same phrase occurs on the left reveal of the Louvre mastaba (not shown in Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 9; it appears in a register above this); see Christiane Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhethetep* (Paris 1993), pp. 119–21.




³⁴ James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 6 (D 8); *Urk.* I, 222 (17); as shown in *Meir* IV, pl. 4, the arm looks like , but is slanted downwards to resemble  (as in examples such as Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 107; Hassan, *Giza* VII, fig. 38). Cf.

hry-ꜣwy, meaning “handkerchief, towel,” or the like, which is written    in one case³⁷ and   in another.³⁸ An isolated example of the compound preposition     *m-hnw-ꜣwy* “by virtue of” is cited by Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* II, § 800, referring to CG 57188.



It further seems highly probable that  , an epithet of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, is to be read *ꜣwt-ꜣwy* “wide of wings.” This is known from the funerary temple of Pepy II,³⁹ and the same writing is retained in temple inscriptions of the Eleventh⁴⁰ and early Twelfth Dynasties.⁴¹

The orthography of this epithet contrasts with one applied to Horus:   “strong of hand,” which is written thus in the Old Kingdom.⁴² In one case it is followed by  ,⁴³ where the distinctive form of the arm may simply be attributed to graphic dissimilation. But it probably more meaningfully indicates that the phrase is to be interpreted “one who acts with his two hands,” for the epithet takes the form     in texts of the Middle Kingdom referring to non-royal individuals.⁴⁴

Two isolated cases may also be interpreted in the same way. One occurs in a Sixth Dynasty address to those who pass by: “Ye shall speak with your mouth and     offer with your two hands.”⁴⁵ A similar address of the same period has     ,⁴⁶ while two other versions write  and .⁴⁷ The second is the expression   for “activity” in a Fifth Dynasty decree (Neferirkare) which is written   in an inscription of the early Twelfth Dynasty.⁴⁸

The term    “schedule of duty,” or the like, is consistently written thus in the late Fifth Dynasty papyri from Abusir.⁴⁹ Although the related term *imy-st-ꜣ* “functionary” some-

also *Urk.* I, 201 (17). This writing of *tp.w-ꜣwy* is probably also to be recognized in Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 188.

³⁵ *Urk.* I, 46 (10); 201 (6), where James, *op. cit.*, p. 41 emends  to .




³⁶ *Urk.* I, 125 (11); 283 (6).




³⁷ *Urk.* I, 41 (11).



³⁸ *Urk.* I, 232 (7).

³⁹ Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pls. 54–55.



⁴⁰ Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II* (Mainz 1974), pls. 26, 51 (3555).

⁴¹ Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sesostris I^{er}*, pls. 12, 14, 19, 22–24, 27, 30, 34, 37, 38 (writings varying between  and ). On p. 53 Lacau offers the translation given here, and on p. 54 he rightly observes that  “est une orthographe archaïque, immobilisée dans ce titre.” Further examples from the same reign may be seen on Cairo J 36809 (Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *Ägypten* [Munich 1967], pls. 93, 95).

⁴² Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashure* II, pl. 8; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pl. 65, whereas  appears in *Grabd. Sa'ahure* I, pl. 10, and  in fig. 49. An example of the early Twelfth Dynasty (Sesostris I) has  (Lansing, *BMMA* 28 [Nov. 1933], fig. 3, p. 6; *BMMA* 29 [Nov. 1934], fig. 20, p. 27; Dieter Arnold, *Pyramid of Senwosret I* [New York 1988], pls. 49, 56) as does a late Twelfth Dynasty example

(Amenemhet III), where the epithet is applied to Osiris (Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, pl. 5 [7]). Cf. *Wb.* V, 367 (8) and the variant   (7) indicating *ꜣwy* (but all based on evidence from the New Kingdom).



⁴³ Borchardt, *loc. cit.* After this study was completed I found that, in the text volume, p. 83, Sethe anticipates my conclusion that: “Die hier gebrauchte Form der Hieroglyphe des Armes pflegt den Dualis zu bezeichnen.” He also makes a passing reference to this usage in *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte IV* (Leipzig 1922), p. 106.


⁴⁴ Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie I*, p. 48 (II F 161–63). The form of the arms in no. 162 should be corrected from  to .






⁴⁵ In the original inscription of a reused mastaba: Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, fig. 5.


⁴⁶ Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 12.

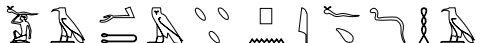
⁴⁷ Drioton, *ASAE* 42 (1943), p. 503; Kanawati, *GM* 83 (1984), p. 38.


⁴⁸ See Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 23, fig. 2; on p. 26 he rightly reads the arms as dual *ꜣwy*, referring to Junker, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 3 ff.; on p. 6 Junker cites a Twelfth Dynasty variant   for Siut I, 214 (*Urk.* VII, 60).


⁴⁹ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 1 (A and B), 11 (1), 13 (1), 35 (A); in pl. 16 B it is ligatured with . The same sign is probably to be recognized in












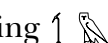



times shows , this also appears as  in Pyr. 398b, 558b (and as  and  in *CTVI*, 150,e), and it is hardly coincidental that one example discussed earlier (p. 24) has . The term used in the Abusir papyri is clearly to be read *imy-st-ꜣwy*.





In view of the several examples that have been given of  alone as a writing of *ꜣwy*, it is equally clear that this interpretation is to be applied in some speeches accompanying scenes of daily life:


(1) . A woman winnowing grain tells her companion: “lift your arms from this grain; it is (but) straw.”⁵⁰ This is a particularly likely case, since winnowing requires the use of both hands.

(2) . A carpenter hammering a guardrail to the side of a boat tells his companion, “remove your hands (from) under us.”⁵¹ Like the preceding quotation, this is from the mastaba of *Tj*.

(3) . “There is a catch (of fowl) for thy hands, O fowler!”⁵²

Sethé says that in the Pyramid Texts  is to be read *ꜣ* in  (var. ) “wash.”⁵³ Certainly it means no more than “wash” since it is applied to the face⁵⁴ as well as the hands and  or  is added in the latter case.⁵⁵ This is also true of  “wetting a stave” in two scenes of the Fifth Dynasty,⁵⁶ as also in some names such as  and .⁵⁷ In these cases  replaces , but it obviously derives from the idea that the two hands are washed. The sign  also designated the ewer and basin in the early Old Kingdom, as in an offering list specifying ⁵⁹ “a ewer and basin of electrum,” or the representation of an attendant who carries these utensils, identified as  in the label above them.⁶⁰ Here the reading may include a reference to *ꜣwy* with the meaning “wash-hands” (as in French “lave-mains”). This is suggested by the fact that the washing of hands is  in an offering list of the Fourth Dynasty,⁶¹ which may be compared with  in another that may be somewhat later.⁶² If the second of these is *ꜣbw-r*, the first is presumably *ꜣbw-ꜣwy*. I doubt that

the expression  *ꜣwy n hmww*, “handwork for the craftsmen,” discussed by Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, pp. 196–97. In *Abu Sir Papyri* some of the entries for  (Pal. pl. 11) should go with : namely those from pls. 1 (A), 1 (B), 11 (1), 22 (A, g), 35 (A, 3 b). Two adjacent examples from pl. 41 (C 2) are inappropriately used in place of , but this is evidently a scribal error.

⁵⁰ Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 155; the sense of my translation is much the same as the less literal one of Montet, *Scènes*, 223: “Lève de cet orge! Il est mondé!” For *dh₃/dh₃* see *Wb.* V, 605 [7] and 481 [1–7]. Junker, (*Sitz. Österr. Akad. Ph.-hist. Kl.* 221/5 [1943], 30 f.) disregards the form of  and translates: “Hebe deinen Arm mit dieser Gerste (fege sie fleissig), denn sie ist noch (ganz voll) Stroh.”

⁵¹ Wild, *op. cit.* II, pl. 129. Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 341 translates: “Que je vous ecrase vos mains—attention à nous,” but his parallel for *hr* “attention” is not valid; cf. Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 18 and p. 28.

⁵² Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 37 and 39 (= Badawy,

Nyhetep-Ptah, fig. 33). A second example is Louvre E 25532: Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 128, 144.





⁵³ *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* IV, p. 106. Cf. also *Wb.* I, 39.

⁵⁴ E.g. Pyr. 601b, 1443a.

⁵⁵ E.g. Pyr. 788c, 1428b.

⁵⁶ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 4; Verner, *Ptahshepses* I/1, pl. 28.

⁵⁷ Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 36, as corrected in Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, p. 42.





















⁵⁸ CG 1495; cf. *PNI*, 11 (23); II 338 (incorrectly copied). But  is *ꜣwy* in some other names:  (*PNI*, 423 [28]);  (Martin-Pardey, *CAA Hildesheim* 1, 38), the latter evidently to be distinguished from the example in Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 80, which has  *mn*.





⁵⁹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13.



⁶⁰ *LD* II, pl. 4.

⁶¹ Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 21 and pl. 10; in *Giza* IX, p. 44, Junker reads only *ꜣb*.

⁶² BM 1172: *Hieroglyphic Texts* VI, pl. 19. For *ꜣbw-r* see De Meulenaere, Supplement to *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 87–89.

this reading is disproved by an exceptional case where supplies for the afterlife are listed on a Fourth Dynasty sarcophagus, including    “water and washing vessels.”⁶³ Other lists refer to   “water for the hands”⁶⁴ or   “water upon the hands.”⁶⁵ An inscription of the Fifth Dynasty mentions      which is probably *šꜣwt(y) n(ty) iꜣw nmst*, “the two vessels of the wash(-hands) and a jar” much as Junker reads it,⁶⁶ but *iꜣw* may be *iꜣw-ꜣwy*.⁶⁷ At a later date (probably no earlier than the Heracleopolitan Period) the term for the ewer and basin was reduced to    *šꜣti* “the two vessels,”⁶⁸ and in the Middle Kingdom it was commonly expressed by   or    “two vessels of water.”⁶⁹

The group  frequently appears before the face of the deceased in offering scenes of Dynasties II–IV (rarely later)⁷⁰ and usually arranged thus,⁷¹ although the sequence is reversed in a few examples, including some of the earliest,⁷² and one Third Dynasty example very logically places  below the ewer and above the basin.⁷³ Occasionally  is added to this configuration,⁷⁴ and/or , designating a supply of water.⁷⁵





The most characteristic ideographic uses of  are to be found in the determinatives of *hsꜣ* “sing,” *mrt* “mrt-singer,” and *hni* “beat (the rhythm);”⁷⁶ also, more rarely, *rwi* “dance”⁷⁷ and *msht* “clap.”⁷⁸ The explanation for the connotation of duality that is expressed by  is to be found in the traditional representations of the *mrt*-singer that shows a single hand extended in this fashion, while the other is not visible (Fig. 3).⁷⁹ In the Nineteenth Dynasty the outline of the arm was doubled, making it clear that both hands are extended (Fig. 4)⁸⁰ and this reduplication was applied to a group of female mourners as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (Fig. 5).⁸¹ The apparent extension of a single hand is also to be found in several

⁶³ Cairo J 48852; W.S. Smith, *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 151 and pl. 22.

⁶⁴ Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, fig. 56.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 72 and pls. 9–10.

⁶⁷ Cf. “metal vessels of”    ; Daressy, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 200, 203.

⁶⁸ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 42, 43, to be added to the *Belegstellen* of *Wb.* IV, 421 (9).

⁶⁹ Jéquier, *Frisés*, p. 118 and Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom*, pl. 11.

⁷⁰ The latest example that can be dated as such by a royal name (Userkaf) is from Tehna: Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 3 to p. 124. Cf. also an archaizing Dyn. XI example in Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, p. 69 (26).



⁷¹ At least three dozen examples, including CG 1391, 1392, 1447, 1513, 1566.



⁷² Z.Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae* (Cairo 1957), pls. 29, 30; James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, pl. 17.

⁷³ W.S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth 1958), pl. 19.

⁷⁴ E.g., Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr.* I, pls. 18a, b; 46b, 57b.


⁷⁵ E.g., James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 14; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 94 and pl. 27.

⁷⁶ *Wb.* III, 285. For the form (with fem. infinitive) see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 192, with reference to   (*CTI*, 23).

⁷⁷ Pyr. 863a, perhaps assimilated from previous mention of  “hands.” Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford 1969), p. 214, n. 7, also applies the same interpretation to  alone in 1358b, but it more probably is *hn* (“your feet beat out the rhythm for you”). More usually the determinative of the dancer shows a man holding a pair of clappers.

⁷⁸ *Mereruka*, pls. 113–14; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

⁷⁹ MMA 22.1.1, after Lindsley Hall’s drawing in Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (New York 1971), p. 37; for other early examples see Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pl. 16; Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple II*, pl. 6 (A).

⁸⁰ From the photograph in A.M. Calverley, *The Temple of Sethos IV*, pl. 28 (A); cf. pl. 27. For other examples see *ibid.* II, pl. 29; A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor* (Paris 1894), pl. 63; Harold Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I/1* (Chicago 1981), pls. 37, 54; Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefjer* (Chicago 1959), pl. 4. Cf. also a hieroglyphic representation of Meret as  (Kitchen, *RII*, 570 [11]).

⁸¹ From Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 23.

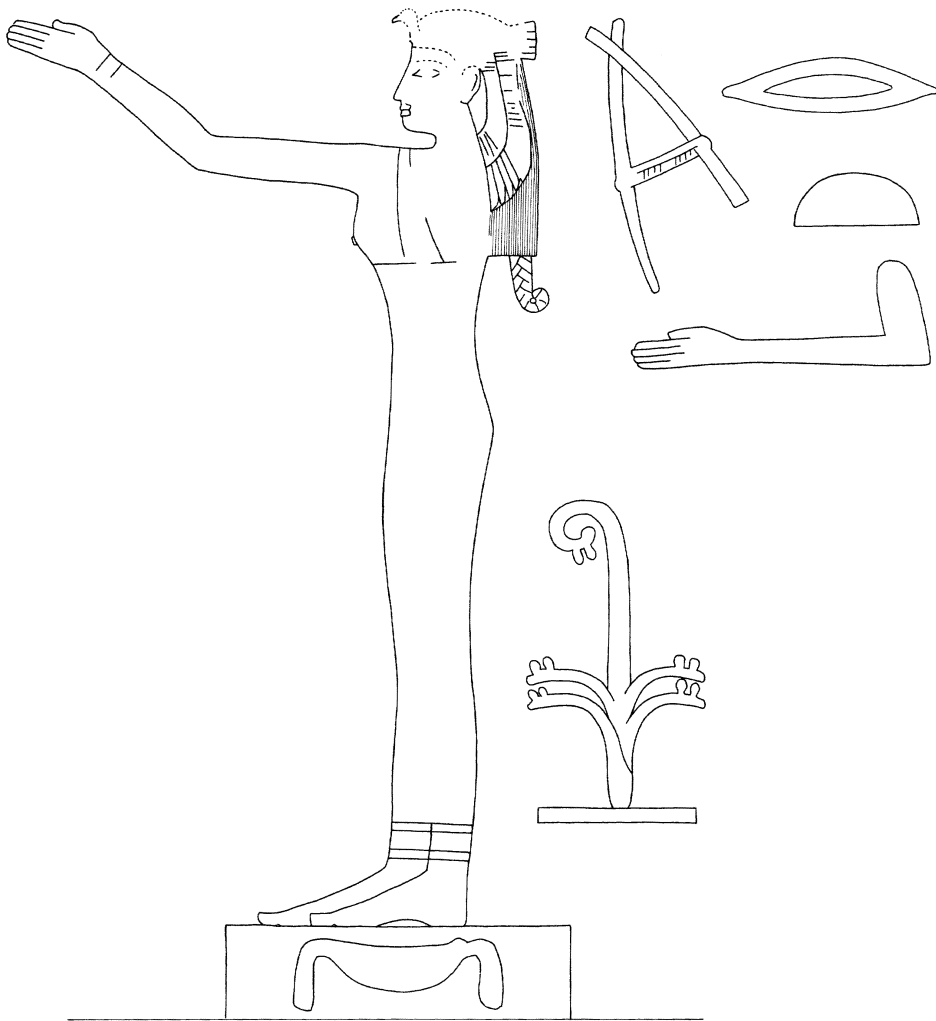


Fig. 3. Old Kingdom *mrt*-goddess. After Lindsley Hall

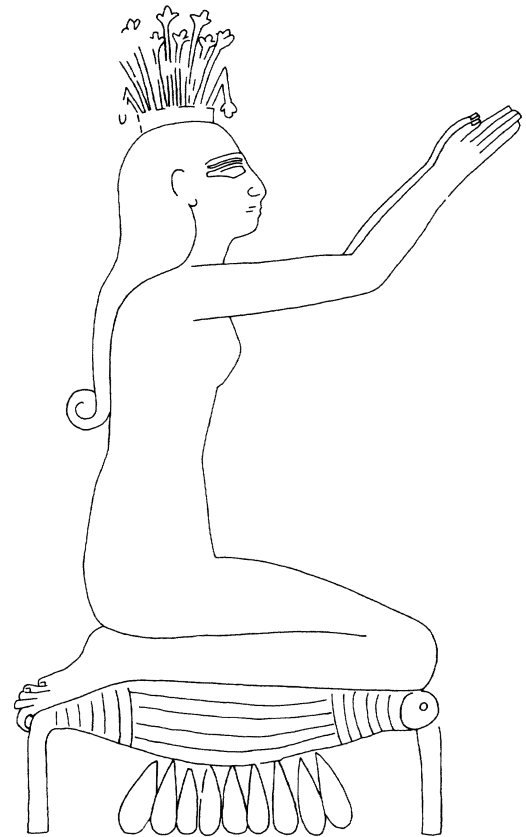


Fig. 4. Dyn. XIX *mrt*-goddess. After Calverly

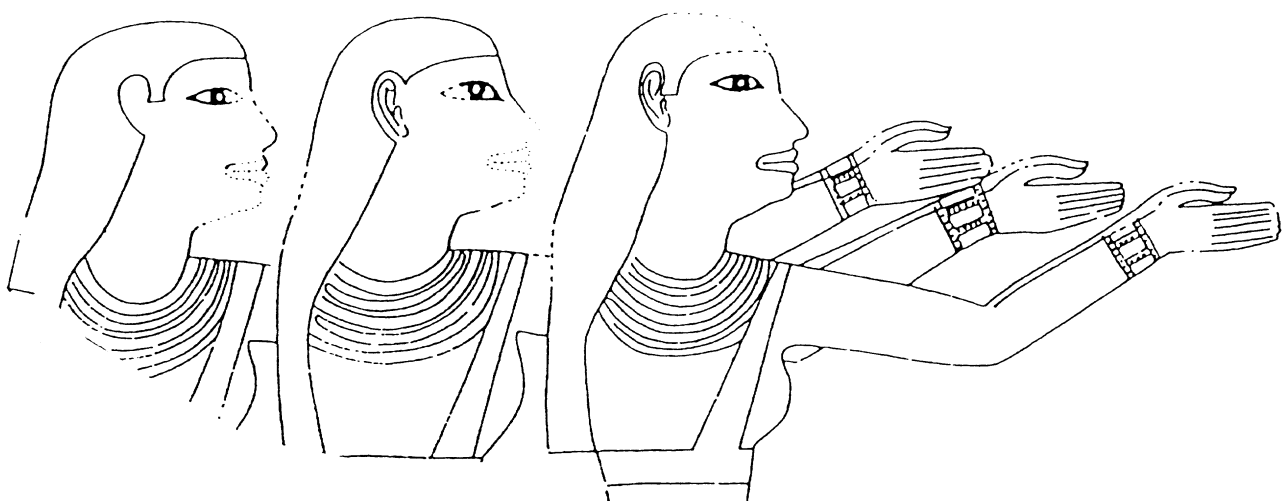


Fig. 5. Dyn. XII singers. After Davies

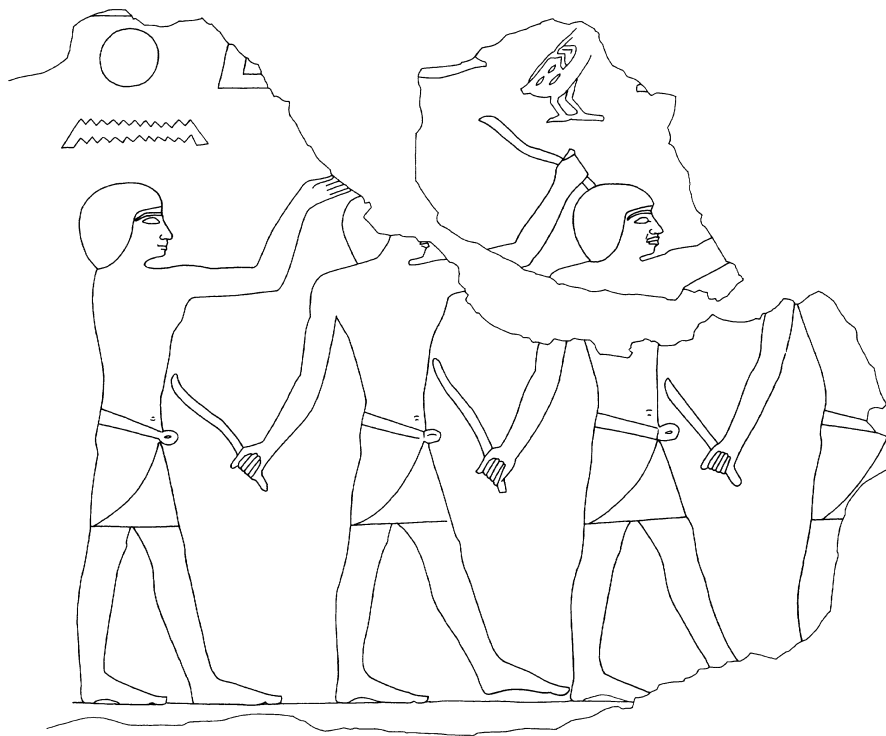







Fig. 6. Dyn. V singer. After Bissing

representations of men who make the same gesture accompanied by  in the archaic festival scenes of Neuserre's sun temple (Fig. 6).⁸² They are clearly *hnu.w* "beaters," "percussionists," and one may therefore suppose that their attitude is a stereotyped archaic manner of depicting two hands extended to give the tempo by clapping. In the more mundane scenes of private tombs of the Old Kingdom female singers frequently clap their hands in a more natural fashion.












A gesture like , made with one hand, also figures among the chironomic repertory of Old Kingdom singers, but this sign probably became an ideogram for *hsi* in consequence of its association with the *mrt*-singers,⁸³ reinforced by the fact that singers frequently clapped their hands.⁸⁴




⁸² Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* III, pl. 16 (274), together with dancers who hold clappers; for other examples see *ibid.* II, pl. 18 (44d), 19 (45a). A Middle Kingdom variant of the determinative  is applied to *hn* in Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pl. 12:  "giving the rhythm to the army." And the Old Kingdom sign reappears in a funerary scene of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Davies, *Puyemrê* II, pl. 52), where the caption  accompanies men whose gesture reduplicates the sign and again shows but one arm.


⁸³ For the iconography of the *mrt*-singer see Jocelyne Berlandini in *LÄ* IV, 81; she likewise assumes (without offering evidence) that both hands are extended, although she observes (n. 17) that a single hand is extended by the *mrt*-singer in the shrine of *Nb-hpt-R^c* Mentuhotep

from Dendera (*ASAE* 17 [1918], pl. 1 to pp. 226 ff.); this example is altogether anomalous since the second *mrt*-singer makes a quite different gesture.

⁸⁴ Berlandini, *loc. cit.*, reverses this conclusion; she considers the possibility that the *mrt*-singer is clapping her hands, but agrees with Hickmann that her gesture is a melodic signal. This does not seem consistent, however, with her conclusion that both hands are raised, a conclusion that is borne out by the Middle and New Kingdom examples cited in notes 80–81 above. Others, not influenced by Hickmann, have previously agreed that the gesture represents clapping: Hellmuth Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), 88; Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'hommage aux dieux* (Paris 1954), p. 24.


The connotation of duality that was so graphically conveyed by  in the Old Kingdom probably did not survive beyond that period except, to a limited extent, in the archaic context of temple scenes. One such archaic example is the epithet *ꜣwt-ꜣwy*, “wide of wings,” mentioned earlier (p. 181), and another is possibly to be recognized in the expression   “offering” in the Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari.⁸⁵ But the sign in question only partly resembles ; there is no Old Kingdom example of the word with which to compare it, and it is therefore probably safer to retain the accepted reading of this phrase as *ḥwt-ꜣ*.⁸⁶ By the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty the search for further survivors becomes obscured by the replacement of old  by  (D41),⁸⁷ which also serves for *rmn*. The old form reappears in the Late Period, but not with any degree of regularity.⁸⁸ The form  is also attested in Old Kingdom inscriptions, but only very infrequently except in the term  for “washing the hands,” where it is still uncommon but occurs at least seven times.⁸⁹ One of these cases lacks the stream of water,⁹⁰ and in another case the stream of water is fused with the hand;⁹¹ the latter very probably explains the other five. Other examples of  are to be found in Fourth and Fifth Dynasty titles concerning *ḥs* “singer;”⁹² in a Fifth Dynasty example of the epithet *ꜣmꜣ-ꜣwy* “strong of hands,” as mentioned earlier,⁹³ and rarely in the phrase *ꜣmy-st-ꜣwy*, “schedule of duty,”⁹⁴ as well as in a very few Sixth Dynasty examples of *ꜣwy* written  and .⁹⁵

It may be added that a sign rather like the form that has just been noted is also to be found in one of the scenes of a Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel at Meir (Fig. 7).⁹⁶ The similarity is coincidental, but the very different reason for it is well worth mentioning. This is an excellent example of those cases where iconography has affected palaeography;⁹⁷ the position of the hands that are “smoothing” is reflected in the pair of hands that terminate the word   *snꜣꜣ* above them, which describes that action, replacing . The man on the left says: “Ho, see (how well) I am smoothing,” and his companion replies “See indeed (how well) I am smoothing.” In other versions of this scene the hieroglyph in question is written normally.⁹⁸

⁸⁵ Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II*, pls. 19, 21 (4963). The sign is  in Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pl. 35 (right).

⁸⁶ Cf. *Wb.* III, 47 [2-3].

⁸⁷ Of the examples in *Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}* cited in note 41 above only those on pls. 12, 22 and 34 (left) have the old form. Also note the determinative of *ḥn* in note 82, and *CTVI*, 150 e; VII, 32 k, 389 b.

⁸⁸ Walters 22.152, 22.153; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture* (Baltimore 1946), no. 274. The form  (or the like) appears in Klaus Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi* (Mainz 1983), pl. 28; H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (Berlin 1942), pl. 436 (1); W.M.F. Petrie, *Memphis II*, (London 1909), pl. 5; E. Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London 1892), pls. 11 and 16.

⁸⁹ Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 21; Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 107 (also written normally); Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 40; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 88; Pyr. 34 (N).

⁹⁰ Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 15.

⁹¹ O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs* (Copenhagen 1956), no. 17; cf. Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, pp. 32 and 26.

⁹² Junker, *Giza I*, pl. 23; VII, fig. 13; also several times in CG 57173.

⁹³ See n. 42 above.

⁹⁴ See n. 49 above.

⁹⁵ Daressy, *ASAE* 16 (1916), pp. 200–203. A similar form is used as the determinative of *sm* “pressing (grapes)” in Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 20, and the form of the hand is also similar in *mḥ* “cubit” (e.g., Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum III*, pl. 29). Cf. also n. 28 above.

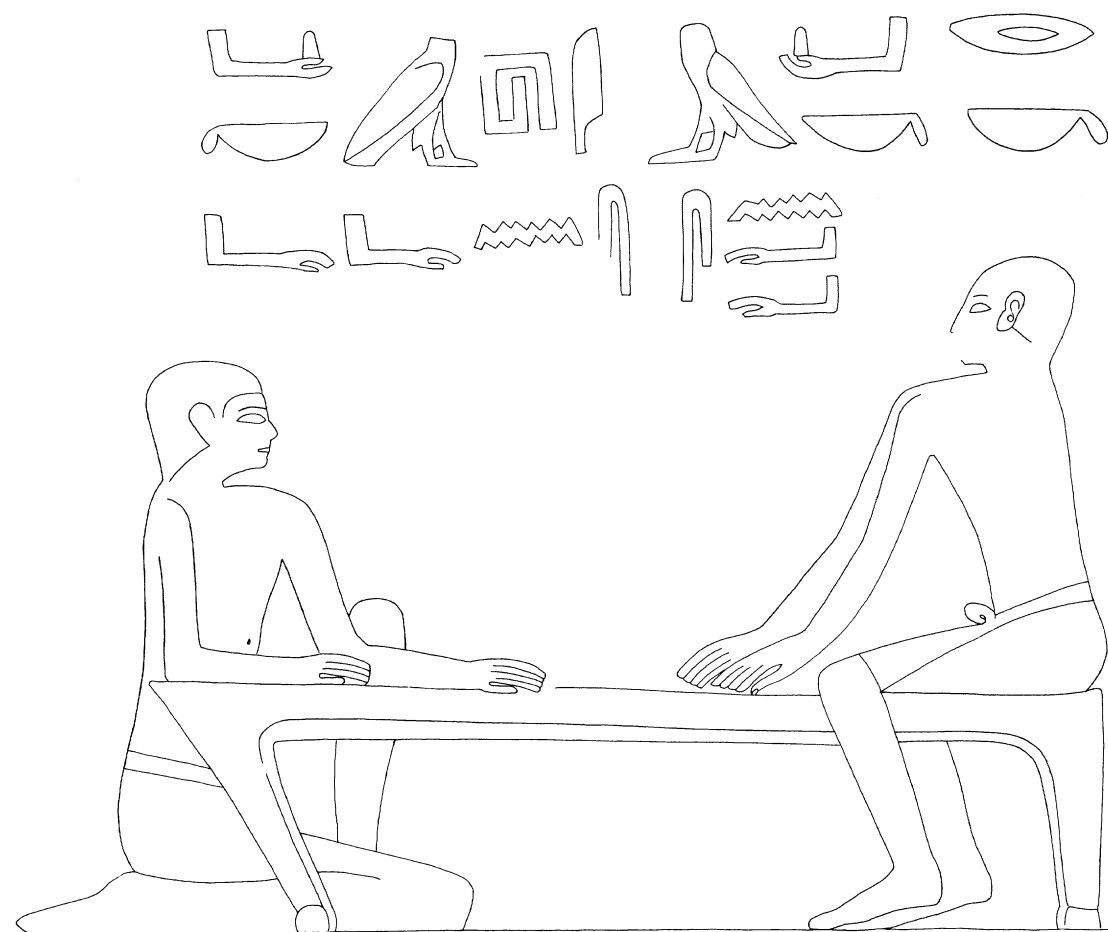


Fig. 7. Dyn. VI craftsmen at Meir. After Blackman

3. A Middle Kingdom Variant of 𓆎 (F12)

The hieroglyphic elements of a necklace of *Hnmt*, the daughter of a king presumed to be Amenemhet II, include one form that is unusual, combining the wigged head of a jackal with the foreleg of the same animal (Fig. 8a).⁹⁹ It has previously been identified as a jackal,¹⁰⁰ a seated jackal,¹⁰¹ or “the symbol of Anubis.”¹⁰² There can be no doubt, however, that it is simply a variant of the hieroglyph 𓆎 *wsr* (F12).¹⁰³ That interpretation is demon-

⁹⁶ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 18.

⁹⁷ Cf. Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 37 and n. 37.

⁹⁸ E.g., Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 174; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 14; II, pl. 10; *Mereruka* I, pl. 30.

⁹⁹ CG 52964. From the photograph in Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. 72. The other side is inlaid, and less detailed.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 317, Milada Vilímková, *Altägyptische Goldschmiedekunst* (Prague 1969), caption to pl. 18.

¹⁰¹ Erika Feucht, in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, p. 387 (pl. LIVb).

¹⁰² Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, p. 88. Cf. Also Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1971), p. 65 (“Anubis-head”).

¹⁰³ As Cyril Aldred has evidently recognized in his *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London 1971), p. 188, referring to pl. 30 (“Strength”).

strated by a cartouche of Sesostris I that shows virtually the same form (Fig. 8b),¹⁰⁴ and by another example (Fig. 8c), which occurs in a phrase expressing funerary benefits, *wsr m3c hrw* “being powerful and justified,” on a non-royal statue that is probably as late as the reign of Amenemhet III.¹⁰⁵ Given the fact that the phonetic value of \uparrow derives from *wsrt* “neck,” it is surprising that the neck should be replaced by a leg, but there are even earlier examples of \uparrow in Sixth Dynasty hieratic, although the hieroglyphic equivalent of this is known only from the Second Intermediate Period and the later New Kingdom.¹⁰⁶ The wig alone appears more frequently in this sign, the earliest examples of it dating to the Heracleopolitan Period¹⁰⁷ and the Eleventh Dynasty,¹⁰⁸ while a few more are known from the earlier reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, some at least as late as the reign of Sesostris II.¹⁰⁹ Examples of still later date may also be cited, but they are not frequent.¹¹⁰

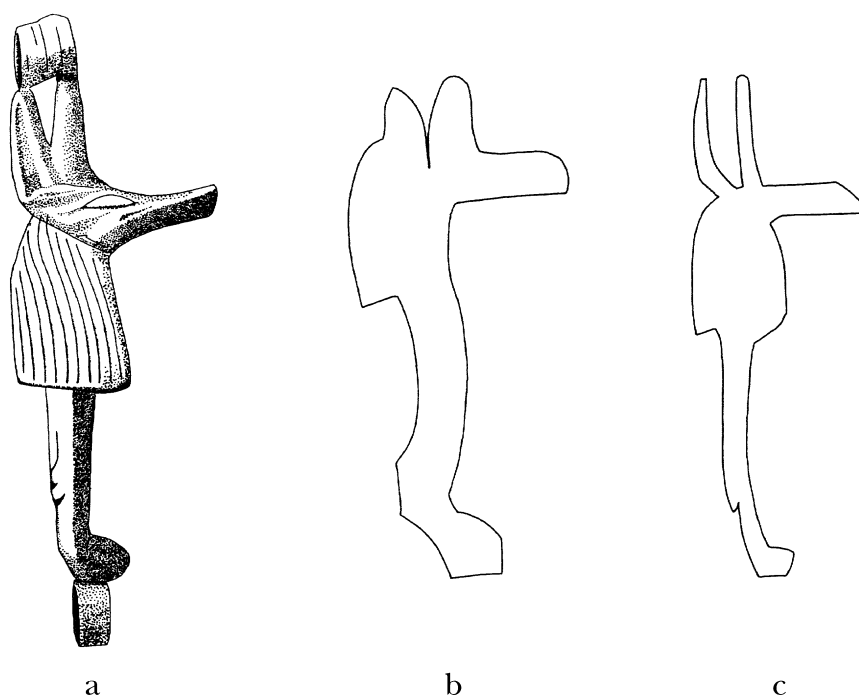


Fig. 8. (a) Element from the necklace of *Hnmt*, Dahshur. From a photograph. (b, c) Similar hieroglyphs

¹⁰⁴ CG 20542. From the photograph in Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* IV, pl. 43. Cf. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 11. The sign \uparrow again shows the wig in the same cartouche (Louvre C 1: *ibid.*, pl. 14), but not the leg.

¹⁰⁵ On the proper right side of Turin Suppl. no. 4265; for bibliography see Detlef Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (Wiesbaden 1984), no. 199. And for the phrase cf. Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 59 f. (Bitte 7 a, e), 77 (Bitte 7 a, c).

¹⁰⁶ *MMJ* 12 (1977), 17, n. 156; also CG 20364.

¹⁰⁷ Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 15; *Coptite Nome*, no. 13.

¹⁰⁸ BM 624 (Blackman, *JEA* 17 [1931], pl. 8), lines 10, 14;

Louvre C 14 (Al. Badawy, *CdE* 36 [1961], 270; Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers* [Berlin 1970], p. 14, pl. 1).

¹⁰⁹ Louvre C 1 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 14); Florence 1774 (*RdE* 24 [1972], pl. 7); Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (London 1888), pl. 10 (273, Sesostris I: 271, Sesostris II).

¹¹⁰ Mid-Dyn. XVIII: Cairo CG 34091. Dyn. XIX: E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London 1891), p. 37; Centre du Documentation, *Petit Temple d'Abu Simbel II* (Cairo 1968), pls. 22, 87, 89. Dyn. XX: Félix Guilman, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Cairo 1907), pls. 5, 37, 41, 52. Dyn. XXII: E. Naville, *op. cit.*, pls. 40 (L, M), 42 (A).

Except for the presumed central element, a well known device that combines 𓆎 and 𓆏 “live and be at peace,”¹¹¹ all of the hieroglyphs of *Hnmt*'s necklace are paired, and those that show a definite orientation, rightward or leftward, are presented in both directions, so that the ensemble is symmetrical. The height of all the elements seems to be much the same, between 18–18.5 mm, including the two rings from which they were suspended, with the exception of the bees, which are said to be 17 mm, and may therefore have been placed at the end of the series.¹¹² In the other cases the slight variation of height is not significant, since it occurs in some of the identical pairs.

In the present restoration¹¹³ the sequence is 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆏 (reversed) 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆏. Since this arrangement is, for the most part, arbitrary, it seems likely that 𓆎 should precede 𓆏 (or 𓆏 𓆎), constituting an old variant of the queenly title *smꜣwt mry Nbty* in which *mry Nbty* “he who is beloved of the Two Ladies” is reduced to “the Two Ladies,” in both cases meaning “she who joins the king.”¹¹⁴ And it is equally likely that 𓆎 should precede 𓆏, with much the same meaning, but perhaps ringing a change on the name *Hnmt*. While such titles may not seem very suitable for a woman who is only a king's daughter, their meaning is not essentially different from 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 “she who joins the White Crown,” which occurs on *Hnmt*'s canopic chest.¹¹⁵

Once these two titles have been recognized as such, then all the other hieroglyphs in the necklace evidently precede them as attributes that are desired for the owner: 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎. The first three might then be translated “may (she who joins the king) be strong, enduring, living.” And the sign 𓆎, the *wꜣst*-eye of Horus, would mean “may (she) be sound.” The sign 𓆎 shows the *bst*-fetish combined, as often, with 𓆎,¹¹⁶ the so-called “Isis-knot.” The latter is closely associated with 𓆎 in the Protodynastic Period,¹¹⁷ and these two signs alternate in two friezes dating to the end of the Old Kingdom, in one case showing the form 𓆎,¹¹⁸ in the other case the composite form, incorporating the *bst*-fetish.¹¹⁹ Its propitious meaning is much the same as 𓆎, which it closely resembles in First Dynasty examples.¹²⁰

Thus it seems possible, once the hieroglyphic nature of 𓆎 has been perceived, to view all the other elements as having a more hieroglyphic character than has previously been supposed.

The peculiar variant of *wꜣsr* does not seem to have been used very often, and it seems unlikely that there is any connection between this and the variant 𓆎 for 𓆎 on coffins from

¹¹¹ *MMJ* 5 (1972), 22, n. 69; 11 (1976), 177.

¹¹² Vernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 306 ff., nos. 52919, 52926–7, 52929 and 31; 52959–74; also two falcon-head terminals (52920–21). The height of the presumed central element is said to be only 16 mm, but this excludes the lower rings; that of the vultures (52973–74) is said to be 19 mm, but the upper ring is much further forward than the right, and the measurement is clearly diagonal. Only the bees are given a lesser height: 17 mm.

¹¹³ For which see Vilímková, *loc. cit.*; Erika Feucht, *op. cit.*, pl. LIVb; Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 30.

¹¹⁴ *JEA* 60 (1974), 94–98. As noted here (p. 96), this is

attested, in the Middle Kingdom (CG 382), in the form *smꜣyt Nbty mryt and smꜣyt (NN) mryt* “the beloved one who joins the Two Ladies/King NN.”

¹¹⁵ Most recently discussed by Olivier Perdu, *RdE* 29 (1977), 68 ff.; for *Hnmt* see p. 82.






¹¹⁶ *JARCE* 1 (1962), 13.

¹¹⁷ *MMJ* 5 (1972), 13.





¹¹⁸ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 14.




¹¹⁹ Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 5 (7); Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* II, pl. 3 (2).

¹²⁰ *MMJ* 5 (1972), 12–15.

Akhmim, dating from the very end of the Old Kingdom or later;¹²¹ with the variant  for  (*ist*) in a royal decree of the Seventeenth Dynasty, where  assumes its customary form,¹²² or with the still later variant  for , which the *Wörterbuch* attributes to the Graeco-Roman Period,¹²³ but was in use at least as early as the Nineteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Ramesses II.¹²⁴

4. The sign ¹²⁵

Among the orthographic innovations in titles of the Middle Kingdom, such as  (tongue) for *imy-r* “he who is in the mouth” and  (Anubis upon his shrine) for *hry-sst* “he who is over (privy to) the secret,” the substitution of  for  *hry-tp* “overlord” (lit. “over the head”) may seem self-evident. But it must nonetheless be asked why the pair of horns alone would not have sufficed to express this meaning, rather than the horns and sun-disk that constitute the emblem of Hathor.

An extremely likely explanation has occurred to me in looking over some copies of inscriptions that were made in the rock-cut tombs of Aswan towards the end of the Old Kingdom,¹²⁶ and a little later, during the Heracleopolitan Period.¹²⁷ Here the sign for *hr* “over” is occasionally written  or  instead of . I have subsequently noticed further examples of this kind in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 9).¹²⁸ Thus the new writing of *hry-tp*, which is only known from Beni Hasan,¹²⁹ seems to have had a specific graphic origin—an accidental resemblance, which tends to occur in incised inscriptions that omit inner detail. Its fortuitous nature may explain why this usage was not more widespread.

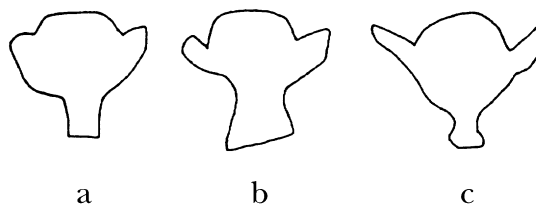



Fig. 9. Middle Kingdom examples of .

¹²¹ CG 28001–4, 28007–8, 28010–16.

¹²² Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 8, lines 6, 10. Here the hoofed leg may have been suggested by the pair of horns.

¹²³ *Wb.* III, 19; the Ptolemaic writing  probably derives from this.

¹²⁴ Ch. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramses II à Louxor*, pl. 21 (top); cf. Kitchen, *R111*, p. 346 (6). See also a Dyn. XXVI example in K.P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi* (Mainz 1983), pl. 37 and p. 122 (T264).

¹²⁵ Reprinted from *Hathor 3* (Lisbon 1991), 9–13 (and inserted errata), with the kind permission of Maria Helena

Trindade Lopes.

¹²⁶ Tomb of *Hr-hw.f*, in the king's letter, to the right of the entrance, line 14 (= *Urk.* I, 129 [13]).

¹²⁷ Tomb of *Hq-ib*, later inscription on left reveal of entrance.

¹²⁸ Figure 1 (a) is Dyn. XI, from Louvre C 14; (b) is late Dyn. XII, from Louvre C 85; (c) is late Dyn. XIII, from Copenhagen Nat. Mus. Aad 13 (from Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 7).

¹²⁹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 32, 33 (Tomb 3); pl. 41 (Tomb 13).

This usage probably would not have occurred at all, however, if the hieroglyph had not already existed in ☉ “opening (day)” of the month and {☉ “opening (day) of the year.” Here one can follow a more gradual and logical evolution. In the earlier half of the Old Kingdom a usual writing of the “opening of the year” festival was {☉, where the determinative, appropriate to a calendrical event, was placed below ☉. This determinative was occasionally moved upwards as early as the Fourth Dynasty, but more frequently during the later reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, producing a second arrangement: {☉.¹³⁰ At the same time, and during the Sixth Dynasty the sign ☉ tended to be partly enclosed by ☉.¹³¹ The final step, in which these two elements became united, evidently came about around the end of the Old Kingdom. One of the earliest hieroglyphic examples known to me occurs on a stela from Naga ed Deir that seems to belong to the first years of the Heracleopolitan Period.¹³² A hieratic example at Hatnub occurs in a graffito that has been dated even earlier¹³³ this date seems improbable, however, in view of the fact that the name of a local nomarch is followed by ☉ | | “may he live, prosper and be healthy” and ☉ | | | | “may he live for ever and ever”—sentiments that, during the Old Kingdom, had been reserved for the king. The same is true of another example that supposedly antedates the end of the Sixth Dynasty; it appears in one of the burial chambers cleared by Jéquier around the pyramid of Pepy II,¹³⁴ many of which show features that are associated with the Eighth Dynasty and the Heracleopolitan Period.¹³⁵ In the present case the specifically late feature is the separation of ☉ and ☉ in place of the older form ☉ for *hrt ntr* “necropolis.”¹³⁶

There remains one example of ☉ that does, however, seem to antedate the end of the Old Kingdom, if only by a few years.¹³⁷ It occurs on one of a group of Naqada stelae that are closely linked with the “transitional” tombs at Dendera, belonging to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty and to the brief span of the Eighth Dynasty.¹³⁸ The Eighth Dynasty is more probable in the case of the stela in question, since it seems to be a little later than the other members of the group.¹³⁹

¹³⁰ E.g., Junker, *Giza* VI, figs. 31, 32, 92, 93; XI, figs. 70, 83, 104; Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 183; II, fig. 205; III, figs. 69, 70; VI/3, figs. 60, 142, 202; Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, fig. 41; *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33; Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 4; Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39; CG 1424 (temp. Sahure), 1482. An example appears on a Fourth Dynasty sarcophagus, Cairo J 48852 (W.S. Smith, *JEA* 19 [1933], 150, pl. 21; elsewhere on the same sarcophagus [pl. 24] the sign ☉ is missing, as is often the case in contemporary inscriptions).

¹³¹ Fifth Dynasty examples in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 62, 63 (1); Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 4; Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, pls. 1, 2. Sixth Dynasty: Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 20; N. Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pls. 5, 6, 27; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 26; CG 1434.

¹³² Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 87, belonging to the Red Group, which E. Brovarski dates to the early Heracleopolitan Period: *Dissertation*, pp. 558–60; another example,

ibid., p. 927 and fig. 87, is dated to the end of Dyn. X.

¹³³ Anthes, *Hatnub*, pp. 23–24 and pl. 13; discussed further by Černý, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 444 f.

¹³⁴ *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 62.

¹³⁵ To be discussed in *Hommages à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier 1997).

¹³⁶ See *BES* 9 (1987/88), 18, n. 16. A much earlier example is to be found in Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 5, but this is an isolated exception.

¹³⁷ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 3, pl. 6.

¹³⁸ Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 115–28.

¹³⁹ In place of ☉ it has ☉, which, at Dendera, is first attested in the inscriptions of *Nfr-sšm-Ppy/Snni*, *ibid.*, p. 79, n. 231. The wife’s coiffure also distinguishes this stela from the others; a Dendera stela of the same style as those of *Snni* (for which see *ibid.*, p. 128, referring to Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 10 [right, second from bottom]) similarly shows a woman wearing a long wig, albeit one of more conventional form.

5. Variants of the Old Kingdom form of $\overline{\text{F29}}$

The detail shown in Figure 10 is from the lower edge of an isolated block of relief in the Louvre.¹⁴⁰ The scene above it depicts the preparation of bread, and it is virtually certain that the incomplete captions are related to the same activity. That conclusion is indicated by the composite sign at the left, combining a phonetic element ($\overline{\text{F29}}$) with an ideographic one ($\overline{\text{F29}}$).¹⁴¹ At least three, and probably four, other examples of the same composite hieroglyph can be cited. In one case¹⁴² the context clearly shows that it is a variant of F29; the caption $\overline{\text{F29}}$ replaces the more familiar $\overline{\text{F29}}$ “stringing a necklace.”¹⁴³ The composite variant is doubtless also to be recognized in a less completely preserved example, written $\overline{\text{F29}}$,¹⁴⁴ which is comparable to $\overline{\text{F29}}$.¹⁴⁵ The last two examples confirm Osing’s reading of the former as *str/sti*,¹⁴⁶ which is also confirmed by the likelihood that the captions show the masculine infinitive of a trilateral verb. In yet another case $\overline{\text{F29}}$ also replaces $\overline{\text{F29}}$ as the infinitive of *sti* in the sense of “spearing.”¹⁴⁷

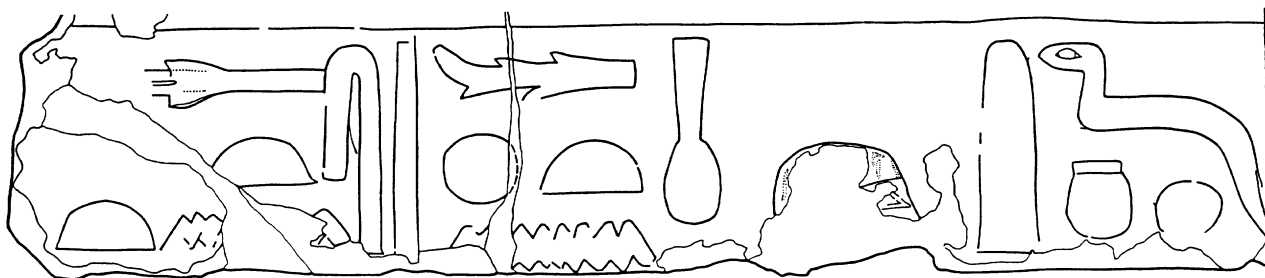


Fig. 10. Detail of Old Kingdom relief in the Louvre, E 17499. After Ziegler

In the example at hand $\overline{\text{F29}}$ evidently occurs in the same context as the phrase $\overline{\text{F29}}$, a command given by a scribe who records the delivery of bread and beer as it is relayed to him by a second scribe:¹⁴⁸ “count this out properly.” This seems again to employ the verb *str/sti*—either “stringing” together the number of deliveries or “assembling”

¹⁴⁰ Louvre E 174991: Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 292–94; discussed further in *Orientalia* 61 (1992), 146.

¹⁴¹ To be added to the examples given in *MMJ* 12 (1977), 9–10 and figs. 3–4.

¹⁴² Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 50.

¹⁴³ For such scenes see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 43–44, and Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, p. 137 and pl. 64; the phrase also occurs in titles, for which see n. 153 below.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 19.

¹⁴⁵ Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 17.

¹⁴⁶ *OLZ* 74 (1979), 13, commenting on Middle Kingdom *strw*; cf. my *Tiles*, p. 48 (177), where the reading *sti-rw* is to be disregarded. Drenkhahn, *loc. cit.*, n. 81, likewise compares *sti* and *str*, citing examples of the latter from the New Kingdom and later. Here it may be noted that $\overline{\text{F29}}$

(*sšrt*) exceptionally appears in an Old Kingdom title “overseer of the milk herd,” which, in an example dating to Dynasties X/XI, is more normally written $\overline{\text{F29}}$ (Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, pp. 34–35 and fig. 45). The reading *sšrt* is excluded for any of the examples of $\overline{\text{F29}}$ discussed here, although the example of $\overline{\text{F29}}$ (cited in n. 144 above) appears immediately above a scene showing $\overline{\text{F29}}$ “milk- ing,” and may have been influenced by the latter.

¹⁴⁷ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 23; *sšt imsh Hnqw ... r sti.t rmw* “the revered *Hnqw* travelling ... to spear fish.”

¹⁴⁸ James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 9 (27); Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 25 (= Alexander Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 29). Badawy rightly criticizes James’ translation of *sti* as “moulding” (p. 52, n. 82) but “throw in” is scarcely more satisfactory.

them. Sometimes nominal $\uparrow \ominus$ is used in such scenes, probably based on a masculine infinitive as before: an “assemblage” or “batch” of bread.¹⁴⁹ In one instance the delivery of bread is carried out in the presence of the *nht-hrw* “tally man” and the *d3dst nt dt* “council of the funerary estate,”¹⁵⁰ both of whom are likewise mentioned in the remaining captions of the missing scene in the present case. The caption at the left possibly begins with the words *stî n.i [nw]* “count this out for me,” although the residual \ominus is difficult to explain. More probably $\uparrow \ominus$ is followed by $\uparrow \uparrow$ in the phrase *nty hn(.i)*: “count, my companion!”

The remaining example of the composite sign occurs in a scene where a man kneading dough is addressed by a baker who holds a loaf in one hand and a bag or basket in the other: $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$.¹⁵¹ This is perhaps to be translated “Look at my batch of *pzn*-loaves.”¹⁵²

Three further variants may be noted. The first is \uparrow , which occurs in the title “overseer of necklace-stringers.”¹⁵³ The second appears at the end of a caption describing the catching of fish by the $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “harpooner.”¹⁵⁴ Here the substitution of \uparrow (an Old Kingdom form of Aa5) for \uparrow has evidently been prompted by an overall similarity of shape. The third occurs in a similar context, where the determinative of $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ repeats the fish that is speared in the adjacent scene (albeit another species of fish).¹⁵⁵

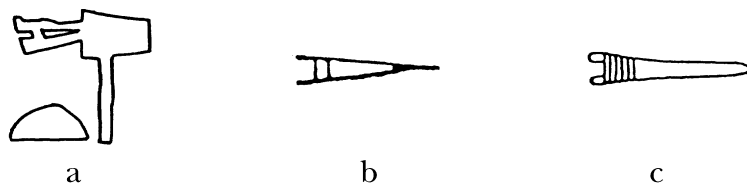


Fig. 11. Arrows in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs

¹⁴⁹ *Wb.* IV, 332 (13); Epron et al., *Ti I*, pls. 66–67; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, p. 71 and pl. 23, Berlin 11406 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 22). The same word, apparently, is used in Pyr. 120a, 123f (*Wb.* IV, 332 [12]).

¹⁵⁰ Epron, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵¹ W. Schurmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret* (Karlsruhe 1982), fig. 15.

¹⁵² Schurmann, *ibid.*, p. 40 reads *stt* (i.e., $\uparrow \uparrow$), which is invalidated by the other examples of \uparrow .

¹⁵³ James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* I, no. 67, pl. 25. This title is also known from Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 214 (8), as well as Berlin 19999 (Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, p. 102, pl. 33 [9]). Cf.:

$\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “overseer of necklace-stringers of the king’s regalia,” unpublished fragment, (Cairo CG 57130)

$\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “director of necklace-stringers of the palace” (Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 99)

$\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “director of necklace-stringers and director of gold” (Martin, *Hetepka*, no. 84, pl. 33)

$\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “necklace-stringer of the king’s regalia” (LD II, pl. 60)

It seems likely that the “necklace-stringer’s” craft was less restricted than this designation would indicate; “jeweler” is probably more appropriate. Note also that \uparrow alone is sometimes used in designating these workers: $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ “the stringing of necklaces by the jewelers of the funerary estate” (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 64). This is clearly to be recognized in $\uparrow \uparrow$, which precedes *mḥnk nswt*, a title that was frequently given to craftsmen (Brooklyn 37.1495E: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, pl. 26, no. 72). The arrow in this sign (Figure 11 [a], drawn from a photograph kindly supplied by Richard Fazzini, with further assistance from Donald Spanel) may be compared with examples from (b) Hassan, *Gîza* III, fig. 84, and (c) Junker, *Gîza* XI, fig. 73a.

¹⁵⁴ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 3. Cf. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 4–5 (11), 21; the sign in question is not explained.

¹⁵⁵ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX, fig. 15.

Although the standard Old Kingdom form is $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ rather than $\overrightarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, the latter form is pre-figured by two late Sixth Dynasty examples, at Saqqara, in which the point of the arrow begins to emerge.¹⁵⁶ More surprisingly, two Middle Kingdom examples from Asyut show the arrow planted in what appears to be a shield: $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$; ¹⁵⁷ this might possibly have been inspired by Old Kingdom $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, but a coffin at Bersha has $\overrightarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, which looks more like a shield mounted as a target.¹⁵⁸

6. Semi-reversed forms of $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ (F39)

In my *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (3rd ed., p. 5) I observe that some signs tend to retain their normal rightward orientation when reversed, facing leftward; and that, in such cases, the retention of rightward orientation may affect only part of the sign, resulting in a “semi-reversal.” The most frequently attested example of this curious phenomenon, and the earliest, affects $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ (Gardiner’s F39). The word in which it occurs (*imsh* “revered condition”) does not seem to be known before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, when it assumed the form that was henceforth usual.¹⁵⁹ But there are Fourth Dynasty examples of $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ (both \rightarrow and \leftarrow).¹⁶⁰ The reverse of this ($\overrightarrow{\text{𓏏}}$) is attested equally early (example 56 in the terminal list), but rarely before the Fifth Dynasty. Both forms continue in use after the Old Kingdom, and there are some Eleventh Dynasty examples of each, but especially the second. Further examples are probably not to be expected much later than that point,¹⁶¹ although I have not made an exhaustive search for them, and, as in so many other details of Egyptian palaeography and iconography, a later recurrence cannot be ruled out.

The semi-reversals are sporadic, and often occur in proximity to examples of the sign that are perfectly normal, but the cumulative evidence, as displayed in the terminal list of references, is sufficient to yield a certain number of conclusions. It will be seen that the earliest evidence comes from both Giza and Saqqara, but that the Giza necropolis is by far the more abundant source, with a ratio of 3:1. Furthermore the examples from Giza constitute nearly half of the total. The earliest provincial example is no earlier than the reign of Merneptah, at Abydos, the administrative center of Upper Egypt (ex. 49 in the list), while the examples from other places may all be later than the Sixth Dynasty.

The possible combinations of normal forms of $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, rightward and leftward, are four in all.¹⁶² With the introduction of the semi-reversed $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, the possibilities are increased four-fold, as shown in Fig. 12. To clarify the comparisons, the normal forms are written $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$, the

¹⁵⁶ Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, fig. 5 and pl. 3; III, fig. 39 and pl. 56 (A). In another, more unusual Sixth Dynasty example the arrow completely traverses the lower part of the sign, i.e., the tail rather than the hide: Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Tombs at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*, pl. 7.

¹⁵⁷ CTIV, 99h (two coffins of the same man).

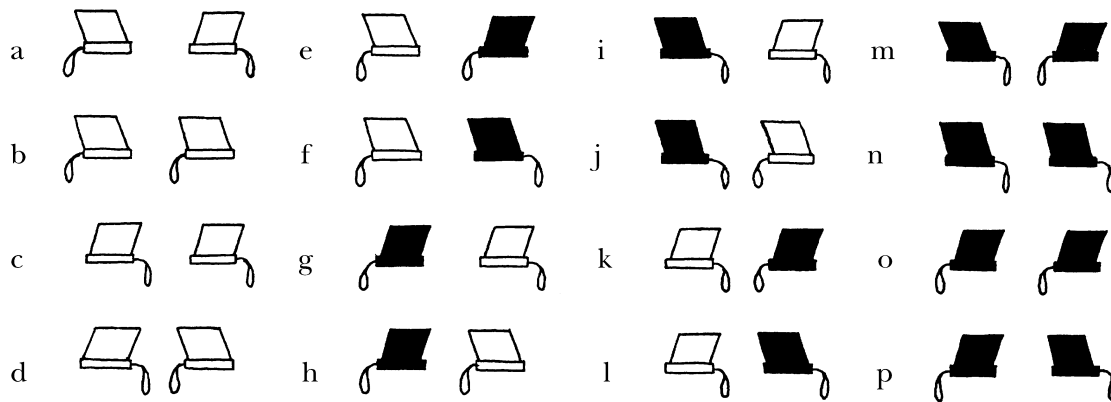
¹⁵⁸ CTI, 364 b, c; 366 b; V, 46 b.

¹⁵⁹ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 12, 13.

¹⁶⁰ See the terminal list, exs. 1, 19, 21, 24, 28, 30; ex. 5 is also this early: see Nadine Cherpion, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35–50.

¹⁶¹ Juxtaposed occurrences of $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overleftarrow{\text{𓏏}}$ occur on a false door from Heracleopolis that may be as late as Dyn. XII (Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 [1975], fig. 14, p. 75).

¹⁶² Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, p. 112.

Fig. 12. Combinations of 𓄏 , rightward and leftward

semi-reversed ones 𓄏 . Only a few of these combinations are actually attested on a single monument or within the same tomb. Of the first column only one, the usual situation (a), is at all common, and there seem to be surprisingly few cases of b, showing the retention of normal orientation in a reversed inscription, facing leftward.¹⁶³ In citing examples of other combinations, I shall enclose in parenthesis those that show the other form in the same tomb or on the same surface, but are not directly opposite. Combination f is by far the most frequent alternative: exs. 2, 4, (6), 8 (14), 15, 25, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, (45), 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, (53), 54. This is well illustrated by Pl. 44, an unpublished false door from Saqqara (ex. 32).¹⁶⁴ It is characteristic in that the combination f appears only on the inner jambs, while the outer jambs show the normal configuration (a).

There is relatively little evidence for other combinations that show the semi-reversal; and, as the parentheses show, they are scarcely ever actually paired:

(g) 59, 63, (68), 70

(m) (3 + 55)

(h) 62

(o) 61

(i) (24), (42)

(p) 31 + 66, 55 + 75, (4 + 59), (42 + 72)

It will be noted that the most frequent of these combinations (g, p) are both related to the normal one (a). In several cases the upper part of the form 𓄏 (\leftarrow) is only slightly slanted forward, but nearly all of these show a clear contrast with adjacent examples of normal

¹⁶³ Cf. Curto, *Scavi Italiani*, pl. 15; Edinburgh 1965, 16 (Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pl. 16, fig. 17); Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 11. An example of combination d occurs on a false door that is later than the Old Kingdom: H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber* (Leipzig 1908), p. 12.

¹⁶⁴ From a negative formerly stored at the Saqqara office of the Department of Antiquities, and published with the

permission of the late Zakaria Ghoneim and Abbas Bayoumi. It was taken in a rock tomb south of the Djoser complex. For the unusual epithet *imšhw ms'-hrw* cf. the similar false door published by Zaki Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 682. Two Middle Kingdom examples of combination f are mentioned in note 161 above.

𓂏(→): 30, 32, 33,¹⁶⁵ 37, 47, 49, 54. An exception is ex. 2, where the tops of both 𓂏 (→) and 𓂏 (←) are only slightly slanted. It may also happen that in combination a the sign on the right is more upright than the one on the left, showing a tendency towards combination f.¹⁶⁶ There are also a few cases where the orientation of the top of the sign is ambiguously vertical.¹⁶⁷

A point of particular interest is the great number of cases—some as early as the Fourth Dynasty—that show 𓂏 (→), in the context of a normally oriented inscription. Presumably this form originated in inscriptions facing leftward, as confirmed by the large number of examples that appear in combination (f), but it was almost immediately transferred to the opposite situation. It was then gradually replaced, in that situation, by 𓂏 (→).

Possibly the semi-reversal under discussion is responsible for the substitution of 𓂏 for 𓂏 (both → and ←) on a Fifth Dynasty false door and offering basin in Berlin.¹⁶⁸ Another example of this occurs in Mariette's copy of an architrave from the cemetery of Akhmim.¹⁶⁹

The following list documents the evidence, first for 𓂏, then for 𓂏, subdividing the material according to provenance. An asterisk (*) indicates the orientation and number of occurrences.

	𓂏 (→)	𓂏 (←)
I		
Giza		
(1) Junker, <i>Gîza</i> I, fig. 63		*
(2) ————— II, fig. 8	(normal 𓂏 opposite)	*
(3) ————— III, fig. 14	* (and normal 𓂏)	(𓂏 in fig. 15)
(4) ————— IV, fig. 6	(normal 𓂏 opposite, but 𓂏 in fig. 11)	*
(5) ————— V, fig. 6		*
(6) ————— VIII, fig. 46	(normal 𓂏 in fig. 44)	*
(7) ————— VIII, fig. 51		*

¹⁶⁵ It may also be noted that 𓂏 (D61) has been assimilated to this sign in the cartouche of Sahure, a short distance above it. Conversely, 𓂏 is assimilated to 𓂏 on CG 1336, a small offering slab.

¹⁶⁶ Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, fig. 44; also CG 1565; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, fig. 37B; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 11; Wångstedt, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 1 (1961), 43, fig. 1; Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara*, pl. 27; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 13; and a Dyn. XI stela at Chatsworth House (*MDAIK* 4 [1933], 187).

¹⁶⁷ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 58 (6), 85

(2); Schneider, *OMRO* 52(1971), 10, fig. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Berlin 11469, 11467: *Aeg. Inschr.* I, pp. 44 ff. There are three cases in all, as opposed to one normal occurrence of 𓂏.

¹⁶⁹ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II, fig. 16 (c), from A. Mariette, *Monuments divers* (Paris 1889), pl. 21b. On p. 51 Kanawati implies that Mariette's copy is not entirely accurate, but the only clear discrepancy between it and the less complete copy in *El-Hawawish* I, fig. 1, is the omission of 𓂏 in *imy-r*. Another example seems to be indicated by Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 333.

	𐦏 (→)	𐦏 (←)
(8) ————— VIII, fig. 58	(normal 𐦏 opposite)	**
(9) ————— IX, fig. 104	*	
(10) Hassan, <i>Gîza</i> I, fig. 143	*	
(11) ————— I, fig. 168, pls. 63, 64	****	
(12) ————— II, fig. 131		*
(13) ————— III, figs. 173, and probably 171	**	
(14) ————— V, fig. 127	(normal 𐦏 in fig. 119)	*
(15) ————— VII, fig. 38	(normal 𐦏 opposite)	**
(16) Fakhry, <i>Sept. tombeaux</i> , fig. 6		*
(17) —————, figs. 10, 11, 12	*****	
(18) LD II, pls. 10a, 11	** (and normal 𐦏)	
(19) ———, pl. 34 (g); cf. Hassan, <i>Gîza</i> VII, pl. 16(A)	*	
(20) ———, pl. 82 (b)	*	
(21) Cairo J 48852 (Smith, <i>JEA</i> 19 [1933], pl. 23)		**
(22) James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> I ² , pl. 11 (probably Giza)	*	
(23) ————— pl. 21 (3) (probably Giza)	*	
(24) Fischer, <i>Egyptian Studies</i> I, p. 36, fig. 12 (probably Giza)	*	(normal 𐦏 on p. 34; retained 𐦏 on p. 33)
(25) Eva Martin-Pardey, <i>CAA Hildesheim</i> 1, p. 8	(normal 𐦏 opposite)	*
(26) Boston MFA 13.4352 (Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> III, pl. 69)	(normal 𐦏 opposite)	*
(27) Cairo J 38674 (offering slab from Reisner's G 2009)	*	
Saqqara		
(28) Hodjash and Berlev, <i>Egyptian Reliefs</i> , pp. 32, 37	* (normal 𐦏 p. 27)	

	𓆎 (→)	𓆎 (←)
(29) ———, p. 37	*	
(30) CG 1388 (Smith, <i>AJA</i> 46 [1942], p. 512)	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	*
(31) Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, pl. 31 (5)	(no. 6 has 𓆎)	*
(32) Fig. 2 above	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	* (also normal 𓆎)
(33) Hassan, <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> II, fig. 34 b	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	* (also normal 𓆎)
(34) Moussa and Nassar, <i>SAK</i> 7 (1979), 156, 159	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	**
(35) Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 11	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	** (also normal 𓆎)
(36) Jéquier, <i>Tombeaux de particuliers</i> , figs. 38–40 (post-Dyn. VI)	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	***
(37) Quibell, <i>Excavations at Saqqara 1905–06</i> , pl. 12 (post-O.K.)	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	* (and reversed 𓆎)
(38) Schneider, <i>OMRO</i> 52 (1971), 12 (Dyn. X or later)	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	*
(39) Cairo J 59158 (Fischer, <i>ZÄS</i> 90 [1963], pl. 6 [post-O.K.])	(normal 𓆎 opposite)	*
Provincial		
(40) Davies, <i>Deir el Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 19 (post-Dyn. VI?)	(and normal 𓆎)	*
(41) A. El Khouli and N. Kanawati, <i>Quseir El Amarna</i> (Sydney 1989), pl. 36	(and normal 𓆎)	* (and normal 𓆎 elsewhere)
(42) Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> I, fig. 19a (post-Dyn. VI)	(𓆎 in fig. 16g)	* (and normal 𓆎 elsewhere)
(43) ——— I, fig. 24c (post-O.K.)		* (𓆎)
(44) ——— II, figs. 15, 19 (post-Dyn. VI)	(normal 𓆎)	*** (normal 𓆎 figs. 10, 24)
(45) ——— VI, pl. 10a and fig. 26a (post-Dyn. VI?)	(normal 𓆎 elsewhere)	*
(46) ——— VII, fig. 7 (post-O.K.)		*

	𓄀 (→)	𓄀 (←)
(47) Petrie, <i>Athribis</i> , pl. 8 (post-O.K.)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	*
(48) CG 1574 (Fischer, <i>Egyptian Studies</i> I, pl. 20; Abydos)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	*
(49) CG 1578 (Abydos)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	* (and normal 𓄀)
(50) CG 1619 (Abydos; post-Dyn. VI?)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	*
(51) Boston, MFA 04.1851 (Brovarski, <i>Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes</i> [Chicago 1977], p. 39; from Thebes? Post-O.K.)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	*
(52) <i>Sotheby, Parke Bernet Sales Catalogue</i> , May 16, 1980, no. 360 (provenance uncertain; post-O.K.?)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	**
(53) CG 57200 (provenance uncertain; end of Dyn. VI?)	(and normal 𓄀)	*
(54) Berlin 7779, Pl. 7 above (provenance uncertain; Dynasty VIII?)	(normal 𓄀 opposite)	* (and three ambiguous exs.)
(55) Petrie and Brunton, <i>Sedment</i> I, pl. 27 (C-D) (post-O.K.?)	(and 𓄀)	***

	𓄀 (→)	𓄀 (←)
II		
Giza		
(56) Simpson, <i>Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II</i> , fig. 17 (24-12-201) ^a (Dynasty IV)	*	
(57) Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, fig. 15	(𓄀 in fig. 14)	*
(58) ————— III, fig. 32	*	
(59) ————— IV, fig. 11	* (and normal 𓄀)	(normal 𓄀 opposite, but 𓄀 in fig. 6)
(60) ————— V, fig. 48	* (and normal 𓄀)	
(61) ————— IX, fig. 36	*	*
(62) ————— IV, fig. 78	* (and normal 𓄀)	(retained 𓄀 opposite)

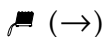
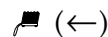
	𓆎 (→)	𓆎 (←)
(63) Hassan, <i>Gîza</i> VI/3, fig. 126	*	(normal 𓆎 opposite)
(64) Fisher, <i>Giza</i> , pl. 48 (3)	*	
(65) Petrie, <i>Giza and Rifeh</i> , pl. 7A (right, second from top)	*	
Saqqara		
(66) Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, pl. 31 (6)	*	(no. 5 has 𓆎)
(67) Brooklyn Museum 51.1 (Dynasty VI) ^b	*	
(68) Jéquier, <i>ASAE</i> 35 (1935), 152, fig. 16A (post-O.K.)	**** (and normal 𓆎)	(also normal 𓆎)
(69) Berlin 8800 (provenance uncertain) ^c	*	
(70) Manchester 10780: Chap. 4 above, Fig. 8	*	(normal 𓆎 opposite)

^a Misread on p. 8; this is ... *mꜥ nb imꜥh h[r] it.f* “... true ..., possessor of reverence with his father.”


^b James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, pl. 23 (57); Peter Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern 1976), p. 64, fig. 12 (a). This form does not occur in any of the other inscriptions illustrated by Kaplony, though it almost does so in his fig. 14(c), p. 70; cf. Cooney, *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15/1 (Fall, 1953), 22, fig. 13, which is not an exact facsimile.

^c Illustrated in *Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Katalog der Originalabgüsse*, Heft 1/2 (Berlin 1968), pl. 4 (923); the copy in *Aeg. Inschr.* I, 19, misrepresents the sign. This relief is peculiar in many ways. The extremely prognathous face is unusual, as is the division between the titles and name; the leopard skin oddly disappears beneath the kilt; the musculature of the legs is abnormally exaggerated. The date can hardly be later than Dyn. IV, and is perhaps even earlier.

	𓆎 (→)	𓆎 (←)
Provincial		
(71) Davies, <i>Deir el Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 23 (post-Dyn. VI)	* (normal on pl. 25)	
(72) Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> I, fig. 16g (post-Dyn. VI)	* (and normal 𓆎 elsewhere)	(𓆎 on pl. 19a)
(73) Fitzwilliam Museum FMS 1812 (Plate 50 below, Abydos, post-Dyn. VI?)	*	
(74) Petrie, <i>Diospolis Parva</i> (London 1901), pl. 25 (Dyn. XI)	***	
(75) Petrie and Brunton, <i>Sedment</i> I, pl. 27 (C) (post-O.K.?)	*	(and 𓆎 in C, D)
(76) Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> , pl. 15 (“Ankhsena,” post-O.K.)	*	

	 (→)	 (←)
(77) Univ. Mus. Philadelphia 29-66-638 (Dendera, Dyn. XI)	*	
(78) ————— 29-66-649 (Dendera, Dyn. XI)	*	
(79) ————— 29-66-627 (Dendera, Dyn. XI): Fischer, <i>L'écriture et l'art</i> , p. 114, fig. 43	*	
(80) Cairo J 36423 (Dendera, Dyn. XI)	*	
(81) Fischer, <i>Coptite Nome</i> , no. 41 (Dyn. XI)	*	
(82) Stewart, <i>Egyptian Stelae</i> II, pl. 11 (2) (Dyn. XI, provenance unknown)	*	
(83) Boeser, <i>Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.</i> II, pl. 1 (2) (Dyn. XI, provenance unknown)	*	

7. The hieroglyph (G26) and other writings of the name of Thoth

The god Thoth is customarily represented by a hieroglyph that shows an ibis on a standard. Throughout all but the latest years of the Old Kingdom this standard, unlike the one that supports other divine emblems (, R12), often shows a base in the form of a mound or domed structure.¹⁷⁰ Another, less conspicuous peculiarity is the fact that, in many of the more detailed examples, the ibis does not perch directly upon the standard; his feet rest on a rectangular stand that is distinct from the standard itself; this may be seen in the tomb of *Pth-htp* (Fig. 13a),¹⁷¹ but appears even more clearly in an example from the tomb of *Ty* (Fig. 13b).¹⁷² In the Sun Temple of Neuserre a rectangular base of the same kind also supports a falcon that is carried on a standard,¹⁷³ but here, as elsewhere, the base is generally confined to the ibis.¹⁷⁴ The proportions of the base vary, and it is sometimes quite thin and elongated.¹⁷⁵ I suspect that it has escaped notice in many copies of Old Kingdom texts.

At the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, as seen from an example in the Karnak shrine of Sesostris I (Fig. 13c),¹⁷⁶ the supplementary base is again thin and elongated, but still

¹⁷⁰ Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, pl. 8 (112).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, (101).

¹⁷² Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 182; cf. also pl. 184.

¹⁷³ Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 6 (one falcon with base, one without); III, pl. 1 (103, both falcon and ibis have a base). In II, pl. 19, both lack it.

¹⁷⁴ The ibis has a base, the falcon does not, *ibid.* II, pl. 13; III, pl. 8 (188), and the ibis likewise has a base in III, pl. 1

(106, 107). For other examples see Pyr. 1271 a and c; Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 143; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 4.

¹⁷⁵ Last example and Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re* II, pl. 12.

¹⁷⁶ Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pl. 11 (D 2'); this detail is lacking *ibid.* (C 2), which is reproduced in Epigraphie, pl. 8.

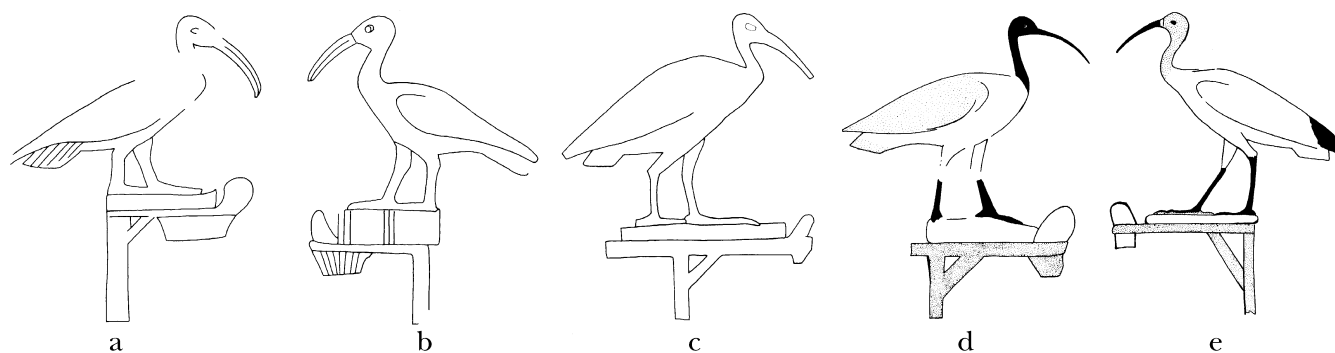


Fig. 13. Variations of 𓆎 : (a, b) Old Kingdom; (c–d) Dyn. XII; (e) Dyn. XVIII

rectangular. Later in the same dynasty, during the reign of Sesostri III, the most important of the rock-cut tombs at Bersha repeatedly and consistently introduces a curve in the ends of the base, although the shape is not very well defined.¹⁷⁷ A color facsimile from this source (Fig. 13d) indicates that the base is very light in hue—perhaps white.¹⁷⁸

Despite the absence of other evidence for this detail from the Middle Kingdom, it must have been customary, for it continued into the New Kingdom. Many clear examples are known from the Thutmoside Period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the name of Thoth frequently appeared in large-scale cartouches.¹⁷⁹ These examples normally show the base in the form 𓆎 , and if painted (as in Fig. 13e),¹⁸⁰ the color is white, outlined in red. In a few cases one or both ends are squared off, as previously, but these are probably to be attributed to poor workmanship.¹⁸¹

It has occurred to me that the supplementary base might have suggested the sign 𓆎 (X4), which in turn might have led to the Middle Kingdom writing of Thoth as Δ or 𓆎 .¹⁸² As I have pointed out, however, the base is not known to have resembled 𓆎 before the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty, long after the enigmatic writing came into use at the end of the Heracleopolitan Period.¹⁸³ And even if it had occasionally acquired the form 𓆎 at

¹⁷⁷ Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pls. 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34.

¹⁷⁸ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 (168); a reference to Newberry's publication is lacking (pl. 15?).

¹⁷⁹ Obelisk of Tuthmosis I, Karnak (G. Jéquier, *L'architecture I* [Paris 1920], pl. 21); Tuthmosis II (M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *ASAE* 59 [1966], pl. 9 to p. 150); Shrine of Tuthmosis III, Cairo J 38575 (Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *Ägypten* [Munich 1967], pl. 17); block of Tuthmosis III from Abydos, MMA 02.4.199 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 61, p. 119). Later examples: Oriental Institute, Chicago, *Tomb of Kheruef* (Chicago 1980), pl. 75, col. 2; Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I III*, pl. 7, but not IV, pl. 33 D. The detail in question became less frequent in the Nineteenth Dynasty.


¹⁸⁰ Nina M. Davies, *Picture Writing of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 1958), pl. 3 (4). Said to come from Theban Tomb 93; cf. Davies, *Ken-Amūn I*, pl. 8, col. 14 (which does not seem identical, however, nor does the example on pl. 63). For

















other examples of the color see Lange and Hirmer, *loc. cit.*, and Naville, *Deir el Bahari I*, pl. 14.












¹⁸¹ E.g., Mohamed Aly et al., *Amada IV* (Cairo 1967), C 10, C 31, C 36, E 1–6, as opposed to C 7 (détail).












¹⁸² Invariably transcribed as 𓆎 by De Buck in *CT*, but Lacau distinguishes between the two forms; cf. Δ in his *Sarcophages II*, pp. 43 (top), 140 (top, line 2) and 𓆎 on pp. 138, 139 (bottom). Kamal, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 278, also gives the form 𓆎 as well as 𓆎 , and this may be compared with 𓆎 and 𓆎 in Hatnub Inschr. X (note following).

¹⁸³ Rudolf Anthes, *Hatnub*, Inschr. X, pp. 14–15. On p. 22 Anthes refers to a possible Old Kingdom example (Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 62), but this is a normal writing of *Dhwtwt*, the Thoth-festival, as may be seen from the more accurate copy by Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 8. The sign transcribed as Δ in Anthes' pl. 11 a (6) may well be Δ ; the traces suggest Δ 𓆎 [𓆎] (cf. Ranke, *PNI*, 335 (30) and Hatnub Gr. 48).

that early a date, it seems surprising that the enigmatic writing would always appear as  or the like, and never show the form that hypothetically inspired it.

For much the same reason as the last, I find it difficult to accept the explanation offered by Jacques Parlebas for the writing .¹⁸⁴ He argues that this writing derives from *wḏḥw* “offerings,” which sometimes, in the Coffin Texts, has the determinatives   or . But these determinatives indicate food in general, as in . Although it does not seem theoretically impossible that *wḏḥw* might be followed by  alone, Parlebas is unable to cite any evidence of this except for an incomplete Sixth Dynasty example of *wḏḥw* from Dendera which is clearly to be restored as .¹⁸⁵ Moreover, he does not mention the more numerous cases in the Coffin Texts where *wḏḥw* is followed by different groups of determinatives, among which, as it happens,  occurs without  rather than the opposite; these variations include: ,¹⁸⁶ ,¹⁸⁷  (or the like),¹⁸⁸  or  (most frequently)¹⁸⁹ and .¹⁹⁰ The alleged association with  is therefore extremely tenuous and unconvincing.



It is not altogether clear whether, as Lacau has supposed,¹⁹¹ the enigmatic writing of Thoth’s name was intended to replace the sign  in funerary texts for superstitious reasons, as an alternative to    . All three writings, including the ibis, occur in the Coffin Texts, and even in those from Bersha, where the enigmatic writing is most in evidence.¹⁹² It may perhaps be compared with some other curious writings that likewise made their appearance on the eve of the Middle Kingdom, notably   for   “Isis”¹⁹³ and  for  “join (the land)”¹⁹⁴—neither of which replaces a hieroglyph that might have been considered dangerous to the occupant of the burial chamber.

Furthermore in at least one case, as mentioned earlier, the enigmatic writing in question appears in an inscription above ground:   *Dḥwty-nḥt*,¹⁹⁵ and the same is possibly true of the statuette of a Twelfth Dynasty steward named *Sbk-ḥtp* whose father may be named  *Dḥwty-ḥtp*, but the critical sign is doubtful.¹⁹⁶ Some comparable evidence is to be found in Ranke’s *Personennamen* and elsewhere, although there is again some doubt in every case. An earlier name,    , has been interpreted as *Hw-Dḥwty*,¹⁹⁷ but one would expect honorific transposition, and the identification of the terminal sign seems doubtful (*iwn?*), as does the likelihood that the enigmatic writing was in use as early as the Sixth Dynasty, the presumed date of the false door on which it occurs. The latter consideration also speaks against a Sixth Dynasty name that Ranke transcribes as    , following

¹⁸⁴ *GM* 15 (1975), 39–43.

¹⁸⁵ Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5A (A). For similar determinatives of *wḏḥw* in the Old Kingdom see Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 101 (91), 102 (93) and cf. p. 114.

¹⁸⁶ *CT* I, 126b (B12C); III, 5a (B17C).

¹⁸⁷ *CT* III 26b (B17C); also   *CT* III, 254 a (B15C).

¹⁸⁸ *CT* I, 126b; III, 5a, 26c, 254a; VII, 143: a total of nine occurrences.

¹⁸⁹ *CT* I, 126b; III, 5a, 26c, 254a: 17 occurrences.

¹⁹⁰ *CT* VII, 127 f (once).

¹⁹¹ Lacau, *ZĀS* 51 (1914), 59.

¹⁹² E.g., *CT* II, 324–325b; VII, 304a, 338d, 371j, 393a, 449a.











¹⁹³ Louvre stela C 15 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933], pl. 9, in the divinity frieze). Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 27, ε, 4; τ, 4.







¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ε, 3, and Siut tomb V, 44 (Montet, *Kēmi* 6 [1936], 111).




¹⁹⁵ See note 183 above.

¹⁹⁶ University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, E 3381; see p. 109 above (comment e).


¹⁹⁷ *PN* I, 267 (11), referring to Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1911), 131, fig. 6.

Borchardt, and interprets as “möge Thot zu mir kommen.”¹⁹⁸ Here again the critical sign is quite different from  and probably represents a title.¹⁹⁹ By coincidence, a name that looks like  is to be found in a painted tomb chapel of the Twelfth Dynasty at Meir.²⁰⁰ Once more there is reason for doubt, since Blackman disregards the apparent , reading “*Ini*,” and he notes that this name occurs in another tomb at Meir.²⁰¹ The apparent  covers the toe of one foot of the individual in question, and may simply be a chip in the surface; its shape is rather different from other examples of  in the same chapel. A Middle Kingdom stela bears a name that has been read  *Dhwtj-wd.f* “Thot(?) richtet,”²⁰² but both of the first two signs are very unclear and might be , i.e., *Rc-wd.f* “Re judges,” an interpretation which is more plausible since Thoth only records the judgment that is made by the supreme god. A second stela of the same period is said to mention a woman named , to be read *Zst-Dhwtj*.²⁰³ The inscriptions on this stela are very poorly executed, however,²⁰⁴ and it seems possible that the initial signs are , in which case this may be a variant of the common Middle Kingdom name .²⁰⁵ In short, were it not for the clear example from Hatnub, one might well conclude that the enigmatic writing of the name of Thoth was confined to coffins in the Middle Kingdom.

Two of the cases that have just been discussed are singularly reminiscent of a name which appears on a stela of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, namely ,²⁰⁶ in which Parlebas is inclined to recognize a later variant of the enigmatic writing of *Dhwtj*.²⁰⁷ The enigmatic writing is indeed known from the New Kingdom, but it retains the form  or  (without ) and is confined to the context of funerary spells.²⁰⁸ It seems even more unlikely that it is to be recognized in , the nomen of the Seventeenth Dynasty ruler Seqenenre, to which Parlebas applies the same interpretation. I find it difficult to believe that  would appear in none of the many examples of this cartouche²⁰⁹ if the name of Thoth were really present.

As for the origin of the writing , it remains unexplained. Boylan's comparison of  “ibis” in Pyr. 425e²¹⁰ does not seem to provide a clue, nor does an isolated example of  “*Dhwtj*-festival” in *Urk.* I, 28 (12). These merely show an Old Kingdom

¹⁹⁸ PNII, 260 (29), referring to CG 1419.

¹⁹⁹ In PNI, 9 (25), referring to the same example in Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 381, he reads the name without the sign in question, which Mariette shows more accurately: . It seems to represent a pellet of natron on a basin, and may be related to the pail and brush that are carried by the individual who is identified.

²⁰⁰ Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. 22.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 30, referring to *Meir* II, pl. 15.

²⁰² PNI, 407 (21), referring to CG 20715d (3).

²⁰³ PNI, 295 (5), referring to CG 20117i.

²⁰⁴ Not illustrated by Lange and Schäfer, but the style of the carving is said to be poor. Cf. Mariette, *Monuments d'Abydos* (Paris 1880), p. 329 (921): “Les hiéroglyphes sont à peine ébauchés et ne se laissent pas toujours

deviner.”

²⁰⁵ PNI, 294 (18).

²⁰⁶ PNII, 323, 22.

²⁰⁷ GM 15 (1975), 41.

²⁰⁸ Boylan, *Thoth* (London 1922), p. 3, cites Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin 1886), 94, 4. The *Belegstellen* to Wb. V, 606 (1) refer also to Loret's publication of Theban Tomb 57 in *MIFAO* 1/1, p. 123 (6); and De Buck, in Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I* (London 1933), pl. 85 and p. 86 (cols. 39 and possibly 41).

²⁰⁹ For which see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt 1965), pp. 293–96.

²¹⁰ Boylan, *loc. cit.*, repeated by Wb. V, 211 (2).

writing of *t*.²¹¹ At most they might suggest the possibility that 𓆏 is an acrophonic abbreviation of 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎, as the name of Thoth is written in the Pyramid Texts of *Z3-st*, in his tomb south of the pyramid enclosure of Amenemhet II.²¹² Elsewhere the Middle Kingdom alternatives to the phonetic writing 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 are 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎²¹³ or 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎²¹⁴ showing the initial shift from *d* to *d*, which probably represents the pronunciation of the first consonant at the beginning of this period. But if the sign 𓆎 actually represents *t* or *t*, as Ernst Knauf has argued,²¹⁵ the acrophonic explanation may still be the best one.

8. The assimilation of 𓆎 (M12) and 𓆏 (M22)

The sign 𓆎 is occasionally assimilated to 𓆏 in some Old Kingdom lists of offerings,²¹⁶ and a more striking example occurs on the false door of the Director of Grain-measurers *It(.i)-nn* (Fig. 14), in whose title the sign for *h3* assumes the same form as that of *nn* in the name.²¹⁷ This similarity has understandably led to some doubt about the reading of both the name²¹⁸ and the title.²¹⁹ By an odd coincidence a recurrence of the same title again shows this assimilation on a late Old Kingdom stela from Abydos (Pl. 45).²²⁰ A partial assimilation to 𓆏 is also to be seen in a series of Eleventh Dynasty examples of 𓆎, where the roots of the lotus are abnormally extended (Pl. 46 and Excursus). Conversely, the base of 𓆏 seems to be assimilated to that of 𓆎 in an Old Kingdom example of the name *Hnn.f* (Fig. 15),²²¹ or to the top of 𓆎 in a list of offerings (Fig. 16).²²²

²¹¹ Cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, p. XXXV; similarly II, pp. LVII–LVIII. He also notes that the name 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 (Urk. I, 134 [14]) is written 𓆎 𓆏 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 on an unpublished false door at Saqqara.

²¹² Lacau, *ZÄS* 51 (1914), 59, referring to de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* II, pp. 82 (17, 18), 84 (47).

²¹³ Kamal, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 219 (CG 28123, from Bersha, B15C); CG 28091 (Lacau, *Sarcophages* II, p. 48); *CTI*, 27c; V, 236a (both B3Bo). Here the sign 𓆎 may have the value *d*, however; see Edel, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 16–17, and Junge, *GM* 2 (1972), 47–48.

²¹⁴ *CT* VI, 322, p. r, s (L1Li); VII, 25h (T1Be).

²¹⁵ *GM* 59 (1982), 29–39.

²¹⁶ Hassan, *Giza* IX, fig. 34; cf. Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 46 (1).

²¹⁷ Cairo J 56994: Abd El-Mohsen Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo 1952), pl. 1; Nadine Cherpion, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), pls. 15–16. My drawing shows the titles and names on the crossbar, taken from a photograph.

²¹⁸ Rowe and Lucas (*ASAE* 41 [1942], 348) illustrate the title from the bottom of the false door, but do not provide a reading. H Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften* (Vienna 1970), p. 182, rightly translates “der Leiter der Kornmesser,” which Cherpion, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 4, misunderstands as “le chef du bureau de mesurage du grain.” She prefers “le chef du mesurage du grain;” in this case, however, one would expect the final *t* of *h3it*.

²¹⁹ Goedicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff., reads *Tf-h3j*. Rowe and

Lucas (*loc. cit.*) and Cherpion, *op. cit.*, p. 127, give a better reading, more or less corresponding to that of Ranke, *PNI*, 431 (5); II, 405: *it(.j)-nn* or *it(.f)-nn*.

²²⁰ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E. SS.76, height 63.5 cm. I am indebted to Janine Bourriau for permission to publish the photograph. The owner, *Špss-Pth*, is also *shd pr-šn* “inspector of the department of stores,” and *imy-r bnr(w)* “overseer of confectioners.” His wife’s name is *Tzt* (cf. *PNI*, 394 [7]). The son is apparently identified as *z3.f mry*, and may have the second of his father’s titles, of which only 𓆎 is written; in this case his name is *Nht*. For the orientation of 𓆎 (= 𓆎) in both cases cf. the same writing of the title in CG 1411 and Habachi, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia* (Cairo 1981), p. 21, fig. 5; also the name 𓆎 𓆎 on an architrave from Abydos: Cairo J 49803 (Frankfort, *JEA* 14 [1928], pl. 20). And for the provenance of the stela cf. *JARCE* 1 (1962), 8, n. 15.

²²¹ Cairo CG 57008: Alexandre Moret and Dia’ Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* III/1 (Cairo 1978), p. 18; from Reisner’s Giza tomb 1062. Fig. 15 is based on the drawing given there. For the interpretation of the name (“his phallus”) see Kaplony, *MIO* 14 (1968), 204–205. A somewhat similar example occurs in the offering list shown by Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 239, but in this case 𓆏 seems to be assimilated to 𓆎 (Q 7) in an adjacent entry.

²²² Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 53.

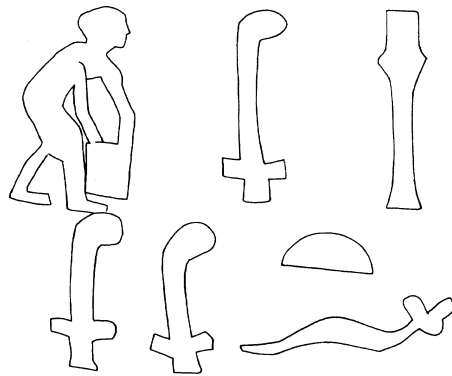


Fig. 14. Old Kingdom variant of 𓆎 in the name *It.i-nn*

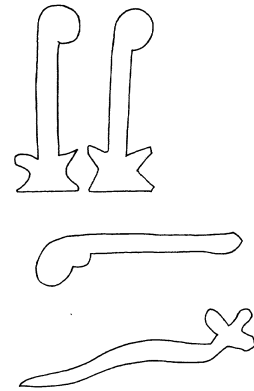


Fig. 15. Old Kingdom variant of 𓆎 in the name *Hnn.f*

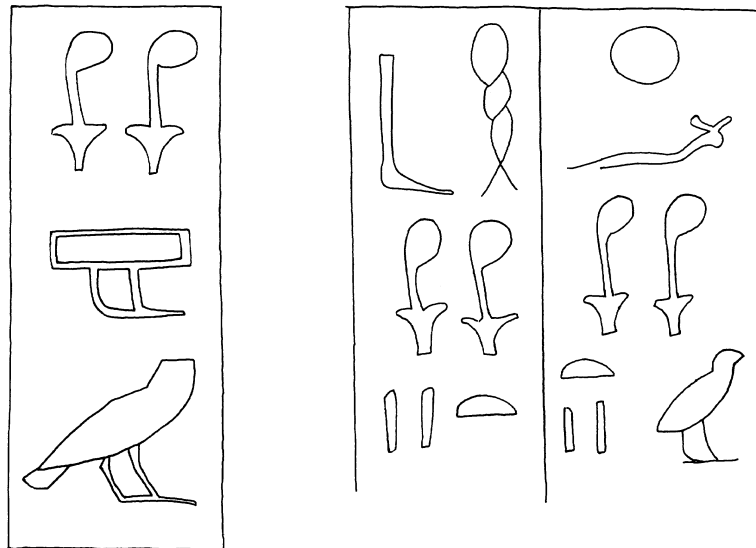


Fig. 16. Old Kingdom variant of 𓆎 in an offering list. After Junker

The second direction of assimilation became more pronounced in the Middle Kingdom. Two Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Beni Hasan show the name of El Kab written 𓆎𓆎𓆎 in place of the usual 𓆎𓆎𓆎.²²³ The same writing occurs in the Coffin Texts (*CTI*, 281 e; V, 202 a; VI, 106 g),²²⁴ and Faulkner cites some other cases: 𓆎𓆎 for 𓆎𓆎 (*CTVII*, 109 u), 𓆎𓆎𓆎 for 𓆎𓆎𓆎 (*CTI*, 48 b; IV, 5 a; see also VII, 173–76).²²⁵ The provenance of these examples includes Saqqara, Bersha, Meir, Asyut and Thebes. The frieze of offerings in a coffin from Bersha also has a caption identifying a vulture as 𓆎𓆎𓆎 *Nhbyt* (CG 28123, no. 44).²²⁶

²²³ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 13 and *Urk.* VII, 20 (11) (tomb 2); *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 44 and *Urk.* VII, 11 (7) (tomb 14).

²²⁴ All cited by Farouk Gomaà, *Besiedlung*, p. 54, along with the references in the preceding note (p. 53).

²²⁵ *JEA* 67 (1981), 173. As Dimitri Meeks notes in *Année Lexicographique* 2 (1978), 78.2934, this eliminates the doubtful entry in *Wb.* III, 229 (14), which is based on the next example.

²²⁶ CG 28123 (Lacau, *Sarcophages II*, p. 141).

Faulkner suggests that the substitution of 𓆎 for 𓆏 “perhaps arose from a misreading of Hieratic.”²²⁷ The hieratic signs are quite distinctive, however. The similarity of some hieroglyphic examples of the Old Kingdom provides a more likely explanation.

Excursus

The writing board illustrated on Pl. 46 is briefly mentioned by William C. Hayes,²²⁸ who observes that “it contains numerous incorrect signs and misspellings.” Some of the signs are related to forms that occur as early as the Old Kingdom in semi-cursive hieroglyphs: 𓆎, 𓆏, and 𓆐 (with tufted “ears”).²²⁹ The sign 𓆑 has the cap that was usual from the Eighth Dynasty onward (for which see part 13 below). The form of 𓆒 has been noted earlier. The form of 𓆓 seems to show lugs on either side of the vessel, as in inscriptions of the Eleventh Dynasty,²³⁰ and 𓆔, with five loops, is typical of the Heracleopolitan Period.²³¹ I have no parallels for the eyebrow in 𓆕, or for the sign 𓆖, in the form of a box on legs, but the latter doubtless derives from hieratic.²³²

Translation: (1) An offering which the king^a gives,^b and Osiris, that invocation offerings^c go forth (2) to one revered (3) with the Great God, lord of heaven, (4) and with Min, lord of Akhmim,^d (5) *Ipi*, deceased(?)^e (6) one whom his father praised,^f (7) one whom his mother^g praised, namely(?)^h (8) thousands ofⁱ (9) bread and beer, cattle^j and fowl^k (10) to the Count and Overseer of Disputes^l *Ipi*.

Comments: (a) The unusual sequence of signs is known from a few other examples; see Lapp, *Opferformel*, 1, n. 4.

(b) The sign 𓆑 seems to be written incompletely.

(c) Note that 𓆓 is omitted from the group 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖.

(d) The determinative 𓆏 is missing.

(e) The suggested restoration is <hry> *ks* “possessor of a *ks*,” an epithet that follows personal names, for which see Blackman, *Meir* II, p. 22.

(f) Note that a relative construction is used rather than the expected passive participle.

(g) While the preceding phrase might be read *hzi.n it.f*, the suffix pronoun is clearly omitted in this case.

(h) The intrusive *m* is otherwise difficult to explain; it can hardly belong to *mw*.

(i) The plural strokes after *m* are superfluous.

²²⁷ Faulkner, *loc. cit.*

²²⁸ *Scepter* I, p. 294. Acc. no. 28.9.5; dimensions 22 x 8.5 cm. The provenance is unknown.


²²⁹ For the first and last of these see Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 41, fig. 4, and for the other see *ibid.*, p. 49 and n. 78.

²³⁰ ZÄS 100 (1973), 18, fig. 2 (t-z), 20 (M); for another Dyn. XI example see Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 25. Examples of



earlier date are known from hieratic: Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Palaeography* (Baltimore 1988), pp. 46a–b (W 22).

²³¹ Brovanski, *Dissertation*, p. 534 and n. 96.

²³² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, 300. Cf. also 𓆖 at Naga ed-Deir, Dyn. X–XI: Brovanski, *op. cit.*, p. 231. I cannot believe, with Westendorf, that the hieroglyph for *pt* represents a bed, seat or table, as he argues in *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 425–34.



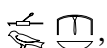

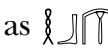



(j) The word  is apparently *mmnt*, which is known no earlier than the Middle Kingdom. The baseline beneath the animal is well known from the Heracleopolitan Period: Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 135.

(k) The two birds are difficult to identify, but the group evidently attempts to show graphic dissimilation of the kind discussed by van de Walle, *Ägyptologische Studien* (Grapow Festschrift, Berlin 1955), pp. 366–78.

(l) This is the earlier writing of the title, which was revised to  in the Twelfth Dynasty. Here the determinative is evidently : cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 107–109 and fig. 15 (line 4).

While the name *Ipi* is not particularly indicative of the date,²³³ the foregoing remarks on palaeography strongly support Hayes' conclusion that the inscription belongs to the Eleventh Dynasty. And even if some of the signs are less singular than might be supposed, and some even show adroitness, he is also doubtless correct in taking this to be the work of an apprentice scribe.

9. The signs (O22) and (W4)

The word *hb* “festival” is consistently written  on the verso of the Palermo Stone and in the inscriptions on vessels from the Step Pyramid of Djoser, some dating to the end of the First Dynasty.²³⁴ This usage evidently extended down through the reign of Djoser himself.²³⁵ Thus, prior to the Fourth Dynasty, only the context distinguished the interpretation of this sign as *hb* or *zh* “pavilion.”²³⁶ The addition of  to clarify the reading as *hb* is first known from the time of Sneferu in the title , although it occurs there in only one out of four occurrences.²³⁷ Possibly another example is to be found in relief fragments from Sneferu's valley temple at Dahshur, but here again the old writing occurs as well.²³⁸ The writing of  “festival” persisted to some extent throughout the Old Kingdom,²³⁹ when it is attested in names such as ,²⁴⁰  (var. );²⁴¹  also occasionally appears as the determinative of various festivals.²⁴² An offering slab of this period provides evidence of a confusion between *hb* and *zh*; the inscription of the principal owner

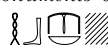

²³³ It is well attested in Old Kingdom sources; see p. 23 above, comment n.


²³⁴ P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés* IV, fasc. 1 (Cairo 1959), pls. A 4 (5), B 8 (41), both reign of Q3c; also pl. A 7 (8); V (1965), pp. 5, 6, 9–13, 16, 41, 59.

²³⁵ *Urk.* I, 154 (4); cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 50, p. 135. Kaplony makes the same observation: *CdE* 41 (1966), 74.

²³⁶ E.g., in the title *hrp zh*: Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 30 (reign of Q3c).

²³⁷ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10, as opposed to other examples on pls. 10, 13, 14. For the title cf. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 162, 190, 191, Fischer, *Titles*, pp. 13 ff. (638c).

²³⁸ Ahmed Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu* II, Pt. 1 (Cairo 1961), fig. 185, where  may possibly represent *hb nb* “every feast.” The sign  is lacking in the estate name *Hbt-Snfrw*, fig. 11.

²³⁹ *Urk.* I, 138 (4), 165 (18); Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 116, 157; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 17; *Mereruka*, pl. 203B ( “festival scent”).

²⁴⁰ Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 52.

²⁴¹ Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 9, F, Q.

²⁴² E.g., Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 217, 237; VII, fig. 23.

10. The hieroglyph for “East” (R15)

In the Addenda to my *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* I have observed that A.H. Gardiner, in the Sign List of his *Egyptian Grammar*, adopts for R15 Sethe’s interpretation of \dagger as a “spear decked out as standard,” whereas Sethe’s own evidence actually indicates that the standard bears a feather, viewed from the front.²⁵⁸ This conclusion calls for a more detailed explanation than I was able to provide in my brief note.

The notion that \dagger represents a spear was suggested to Sethe by the Protodynastic “*Hunt Palette*” in the Louvre and British Museum (Fig. 17),²⁵⁹—where the emblem in question is carried by one of a row of hunters who brandish various weapons, including spears. The top of the emblem is not identical to the spearheads, however, and Griffith wisely remarks that “the work is too rough to fix the details” of the former.²⁶⁰ The only specific evidence for Sethe’s interpretation is a cryptic writing of the title $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \dagger \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *imy-r zmywt isbtt* “overseer of the eastern deserts” in one of the earliest Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan (Fig. 18).²⁶¹ He, like Griffith, assumes that the seated woman, which expresses the word “eastern,” holds a spear, and he observes that its shaft is red, representing wood, while the top is green, representing copper.²⁶² The color green does indeed convey the natural patination of copper or bronze to the modern mind, but it seems unlikely that the ancient

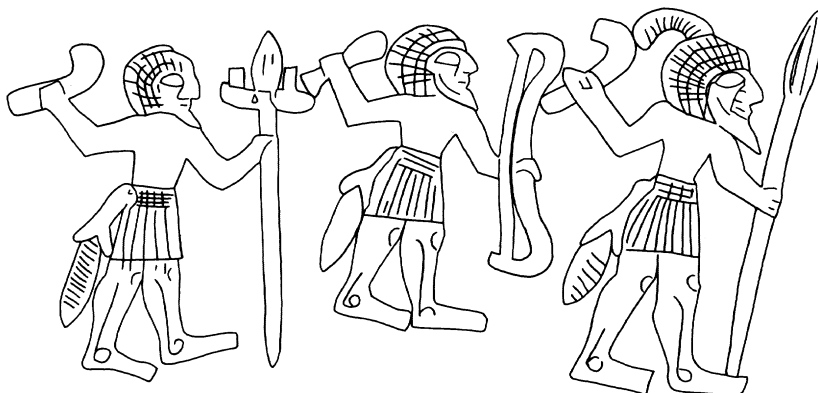


Fig. 17. Detail of archaic palette, Louvre E 11254. From a photograph

²⁵⁸ “Die aegyptischen Ausdrücke für rechts und links und die Hieroglyphenzeichen für Westen und Osten,” *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1922, Heft 2, pp. 197–242. Cf. also Hermann Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1956), p. 484: “Das Schriftzeichen für Osten \dagger ist wohl eine archaische Lanze.” G. Möller had previously explained the top of the sign as representing “Metall,” “Kupfer” (*Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, Berlin, 1921, p. 170).

²⁵⁹ Louvre E 11254. The entire palette is shown together

by W.M.F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes* (London 1953), pl. A(3).

²⁶⁰ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 61.

²⁶¹ For the normal writing see Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 24, 29, 32, 33; II, pls. 22A, 24; in the last case *zmyt* is written $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. The cryptic writing is from Vol. II, pl. 14; details of the uppermost sign from Vol. III (1896), pl. 5 (80).

²⁶² “Die aegyptischen Ausdrücke für rechts und links,” p. 222; his information concerning the colors derives from Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives* (Paris 1844) II, p. 345.

Egyptians would characterize any metal by its corrosion; in their iconography copper would normally be red.²⁶³

The supposed spear is, in fact, a staff, like the one held by the owner's wife in the very same tomb (Fig. 19).²⁶⁴ Such staves may go back to the very end of the Old Kingdom, and they continued to be represented down to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. In some instances, such as the one shown in Figure 20, perhaps dating to the Ninth Dynasty,²⁶⁵ the tip is clearly a lotus bud, and that is how the present case is to be explained. Although I do not know the color of the bud at the top of the staff in Figure 19, an identical example from an adjacent tomb is described as being green,²⁶⁶ and the capital of the lotiform column behind the woman in Fig. 19 is similarly green.²⁶⁷

Thus the supposedly conclusive evidence from Beni Hasan sheds no light whatever on the original nature of the East-emblem, for there is no further indication that the top of the emblem was ever considered to be the bud of a lotus. The use of the lotus staff as a cryptographic allusion to the emblem is apparently based on nothing more than vague resemblance. Conceivably this resemblance was enhanced by the fact that the staff is held, as usual, in the left hand, the words for "left" and "east" being identical, but that seems doubtful since Egyptian two-dimensional representations do not clearly differentiate the left and right hand. The explanation of *imy-r*, the first element of the cryptographic group, is scarcely less obscure, but if the scribe felt that a lotus-tipped staff might convey the idea of \dagger , he may equally well have expected the bow drill to serve as an allusion to \dagger (*imy*) with the hieroglyph for mountainland (𓂏) representing not only *zmywt* "deserts," but the "mouth" (*r*) of the valley (*r-int*). And the bow drill, applied to one of the hollows of 𓂏 , at the same time conveys the idea that it is *imy-r* "in the mouth."²⁶⁸

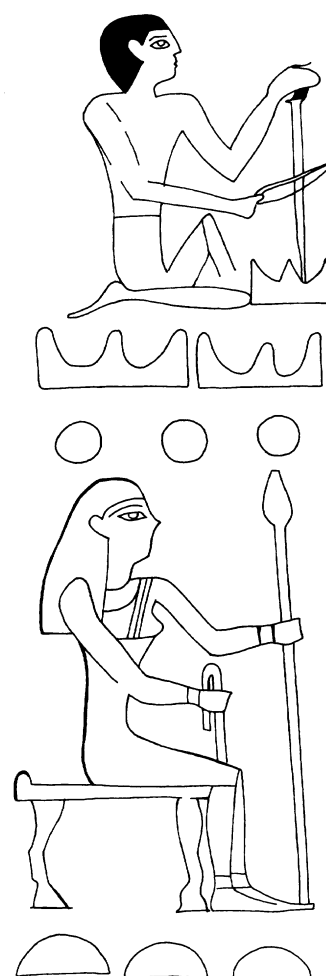


Fig. 18. Middle Kingdom writing of the title "overseer of the eastern deserts," Beni Hasan. After Newberry

²⁶³ See Caroline Ransom Williams, *Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Nēb* (New York 1932), p. 53: "The present writer does not know of a demonstrable instance of green for a copper object which had acquired a green patina."

²⁶⁴ Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 16 (Tomb 17); cf. pl. 4 (Tomb 15).

²⁶⁵ Traced from Cairo Museum J 49804; for the entire monument see Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37. These staves of women are related to the type of sunshade discussed in *MMJ* 6 (1972), 151–56. An example of this type of staff is described as "speerrähnlich" by Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*

im pharaonischen Ägypten, *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 33 (Munich 1976), p. 197 and n. 9, though he correctly identifies some of the other examples (both lotiform and papyriform) on p. 199. For the date see my further comments in *Orientalia* 61 (1992), 144 f.

²⁶⁶ LD Text II, p. 97, describing the example in Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 4.

²⁶⁷ LD Text II, p. 101.

²⁶⁸ For *r-int* see *Wb.* II, p. 390(14). Or is the drill thought to be "he in whom the mouth is," the mouth being the bit or point that eats into the wood?



Fig. 19. Woman holding staff in the same tomb, Beni Hasan

All of the remaining evidence for the nature of the East-emblem indicates that the uppermost element is not a spearhead—as may be seen from the rounded form it takes on an ivory tablet of the First Dynasty (Fig. 21)²⁶⁹—but is indeed a feather, viewed from the

²⁶⁹ From an ivory tablet of King Den in the British Museum (55586), in the phrase *zꜣ tꜣy skr iꜣbt* “the first occasion of smiting the East.” For bibliography see A.J.

Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum V: Early Dynastic Objects* (London 1980), no. 460.

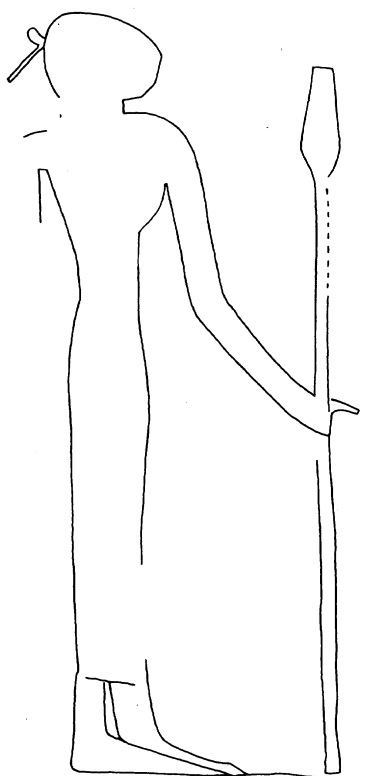


Fig. 20. Woman holding staff, Dyn. IX or later, Cairo J 49804

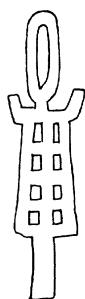


Fig. 21. Dyn. I example of 𓆎 , BM 55586

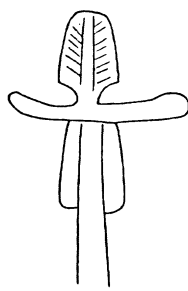


Fig. 22. Dyn. IV example of 𓆎

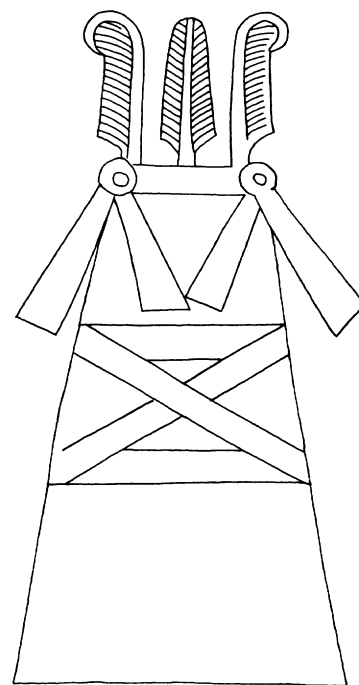


Fig. 23. Dyn. V representation of feathers, Leipzig. From a photograph

front, as exemplified by a Fourth Dynasty example (Fig. 22).²⁷⁰ This identification is confirmed by a scarcely later representation of three feathers on the top of a tall movable chest (*stst*), where the central feather is again viewed from the front, as compared with the profile view of the two feathers flanking it (Fig. 23).²⁷¹ Although he was unable, in 1922, to cite any equally detailed examples of the East-emblem for the Old Kingdom, Sethe recognized that this interpretation must have been applied at least at this early a period, as is indicated by an occurrence in the Pyramid Texts where the emblem shows a feather more recognizably turned sideways: 𓆎 .²⁷² For the Middle Kingdom Griffith provides examples like 𓆎 , bearing a pair of feathers,²⁷³ and Sethe notes two New Kingdom examples that resemble Fig. 23, the feather again viewed from the front and showing a certain amount of internal

²⁷⁰ From *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 270–71, fig. 26(1), where some other examples are cited: Junker, *Giza I*, fig. 51; III, fig. 27; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr. I*, pl. 19b.


²⁷¹ From a photograph: R. Krauspe, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig* (1976), cover, and p. 28. The same detail appears on other reliefs from the same tomb: Borchardt, *Grabd. Königs Ne-user-re*, p. 122, fig. 102, L. Klebs, *Reliefs und Malerei des alten Reiches* (Heidelberg 1915), p. 43, fig. 28. Elsewhere, in the same context, the feathers are usually all shown in profile: Klebs, *Reliefs*, fig. 29; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 26. In at least one other case

the central feather is displayed frontally, but without inner detail: Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 16 and bottom of pl. 19 (a).







²⁷² *Pyr.* 258d.


²⁷³ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 61; Newberry, *Beni Hasan III*, pl. 3 (26); Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pl. 15. It is tempting to see a much earlier example in a fragmentary seal impression published by Newberry in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 2 (1909), pl. 23 (VIII), but this is probably the Thinite nome emblem; compare *JAOS* 74 (1954), p. 34.

detail.²⁷⁴ He also cites some New Kingdom examples of the “spear,” but these are certainly only a less accurate representation of the feather.

The front view of the feather agrees with the presentation of the pair or streamers attached to the emblem. As Sethe points out, they are located behind the standard, corresponding to their position in the West-emblem, which shows the same standard in profile: . Finally, and more importantly, Sethe compares the front view of the feather with the type of feathers worn by Sopdu “Lord Of the East.” The resemblance may be more than coincidental, as also in the case of the feathers of Min, whose city of Coptos commanded one of the principal routes through the eastern desert.

11. An Old Kingdom variant of (T25)

Many years ago I illustrated and discussed the inscription on the proper left side of a granite statue, 41.2 cm high, Boston MFA o6.1879 (pl. 47): “The *Wcb*-priest of Re, Sealer of *šzpt*-cloth of the King, *Snnw*.”²⁷⁵ The first title suggests a connection with one of the Sun-temples at Abusir, in which case the date may be as early as the Fifth Dynasty. On the back the inscription is only painted: “Possessor of Reverence with his God, *Snnw*,” but on the proper right side it is again incised: “The King’s Acquaintance of the Palace, Major-domo of the Robing Room, *Snnw*.” *Hry-pr* (var. *hry n pr*) “major-domo” is fairly well attested in the Old Kingdom,²⁷⁶ usually in combination with *pr-ꜥ3* “of the palace,”²⁷⁷ and at least one supervisor of such persons is known: *imy-ht hry(w)-pr*.²⁷⁸ The title *hry-pr* became much more common in the Middle Kingdom, and in many other connections beside the palace, but not the “robing room.”²⁷⁹ “Robing room” is ordinarily written   in Old Kingdom titles,²⁸⁰ rather than  , but it does not seem likely that *Snnw*’s title is to be interpreted as “supervisor of the house of robing.” And it is equally improbable that  is transposed with , so that one should read *hry n dbst*.²⁸¹ However this may be, his association with the robing room is undoubtedly linked with the title “sealer of *šzpt*-cloth of the King.”

One of the most interesting points about this inscription is the form of . This and comparable examples are shown in Fig. 24. The present example is (a). The next is from Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, Pal. pl. 17, where it is listed among the signs of uncertain reading. Mme. Posener-Kriéger considers the possibility that it may represent

²⁷⁴ His terminal fig. 53, from Tylor and Griffith, *Pahevi* (London 1895), pl. 2; and Davies and Gardiner, *Amen-emhêt*, pl. 27. For other examples see Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê*, pls. 26 (2), 70.









²⁷⁵ *JARCE* 2 (1963), 25. From G 2032; cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 70. I am indebted to William Kelly Simpson for permission to publish the photograph shown here, taken during Lythgoe’s season of 1905–06.

²⁷⁶ CG 268, 1443, 1707 (the last *hry n pr*).

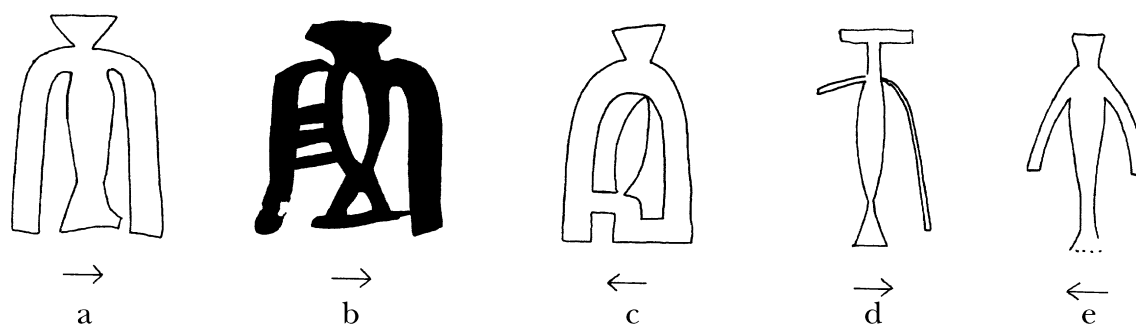
²⁷⁷ Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 20; VII, fig. 108; VIII, fig. 28; Hassan, *Giza* VII, pl. 29a (misread on p. 53); IX, fig. 24b.

²⁷⁸ CG 1443.

²⁷⁹ Ward, *Index*, nos. 977–90.

²⁸⁰    “inspector of the robing room” (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 196, 208; CG 1404; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 13 [79], for which see p. 2 above). Also   “senior lector priest of the robing room.” (*ZAS* 86 [1961], 25, n. 1), and    “retinue of the robing room” (Borchardt, *Grabd. Ne-user-re*, pp. 73 [39, 2], 74 [48, 1–2] and fig. 52b).

²⁸¹ So read in PM III², pp. 68, 923 (359), 937 (V, *hry dbst*).

Fig. 24. Old Kingdom variants of Δ

db, comparing my example (d), but dismisses it as “bien fragile” because it is unlike other forms of this sign in the same papyrus.²⁸² This identification is assured, however, by example (c) from the name of an estate $\Delta \text{U} \text{W} \text{Y} \text{Z} \text{O}$ *Db*-*skw*, which Helen Jacquet-Gordon plausibly translates “La recompense du labourage,” albeit with a query.²⁸³ Like these examples, the others (d, e) show a single floater, flanked by two curved lines, but one or both of these lines are shortened. The reading of (d)²⁸⁴ is queried by Sethe, who hesitates between *db* and *qbh*, but *db* “payment” is correctly adopted by Goedicke.²⁸⁵ The last case (e) occurs in a probably incomplete title $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \Delta \text{C}$.²⁸⁶ Hassan reads the word correctly, but links it (mistakenly, I think) with the following title *w*^{*b*}-*nswt* “*w*^{*b*}-priest of the king.”²⁸⁷

It should be noted that, with the exception of the one from Abusir, all these examples are from Giza, and I know of only one example from Giza that does not show the single floater.²⁸⁸ Example (c) cannot be much later than the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, and none is necessarily later than the end of that dynasty. The Abusir example (b) is particularly interesting since hieratic forms of Δ occur in the same group of papyri,²⁸⁹ along with other hieratic forms such as H and Y , that are probably to be identified with the variant in question.²⁹⁰ Hieroglyphic Δ is also known at Abusir from the funerary temple and Sun-temple of Neuserre,²⁹¹ and this is doubtless the original form since it is to be recognized in Δ , which appears on the Narmer Palette, at the beginning of the First Dynasty.²⁹²

At Saqqara, where Δ is the norm in Old Kingdom inscriptions, the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Nfr-hr-n-Pth* shows two vertical floaters (Fig. 25a) in the word *dbw* “cages.”²⁹³ Above this, where there was insufficient space to complete the words, a sketchier preliminary rendering of the sign (Fig. 25b)²⁹⁴ suggests how the Giza variant may have originated. Yet another

²⁸² Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, p. 192.

²⁸³ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 244.

²⁸⁴ *Urk.* I, 158 (3).

²⁸⁵ Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, pp. 150, 165.

²⁸⁶ Hassan, *Giza* VII, fig. 38.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45. This dubious interpretation is retained in

PM III², pp. 238, 922 (336), 937 (V).

²⁸⁸ Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 206.

²⁸⁹ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *op. cit.*, Pal. pl. 11

(T 25).

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pal, pls. 10 (S 17), 17 (“Uncertain Reading,” last

entry).

²⁹¹ Borchardt, *loc. cit.*; Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* III, pl. 29 (446).

²⁹² Cf. S. Schott, *Hieroglyphen: Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, Wiesbaden 1950)*, 1729, 1829.

²⁹³ From a photograph. For reproductions of the scene see PM III², p. 637.

²⁹⁴ From the photograph by D. Johannes in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pl. XXII.

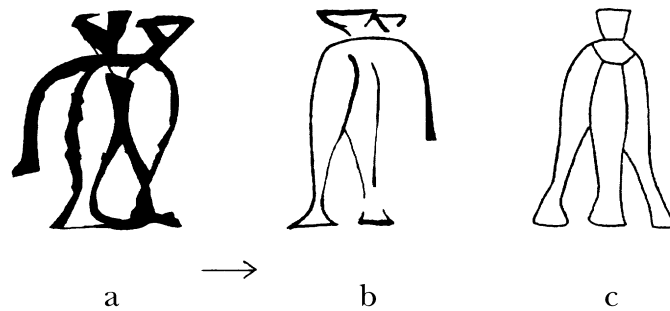





















Fig. 25. Old Kingdom variants of 

variant from Saqqara, with three floaters attached only at the top (Fig. 25c), also bears a certain resemblance to the form from Giza.²⁹⁵

In a few cases the Old Kingdom hieroglyph  (V35) tends to resemble  (Fig. 26)²⁹⁶ and in at least one instance (d) it has been mistaken for the latter in the title    “overseer of cloth (*sšr*) of the house;”²⁹⁷ the man who holds this title is also simply  .

Finally it should be noted that a sign that recalls the Giza form of  appears in the titulary of a certain *Iri-k3(.i)*:    .²⁹⁸ Here the last sign certainly represents  in the title *imy-ht hmwt pr-ꜥ3* “under-supervisor of craftsmen of the palace,” which is known from Saqqara and Wadi Hammamat.²⁹⁹

12. The Old Kingdom form of (V37)


Edel, in his discussion of the signs to be read *idr*,³⁰⁰ cites only one valid occurrence of the Old Kingdom form , namely the word     “punishment” in Pyr. 1462d, which is paired with *mꜣꜥ hrw* “vindication.”³⁰¹ There is, however, at least one other example, executed in detailed relief (Fig. 27a).³⁰² The overall form resembles one of the objects held

²⁹⁵ Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 500, fig. 67, republished by W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pls. 28–29. The horizontal attachment at the bottom is also omitted occasionally in Old Kingdom examples that are otherwise normal: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 28; Cairo CG 1404 (bottom left); *JARCE* 13 (1976), 10 (fig. 1), 16–17 (fig. 8); A. Piankoff, *Pyramid of Unas* (Princeton 1968), pl. 44 (157); more rarely later: Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siut*, pl. 15 (V, 3); cf. Montet, *Kēmi* 6 (1936), 179; Louvre C 34 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 43); Calverly, *Temple of Sethos IV*, pl. 19; Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu IV*, pl. 226 (23); *Temple of Khonsu I: Scenes of King Herihor* (Chicago 1978), pl. 69 (17).

²⁹⁶ (a) Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. 16, and cf. pl. 10; (b) Davies, *Ptahhetep II* pl. 10, cf. I, pl. 14 (323); (c) Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 9; (d) Cairo CG 1363.

²⁹⁷ PM III², pp. 768, 924 (511), 937 (V).

²⁹⁸ BM EA 69573; *JEA* 73 (1987), pl. 11 (1); the right end of a lintel repeating the figure of the tomb owner (cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 217–19).

²⁹⁹ Murray, *Index*, pl. 25, citing Mariette, *Mastabas*, E 1–2 (CG 1418) and LD II, 115. Another example, of unknown provenance, is illustrated in Sotheby Parke Bernet Auction Catalogue, New York, Sale No. 4380, May 16, 1980, no. 306. This may date to the very end of the Old Kingdom (Dyn. VIII). Like the examples from Saqqara it does not add the feminine \simeq after , as opposed to an example in Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pls. 29–30.

³⁰⁰ In *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (East Gloucester, Mass. 1981), pp. 378–89.

³⁰¹ Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten V* (Hamburg 1962), pp. 407 f.; Edel, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–87.

³⁰² From the photograph in Hassan, *Giza IV*, pl. 17(H).

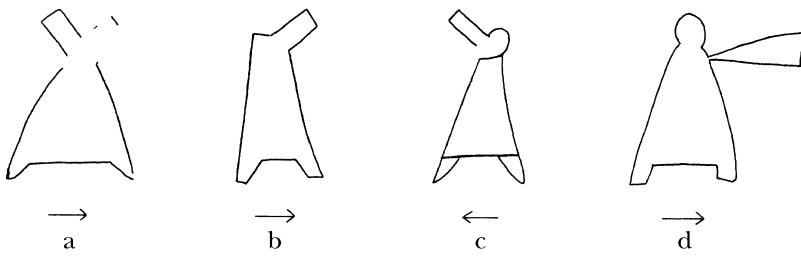


Fig. 26. Old Kingdom variants of 𓄿

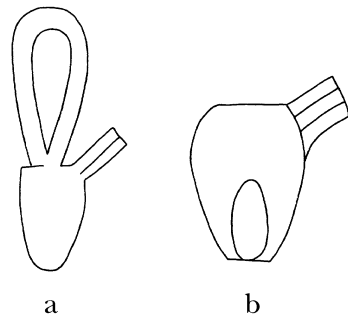


Fig. 27. Old Kingdom variants of 𓄿



Fig. 28. Detail of Dyn. VI relief, Cairo CG 1747. From a photograph

by a pair of female divinities named *Gwt*, on a relief of Pepy II (Fig. 28),³⁰³ but in the latter case there is no trace of any projection in front of the lower element. This projection—actually a pair of projections—might, however, be compared to those of another Old Kingdom sign that Edel likewise takes to be a precursor of 𓄿³⁰⁴ (Fig. 27b),³⁰⁵ although this variant seems in part to be assimilated to detailed examples of the sign 𓄿, a heart. Furthermore it resembles the determinative 𓄿 of 𓄿𓄿𓄿 (Pyr. 1467b), which occurs in an unenlightening context but is evidently to be distinguished from 𓄿 in the preceding spell, both of which are from the pyramid of Pepy I. The lower part of the tall sign shows less resemblance to 𓄿 (*sšr* “linen”) than does the example from the Pyramid Texts, but the basic idea of *idr* as verbal “bind” or nominal “binding” is evidently expressed. Other forms, from the late Old Kingdom or Middle Kingdom, usually show two projections, as in Twelfth Dynasty 𓄿.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ CG 1747 (from a photograph). Erika Schott (*GM* 9 [1974], 34) plausibly considers that this and the rectangular object are being presented to the king, and surmises that they contain ointment and cloth. Kaplony, *BiOr* 28 (1971), 48, thinks they contain grain.

³⁰⁴ Edel, *op. cit.*, p. 380, confirming the opinion of Helen

Jacquet-Gordon in *Domaines*, p. 256.

³⁰⁵ From Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 27; see also *ibid.*, pl. 6 (g).

³⁰⁶ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 (181), and Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pl. 18. For the other forms see Wm. Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (Rome 1978), pp. 166 f.

The example shown here, in Figure 27a, occurs on a fragmentary false door of limestone that had been removed from the tomb to which it belonged; this fact, and its condition, make the dating somewhat difficult, but it is probably no later than the Fifth Dynasty.³⁰⁷ The name is illegible, and only a portion of the titles have been preserved, most of them in two horizontal lines on the crossbar beneath the offering scene. Hassan transcribes them in hieroglyphic type as follows:³⁰⁸



The published photograph shows that the last sign of each line is incomplete. The traces are none too clear, but one is tempted to read $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ which is evidently a judicial title,³⁰⁹ and this possibility is supported by $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ “[priest] of Maat” on the right jamb. If Hassan’s reading were accepted, this would be an unexpectedly early occurrence of the epithet “pillar of Upper Egypt,” which is not otherwise known to have been used much before the Twelfth Dynasty.³¹⁰ At the end of the second line the inexplicable second 𓏏 is also questionable; it seems possible to read $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ “revered.” The beginning of this line is undoubtedly to be interpreted as “greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt,³¹¹ of preëminent seat,”³¹² although it is not possible to recognize 𓏏 “ten(s)” below 𓏏 and Hassan does not in fact show this in his transcription.³¹³ The first line begins with the familiar title $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, perhaps here to be translated “acquaintance of the king,”³¹⁴ followed by *hry-tp idr* 𓏏 , the meaning of which remains to be considered.

It may be significant that, apart from the title *hry-tp* 𓏏 + nome emblem, designating Sixth Dynasty governors of Upper Egypt, the most common Old Kingdom titles beginning with *hry-tp*³¹⁵ are $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *hry-tp dst* “overlord of clothing” (with a variety of determinatives representing cloth)³¹⁶ and the less frequent $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, which takes very nearly the same form in the three cases known to me, all from Giza.³¹⁷ *Idr* is not a general term for “cloth” or “clothing,” however,³¹⁸ and even if the root meaning of “binding” were extended to “accumula-

³⁰⁷ But no earlier, to judge from the offering table; cf. Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire*, p. 47c.

³⁰⁸ Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁰⁹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 74; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 267 (18).

³¹⁰ Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie*, p. 136.

³¹¹ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 265 f. (15).

³¹² Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 99, n. 451.

³¹³ Cf. the examples of the variant $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ cited by Goedicke (*MDAIK* 21 [1966], 58).



³¹⁴ Brunner, *SAK* 1 (1974), 55–60; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 8, n. 15.





³¹⁵ I have likewise excluded $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, where the element in question is always placed at the end in Old Kingdom inscriptions.

³¹⁶ Cairo J 48078, a granite sarcophagus from Giza (PM III², 205); Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 117, where the last part of the preceding title $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ is to be read twice, due to haplography; Cairo CG 1619; Cairo J 41978 (statue); Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 152 f.; Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 507; Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pls. 6, 10; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, figs. 40–41, p. 78; Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, pp. 14, 110 (fig. 124), *Pyrs. des reines*, fig. 35; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 210. For post-Old Kingdom examples see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 137.

³¹⁷ (1) Berlin 1107C: LD II, 22b; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 11; Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 67. (2) Kayser, *Uhemka*, pp. 37, 68. (3) Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 104.

³¹⁸ More specifically a belt or wrapping; see Edel, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

dom rock inscription at El Kab,³³¹ and, a little differently, in inscriptions from three tombs at Balat, in the Kharga Oasis, which are somewhat later: ³³² and ³³³

The only variation that became at all common or widespread during the Heracleopolitan Period is quite different. It shows the addition of a distinctive cap () rather than a spout or handle. This occurs as early as the Eighth Dynasty in one of the Coptos Decrees,³³⁴ and is known from that time or later at Saqqara³³⁵ as well as in the provinces: Gebelein,³³⁶ Thebes,³³⁷ Naqada,³³⁸ Dendera,³³⁹ Naga ed-Deir,³⁴⁰ Abydos,³⁴¹ Hagarsa,³⁴² and Assiut.³⁴³ At Naga ed-Deir, in the early Tenth–Eleventh Dynasties, this form was also combined with the addition of a spout ().³⁴⁴ The capped jars occurred much less frequently in the Twelfth Dynasty³⁴⁵ and even less frequently later (when the cap assumed a rather different shape),³⁴⁶ although a number of examples are to be found in the tomb chapel of *Df3i-Hcpy* at Assiut, dating to Sesostri I.³⁴⁷ From the same reign there are also several recurrences of the spouted form (, ) and the like) in an autobiographical inscription in Wadi Hammamat.³⁴⁸ This form is again indicated by Gauthier and Lefebvre in their copies of the texts on several wooden coffins from Assiut;³⁴⁹ so too Chassinat and Palanque,³⁵⁰ who also

³³¹ Janssen, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 12 (1951–52), 169 and pl. 29 (N5 = Sayce, *PSBA* 21 [1899], 108–10 and pl. 1 [1]); also *LD II*, pl. 117q (last line).

³³² Osing et al., *Denkmäler*, pls. 1 (1), 53 (1); Valloggia, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 394. For further comments on the palaeographic peculiarities of this site see Leprohon, *JSSEA* 16 (1986), 50–56, concluding that these tombs postdate the Old Kingdom, and p. 27, n. 99 above.

³³³ Osing, *op. cit.*, pls. 4, 58 (right, line 7), Valloggia, *BdE* 97/2 (1985), 333.

³³⁴ R. Weill, *Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire Egyptien* (Paris 1912), pl. 10, line 6.

³³⁵ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 41, 46, 51, 111; *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* (Cairo 1933), fig. 30; Cairo J 59158 (*ZÄS* 90 [1963], pl. 6). Also at Memphis: C. Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), pl. 2 (b).

³³⁶ Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. 21 (right, center), 22 (right = pl. 6, left); Goedicke, *JNES* 19 (1960), 288 (line 2), now *MMA* 65.107; Černý, *JEA* 47 (1961), 7 (4, 15).

³³⁷ Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, §§ 14, 16 (3), 17 (4), 18 (10), 19 (5), 20 (3, 14), 24 (8). All Dyn. XI, as also Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, nos. 25(4), 26(10).

³³⁸ Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 18, 19, 40, 41; Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana I* (1972), p. 40, fig. 6.

³³⁹ Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 6 (bottom left), 8 c (right, 4th from bottom), 9 (top), 10A (bottom right), 13 (left, second from bottom).

³⁴⁰ On two groups of stelae: (1) Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, nos. 12, 72, 75, etc.; (2) *ibid.*, nos. 55, 62, 78, 83, etc. The first of these is Brovarski's Red Group (*Dissertation*, Table 2, p. 538), which he dates to the beginning of


Dyn. IX (*ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.); another example associated with this group is shown in his fig. 57, p. 549. The second is his Polychrome Group, dated later in the same dynasty (*ibid.*, pp. 195 ff.).

³⁴¹ Dyn. XI examples: H.W. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187; CG 20503; Turin 1447 (Luise Klebs, *Reliefs des Mittleren Reichs*, fig. 14).

³⁴² Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 7 in a caption above one of the cattle.

³⁴³ Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siut*, pls. 13 (28), 14 (62, 70, 85), 15 (15).

³⁴⁴ Brovarski, *Dissertation*, p. 747; one example is shown in his fig. 79, p. 861.

³⁴⁵ Clère and Vandier, *op. cit.*, § 2; Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 35; Louvre C 1, C 3; Berlin ÄGM 26/66 (W.K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pls. 14, 15); BM 830 (*ibid.*, pl. 8). At Rifa Tomb 1 (Griffith, *op. cit.*, pl. 16 [5, 7, 11]) the neck of the vessel is eliminated: ; another example like this is known from Sedment: Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. 23 (center).


³⁴⁶ Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 43, p. 96 (Edfu, Dyn. XVII); Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–08)* (Cairo, 1909), pl. 59 (4) (Dyn. XIX); Calverly, *Temple of Sethos II*, pls. 18 (bottom), 26; II, pls. 4 (top), 14 (bottom). In all these examples the cap is conical or domed.

³⁴⁷ Griffith, *op. cit.*, 4 (212, 220), 9 (336).

³⁴⁸ Annie Gasse, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), fig. 1 on p. 94, and pl. 6 (5, 10, 11, 18).

³⁴⁹ *ASAE* 23 (1923), 11, 18 (twice), 20 (twice), 26, 30, 31, 32. In some cases the sign is reversed.

³⁵⁰ *Une Campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout* (Cairo 1911), pp. 115, 165, 212.

show $\overline{\text{V}}$.³⁵¹ An example of $\overline{\text{V}}$ in the tomb-chapel of *Ip*, at El Saff,³⁵² is probably earlier than any of these—as early as the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. Later examples of the spouted forms are to be found in the tomb of *Z3-rnpwt* II at Aswan, dating to the reign of Sesostris II.³⁵³ The strangest of all these variations appears in an epithet of his grandfather *Z3-rnpwt* I at Elephantine, which is evidently motivated by graphic dissimilation:  “one does what is praised by him who praises him.”³⁵⁴ Still later spouted forms are known from Sinai, dating to the reigns of Amenemhet III ($\overline{\text{V}}$),³⁵⁵ Amenemhet IV ($\overline{\text{V}}$)³⁵⁶ and Tuthmosis III ($\overline{\text{V}}$).³⁵⁷ Examples of later date, down to the Ptolemaic Period, are encountered more rarely.³⁵⁸

Yet another variation is $\overline{\text{V}}$, which appears sporadically in inscriptions ranging from the Fourth to Eleventh Dynasty, some of unknown provenance,³⁵⁹ others from a variety of sites, including Giza,³⁶⁰ Saqqara,³⁶¹ Bersha,³⁶² Meir,³⁶³ Deir el Gebrawi,³⁶⁴ Hemamiya,³⁶⁵ Akhmim³⁶⁶ and Abydos.³⁶⁷ It became less frequent in Dynasties XII–XIII,³⁶⁸ but occasionally recurred in the Nineteenth Dynasty and later.³⁶⁹ The projection at the top evidently represents a stopper, to judge from a polychrome example dating to the Fourth Dynasty, where it is painted white in contrast to the upper part of the vessel itself, which is black.³⁷⁰

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 174 (also $\overline{\text{V}}$), 179, 199. The normal form $\overline{\text{V}}$ evidently occurs more frequently on the coffins, however. A double-spouted example is also known from Wadi el Hudi: A. Fakhry, *Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries* (Cairo 1952), fig. 17 and pl. 7B, line 10 (end of Dyn. XI).

³⁵² Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff* (New York 1996), p. 15, pl. F.

³⁵³ H.W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine* (Glückstadt 1940), pls. 31 a, 33. For the date see p. 105.

³⁵⁴ Habachi, *Heqaib*, p. 25 and fig. 1 d, pl. 9a.

³⁵⁵ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, no. 106 (w. face), pl. 35 (year 40).

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 118, pl. 36 (also the normal form).

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 191 (n.w. pillar), pl. 62.

³⁵⁸ Dyn. XX: R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *Temples of Armant* (London 1940), pl. 101 (6). Dyn. XXI: W.M.F. Petrie, *Palace of Apries (Memphis II)* (London 1909), pls. 23 (center), 24 (lower half). Dyn. XXII: E. Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London 1892), pl. 14. Late Period: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, no. 173, pl. 116.

³⁵⁹ BM 1212 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 13 [1]), BM 1282 (*ibid.*, pl. 11 [1]), both probably Dyn. IV; BM 212 (*ibid.*, pl. 38 [1]), no earlier than late Dyn. VI.

³⁶⁰ Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 2, 7; Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 14a; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 12—all Dyn. IV.

³⁶¹ A. Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Le Musée du Caire* (Paris 1949), pl. 41 (Dyn. IV); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 11 (Dyn. VI); *Wnis-ḥ3-št.f*, PM III², 615, Room I 14 (early M.K.).

³⁶² Newberry, *Bersheh II*, pl. 21 (bottom, cols. 2, 5, 8, 10, 14, 16).

³⁶³ Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 26.

³⁶⁴ Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. 4.

³⁶⁵ Mackay et al., *Bahreïn and Hemamieh*, pl. 27, Dyn. V; not noted by El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 39, but see pl. 57.


³⁶⁶ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish I*, figs. 11, 14; II, fig. 8; IV, fig. 15; VIII, fig. 21.

³⁶⁷ Frankfort, *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. 20 (3), Dyn. VI; BM 830 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 8).






³⁶⁸ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, no. 47, pl. 16 (Amenemhet II); Louvre C 243 (= E 3462: *RdE* 24 [1972], pl. 7, Amenemhet II, year 14); Fakhry, *op. cit.*, fig. 32 (Amenemhet IV); BM 1346 *Hieroglyphic Texts IV*, pl. 22 (Dyn. XIII: *Sṛnh-k3-rṛ Šhm-k3-rṛ*).

³⁶⁹ Dyn. XIX: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–8)*, pl. 59 (1); G. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom I* (London 1987), pl. 28 (75); Centre de Documentation, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel II*, pls. 27, 33, 44, 48 etc. Late Period: F. Laming Macadam, *Temple of Kawa II* (London 1955), pl. 10; Jan Assmann, *Grab des Basa* (Mainz 1973), pls. 4, 5, 9, 17, 19 (T 40), 20, etc.; Norman Davies, *Temple of Hibis III* (New York 1953), pl. 27 (n. wall, col. 22); Ptolemaic Period: W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos*, pls. 20 (l. 4), 26 (3, 14); *Athribis*, pl. 23.

³⁷⁰ Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 12. The projection is also separated in some other cases where the paint has been lost: BM 1212 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 13 [1]); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 11; Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. 4.

Possibly its frequent recurrence in the hieroglyph was abetted by assimilation to another sign such as .³⁷¹


The incidence of the principal variations may be tabulated as follows:

-  Dyn. IV–XII (more rarely in Dyn. XIX and later)
-  Dyn. VI–MK (rarely later)
-  Dyn. VI–IX
-  Dyn. VIII–MK (very rarely later, with cap pointed or domed)
-  Dyn. X–XI

14. A detail of the sign (Y3)

The earliest detailed representations of the scribal kit, on the wooden panels from the Third Dynasty mastaba of *Hzy-Rc*, show the tubular case for brushes with a cap at either end, the lower one more splayed, with a flat bottom, the other one more slender and elongated, less everted, and very slightly curved at the top.³⁷² But the top of the cap appears to be flat on the other panels (Fig. 29). A hieroglyph from the stela of *Wp-m-nfrt*, dating to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, again has a cap at either end, but both are everted and scarcely differentiated,³⁷³ whereas in other examples, in the later Fourth Dynasty mastaba of *Hwfw-hc.f*, the upper cap displays, for the first time, a feature that also occurs in the contemporaneous mastaba of *K3(.i)-wcb's* wife; it is divided into vertical tabs, only slightly splayed (Fig. 30a).³⁷⁴ Other examples of the late Fourth–early Fifth Dynasties generally omit this feature, the tubular case being everted at either end, but without any indication of a cap.³⁷⁵ The tabs are more frequently attested in inscriptions of the later reigns of the Fifth Dynasty³⁷⁶ (Fig. 30b)³⁷⁷ and those of the Sixth;³⁷⁸ in this period they are more everted and the tabs are sometimes more numerous.³⁷⁹ Quite often, throughout the Old Kingdom, they are suggested only by the outline (Fig. 30c).³⁸⁰

Middle Kingdom forms show greater variety. The tabs are more splayed and separated in a Twelfth Dynasty hieroglyph at Bersha, the center being differentiated by a more reddish

³⁷¹ This variant of  is likewise known from Dyn. IV: Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, figs. 27–29.

³⁷² J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911–12): The tomb of Hesy* (Cairo 1913), pls. 29–32. The example shown here is from the panel in pl. 29 (left, CG 1428). Drioton's drawings of this and another example, from CG 1427 (*ASAE* 41 [1942], 93, figs. 12–13) are not quite accurate; they are reproduced in E.L.B. Terrace and H.G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* (London 1970), p. 33.

³⁷³ Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. A; cf. pl. 32 b.

³⁷⁴ Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, figs. 16, 27.

³⁷⁵ E.g., Borchardt, *Grabd. S'ashu-re' II*, pl. 1; Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum III*, pl. 21 (345); Junker, *Giza I*, fig. 57; II, fig. 19; III, figs. 11, 14, 28, 30; V, fig. 22; Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 168.

³⁷⁶ E.g., Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pls. 12, 20.

³⁷⁷ From Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 18 (408); a color reproduction.

³⁷⁸ E.g., Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pl. 38; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 25, 33, 42.

³⁷⁹ E.g., Jéquier, *loc. cit.*; Murray, *op. cit.*, pl. 20.

³⁸⁰ E.g., Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 40; Hassan, *Giza V*, figs. 128–35; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 20–22, 26, 28, 32, 36.

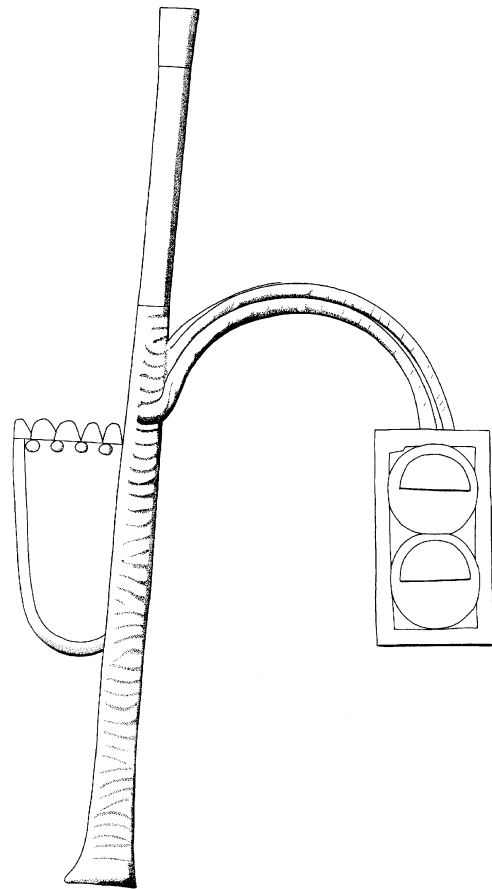


Fig. 29. Scribal kit on panel of *Hzy-Rc*. From a photograph

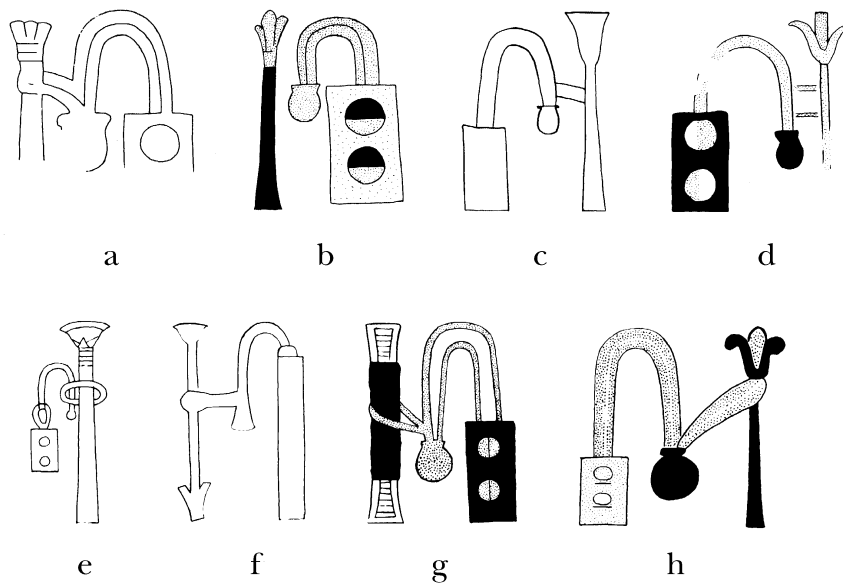




Fig. 30. Variants of : (a-c) Old Kingdom; (d-g) Dyn. XII; (h) Dyn. XVIII

hue (Fig. 30d).³⁸¹ One of the early Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Meir represents the tubular holder as a papyrus, either in part (Fig. 30e)³⁸² or in its entirety (Fig. 30f).³⁸³ And at Beni Hasan something rather like the early Fourth Dynasty form makes a reappearance, with an identical cap on either end of the tube (Fig. 30g).³⁸⁴

The tabs reappear in hieroglyphic examples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, assimilated to the “fleur-de-lys” motif that then became popular, and the central element is again distinctively colored; it is red, while the rest is blue (Fig. 30h).³⁸⁵ By this time two of the elements of the old scribal kit represented by  had long since—from the end of the Old Kingdom onward—been replaced by a more elongated palette that accommodated both ink and brushes.³⁸⁶ But tubular containers for brushes continued in use, as attested by actual examples that have been recovered from Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. These show the splayed tabs carried to their ultimate degree of convolution. One such holder, from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Pl. 46 b)³⁸⁷ is described by Howard Carter as taking the form of “a column with palm-leaf capital; its elaborately decorated shaft and drum are hollowed out to receive the reeds, and the abacus, turning on a pivot, acts as the lid.” His interpretation of this is borne out by kohl tubes of the period in which the palm fronds are more clearly detailed.³⁸⁸ In another instance, dating to the earlier years of the same dynasty, a tubular case was cut from a stalk of a thick rush (Fig. 31), and Carter says of it:³⁸⁹

At the top this has a floral ornament made of four pieces of carved wood which are let into spaces cut in the sides at the end and bound in position by a strip of linen. The node or natural joint of the rush has been utilized for the bottom end, and the top end was stopped by a rag plug.

Thus the top of the tubular case was regarded as various forms of plants—a papyrus in the Twelfth Dynasty; and in the Eighteenth Dynasty both the “fleur-de-lys” that derives from the sedgeliike plant of Upper Egypt () , as well as the palm. Are the everted tabs of the Old Kingdom

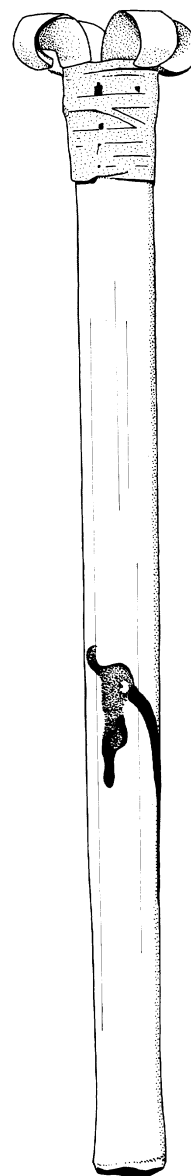



Fig. 31. Tubular pencase, Dyn. XVIII. From a photograph

³⁸¹ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 (171).

³⁸² Blackman, *Meir II*, pls. 17 (60 = pl. 11), 10; for the form cf. the wife's staff in pl. 2, the clump and bundle of papyrus in pl. 4.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, pl. 6; for the form cf. pl. 17 (33). In Blackman, *Meir III*, pls. 19, 23 (a little later) the forms are like the one from Bersha. It seems probable that the same feature is to be recognized on an Eleventh Dynasty sarcophagus, Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, p. 26: .

³⁸⁴ Griffith, *Beni Hasan III*, pl. 3 (18).

³⁸⁵ Nina Davies, *Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt*, pl. 8 (6);

for similar examples see pl. 12 and Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 91, p. 166 (MMA 15.2.4).

³⁸⁶ Glanville, *JEA* 18 (1932), 53–54, publishes two actual examples dating to the Sixth Dynasty, but this form was represented before the end of Dyn. V: e.g., Murray, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, and was certainly in use earlier.

³⁸⁷ Carter, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen III*, pl. 22 D and p. 80.

³⁸⁸ E.g., Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 108, p. 193.

³⁸⁹ Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, pl. 66 and p. 75.

hieroglyphs therefore to be explained on the basis of the New Kingdom brush-holder that has just been described? The Fourth Dynasty hieroglyphs suggest an alternative explanation—that the increasingly everted tabs originated as slits that were designed to provide elasticity for the introduction of a plug to close the top; the binding beneath them would have been added to prevent the slits from progressing any further. It is in any case possible that the distinctively colored central element of the cap in hieroglyphs of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties represented the plug.

15. An unusual variant of 𐀓 (Y5)

Although both Gardiner³⁹⁰ and Lefebvre³⁹¹ identify the sign 𐀓 as a gameboard, Lefebvre, citing Pillet,³⁹² thinks it may be “l’image simplifiée de deux objets complètement différents, damier et palissade.” Pillet’s most persuasive evidence for this alternative—a wattle and daub fence with ends projecting at the top—is relatively late, from the reign of Ramesses III and later, but I think this interpretation, if valid, is secondary and divergent from the original representation. His Middle Kingdom evidence is less convincing, and it is difficult to agree with his conclusion that 𐀓 “semble donc représenter, dans la plupart des cas, en tant que graphique, une *palissade*.” While I doubt that this view has won general approval, it is nonetheless worth noting a group of unusual examples where the sign has a pair of additions that definitely identify it as a gameboard. It takes the form 𐀓 in two tombs at Bersha³⁹³ that apparently date to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty.³⁹⁴ These additions puzzled me initially, until I realized that they represent a set of legs sloping inward, as shown on gameboards in two tombs at Beni Hasan that are probably not much later (Fig. 32).³⁹⁵ The inward slope of the legs is also known from an actual gameboard of the Eleventh Dynasty,³⁹⁶ and from representations of beds and chairs from the same general period; it is related to a more stylized and symmetrical set of legs that similarly turn inward, front to back, and continued later, down to the beginning of the New Kingdom.³⁹⁷

The principal interest of this curious variant of 𐀓 is not the fact that it confirms the identification of the sign, however, but that it provides a further instance of a hieroglyph that has been affected by contemporary fashion or by iconography reflecting that fashion.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁰ *Grammar*, p. 534 (Y 5). And cf. Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 56.

³⁹¹ *Grammaire de l’Égyptien classique*² (Cairo 1955), p. 423, nn. 5–6.

³⁹² *Revue de l’Égypte ancienne* 1 (1927), 157–75.

³⁹³ Newberry, *Bersheh* II, pl. 13 (cols. 9, 11, but not 17, 19); pl. 21 (bottom, cols. 5, 16). In the latter case the same detail is recorded by Sayce, *Rec. trav.* 13 (1890), 190 f.

³⁹⁴ For a recent discussion of the date of the tombs in question (5 and 8) see H.O. Willems, *Jaarbericht van het Voor-aziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 28 (1983–

1984), 80–102, and esp. 87 (beginning of Dyn. XII). E. Brovarski has subsequently concluded that tomb 5 must be somewhat earlier: *Studies in Honor of Dows Dunham*, pp. 26–30.

³⁹⁵ Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 7; cf. also pl. 13.

³⁹⁶ MMA 26.3.154: *BMMA* February 1928, section II, fig. 10, p. 10.

³⁹⁷ See Chapter 13 above, n. 24.

³⁹⁸ See Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 34 and p. 186 above.

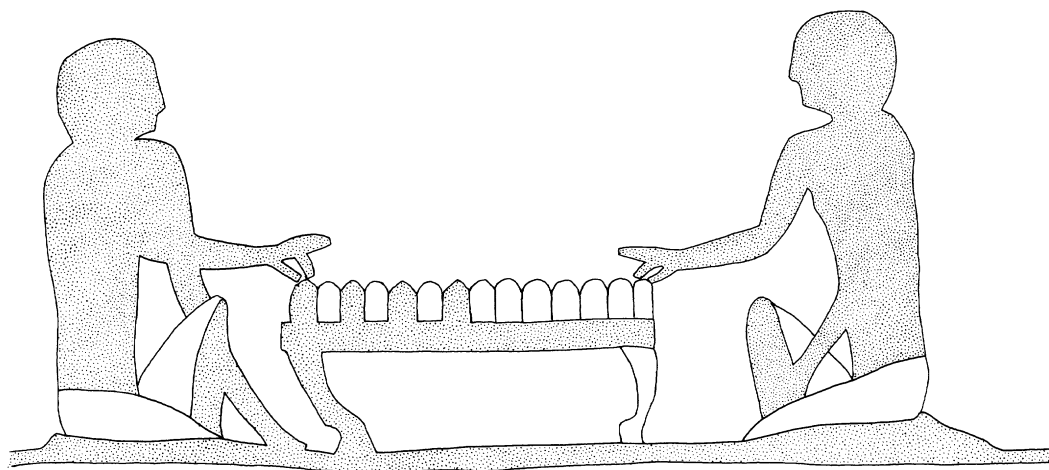










Fig. 32. Early Middle Kingdom gameboard, Beni Hasan. After Newberry

A similar feature, of somewhat earlier date, is to be seen in at least two examples of the *htp*-sign, one of which is shown in Figure 33. Both cases appear in Sixth Dynasty tomb chapels at Qubbet el Hawa, Aswan, where funerary priests of a subsequent generation added their names to the original inscriptions. The first, below the figure of *Hr-hw.f*, on the south side of the facade, occurs in the name , a priest who is designated as .³⁹⁹ The second (shown here), is on the south reveal of the entrance to the hall of *Hq3-ib*, excavated by Labib Habachi; it occurs in the name , belonging to an overseer of crews ().⁴⁰⁰ Evidently the projections below the sign again represent legs of an offering table, the top of which has the form of . Such tables are known from copper and wooden models of the Old Kingdom.⁴⁰¹ One might expect the legs to be placed at the ends of the sign, as in , but their position also occurs in hieroglyphic ⁴⁰² and ⁴⁰³ which serve as the determinative of *hnw* “chest.” Here they may represent a pair of transverse bars which keep the chest slightly off the ground.⁴⁰⁴ But possibly they derive from hieratic



³⁹⁹ Illustrated in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, plate facing p. 164, where the *htp*-sign is not completely visible, however. The title *hm-k3 hry hnt* recurs in the labels of funerary priests who added their names in the hall of *Hq3-ib* (next note). For the writing of the name, not cited in Ranke, *PNI*, 271 (12), cf. *Wb.* III, 299 (22); it should probably be transliterated as *Htp-Hnzw* or *Hnzw-htp(w)*.

⁴⁰⁰ Unpublished; for the context see Labib Habachi, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia* (Cairo 1981), p. 14.

⁴⁰¹ Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 11 (Boston 1913), 61, fig. 16 (including CG 57033–6); Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 22; I.E.S. Edwards et al., *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collection* (London 1964), p. 159, fig. 54 (BM 5315). The first four are 14.9 to 22.5 cm wide, the one from Dendera about 14 cm, the last 38.7 cm. Another metal example, 18.5 cm wide and covered with gold leaf, is to be found in Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 10 and pl. 3 (2). One, made of wood (CG 1765), is somewhat larger (a little under 52 cm wide). A second wooden example, 18 cm

high, is shown in Borchardt, *Grabd. Ne-user-Re*, fig. 110 (Berlin 16436).

⁴⁰² Reisner and Smith, *Hist. Giza Necr.* II, fig. 44 and pl. 36 (a); also Junker, *Giza I*, fig. 36 (assimilated to the writing of *ch*, n. 411 below); *Giza V*, fig. 9 (in captions above chests with legs at the corners); Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 174; and later examples in the title *z3 hn*: Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11 C (top left, Dyn. VIII or IX); Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pls. 15, 18, 20 (Dyn. XII).

⁴⁰³ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 2; also Dyn. VI examples: Pyr. 491a W (Piankoff, *Pyramid of Unas*, pl. 9); *Urk.* I, 106 (15); Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, p. 41 and pl. 4 (determinative of *hn*); Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 72 and pl. 9 ( cf.  designating the same form of coffer, carried by a funerary attendant, in *LD II*, 4).

⁴⁰⁴ I only know of Middle Kingdom examples: Hayes, *Scepter I*, figs. 157, 189, 209, but a similar use of transverse bars occurs on coffins of earlier date, as shown by Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 40.

forms, which are almost identical.⁴⁰⁵ As it happens, the influence of hieratic appears in another label following the second example of the sign under discussion, at the beginning of the title $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}} \frac{\text{mty n z3}}{\text{mty n z3}}$ “regulator of the phyle.”⁴⁰⁶ The date of these labels can hardly be earlier than the Eighth Dynasty, and may well be later.⁴⁰⁷

The sign $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$ also appears to have influenced an example of the sign $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$ in the title $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}} \frac{\text{hwt}}{\text{hwt}}$, as it is written in a tomb of the Heracleopolitan Period at Naga ed Deir.⁴⁰⁸

A rather similar hieroglyph ($\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$) not infrequently occurs as the determinative of ḥ “brazier” in the lists of festivals that call for offerings.⁴⁰⁹ In this case the legs probably represent stones placed beneath the flat terracotta tray;⁴¹⁰ in some examples the stones are indicated by rounding off the bottom of the projections.⁴¹¹

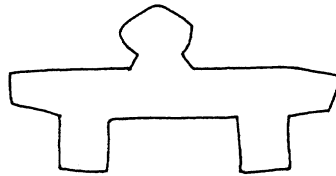


Fig. 33. Post-Old Kingdom variant of $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$, Aswan

16. The groups $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$ and $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$

In *GM* 74 (1984), 82–86 and 93 (fig. 3), Peter Munro discusses a group of inscriptions on columns in the chapel of *Špss-Pth/Impy*, near the Unas Causeway. They show the familiar title *smsw ḥ3yt*⁴¹² “elder of the (judicial)⁴¹³ court,” with a very exceptional determinative,

⁴⁰⁵ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 21, o; 25, f; 34, 1 c.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Pal. pl. 3 ($\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$). Cf. $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$ as the determinative of ḥwt “goats,” Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 6 (5), and similarly Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 86 (as noted by Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* [Rome 1941], p. 458, n. 23).

⁴⁰⁷ Discussed in reference to a long-handled censer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 29 f. and fig. 4. In the meantime the earlier of the two Old Kingdom parallels (*ibid.*, fig. 1) has been brought down to the Heracleopolitan Period (Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 85–91).

⁴⁰⁸ C.N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed Deir*, p. 102 and pl. 11.

⁴⁰⁹ *LD* II, 58; Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 50, 195; VII, fig. 23; *LD* II, 58b; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 34; Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 46.

⁴¹⁰ The form of the brazier itself is often a deeper receptacle, with rounded or everted sides; see Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 61, 102–105.

⁴¹¹ Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 36; VI, fig. 8; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 9 (1). This detail may well have been overlooked in other cases.

⁴¹² (1) *LD* II, 34 b.

(2) *Ibid.*, 38 b.

(3) *Ibid.*, 115 l.

(4) Herta Mohr, *Mastaba of Hetep-her-Akhty*, passim.

(5) Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35.

(6) *BM* 1272; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 9.

(7) Cairo CG 22.

(8) CG 23.

(9) CG 212.

(10) CG 311.

(11) CG 57007: A. Moret and D. Abou Ghazi, *Denkmäler des A.R.* III, p. 18.

(12) Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 56 and pl. 27a.

(13) *Ibid.* IX, figs. 30–32, and Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), 310, pl. 2.

(14) Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 34 (= VII, pl. 29 c)

(15) *Ibid.*, V, p. 276.

(16) *Ibid.*, VI/3, figs. 81–83, pls. 43, 46, 48.

(17) *Ibid.*, figs. 142, 146.

(18) *Ibid.*, VII, figs. 27, 30, 31, pls. 24, 25.

(19) Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 514, and *Excavations at Saqqara* I, p. 59, pl. 48 (D).

for which no explanation is given (Fig. 34). The determinative is otherwise most commonly \equiv ,⁴¹⁴ which frequently appears before the final t : $\overline{\square}$ ⁴¹⁵ or $\square \overline{\equiv}$;⁴¹⁶ occasionally publications indicate that the ends are more or less rounded, but this evidence is not very reli-

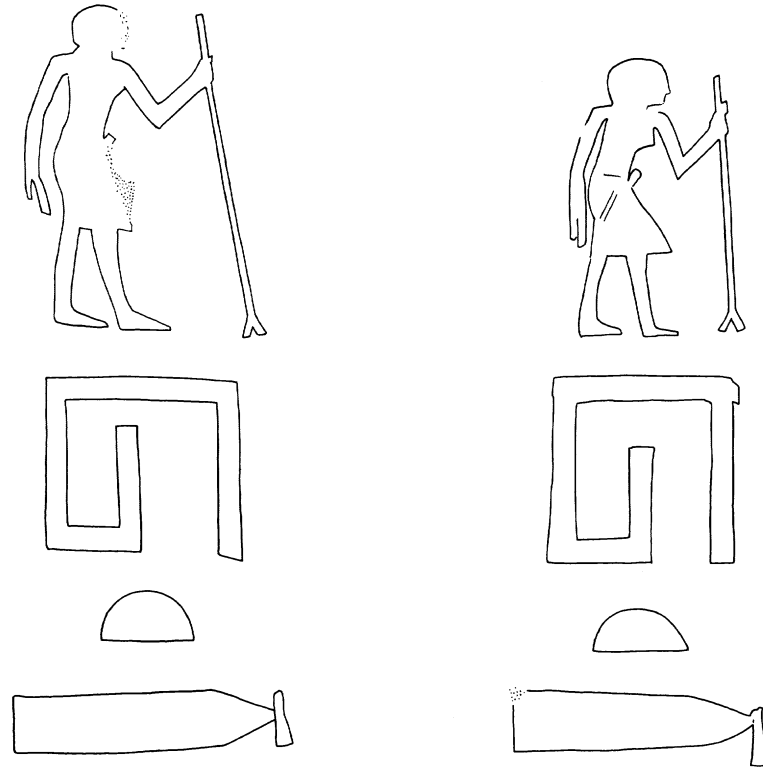












Fig. 34. Dyn. VI writing of the title "elder of the court," Saqqara

- (20) Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, figs. 17, 18.
 (21) Reisner tomb G 2370 (PM III², p. 86, room III, offering bearer beside north squint of serdab).
 (22) G 2375 (*ibid.*, p. 87).
 (23) G 2423 (W.S. Smith, *BMFA* 56 [1958], 56–57).
 (24) G 4311 (PM III², p. 126).
 (25) G 7721 (T. Kendall, in *Studies in Honor of Dows Dunham*, pp. 110, 113, fig. 12).
 (26) Ahmed Badawy, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 574 and pl. 60.
 (27) Cairo T 6/4/49/1: Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), 303, fig. 3.
 (28) Berlin 7722: *ibid.*, 305, fig. 5, and *Orientalia* 30 (1961), pl. 26.
 (29) Berlin 1159: *Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 55.
 (30) MMA 58.107.2: Fischer, *RdE* 30 [1978], 92 and pl. 6 (probably a forgery, but based on a genuine original).
 (31) Brooklyn 37.21E, 37.22E: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* I, nos. 47, 48, pls. 4, 22.
 (32) Thos. Midgley, *Bankfield Museum Notes* 4 (Halifax 1907), fig. 3.
 (33) Cairo J 91218; Wm. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania–Yale Excavations at Abydos* (New Haven 1995), p. 6, fig. 4.

- (34) Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908*, p. 26 (with \equiv miscopied as \equiv).
 (35) Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles* (*MIFAO* 1/2, 1885), pp. 203–204 (miscopied as noted below, with n. 18).
 (36) Pierre de Bourget, *Mélanges Maspero* I/4 (*MIFAO* 66, 1961), pp. 11–16 and pls. 1–5.
⁴¹³ It is frequently linked with *zsb*: note 1 above, exs. 3, 4 (pp. 33, 35, 39), 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19–24, 29, 31, 34, 36; with *r-Nhn zsb*: exs. 4 (pp. 34, 36, 40, 64, 87), 11, 15, 22, 23, 27, 31; other judicial titles: exs. 4, 6, 15, 22, 23, 25, 27–29, 31, 35, 36 and the present case (see *MIO* 7 [1960], 304, n. 9). In ex. 35 $\overline{\square}$ is omitted from both *smsw hsy*t and *r-Nhn* because the text is within the burial chamber; for a similar case see *MMJ* 9 (1974), 11 and fig. 7.
⁴¹⁴ Exs. 1, 3–6, 11, 12 (pl. 27a), 13, 16 (pls. 43, 46), 17, 18 (pls. 24A, 25A), 21–23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31 (pl. 4), 32, 33, 36.
⁴¹⁵ Exs. 2, 4 (pp. 34, 79, 87), 14, 16 (fig. 81), 20–22, 26, 27, 31, 32. The configuration $\overline{\square}$ appears in exs. 3, 4 (pp. 34, 86), 5, 11, 12, 13 (31), 17, 18, 33.
⁴¹⁶ Exs. 1, 4, 16 (82), 23, 34; also $\overline{\square}$, ex. 15. The configuration $\square \overline{\equiv}$ appears in exs. 7, 10, 16 (83), 23, 34, 36; also $\overline{\square}$, ex. 9.

able.⁴¹⁷ Another variant is , which is known from at least three examples.⁴¹⁸ And in at least one case it is replaced, perhaps inadvertently, by .⁴¹⁹ In view of the judicial character of the title, one might be tempted to surmise that  derives from  *ms't*, but the variants suggest that it may be a baton, i.e., a short stick. There is no indication that the form of the sign changed to , as happened in the case of  at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and later.⁴²⁰ It is possible, however, that the original derivation was from ,⁴²¹ reinforced by the similarity of the word    “staff.”⁴²²

The form that is displayed in the present case is totally different from any of these, and represents an elongated bag (Fig. 35)⁴²³ that was used, among other purposes, to store

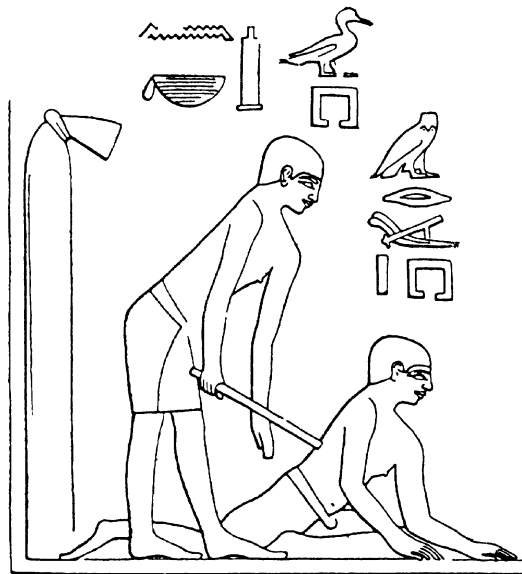








Fig. 35. Elongated bag in the mastaba of *Tj*, Saqqara. After Epron

⁴¹⁷ Perhaps ex. 20. Some examples are shown thus in hieroglyphic type (7, 9, 10, 15); the first two of these have proven, on examination, to have squared ends, as usual, and so the others are suspect.




⁴¹⁸ Exs. 8, 18 (fig. 31), 24.







⁴¹⁹ Ex. 19; also possibly ex. 28, to be discussed presently.





⁴²⁰ The variety of wedgelike forms is well exemplified by Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 21, 33 (top), 42 (with pointed end), 33 (bottom) and 38 (tapered end more rounded), 28 (left, almost like , Gardiner's Aa11). The last also occurs in Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39 (right inner jamb) along with  (opposite) and the wedgelike form (pl. 33); again in Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 13 (3), along with wedgelike forms on pls. 6, 7, 9, 10, 13.




⁴²¹ Here  may originally have represented something “straight” (a straight-edge or cubit-rod?), as compared with the  or  of *h3b*, *h3bt* “crooked,” “crookedness” (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33, line 2; Smither, *JEA* 28 [1942], 18 [i]). If it represents a cubit-rod, the tapered variants, and especially  might be explained as repro-

























ducing a beveled edge; no cubit rods earlier than the Middle Kingdom have survived, but at least one specimen with a beveled edge is thought to belong to that period (Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* [London 1926], p. 39 [5]).

⁴²² *Wb.* II, 27 (9). Cf. also   , the open-ended flute, *Wb.* II, 6 (8).

⁴²³ From Epron et al., *Ti I*, pl. 67; in *LD II*, pl. 4, this bag is called  . In a taxation scene, *LD II*, pl. 56, a police attendant draws a hand-shaped baton from a bag of the same kind; cf. Yoyotte, *RdE* 9 (1952), 142, and Claude Sourdive, *La Main* (Berne 1984), pp. 5–7; in *LD II*, pl. 51, a man draws another baton from a long bag in an identical context; correctly interpreted by Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London 1987), p. 209 (in *BiOr* 47 [1990], 95, I have mistakenly applied her remark to another figure, who extracts a roll of papyrus). A shorter bag of similar pattern, bound at the neck, is associated with scribes: Junker, *Giza II*, figs. 18–19; *LD II*, pls. 9, 22 (c), 30, 50 (a). It is called     (*Urk.* I, 42[8]); cf. *Wb.* I, 3 (7–8).





sticks and staves. In favor of this explanation of the various determinatives of *h3yt* it may be noted that the stick in the hieroglyph  is sometimes replaced by  in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom.⁴²⁴ And since  does not appear as a determinative in Old Kingdom titles, nor does , the stick alone would necessarily have sufficed if it was to be introduced at all.⁴²⁵ It is true that there is no evidence for the presence of the “elder of the hall” in taxation scenes that are attended by the *nht-hrw* “tally man” and the *zsw-pr* “police,” the latter wielding batons,⁴²⁶ but the title *nht-hrw-z3b* “tally man of the judiciary” is coupled with *smsw h3yt* in two of the three cases in which it is known to occur in titularies,⁴²⁷ and in two other cases the *smsw h3yt* is also an under-superintendent of *zsw-pr*.⁴²⁸

Apart from the occurrences of *smsw h3yt* that have been cited thus far, there is another that is said to take the form  .⁴²⁹ The last sign is probably only an approximation, since it is given in hieroglyphic type; and there is little doubt that it represents a further example of . This again appears in the context of judicial titles and is at least as late as the case under discussion, i.e., the end of Dyn. VI, and probably later.

There is some other Old Kingdom evidence for *h3yt*, although all of it is problematic in some respect. In one case the title *smsw h3yt* is written   , where  may again be a miswriting of , but given its position, is more probably the indirect genitive, the last two signs to be translated “of the estate.”⁴³⁰ The indirect genitive similarly appears in some other cases where this official is attached to the funerary cult of a royal pyramid.⁴³¹ The sign  more clearly functions as a determinative in    “one who judges in the court,”⁴³² for it does not seem likely that  represents , i.e., *wsht*.⁴³³ A nisbe form,     *h3tyw*, is attested in an obscure context; it is paired with another class of individuals called    *imyw-ts*, lit. “those in the ground/land.”⁴³⁴ The same nisbe form is perhaps also to be recognized in the *h3tyw* of the Abusir Papyri, for the word transcribed as    is more probably   .⁴³⁵

This discussion cannot be closed without giving some attention to the more common term *w3 rnpt*, the festival of the “opening of the year,” since this has a determinative that is

⁴²⁴ Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), 11, n. 34; cf. also *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 137.

⁴²⁵ The composite sign  must be considered as a unit; for its use in titles see *ZAS* 93 (1966), 68–69. The sign  has been thought to occur in the title  (Malaise, *CdE* 64 [1989], 117–18), but  is used consistently in this title.

⁴²⁶ For the *zsw-pr* see Yoyotte, *RdE* 9 (1952), 142–44. For the *nht-hrw* see *LD* II, 63 (top register, Yoyotte’s ex. 2, but this detail is not mentioned); Epron et al., *Ti* I, pls. 66, 67, 69 (Yoyotte’s ex. 6). A scene similar to the last also seems to be attested by Louvre E 17499 (Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, no. 59), for which see section 5 above and Fig. 10.

⁴²⁷ Note 1 above, exs. 28, 31. Ex. 33 has *nht-hrw hwt-wrt* “tally man of the lawcourt.”

⁴²⁸ Exs. 25, 27.







⁴²⁹ Ex. 35.






⁴³⁰ Ex. 28. If my reading is correct, this would be the only




example of the title in which the horizontal element is lacking.

⁴³¹ Note 1, exs. 1, 16; in exs. 14 and 25 the name of the pyramid precedes.

⁴³² Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 101 (= *LD* II, 43).

⁴³³ This question is raised by Grdseloff’s statement that  and  are interchanged (*ASAE* 43 [1943], 308), but virtually the only clear example like the present one is the   of Berlin Pap. 8869 (in hieratic, which Smither, *JEA* 28 [1942], 17, transcribes as  ).

⁴³⁴ Goyon, *Kêmi* 15 (1959), 19 and pls. 5 (8), 7 (8). The form of  may be influenced by the preceding term; it less probably represents the plural sign  as in the case of    (W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 11).

⁴³⁵ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, p. 428. The sign in question appears to be ; cf.  for  in pls. 62A1, 82b, 95C.

virtually identical to \equiv , albeit with much clearer evidence for occasionally rounded ends.⁴³⁶ Unlike the case of *smsw h3yt*, however, the determinative is often omitted,⁴³⁷ and does not yet appear in most of the earliest examples, dating to the Fourth Dynasty, although a sarcophagus of that period already shows $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$,⁴³⁸ which is the most usual configuration down to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, when it tended to be rearranged as $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$. Besides $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$ there is also abundant evidence for four other basic variations: $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$,⁴³⁹ $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$,⁴⁴⁰ $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$ / $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$ ⁴⁴¹ and $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$ / $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$.⁴⁴² Contrary to what one might suppose from $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$, these configurations indicate that the horizontal (or vertical) element is associated with \cup , and I believe that it may derive from the crown of the head between the two horns, which is often demarcated in Old Kingdom examples of $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$.⁴⁴³ Whatever its origin may be, the frequent omission of \equiv and its occasional replacement by \square suggest that this feature was neither essential nor well understood. It seems clear, at any rate, that it does not have the same function in $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$ and $\frac{\square}{\underline{\quad}}$, for the former never shows \curvearrowright , despite the very much greater number of examples, and in the latter case this element never takes the form of a vertical stroke.

⁴³⁶ E.g., Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 105; VII, fig. 47 and pl. 27 (a); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* I, pl. 37 (A); Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, pl. 27 (a), Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 8; CG 1732.

⁴³⁷ Ignoring the occasional addition of \curvearrowright , the signs $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$ and $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$ alone occur in the following cases: LD II, pls. 26 (a bis), 34 g, 40 b, 85 b; CG 1413, 1447; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 217; III, fig. 91; IV, fig. 152; VI/3, figs. 59, 119; IX, fig. 32; Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, fig. 39; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 28; Z.Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara* (Cairo, 1957), pl. 19; MMJ 11 (1976), 20, fig. 12; James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 19. With *p* of *pt*: BM 1179 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 39 [2]). With *t* of *mpt*: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 116; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 7; LD II, 37a; Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 44; Hassan, *Giza* I, figs. 132, 136, 142, 144, 162; II, fig. 94; IV, fig. 114; BM 1212 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 13 [1]; BM 1176 (*ibid.*, pl. 39 [3])); Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, fig. 10; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 28; Wild, *Ti* III, pls. 182, 184; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21; Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 134 (IV, 1; corrected); Brooklyn 37.1495E (James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* I, no. 72); Berlin 11573 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 66). With *p* and *t*: Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 58; CG 1425; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 154. With *n* and *t*: Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 49 (3). With *r* $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 28; $\{\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}\}$: Cairo J 56994 (Cherpion, *BIFAO* 82 [1982], pl. 15; \curvearrowright assimilated to \curvearrowright). The latest dated example (Daressy, *loc. cit.*) is Dyn. VI (Teti).

⁴³⁸ Cairo CG 1790; thus in Grébaut, *Le Musée égyptien* I, p. 19, according to Maspero, and this seems correct. Borchartdt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, p. 210, gives the last sign as \curvearrowright ; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 235, has \curvearrowright , with the bottom restored.




⁴³⁹ Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 32; Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 152; *Excavations at Saqqara* II, fig. 34b; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 19; CG 1331; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pl. 29. With *p*: Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 52. With *t*: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 179; Cairo CG 1304; Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 57; Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 143; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pls. 3 (4), 18–19. With *p*, *t*: Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 221.

⁴⁴⁰ Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 9; E. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Berlin 1986), no. 154.

⁴⁴¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 247, 349; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 237; III, fig. 35; VI/3, fig. 9; VII, fig. 38; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr.* I, fig. 270; Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, p. 12; Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 49 (2); Kanawati et al., *Saqqara* I, pl. 27; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pls. 2, 11; CG 1414; 1434, 1484; 1695; BM 527A (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 15 [1]), Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), 303; Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 248, fig. 4; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 33, 41; Moussa, *SAK* 7 (1979), 156; Brooklyn 37.1492E (James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* I, no. 71); Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* II, p. 19 (177); Berlin 7513 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 39).






⁴⁴² CG 1403, 1404, 1420, Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 278, 279 (corrected), 283; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 63 (1); BM 718 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 28); Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, fig. 16; A.M. Moussa and F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz a.R. 1975), illustrs. 1, 2; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnnum*, fig. 4; LD II, pl. 89b (Berlin 1186, *Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 8).




⁴⁴³ Usually $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$ or $\frac{\cup}{\underline{\quad}}$: e.g., Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 46; VI, fig. 32; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 219; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 5, 6, 10; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necr.* I, figs. 258, 263; BM 682 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*², pl. 17), Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pls. 8, 18; Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, figs. 16, 22, 41, 42.

The first reappearance of *smsw h3yt* in the Middle Kingdom, dating to the reign of *Nbt3wy* Mentuhotep, is written  ,⁴⁴⁴ with the gratuitous stroke that became common in the Eleventh Dynasty,⁴⁴⁵ but is otherwise identical to the Old Kingdom writing, except that the proportions of the determinative resemble those of the sign *š* “lake.” I doubt that its subsequent transformation into  provides a clue to its original significance.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions*, no. 52.

⁴⁴⁵ Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, pp. 32–36.

⁴⁴⁶ Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, pp. 60–61*, explains this as a borrowing from   “ceiling,” “sky,” (*ibid.* II, 211*) and says of the Old Kingdom determinatives: “Perhaps  is a log,  a stone roof-beam, while  hints at a wooden

roof.” A log would not be represented with rounded ends, however, and  is not otherwise used as a generic determinative in Old Kingdom titles. And finally, if  represented stone, it would probably be shorter, as in  (O39); moreover it is highly doubtful that a public hall would have had stone beams.

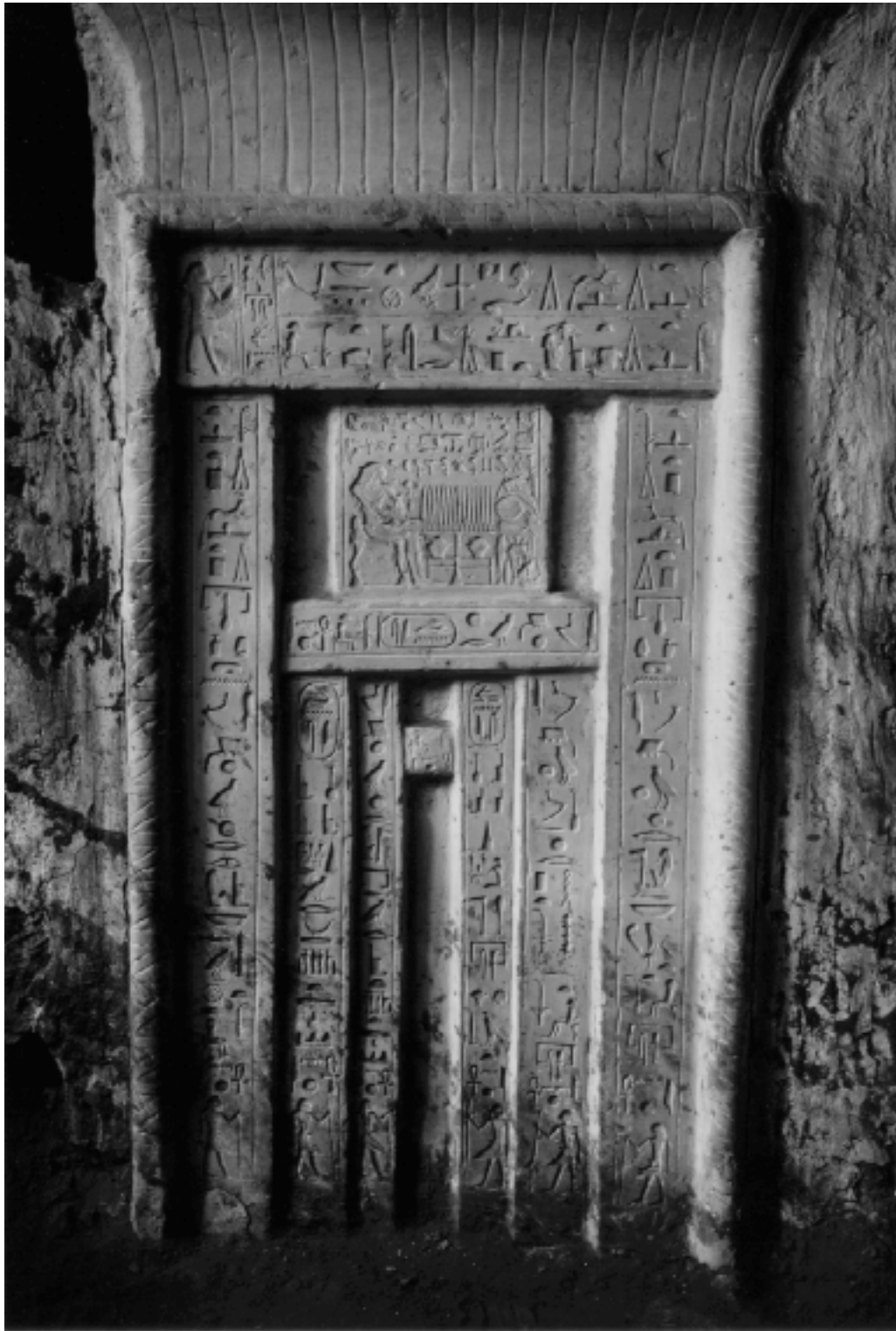


Plate 44. False door at Saqqara
Courtesy Egyptian Antiquities Organization



Plate 45. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, SS 76
Courtesy of the Museum



Plate 46a. Metropolitan Museum 28.9.5
Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1928



Plate 46b. Pectoral of Tutankhamun.
Photography by The Egyptian Expedition
of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

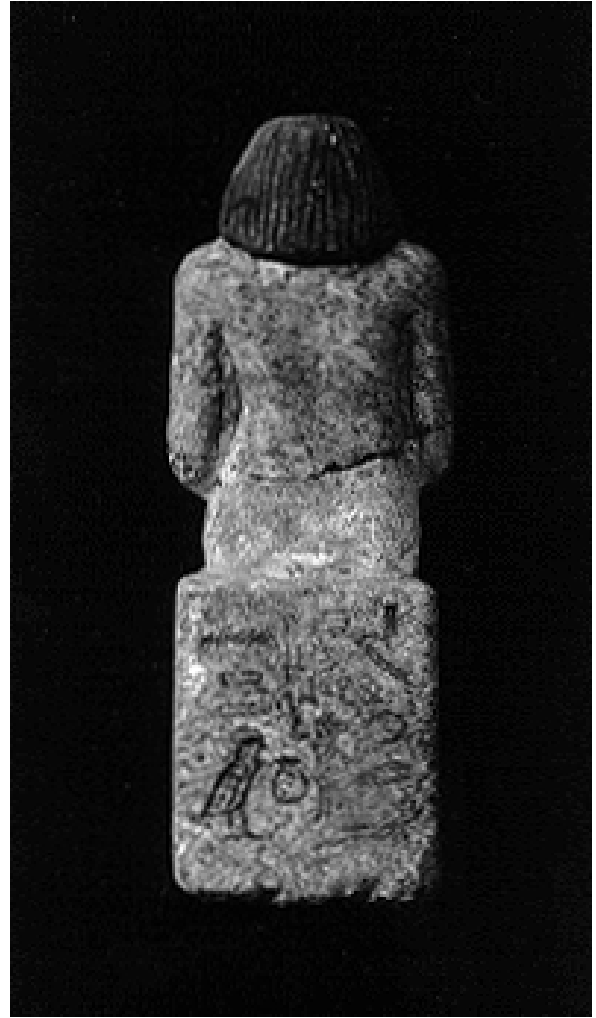
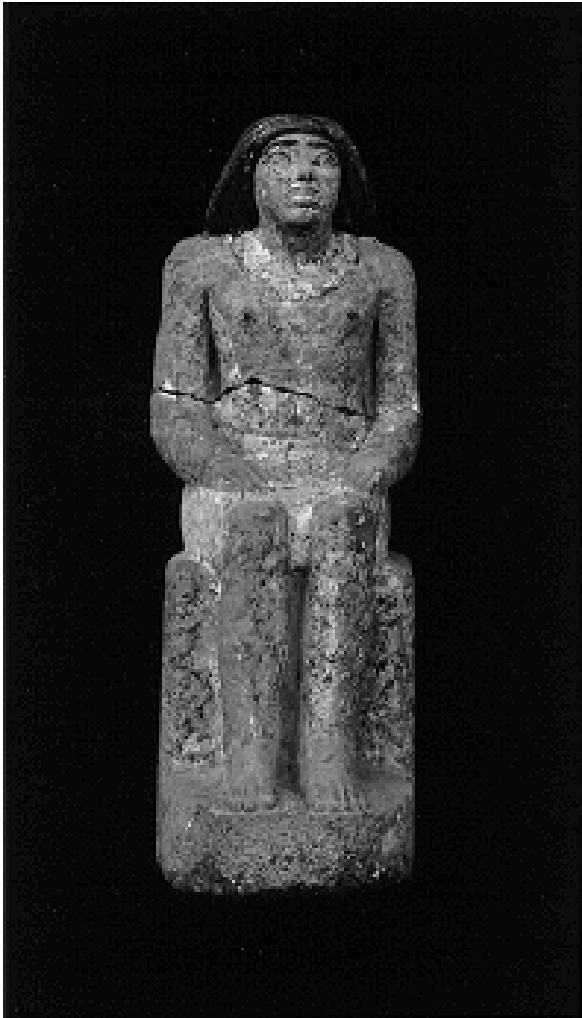


Plate 47. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1877
Courtesy of the Museum

Addenda to *Egyptian Studies* I, II and III

Volume I

p. 7. Another face-to-face embrace, with the couple seated, occurs on a very late Old Kingdom false door in Moscow: Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 24, pp. 60, 62.

p. 12. The detail shown in fig. 12 is misinterpreted; it does not show an incomplete *mnit*-necklace, but the prows of two very unusual boats, as Borchardt has rightly described it in his text; cf. Karl Martin, *CAA, Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, Lieferung 3, Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, pp. 61–63.

pp. 13–14. The title *šd imyw ḥsw* also occurs in Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions*, no. 33, as pointed out in *Orientalia* 60 (1991), 301.

p. 16. I have overlooked a further example of the title *imy-ht hnw izt* in Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 15, as Ogden Goelet has reminded me.


p. 17, n. 51. The restoration must be [⊖] rather than [⊙], despite the sequence of signs.

p. 19. Gerard Roquet has independently discussed this example of *šmt* in *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 119 ff. And Klaus Baer (letter of May 15, 1977) has provided another example from the Second Intermediate Period at El Kab, correcting the third line of the architrave in LD III, 62(a), as follows:





... |𓀀|𓀁|𓀂|𓀃|𓀄|𓀅|𓀆|𓀇|𓀈|𓀉|𓀊|𓀋|𓀌|𓀍|𓀎|𓀏|𓀐|𓀑|𓀒|𓀓|𓀔|𓀕|𓀖|𓀗|𓀘|𓀙|𓀚|𓀛|𓀜|𓀝|𓀞|𓀟|𓀠|𓀡|𓀢|𓀣|𓀤|𓀥|𓀦|𓀧|𓀨|𓀩|𓀪|𓀫|𓀬|𓀭|𓀮|𓀯|𓀰|𓀱|𓀲|𓀳|𓀴|𓀵|𓀶|𓀷|𓀸|𓀹|𓀺|𓀻|𓀼|𓀽|𓀾|𓀿|𓁀|𓁁|𓁂|𓁃|𓁄|𓁅|𓁆|𓁇|𓁈|𓁉|𓁊|𓁋|𓁌|𓁍|𓁎|𓁏|𓁐|𓁑|𓁒|𓁓|𓁔|𓁕|𓁖|𓁗|𓁘|𓁙|𓁚|𓁛|𓁜|𓁝|𓁞|𓁟|𓁠|𓁡|𓁢|𓁣|𓁤|𓁥|𓁦|𓁧|𓁨|𓁩|𓁪|𓁫|𓁬|𓁭|𓁮|𓁯|𓁰|𓁱|𓁲|𓁳|𓁴|𓁵|𓁶|𓁷|𓁸|𓁹|𓁺|𓁻|𓁼|𓁽|𓁾|𓁿|𓂀|𓂁|𓂂|𓂃|𓂄|𓂅|𓂆|𓂇|𓂈|𓂉|𓂊|𓂋|𓂌|𓂍|𓂎|𓂏|𓂐|𓂑|𓂒|𓂓|𓂔|𓂕|𓂖|𓂗|𓂘|𓂙|𓂚|𓂛|𓂜|𓂝|𓂞|𓂟|𓂠|𓂡|𓂢|𓂣|𓂤|𓂥|𓂦|𓂧|𓂨|𓂩|𓂪|𓂫|𓂬|𓂭|𓂮|𓂯|𓂰|𓂱|𓂲|𓂳|𓂴|𓂵|𓂶|𓂷|𓂸|𓂹|𓂺|𓂻|𓂼|𓂽|𓂾|𓂿|𓃀|𓃁|𓃂|𓃃|𓃄|𓃅|𓃆|𓃇|𓃈|𓃉|𓃊|𓃋|𓃌|𓃍|𓃎|𓃏|𓃐|𓃑|𓃒|𓃓|𓃔|𓃕|𓃖|𓃗|𓃘|𓃙|𓃚|𓃛|𓃜|𓃝|𓃞|𓃟|𓃠|𓃡|𓃢|𓃣|𓃤|𓃥|𓃦|𓃧|𓃨|𓃩|𓃪|𓃫|𓃬|𓃭|𓃮|𓃯|𓃰|𓃱|𓃲|𓃳|𓃴|𓃵|𓃶|𓃷|𓃸|𓃹|𓃺|𓃻|𓃼|𓃽|𓃾|𓃿|𓄀|𓄁|𓄂|𓄃|𓄄|𓄅|𓄆|𓄇|𓄈|𓄉|𓄊|𓄋|𓄌|𓄍|𓄎|𓄏|𓄐|𓄑|𓄒|𓄓|𓄔|𓄕|𓄖|𓄗|𓄘|𓄙|𓄚|𓄛|𓄜|𓄝|𓄞|𓄟|𓄠|𓄡|𓄢|𓄣|𓄤|𓄥|𓄦|𓄧|𓄨|𓄩|𓄪|𓄫|𓄬|𓄭|𓄮|𓄯|𓄰|𓄱|𓄲|𓄳|𓄴|𓄵|𓄶|𓄷|𓄸|𓄹|𓄺|𓄻|𓄼|𓄽|𓄾|𓄿|𓅀|𓅁|𓅂|𓅃|𓅄|𓅅|𓅆|𓅇|𓅈|𓅉|𓅊|𓅋|𓅌|𓅍|𓅎|𓅏|𓅐|𓅑|𓅒|𓅓|𓅔|𓅕|𓅖|𓅗|𓅘|𓅙|𓅚|𓅛|𓅜|𓅝|𓅞|𓅟|𓅠|𓅡|𓅢|𓅣|𓅤|𓅥|𓅦|𓅧|𓅨|𓅩|𓅪|𓅫|𓅬|𓅭|𓅮|𓅯|𓅰|𓅱|𓅲|𓅳|𓅴|𓅵|𓅶|𓅷|𓅸|𓅹|𓅺|𓅻|𓅼|𓅽|𓅾|𓅿|𓆀|𓆁|𓆂|𓆃|𓆄|𓆅|𓆆|𓆇|𓆈|𓆉|𓆊|𓆋|𓆌|𓆍|𓆎|𓆏|𓆐|𓆑|𓆒|𓆓|𓆔|𓆕|𓆖|𓆗|𓆘|𓆙|𓆚|𓆛|𓆜|𓆝|𓆞|𓆟|𓆠|𓆡|𓆢|𓆣|𓆤|𓆥|𓆦|𓆧|𓆨|𓆩|𓆪|𓆫|𓆬|𓆭|𓆮|𓆯|𓆰|𓆱|𓆲|𓆳|𓆴|𓆵|𓆶|𓆷|𓆸|𓆹|𓆺|𓆻|𓆼|𓆽|𓆾|𓆿|𓇀|𓇁|𓇂|𓇃|𓇄|𓇅|𓇆|𓇇|𓇈|𓇉|𓇊|𓇋|𓇌|𓇍|𓇎|𓇏|𓇐|𓇑|𓇒|𓇓|𓇔|𓇕|𓇖|𓇗|𓇘|𓇙|𓇚|𓇛|𓇜|𓇝|𓇞|𓇟|𓇠|𓇡|𓇢|𓇣|𓇤|𓇥|𓇦|𓇧|𓇨|𓇩|𓇪|𓇫|𓇬|𓇭|𓇮|𓇯|𓇰|𓇱|𓇲|𓇳|𓇴|𓇵|𓇶|𓇷|𓇸|𓇹|𓇺|𓇻|𓇼|𓇽|𓇾|𓇿|𓈀|𓈁|𓈂|𓈃|𓈄|𓈅|𓈆|𓈇|𓈈|𓈉|𓈊|𓈋|𓈌|𓈍|𓈎|𓈏|𓈐|𓈑|𓈒|𓈓|𓈔|𓈕|𓈖|𓈗|𓈘|𓈙|𓈚|𓈛|𓈜|𓈝|𓈞|𓈟|𓈠|𓈡|𓈢|𓈣|𓈤|𓈥|𓈦|𓈧|𓈨|𓈩|𓈪|𓈫|𓈬|𓈭|𓈮|𓈯|𓈰|𓈱|𓈲|𓈳|𓈴|𓈵|𓈶|𓈷|𓈸|𓈹|𓈺|𓈻|𓈼|𓈽|𓈾|𓈿|𓉀|𓉁|𓉂|𓉃|𓉄|𓉅|𓉆|𓉇|𓉈|𓉉|𓉊|𓉋|𓉌|𓉍|𓉎|𓉏|𓉐|𓉑|𓉒|𓉓|𓉔|𓉕|𓉖|𓉗|𓉘|𓉙|𓉚|𓉛|𓉜|𓉝|𓉞|𓉟|𓉠|𓉡|𓉢|𓉣|𓉤|𓉥|𓉦|𓉧|𓉨|𓉩|𓉪|𓉫|𓉬|𓉭|𓉮|𓉯|𓉰|𓉱|𓉲|𓉳|𓉴|𓉵|𓉶|𓉷|𓉸|𓉹|𓉺|𓉻|𓉼|𓉽|𓉾|𓉿|𓊀|𓊁|𓊂|𓊃|𓊄|𓊅|𓊆|𓊇|𓊈|𓊉|𓊊|𓊋|𓊌|𓊍|𓊎|𓊏|𓊐|𓊑|𓊒|𓊓|𓊔|𓊕|𓊖|𓊗|𓊘|𓊙|𓊚|𓊛|𓊜|𓊝|𓊞|𓊟|𓊠|𓊡|𓊢|𓊣|𓊤|𓊥|𓊦|𓊧|𓊨|𓊩|𓊪|𓊫|𓊬|𓊭|𓊮|𓊯|𓊰|𓊱|𓊲|𓊳|𓊴|𓊵|𓊶|𓊷|𓊸|𓊹|𓊺|𓊻|𓊼|𓊽|𓊾|𓊿|𓋀|𓋁|𓋂|𓋃|𓋄|𓋅|𓋆|𓋇|𓋈|𓋉|𓋊|𓋋|𓋌|𓋍|𓋎|𓋏|𓋐|𓋑|𓋒|𓋓|𓋔|𓋕|𓋖|𓋗|𓋘|𓋙|𓋚|𓋛|𓋜|𓋝|𓋞|𓋟|𓋠|𓋡|𓋢|𓋣|𓋤|𓋥|𓋦|𓋧|𓋨|𓋩|𓋪|𓋫|𓋬|𓋭|𓋮|𓋯|𓋰|𓋱|𓋲|𓋳|𓋴|𓋵|𓋶|𓋷|𓋸|𓋹|𓋺|𓋻|𓋼|𓋽|𓋾|𓋿|𓌀|𓌁|𓌂|𓌃|𓌄|𓌅|𓌆|𓌇|𓌈|𓌉|𓌊|𓌋|𓌌|𓌍|𓌎|𓌏|𓌐|𓌑|𓌒|𓌓|𓌔|𓌕|𓌖|𓌗|𓌘|𓌙|𓌚|𓌛|𓌜|𓌝|𓌞|𓌟|𓌠|𓌡|𓌢|𓌣|𓌤|𓌥|𓌦|𓌧|𓌨|𓌩|𓌪|𓌫|𓌬|𓌭|𓌮|𓌯|𓌰|𓌱|𓌲|𓌳|𓌴|𓌵|𓌶|𓌷|𓌸|𓌹|𓌺|𓌻|𓌼|𓌽|𓌾|𓌿|𓍀|𓍁|𓍂|𓍃|𓍄|𓍅|𓍆|𓍇|𓍈|𓍉|𓍊|𓍋|𓍌|𓍍|𓍎|𓍏|𓍐|𓍑|𓍒|𓍓|𓍔|𓍕|𓍖|𓍗|𓍘|𓍙|𓍚|𓍛|𓍜|𓍝|𓍞|𓍟|𓍠|𓍡|𓍢|𓍣|𓍤|𓍥|𓍦|𓍧|𓍨|𓍩|𓍪|𓍫|𓍬|𓍭|𓍮|𓍯|𓍰|𓍱|𓍲|𓍳|𓍴|𓍵|𓍶|𓍷|𓍸|𓍹|𓍺|𓍻|𓍼|𓍽|𓍾|𓍿|𓎀|𓎁|𓎂|𓎃|𓎄|𓎅|𓎆|𓎇|𓎈|𓎉|𓎊|𓎋|𓎌|𓎍|𓎎|𓎏|𓎐|𓎑|𓎒|𓎓|𓎔|𓎕|𓎖|𓎗|𓎘|𓎙|𓎚|𓎛|𓎜|𓎝|𓎞|𓎟|𓎠|𓎡|𓎢|𓎣|𓎤|𓎥|𓎦|𓎧|𓎨|𓎩|𓎪|𓎫|𓎬|𓎭|𓎮|𓎯|𓎰|𓎱|𓎲|𓎳|𓎴|𓎵|𓎶|𓎷|𓎸|𓎹|𓎺|𓎻|𓎼|𓎽|𓎾|𓎿|𓏀|𓏁|𓏂|𓏃|𓏄|𓏅|𓏆|𓏇|𓏈|𓏉|𓏊|𓏋|𓏌|𓏍|𓏎|𓏏|𓏐|𓏑|𓏒|𓏓|𓏔|𓏕|𓏖|𓏗|𓏘|𓏙|𓏚|𓏛|𓏜|𓏝|𓏞|𓏟|𓏠|𓏡|𓏢|𓏣|𓏤|𓏥|𓏦|𓏧|𓏨|𓏩|𓏪|𓏫|𓏬|𓏭|𓏮|𓏯|𓏰|𓏱|𓏲|𓏳|𓏴|𓏵|𓏶|𓏷|𓏸|𓏹|𓏺|𓏻|𓏼|𓏽|𓏾|𓏿|𓐀|𓐁|𓐂|𓐃|𓐄|𓐅|𓐆|𓐇|𓐈|𓐉|𓐊|𓐋|𓐌|𓐍|𓐎|𓐏|𓐐|𓐑|𓐒|𓐓|𓐔|𓐕|𓐖|𓐗|𓐘|𓐙|𓐚|𓐛|𓐜|𓐝|𓐞|𓐟|𓐠|𓐡|𓐢|𓐣|𓐤|𓐥|𓐦|𓐧|𓐨|𓐩|𓐪|𓐫|𓐬|𓐭|𓐮|𓐯|𓐰|𓐱|𓐲|𓐳|𓐴|𓐵|𓐶|𓐷|𓐸|𓐹|𓐺|𓐻|𓐼|𓐽|𓐾|𓐿|𓑀|𓑁|𓑂|𓑃|𓑄|𓑅|𓑆|𓑇|𓑈|𓑉|𓑊|𓑋|𓑌|𓑍|𓑎|𓑏|𓑐|𓑑|𓑒|𓑓|𓑔|𓑕|𓑖|𓑗|𓑘|𓑙|𓑚|𓑛|𓑜|𓑝|𓑞|𓑟|𓑠|𓑡|𓑢|𓑣|𓑤|𓑥|𓑦|𓑧|𓑨|𓑩|𓑪|𓑫|𓑬|𓑭|𓑮|𓑯|𓑰|𓑱|𓑲|𓑳|𓑴|𓑵|𓑶|𓑷|𓑸|𓑹|𓑺|𓑻|𓑼|𓑽|𓑾|𓑿|𓒀|𓒁|𓒂|𓒃|𓒄|𓒅|𓒆|𓒇|𓒈|𓒉|𓒊|𓒋|𓒌|𓒍|𓒎|𓒏|𓒐|𓒑|𓒒|𓒓|𓒔|𓒕|𓒖|𓒗|𓒘|𓒙|𓒚|𓒛|𓒜|𓒝|𓒞|𓒟|𓒠|𓒡|𓒢|𓒣|𓒤|𓒥|𓒦|𓒧|𓒨|𓒩|𓒪|𓒫|𓒬|𓒭|𓒮|𓒯|𓒰|𓒱|𓒲|𓒳|𓒴|𓒵|𓒶|𓒷|𓒸|𓒹|𓒺|𓒻|𓒼|𓒽|𓒾|𓒿|𓓀|𓓁|𓓂|𓓃|𓓄|𓓅|𓓆|𓓇|𓓈|𓓉|𓓊|𓓋|𓓌|𓓍|𓓎|𓓏|𓓐|𓓑|𓓒|𓓓|𓓔|𓓕|𓓖|𓓗|𓓘|𓓙|𓓚|𓓛|𓓜|𓓝|𓓞|𓓟|𓓠|𓓡|𓓢|𓓣|𓓤|𓓥|𓓦|𓓧|𓓨|𓓩|𓓪|𓓫|𓓬|𓓭|𓓮|𓓯|𓓰|𓓱|𓓲|𓓳|𓓴|𓓵|𓓶|𓓷|𓓸|𓓹|𓓺|𓓻|𓓼|𓓽|𓓾|𓓿|𓔀|𓔁|𓔂|𓔃|𓔄|𓔅|𓔆|𓔇|𓔈|𓔉|𓔊|𓔋|𓔌|𓔍|𓔎|𓔏|𓔐|𓔑|𓔒|𓔓|𓔔|𓔕|𓔖|𓔗|𓔘|𓔙|𓔚|𓔛|𓔜|𓔝|𓔞|𓔟|𓔠|𓔡|𓔢|𓔣|𓔤|𓔥|𓔦|𓔧|𓔨|𓔩|𓔪|𓔫|𓔬|𓔭|𓔮|𓔯|𓔰|𓔱|𓔲|𓔳|𓔴|𓔵|𓔶|𓔷|𓔸|𓔹|𓔺|𓔻|𓔼|𓔽|𓔾|𓔿|𓕀|𓕁|𓕂|𓕃|𓕄|𓕅|𓕆|𓕇|𓕈|𓕉|𓕊|𓕋|𓕌|𓕍|𓕎|𓕏|𓕐|𓕑|𓕒|𓕓|𓕔|𓕕|𓕖|𓕗|𓕘|𓕙|𓕚|𓕛|𓕜|𓕝|𓕞|𓕟|𓕠|𓕡|𓕢|𓕣|𓕤|𓕥|𓕦|𓕧|𓕨|𓕩|𓕪|𓕫|𓕬|𓕭|𓕮|𓕯|𓕰|𓕱|𓕲|𓕳|𓕴|𓕵|𓕶|𓕷|𓕸|𓕹|𓕺|𓕻|𓕼|𓕽|𓕾|𓕿|𓖀|𓖁|𓖂|𓖃|𓖄|𓖅|𓖆|𓖇|𓖈|𓖉|𓖊|𓖋|𓖌|𓖍|𓖎|𓖏|𓖐|𓖑|𓖒|𓖓|𓖔|𓖕|𓖖|𓖗|𓖘|𓖙|𓖚|𓖛|𓖜|𓖝|𓖞|𓖟|𓖠|𓖡|𓖢|𓖣|𓖤|𓖥|𓖦|𓖧|𓖨|𓖩|𓖪|𓖫|𓖬|𓖭|𓖮|𓖯|𓖰|𓖱|𓖲|𓖳|𓖴|𓖵|𓖶|𓖷|𓖸|𓖹|𓖺|𓖻|𓖼|𓖽|𓖾|𓖿|𓗀|𓗁|𓗂|𓗃|𓗄|𓗅|𓗆|𓗇|𓗈|𓗉|𓗊|𓗋|𓗌|𓗍|𓗎|𓗏|𓗐|𓗑|𓗒|𓗓|𓗔|𓗕|𓗖|𓗗|𓗘|𓗙|𓗚|𓗛|𓗜|𓗝|𓗞|𓗟|𓗠|𓗡|𓗢|𓗣|𓗤|𓗥|𓗦|𓗧|𓗨|𓗩|𓗪|𓗫|𓗬|𓗭|𓗮|𓗯|𓗰|𓗱|𓗲|𓗳|𓗴|𓗵|𓗶|𓗷|𓗸|𓗹|𓗺|𓗻|𓗼|𓗽|𓗾|𓗿|𓘀|𓘁|𓘂|𓘃|𓘄|𓘅|𓘆|𓘇|𓘈|𓘉|𓘊|𓘋|𓘌|𓘍|𓘎|𓘏|𓘐|𓘑|𓘒|𓘓|𓘔|𓘕|𓘖|𓘗|𓘘|𓘙|𓘚|𓘛|𓘜|𓘝|𓘞|𓘟|𓘠|𓘡|𓘢|𓘣|𓘤|𓘥|𓘦|𓘧|𓘨|𓘩|𓘪|𓘫|𓘬|𓘭|𓘮|𓘯|𓘰|𓘱|𓘲|𓘳|𓘴|𓘵|𓘶|𓘷|𓘸|𓘹|𓘺|𓘻|𓘼|𓘽|𓘾|𓘿|𓙀|𓙁|𓙂|𓙃|𓙄|𓙅|𓙆|𓙇|𓙈|𓙉|𓙊|𓙋|𓙌|𓙍|𓙎|𓙏|𓙐|𓙑|𓙒|𓙓|𓙔|𓙕|𓙖|𓙗|𓙘|𓙙|𓙚|𓙛|𓙜|𓙝|𓙞|𓙟|𓙠|𓙡|𓙢|𓙣|𓙤|𓙥|𓙦|𓙧|𓙨|𓙩|𓙪|𓙫|𓙬|𓙭|𓙮|𓙯|𓙰|𓙱|𓙲|𓙳|𓙴|𓙵|𓙶|𓙷|𓙸|𓙹|𓙺|𓙻|𓙼|𓙽|𓙾|𓙿|𓚀|𓚁|𓚂|𓚃|𓚄|𓚅|𓚆|𓚇|𓚈|𓚉|𓚊|𓚋|𓚌|𓚍|𓚎|𓚏|𓚐|𓚑|𓚒|𓚓|𓚔|𓚕|𓚖|𓚗|𓚘|𓚙|𓚚|𓚛|𓚜|𓚝|𓚞|𓚟|𓚠|𓚡|𓚢|𓚣|𓚤|𓚥|𓚦|𓚧|𓚨|𓚩|𓚪|𓚫|𓚬|𓚭|𓚮|𓚯|𓚰|𓚱|𓚲|𓚳|𓚴|𓚵|𓚶|𓚷|𓚸|𓚹|𓚺|𓚻|𓚼|𓚽|𓚾|𓚿|𓛀|𓛁|𓛂|𓛃|𓛄|𓛅|𓛆|𓛇|𓛈|𓛉|𓛊|𓛋|𓛌|𓛍|𓛎|𓛏|𓛐|𓛑|𓛒|𓛓|𓛔|𓛕|𓛖|𓛗|𓛘|𓛙|𓛚|𓛛|𓛜|𓛝|𓛞|𓛟|𓛠|𓛡|𓛢|𓛣|𓛤|𓛥|𓛦|𓛧|𓛨|𓛩|𓛪|𓛫|𓛬|𓛭|𓛮|𓛯|𓛰|𓛱|𓛲|𓛳|𓛴|𓛵|𓛶|𓛷|𓛸|𓛹|𓛺|𓛻|𓛼|𓛽|𓛾|𓛿|𓜀|𓜁|𓜂|𓜃|𓜄|𓜅|𓜆|𓜇|𓜈|𓜉|𓜊|𓜋|𓜌|𓜍|𓜎|𓜏|𓜐|𓜑|𓜒|𓜓|𓜔|𓜕|𓜖|𓜗|𓜘|𓜙|𓜚|𓜛|𓜜|𓜝|𓜞|𓜟|𓜠|𓜡|𓜢|𓜣|𓜤|𓜥|𓜦|𓜧|𓜨|𓜩|𓜪|𓜫|𓜬|𓜭|𓜮|𓜯|𓜰|𓜱|𓜲|𓜳|𓜴|𓜵|𓜶|𓜷|𓜸|𓜹|𓜺|𓜻|𓜼|𓜽|𓜾|𓜿|𓝀|𓝁|𓝂|𓝃|𓝄|𓝅|𓝆|𓝇|𓝈|𓝉|𓝊|𓝋|𓝌|𓝍|𓝎|𓝏|𓝐|𓝑|𓝒|𓝓|𓝔|𓝕|𓝖|𓝗|𓝘|𓝙|𓝚|𓝛|𓝜|𓝝|𓝞|𓝟|𓝠|𓝡|𓝢|𓝣|𓝤|𓝥|𓝦|𓝧|𓝨|𓝩|𓝪|𓝫|𓝬|𓝭|𓝮|𓝯|𓝰|𓝱|𓝲|𓝳|𓝴|𓝵|𓝶|𓝷|𓝸|𓝹|𓝺|𓝻|𓝼|𓝽|𓝾|𓝿|𓞀|𓞁|𓞂|𓞃|𓞄|𓞅|𓞆|𓞇|𓞈|𓞉|𓞊|𓞋|𓞌|𓞍|𓞎|𓞏|𓞐|𓞑|𓞒|𓞓|𓞔|𓞕|𓞖|𓞗|𓞘|𓞙|𓞚|𓞛|𓞜|𓞝|𓞞|𓞟|𓞠|𓞡|𓞢|𓞣|𓞤|𓞥|𓞦|𓞧|𓞨|𓞩|𓞪|𓞫|𓞬|𓞭|𓞮|𓞯|𓞰|𓞱|𓞲|𓞳|𓞴|𓞵|𓞶|𓞷|𓞸|𓞹|𓞺|𓞻|𓞼|𓞽|𓞾|𓞿|𓟀|𓟁|𓟂|𓟃|𓟄|𓟅|𓟆|𓟇|𓟈|𓟉|𓟊|𓟋|𓟌|𓟍|𓟎|𓟏|𓟐|𓟑|𓟒|𓟓|𓟔|𓟕|𓟖|𓟗|𓟘|𓟙|𓟚|𓟛|𓟜|𓟝|𓟞|𓟟|𓟠|𓟡|𓟢|𓟣|𓟤|𓟥|𓟦|𓟧|𓟨|𓟩|𓟪|𓟫|𓟬|𓟭|𓟮|𓟯|𓟰|𓟱|𓟲|𓟳|𓟴|𓟵|𓟶|𓟷|𓟸|𓟹|𓟺|𓟻|𓟼|𓟽|𓟾|𓟿|𓠀|𓠁|𓠂|𓠃|𓠄|𓠅|𓠆|𓠇|𓠈|𓠉|𓠊|𓠋|𓠌|𓠍|𓠎|𓠏|𓠐|𓠑|𓠒|𓠓|𓠔|𓠕|𓠖|𓠗|𓠘|𓠙|𓠚|𓠛|𓠜|𓠝|𓠞|𓠟|𓠠|𓠡|𓠢|𓠣|𓠤|𓠥|𓠦|𓠧|𓠨|𓠩|𓠪|𓠫|𓠬|𓠭|𓠮|𓠯|𓠰|𓠱|𓠲|𓠳|𓠴|𓠵|𓠶|𓠷|𓠸|𓠹|𓠺|𓠻|𓠼|𓠽|𓠾|𓠿|𓡀|𓡁|𓡂|𓡃|𓡄|𓡅|𓡆|𓡇|𓡈|𓡉|𓡊|𓡋|𓡌|𓡍|𓡎|𓡏|𓡐|𓡑|𓡒|𓡓|𓡔|𓡕|𓡖|𓡗|𓡘|𓡙|𓡚|𓡛|𓡜|𓡝|𓡞|𓡟|𓡠|𓡡|𓡢|𓡣|𓡤|𓡥|𓡦|𓡧|𓡨|𓡩|𓡪|𓡫|𓡬|𓡭|𓡮|𓡯|𓡰|𓡱|𓡲|𓡳|𓡴|𓡵|𓡶|𓡷|𓡸|𓡹|𓡺|𓡻|𓡼|𓡽|𓡾|𓡿|𓢀|𓢁|𓢂|𓢃|𓢄|𓢅|𓢆|𓢇|𓢈|𓢉|𓢊|𓢋|𓢌|𓢍|𓢎|𓢏|𓢐|𓢑|𓢒|𓢓|𓢔|𓢕|𓢖|𓢗|𓢘|𓢙|𓢚|𓢛|𓢜|𓢝|𓢞|𓢟|𓢠|𓢡|𓢢|𓢣|𓢤|𓢥|𓢦|𓢧|𓢨|𓢩|𓢪|𓢫|𓢬|𓢭|𓢮|𓢯|𓢰|𓢱|𓢲|𓢳|𓢴|𓢵|𓢶|𓢷|𓢸|𓢹|𓢺|𓢻|𓢼|𓢽|𓢾|𓢿|𓣀|𓣁|𓣂|𓣃|𓣄|𓣅|𓣆|𓣇|𓣈|𓣉|𓣊|𓣋|𓣌|𓣍|𓣎|𓣏|𓣐|𓣑|𓣒|𓣓|𓣔|𓣕|𓣖|𓣗|𓣘|𓣙|𓣚|𓣛|𓣜|𓣝|𓣞|𓣟|𓣠|𓣡|𓣢|𓣣|𓣤|𓣥|𓣦|𓣧|𓣨|𓣩|𓣪|𓣫|𓣬|𓣭|𓣮|𓣯|𓣰|𓣱|𓣲|𓣳|𓣴|𓣵|𓣶|𓣷|𓣸|𓣹|𓣺|𓣻|𓣼|𓣽|𓣾|𓣿|𓤀|𓤁|𓤂|𓤃|𓤄|𓤅|𓤆|𓤇|𓤈|𓤉|𓤊|𓤋|𓤌|𓤍|𓤎|𓤏|𓤐|𓤑|𓤒|𓤓|𓤔|𓤕|𓤖|𓤗|𓤘|𓤙


pp. 52–53. Wolfgang Schenkel comments further on writings of *imsh* in *BiOr* 35 (1978), 43–44, and especially those of somewhat later date than the Old Kingdom.

p. 60. Wm. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut 1986), p. 22, offers a different interpretation of the acrostic text at the bottom of my fig. 1; this is countered in *GM* 128 (1992), 78–79.

p. 61 and n. 10. A Heracleopolitan stela, Cairo J 91098 (J. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 [1975], 72, fig. 11; Perez Die, *Archéologia* 225 [June 1987], 43) has  as the determinative of *shwt* “fields.”

p. 64. The Memphite high priest *Nfr-tm*, the fourth of those shown on pl. 18, is mentioned as the owner of a fragmentary block statue in the Newark Museum, New Jersey, no. EG 29.1806, as indicated by Herman De Meulenaere and Bernard Bothmer. He is evidently to be added to the end of the list on p. 66.


pp. 66–67. Didier Devauchelle (*RdE* 43 [1992], 205–207), defends De Meulenaere’s idea that the second element of the title  refers to Ptah; and, on the basis of an abridged form of the title in demotic, concludes that the reading is *wr hmww(t)* and that  is to be read *wr hmww(t)* *nb*. This will scarcely seem credible to anyone who is thoroughly familiar with the use of  and  in Old Kingdom titles.

pp. 70–71. To title (5) add another (5a):  “overseer of the ornaments,” from the same source, but hardly visible on the plate. Cf. my *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom* (New York 1989), n. 126; further remarks on women’s titles are to be found on pp. 9–17 of this monograph.

To the evidence for title (17) one should probably add an incomplete example in Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p. 16, fig. 12, where only [*h*] *nrt* is preserved before the name.

To titles (18–19) add another referring to dancers: (19a) *sbst* “instructress,” *JEA* 67 (1981), 168 and fig. 2.

To the evidence for title (22) add Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 11.

Title (24) must be reconsidered in view of the occurrence of *in^t* as a separate title on a false door from Giza. My drawing of it (Fig. 1) has been made from a slide kindly supplied by the excavator, Zahi Hawass, who has also given me permission to publish it. Since it is evidently no later than Dyn. V, this example shows that the determinative (Fig. 2) is not, as I had supposed, a late variant of . And since the title *in^t* is applied to a gentlewoman who has the title *rht-nswt*, it is difficult to believe it designates so menial an occupation as an ordinary weaver, yet the coiffure of the determinative suggests the end of a kerchief such as is sometimes worn by female workers (e.g., Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 219). The interpretation of this detail remains somewhat doubtful, however, since the end of the kerchief usually falls

Volume II

p. 7, n. 22. Further evidence is provided by a bronze statue of Dyn. XXII, which shows the left leg advanced as usual, but has the right hand raised to hold a staff: Leclant et al., *Les Pharaons: L'Égypte du crépuscule* (Paris 1980), fig. 109, p. 127. This readjustment evidently reverts to reality; cf. *LÄV*, col. 190.

p. 28, n. 68. Add an Old Kingdom false door, CG 1727, exceptionally inscribed on both sides, both showing normal rightward orientation.

p. 39, n. 110. The reference for Gunn's statement is *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 171, n. 2.

p. 47 and n. 121. Further Old Kingdom evidence for the prevalence of dominant rightward orientation may be found in the pair of scenes shown in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pls. 36, 42, as noted in *LÄV*, col. 191, n. 13.


p. 49. Another example, probably a little later than the Old Kingdom, is to be found in Kanawati, *El-Hawawish I*, pl. 19 and fig. 8, where the painter *Sni* faces right, and the statement he makes is reversed, the signs facing leftward.

A Twelfth Dynasty example, on the elaborately painted coffin published by E.L.B. Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom* (New York 1968), pls. 1, 10, where, in opposition to the list of offerings that follows it, a column of signs is reversed, beginning "recitation by the lector priest . . ."

There is also a Nineteenth Dynasty example in which a document is read, with the reader facing right and the signs in his text oriented leftward; the text is the list of kings in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, read by Prince Ramesses: Jean Capart and Marcelle Werbrouck, *Memphis* (Brussels 1930), fig. 110, p. 114; for other references see *PM VI*, p. 25.

p. 56. Although it is no longer certain that the further development of retrograde inscriptions will be followed in the present series, my principal conclusions are presented in *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1986), pp. 105–28.

p. 73, § 27. A similar example is to be found in Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VII*, fig. 21. Where a columnar legend in front of the deceased describes him "viewing the lassoing of the wild beasts of the desert," and the signs of  "beasts" are reversed.

But the example in my own fig. 74 must be eliminated, for the sign  has proven not to be reversed, as may be seen from Kent Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000* (Boston 1994), fig. 26 and pl. 12(b).

p. 91, n. 231. See Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsileh I*, p. 31, n. 6, where the passage in question is translated: "The doer is I."

p. 97, n. 256. For the phrase for queen and god see Naville, *Deir el Bahari* II, pl. 27, V, pl. 132).

p. 110. In his review, *BiOr* 37 (1980), 27, Pascal Vernus points out that it is not *Hr-Inhrt* to whom the suffix pronoun of *hmt.f* refers, but his father *Nfr-htp*, who is named on the opposite side. Thus this case does not constitute an exception.

p. 145 (g). The number of the Dendera stela is 29-66-693, as noted on p. 103 above, n. 103.

Addenda to this Volume

p. 32. There seem to be further traces of signs at the end of the inscription on the proper right, and these possibly add the epithet “possessor of reverence” (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏?).

p. 215 and n. 288. For another exception from Giza see Ann Macy Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants* (Boston 1995), pls. 103a, 191. This also shows the absence of a horizontal attachment at the bottom, mentioned on my p. 216, n. 295.

INDEX

A. Personal Names

(Feminine names are so indicated by the addition of [f.], and rejected readings by [*]. Also note that the weak ending of *3ae inf. verbs* is omitted.)

- šhi* (Saqqara), 6, n. 39
šh-Nbtj, 62
šw-Pth, 67, n. 189
šw-n(.i)-Pth, 67
šw-n-Pth, 67
šm-Nt, 62
šw (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
 **š-n(.i)-Dhwty*, 203–204
š-Nfirt, 66
š-hr-nfirt (Berlin 1204), 103, 104
š-k3(.i), 57, n. 34
 **š-Dhwty*, 204
šy-mry, 104
šy, 182
št (f.), 182
šw-f-n(.i) (Saqqara), 23, 24
šw-f-n(.i).t (f.) (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 17, 23, comment 1, 24, 38, Pl. 4
 **šw-f-n-^cnh* (f.), 70
šw-f-n-mwt, 61
šw-n.f-št.f, 61, n. 75, 69, n. 206
šw-n.f-mwt.f, 61, n. 75, 69, n. 206
šw-n.s-št.s (f.), 69, 71, n. 231
šw.s-n(.i) (f.), 23
šwt-n.i-Pth, 66
šwn-Mnw, 48, n. 39
šwn-R^c, 48, n. 39
šwn-K3(.i), 48, n. 39
šb (Saqqara), 2
šbi (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
šb-š^c (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
šp (El Saff), 24, 221
špi (MMA 28.9.5), 207, 235, Pl. 46a
špi (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 17, 23, comment n, 24, 38, Pl. 4
špi (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 17, 24, comment r, 38, Pl. 4
špwt (f.), 219
šfi (f.), 68, n. 198, 70
šmpty, 59, 227
šm-n(.i)-šb(.i), 68, n. 194
šm-šhr, 68, n. 194
šn (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
šni, 203–204
šn-št.f, 83, 84, Fig. 4, 90, Pl. 10, 97, n. 26, 102, Pl. 14
šn-št.f-šqr, 149
šnt-k3.s, 112, 113, Fig. 1
šnw (f.), 108
šnpw-htp, 63
šri-k3(.i), 216
šrw (f.), 84, Fig. 4, 90, Pl. 10
šrn-Hnmw (Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet 11415), 8, 12, Pl. 3b
 **šrn.s*, 21, n. 58
šrn-k3-Pth, 33
šrn-k3(.i)-Pth, 59, n. 50
šrn-k3-Pth, 33
 **šrt* (Saqqara), 7
šrt-Pth, 7
šrt-Nfirtm (Copenhagen 5129), 8, 10–11, Pls. 1–2
šty (Saqqara), 4, 5, nn. 34, 36
šty-n.s (f.), 60–61
šty-m-šw-Mryr^c, 73, n. 8
šty-hw.f, 60–61
šthhi (*Hnty-k3*) (Saqqara), 1, 3, Fig. 1
šzi (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
šzi (Louvre C 164), 5, n. 29, 18
šk (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
šti, 147, n. 24
št(.i)-nn, 205, 206, Fig. 14
št(.j)-nn, 205, n. 219
št(.f)-nn, 205, n. 219
šty.s-n(.i), 71, n. 231
š3-Hr (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
š3-Sbk, 127
š3-Hth^r, 64
šn (m., f.), 125, 126, 128, Fig. 2, 134, Pl. 21, 137, Pl. 24
šnh, 57
šnh(.i)-m-Mn-nfr, 73, n. 8
šnhw, 123
šnhwy-Pth, 61, n. 79
šnh-št.i (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
šnh-Ppy-m-Mn-nfr, 73, n. 8, 74
šnh-Ppy, 59

- ḥnh-Pth*, 60
ḥnh-m-ḥnnt, 74
ḥnh-n(.i)-it(.i), 56, n. 6
ḥnh-n(.i)-ntr(.i), 56, n. 7
ḥnh-Nbw, 64
ḥnh-n.f-Inpw, 69
ḥnh-n.f-it.f, 69
ḥnh-n.f-nb(.i), 69
ḥnh-n-nb.f, 69, n. 209
ḥnh-n[.s]-it.s, 79, n. 1
ḥnh-n.s-Ppy, 74, n. 11
ḥnh-n.s-Mryr^c, 74, n. 11
ḥnh-ḥs.f (Giza G 2011), 19, n. 32
ḥnh-R^c-ḥ^c.f (Giza G 7948), 92, n. 8
ḥnh-Hth^r, 64
ḥnhḥw (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
ḥnh-swt-NN (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 16, 21–23, comment k, 24, 38, Pl. 4
ḥnhty.fy, 86
ḥnht-wḥm (f.), 65, nn. 164–65
ḥnht-k₃ (f.), 65, n. 165
ḥšyt (f.), 96, n. 22
Wsh-ḥnh In-it.f, 4, 88
Wšš-Pth Isi (Copenhagen 5129), 10–11, Pls. 1–2
Wšš-k₃, 65, n. 165
Wššt-k₃ (f.), 65, n. 165
Wšdt-ḥtpt(i) (f.), 63
**W^cb-Bsw*, 70
W^cb-sw, 70
Wp-m-nfrt (Giza), 9, n. 16, 222
Wni the Elder (Abydos), 26, n. 79
Wr-ḥty, 75, n. 19
Wr-n(.i)-Imn, Rsi (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Wr-H^cpy, 62
Wr-Hth^r, 64, 75, n. 19
Wr-k₃, 65, n. 165
Wrt-k₃ (f.), 65, n. 165
Wḥm-k₃, 65, n. 164
Wḥm-k₃.i (Giza; Hildesheim 2970), 31
Wḥ-ḥtp (MMA 12.182.132), 43–44, 53, Pl. 8
Wsr, 83
Wsr (f.), 68, n. 198
Wsr-Nḥbt (f.) (Saqqara), 22, n. 60
Wsr-Hth^r-t (f.?), 64
Wsr-k₃, 65
Wsr-k₃w, 66, n. 170
Wsr-k₃w-R^cḥ^c.f, 66
Wsr-t-k₃ (f.), 65
Wsr-t-k₃w (f.), 65, n. 163
B₃qt(i) (Saqqara), 2, 6, n. 39
Bsk-n-Pth (CG 1731), 8, n. 12
Bsk-n-Hnmw (Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet 11415), 8, 12, Pl. 3b
Bis (Saqqara), 180
Bwⁱw (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Bbi, 127
Bbi (f.), 129
P³-ḥm(t)-nw (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Ppy, 73, n. 4
Ppy, 104, 106, Pl. 15
Ppy-mnw-nfr(?), 74
Ppy-nfr, 74
Ph-n-k₃w, 56, n. 13
Ph^r-nfrt, 66
**Phrt-Nfrt*, 66, n. 170
Pth-ḥtp (or *Htp-Pth*) (MMA 04.2.6), 31, 39, Pl. 5
Pth-ḥtp (or *Htp-Pth*), 61, 201, 202, Fig. 13a
Pth-ḥ^c.f, 7
Pth-ḥ^c.f (Manchester 10780), 34, 35, Fig. 4
Špss-Pth, 59
Špss-Pth/Impy (Saqqara), 227
Fdnw (Saqqara), 2
M³c (CG 1707), 21, n. 50
Mi-n(.i)-Sbk, 68, n. 194
Mwt (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Mni (CG 1586), 16, n. 13
Mni (Dendera), 26, n. 77
Mn-Ihy, 61
Mny (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Mn-nfr-m-ḥ₃w(.i), 73, n. 8
Mn-swt-it.i-nswt, 76
Mn-k₃, 65, n. 164
Mn^tw-ḥtp (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Mn-df₃-Nfr^rkr^c, 75
[M]r[i](?), 82, Fig. 3, 83, comment b, 89, Pl. 9
Mr-Pth-ḥnh-Mryr^c, 60
Mr-sy-ḥnh III (f.), 112, 114, 115, Fig. 3a
Mr-Ti (Saqqara), 9, n. 16
Mryr^c, 73, n. 4
Mryr^c-nfr, 74
Mry(t)-Ifi (f.), 68, n. 198, 70
Mryt-it.s (f.), 69
Mrrⁱ (Dendera), 26, n. 77
Mrr-w(.i)-k₃(.i) (Saqqara), 2, 3, n. 15, 92, 93, 95, Fig. 4, 101, Pl. 13a
Mr-sy-Ihi (f.), 60, n. 67, 70
Mr-sy-Ti (f.), 70
Mrt-it.s (f.), 112, 113, Fig. 2b
Mḥw (Saqqara), 6, 70
Mkt-R^c, 150

- Mtn* (Saqqara), 23, 37, n. 149
Nj-kꜣw (Saqqara), 7
**Nī.t-hr(.w)*, 71
Ny-imꜣt (BM 65953), 36, 41, Pl. 7
Ny-imꜣt-Pth, 36, n. 145
Ny-ītt(.i)-Hr, 71
Ny-ꜥnh-If (f.), 68, n. 198, 70
Ny-ꜥnh-Wꜣdt, 57, 59
Ny-ꜥnh-Wsr-kꜣ.f, 56, n. 6, 57, n. 28
Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy, 59
Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy-km, 74
Ny-ꜥnh-Pth, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Mn, 71, n. 227
Ny-ꜥnh-Mnw, 55, n. 2
Ny-ꜥnh-Mry-Rꜥ-km, 74
Ny-ꜥnh-Nfꜣrtm (Strasbourg 2541A), 8, 12, Pl. 3a
Ny-ꜥnh-NN (Giza G 2435), 57, n. 28
Ny-ꜥnh-Nhbt (f.) (Turin 1868), 22
Ny-ꜥnh-Nhbt (f.) (Giza), 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Nhbt (f.) (CG 1682, CG 1700), 22, n. 60, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-nswt, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Rꜥ, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Hr, 60
Ny-ꜥnh-Hthꜣr (f.), 55, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Hnmw, 56, 57
Ny-ꜥnh-Sꜣi, 59, 70
Ny-ꜥnh-Tt, 70
**Ny-Pth-ꜥnh*, 60
**Ny-Pth-šꜣss*, 59
**Ny-Pth-kꜣw*, 59
Ny-Pth-kꜣw, 60
Ny-mꜣꜥt-nꜣꜣ, 56
Ny-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ, 55–60
Ny-nfꜣrt-Mnw, 58, n. 40
Ny-nfꜣrt-nswt (f.), 58, n. 40, 64, n. 147
Ny-Rꜥ-wꜣr, 56
**Ny-Rꜥ-mꜣꜥt*, 55
Ny-hꜣpt-Pth, 57
Ny-hꜣpt-Rꜥ, 57
Ny-Hr-ꜥnh, 60
Ny-hꜣzt-Pth(?), 67
Ny-hꜣzt-Hnmw(?), 67
**Ny-hꜣtp-wꜣ*, 58, n. 44
**Ny-hꜣtp-Pth*, 58, n. 44
Ny-hꜣswt-nswt, 57
Ny-hꜣswt-kꜣw.ī, 57, n. 34
Ny-hꜣwt-Pth, 67, n. 186, 68
Ny-sy-Nhbt (f.) (Cairo J 55618), 22, n. 60
Ny-sy-nswt (f.), 55
Ny-sy-hmwꜣt, 56, n. 17
**Ny-sw-Ihy*, 60
Ny-sw-Wꜣrt, 61
Ny-sw-Hr, 71
Ny-swꜣt-Pth, 57
Ny-šꜣps-Pth, 57
Ny-šꜣps-Pth, 59
Ny-šꜣps-nswt, 57, n. 36
Ny-šꜣps-Rꜥ, 57, n. 36
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-ꜥnh, 59
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Pth, 57, n. 37
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Nbw, 56
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-nbt(.i), 69
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Rꜥ, 57
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Hꜣp, 57, n. 37
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Hr, 57
Ny-kꜣ(.i)-Tt, 70
**Ny-kꜣw*, 7
Ny-kꜣw-Inꜣꜣw (Oriental Institute 10621), 19, n. 34
Ny-kꜣw-ꜥnh, 59
Ny-kꜣw-Pth, 7, 60
Ny-kꜣw-Pth (Manchester 10780), 34, 35, Fig. 4
Ny-kꜣw-Nfꜣrtm (Copenhagen 5129), 8, 10–11, Pls. 1–2
Ny-kꜣw-Nt, 57
**Nyt-ꜥnh-Hthꜣr* (f.), 55
Nyt-Nbty(?), 62, n. 89
Nb(.i)-īms(? Imꜣ-nb[.i]?), 63
Nb(.i)-ꜣw-Mhꜣw, 70
Nbw-hꜣr-hꜣnt (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Nbw-hꜣr-š.ꜣ, 75
Nbw-hꜣtp(i), 63, 75
Nbw-hꜣꜥ.s, 75, 237
Nbw-hꜣntt, 75
Nb-hꜣtp-Rꜥ (Mentuhotep), 4, 43, n. 2, 96, 185, n. 83
Nb-Swmnw (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Nb-tꜣwy-Rꜥ (Mentuhotep), 159, 232
Nfꜣr (Edfu), 27, n. 97
Nfꜣr (f.), 68, n. 198
Nfꜣr (f.), 108, 110, Pl. 16
Nfꜣr-Inꜣꜣw-nb-Zh-nꜣꜣ, 62
Nfꜣr-Ihy, 61
Nfꜣr-ꜣwy.f, 182, n. 58
Nfꜣr-ꜥnh-t (f.), 23, n. 68, 64
Nfꜣr-ꜥnqt, 62, 75, n. 19
Nfꜣrw (f.), 124, n. 14
Nfꜣrw (f.), 125, 134, Pl. 21
Nfꜣr-Mꜣꜥt, 61, 75, n. 19
Nfꜣr-Mnw, 71, n. 227
Nfꜣr-nꜣy, 105
Nfꜣr-hꜣr-n-Pth, 215
Nfꜣr-hꜣtp, 63, n. 107

- Nfr-Hthr*, 64, 75, n. 19
Nfr-Sšst, 62
Nfr-sšm-Ppy/Snni (Dendera), 191, n. 139
Nfr-k3, 65, 66
Nfr-k3w-km, 70
Nfr-k3-Rc, 66
Nfrit (f.) (Medum), 114, 115, Fig. 3b
Nfrit-ꜥnh (f.), 64, n. 147, 65, n. 165
Nfrit-wnn.s (f.), 60
Nfritm, 8, n. 6, 238
Nfritm-m-z3.f, 8, n. 6
 [Nfr] *tm-hꜥi.f* (Copenhagen 5129), 8, 10–11, Pls. 1–2
Nfrit-n-ꜥt.s (f.), 64, n. 147
Nfr-htp, 241
Nfrit-Hthr (f.), 64
Nfrit-sdmt (f.), 65
Nfrit-k3 (f.), 65
Nfrit-k3w (f.), 65, n. 160
Nn, 209, n. 250
Nn(i), 79
Nni (f.), 79, 80, Fig. 1
Nnw, 209, n. 250
Nn-ḥft-k3(i), 31
Nhy (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Nḥbw (Giza G 2381), 5, n. 30
Nḥbt-m-z3.s (f.) (Cairo J 55618), 22, n. 60, 27, n. 103
Nḥt, (Cambridge E. SS.76), 205, n. 220
Nḥt-M3ꜥt, 61
Nḥt-tp-nfr-Intf, 28, n. 111
N-ksmm-k3(i) (MMA 04.2.6), 31, n. 132, 39, Pl. 5
Ndm-ib (f.), 68, n. 198
Ndm-Sšst, 64
Rc-wr (Giza), 9, n. 16
Rc-wdꜥ.f (?), 204
Rc-htp, 63
Rn(i)-snb (m., f.) (MMA 63.154), 125, 127, 129, 131, 134, Pl. 21, 139, Pl. 26, 143, 145, Fig. 3, 157, 158, 173, Pl. 40
Rn.f-rs (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
 **Rn.f-snb*, 132
Rnni (El Kab), 153, 174, Pl. 41b
Rn-snb (MMA 68.14), 129, 130, n. 29, 138, Pl. 25
Rn.s-snb (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 130, 138, Pl. 25
Rs (on market), 108, n. 3, (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Rsi (*Wr-n(i)-Imn*) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Hy (Giza), 2, n. 14
Hnn.f, 205, 206, Fig. 15
Hnqw, 192, n. 147
H3-št.f (Saqqara), 5, nn. 34, 36
H3t-šps<wt> (f.), 237
H3p-Hnmw (or *Hnmw-ḥ3p(w)*) (Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet 11415), 8, 12, Pl. 3b
Hꜥpy-ꜥ3, 62, n. 91
Hꜥpy-wr, 62, n. 91
Hwnt-k3 (f.), 65, n. 165
Hꜥpw (MMA 12.182.132), 43, 53, Pl. 8
Hꜥpt-k3 (f.), 65, n. 165
Hꜥmt (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Hꜥnw (CG 20138), 103
Hꜥnwot-sn, 56, n. 17
Hꜥnni, 60
Hꜥr-Inḥrt, 241
 **Hꜥr-nt*, 71
Hꜥr-ḥ(wi).f, 71
Hꜥr-ḥw.f (Aswan), 83, 190, n. 126, 226
Hꜥz-ḥt, 67, n. 184
Hꜥzi (f.), 68, n. 198
Hꜥzy-Rc, 64, 222, 223, Fig. 29
Hꜥzyt-Pth (f.), 64
Hꜥzyt-Nbw (f.), 64
Hꜥz-n-Pth (m., f.), 67
Hꜥzt (f.), 219
Hꜥzt-ḥt (f.), 67
Hꜥzt-n-Pth (m., f.), 67
Hꜥzt-n-Hnmw (f.), 67
Hꜥq-ib (Aswan), 190, n. 127, 226
Hꜥtp(?), 108, 110, Pl. 16
Hꜥtp-ib(i), 63
Hꜥtp-Imn, 61, n. 78
Hꜥtp-Nḥbt (f.) (Saqqara), 22, n. 60
Hꜥtp-W3dt, 63–64
Hꜥtpwy-Mn, 61, n. 79
Hꜥtpwy-sy (f.), 61, n. 79
Hꜥtp-B3, 62
Hꜥtp-Pth (or *Pth-htp*) (MMA 04.2.6), 31, 39, Pl. 5
Hꜥtp-Pth, 58, n. 44, 61
Hꜥtp-M3ꜥt, 61
Hꜥtp-Mnw, 63–64
Hꜥtp-n(i) (Berlin-Charlottenburg 1/85), 32, 40, Pl. 6
Hꜥtp-n(i)-wr, 58, n. 44
Hꜥtp-n(i)-B3, 58, n. 44
Hꜥtp-n(i)-Rc, 58, n. 44
Hꜥtp-n(i)-Pth, 32, 58
Hꜥtp-n(i)-Hnmw, 56, n. 9, 58, n. 44
Hꜥtp-Nb(i), 63
Hꜥtp-Nbw, 62
Hꜥtp-Nbt, 63–64
Hꜥtp-Nfrit, 62
Hꜥtp-Rc, 62

- Htp-hr-šhty* (Leiden), 91, 100, Pl. 12
Htp-hr-nbty, 112, 113, Fig. 1
Htp-hr.s (f.), 63, 112, 113, Fig. 2c, 149, 150
Htp-Hqt, 63–64
Htp-Hthr, 63–64
Htp-Hnzw, 226, n. 399
Htp-Hnmw (or *Hnmw-Htp*) (MMA 68.14), 129, 130, 138, Pl. 25
Htp-Hnmw (? f., Giza), 23, n. 68
Htp-Hnmw, 62
Htp-Hnmw (Stockholm MM 11415), 8, 12, Pl. 3b
Htp-Sbk(?), 108, 110, Pl. 16
Htp-Shmt, 104, 106, Pl. 15
Htp-Sht, 63–64
Htp-Sst, 63–64
Htp-Zpt, 62
Htp-Ztt, 63–64
Htp-Qisy, 62, 63
Htp-k(.i), 63, 71
Htp-k-Rc, 63
Htpy (Aswan), 226
Htpi, 64
Hc, 151
Hc-Inpw, 49, 75, n. 19
Hc-ksw (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Hc-ksw-Rc (m., f.), 130
Hc-bsw-Pth, 75
Hc-bsw-Hthr, 75
Hc-bsw-Zkr, 75
Hc-Mst, 62, 64
Hc-mrr-mbty, 114, n. 16
Hw (f.), 125, 128, Fig. 2, 134, Pl. 21, 137, Pl. 24
Hwi (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 17, 24, comment q, 38, Pl. 4
Hw-Dhwty(?), 203
Hwfw-nh (Boston MFA 21.3081), 21, n. 51
Hwfw-hc.f I, 112, 222
Hnw (Saqqara false door), 51, n. 70
Hnsw (= *Hnsw-ic.fib*) (f.), 132
Hnsw-ic.fib (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Hnzw-htp(w), 226, n. 399
Hnt-sw-Hthr, 23
Hnty-k3 (*Ihhi*) (Saqqara), 1–6
Hnty-k3 (Saqqara mastaba, below Room III), 1–7, Figs. 1–2
Hnty-k3 (funerary priest, Saqqara), 6, n. 39
Hnty-k3, 65
Hnty-k3 (f.), 65
Hnmw-hsp(w) (or *Hsp-Hnmw*) (Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet 11415), 8, n. 13, 12, Pl. 3b
Hnmw-htp, 63
Hnmw-htp (f.), 212, Fig. 19
Hnmt (f.), 187, 188, Fig. 8a, 189
Hry-cwy, 182, n. 58
Hrd-n(.i), 61
Hty, 4
Z3-st, 205
Z3-Imn, (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Z3-n-it.f, 61
Z3-n-mwt.f, 61
Z3-rnpwt (Aswan), 221
Z3-Šmtt, 62, n. 89
Z3-Imn (f.), 125, 134, Pl. 21, 149, 151, n. 55
Z3-Nfrtm (f.), 8, n. 6
Z3-Sbk (f.), 127
Z3-k3-Iwnw (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Z3-th (f.), 204
**Z3-Dhwty* (f.), 204
**Z3-n-nh*, 71, n. 227
Z3-n-htp-k3(?), 71
Znt (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Znt (f.), 131, 149
[Z]tw (Saqqara), 2
Ztt-htp-i, 64
Sib.f (stela), 49, nn. 42, 50
Shw-Rc, 56
S-nh.n-Hthr, 57, n. 22
S-nh-k3-r Šhm-k3-r, 221, n. 368
**St-nh*, 23
St-k3, 23, n. 65
**Sw-nh*, 23
Sw-k3w, 23, n. 65
Sw-ks(.i) (Giza), 21
Sbn(?), 57, n. 21
Sbk-ci, 127
Sbk-htp, 63, 108, 110, Pl. 16, 203
Smh-sn, 127
Sni, 240
Snu, 63, n. 108
Snb (m., f.), 57, 70, 126, 180
Snb (f.) (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Snb-Rn(.i)-snb (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
Snbtsy (f.), 125, 134, Pl. 21
**Snb-di-sw*, 70
**Snb-Ddi*, 126
Snb-Ddi-m3-c-hrw (f.), 125, 134, Pl. 21
Snfrw-b3.f (BM 1324), 8
Snfrw-htp, 63
Snfrw-hci.f (BM 1324), 8
Snni (Dendera), 191, n. 139

- Snnw*, 214, 236, Pl. 47
Snnḏm, 151
Sn-ndsw-i (Dendera), 26, n. 77
**Šhm-ḥnh* (Saqqara), 7
Šhm-ḥnh-Pth, 7
Šhm-ḥnh-Nfrtm (Copenhagen 5129), 8, 10–11,
 Pls. 1–2
Šhm-Hthr, 64
Ssm-nfr (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 16, 21, comment j,
 24, 38, Pl. 4
Ssm-nfr II (Giza), 94–95, 101, Pl. 13b
Skr-htp, 63
Stt, 23, n. 60
Špss, 59
Špss-Pth, 59
Špss-Pth (Berlin 7779), 13–29, 14, Fig. 1, 24, com-
 ment o, 38, Pl. 4
Špss-Pth (Cambridge E. SS.76), 20, 205, n. 220
Špss-Hthr, 64
Špss-kz, 65, n. 165
Špss-kzw, 65, n. 165
Špss-kzw (f.), 65, n. 165
Špst-Nbty (f.), 64
Šnʿy (J 49803), 205, n. 220
Q3-Ihy, 61, 77, n. 41
Q3-ʿ, 2, n. 234
Q3-bzw.s, 77
Q3-Pth, 77, n. 41
Q3-M3ʿt, 61, 77, n. 41
Q3r (Berlin 7779), 14, Fig. 1, 17, 22, 24, comment p,
 38, Pl. 4
Q3r (Edfu), 16, n. 15, 27, n. 96, 28, n. 114
Q3-sw-Hthr, 23
Q3-šhm-Rʿ, 77
Qri (Hatnub), 202, n. 182
Qd-ns (CG 1484 g), 21, n. 50
K3(.i)-ḥnh, 65, n. 164
K3(.i)-wʿb, 222
K3(.i)-wḥm, 65, n. 164
K3(.i)-wsr, 65
K3(.i)-wd-ḥnh(.i), 56
K3(.i)-pw-Rʿ (Philadelphia), 18
K3(.i)-mni, 65, n. 164
**K3(.i)-m-Nfr-kzw*, 70
K3(.i)-m-nfrt (Giza), 9, n. 16
K3(.i)-m-Hʿ-nfr-Mrnrʿ, 74
K3(.i)-m-tmnt, 56
K3(.i)-ny-it.f, 58
K3(.i)-ny-ḥnh, 58
K3(.i)-ny-Nbw, 56, n. 16
K3(.i)-ny-nb.f, 58
K3(.i)-ny-nbty, 58
K3(.i)-ny-nswt, 58
K3(.i)-nfr (BM 1324), 8
K3(.i)-nfr, 65
K3(.i)-h(w)ḏ.f, 71, 72
K3(.i)-hmt, 65
K3(.i)-gm.n(.i) (Saqqara), 2
K3(.i)-dbh.n(.i) (Giza), 18
Tʿ3, 204
T-ḏ(w), 204
Ti-nt-Nbw (f.) (MMA 63.154), 131, 139, Pl. 26
**Tf-hj*, 205, n. 219
Tti (MMA 68.14), 129, 138, Pl. 25
Tti-iqr (Saqqara), 3, n. 15
Tʿwti (Dendera), 26, n. 77
Tʿwti (Qasr es-Sayad), 4
Ty (Saqqara), 2, n. 14, 182, 201, 202, Fig. 13a, 229,
 Fig. 35
Tnti (MMA 04.2.6), 31, 39, Pl. 5
Tzt (f.) (Cambridge E. SS.76), 205, n. 220
Tti (Aswan), 21
Ttw (Saqqara), 2
Ttiti (Saqqara), 51, nn. 61, 69
D3g, 79, 80, Fig. 1
D3gi, 79, 132
Di-sw-Snb, 70
Dw3-n(.i), 67
Dw3-n(.i)-Rʿ, 67
Dw3-n(.i)-Hr, 67
Dw3-ti-Snfrw, 8, 67, 68
Dwst-Nbw (f.), 64
Dwst-Hthr (f.), 64
**Dmg*, 79
**Dng*, 79
Dr-snd, 103
Ddi (m., f.), 126, 127
Ddi-snb(w), 127
Ddw-sbk (MMA 63.154), 131, 133, 139, Pl. 26
Dd-snb(w), 127
Dfi(.i)-Hʿpy, 62, n. 91, 104, 220
Dfi, 83
**Dmg*, 79
**Dng*, 79
**Dḥwty-wdʿ.f*, 204
Dḥwty-nht, 59, n. 53, 203
Dḥwty-htp(?), 108, 109, 110, Pl. 16, 203
[...]ḥi.f (Saqqara), 7



- imy-r hntyw-š*, “overseer of tenant landholders,” 227
imy-r hrpw n nfrw, “overseer of directors of recruits,” 17, n. 21
imy-r hrp(w) zš(w), “overseer of directors of scribes,” 17, n. 21
imy-r ht nbt ddt pt qmst t3, “overseer of everything that heaven gives and earth creates,” 32
imy-r htmt, “overseer of the treasury,” 2 (79 [h]), 3, 4, n. 19, 5
imy-r htmt m t3 r drf, “overseer of the treasure in the entire land,” 4
imy-r htmt T3-w, “overseer of the treasure of the Thinite Nome,” 4
imy-r htmtyw, “overseer of sealers/treasurers,” 3, 104, 106, Pl. 15, 129, 138, Pl. 25
imy-r hry htmt, “overseer of the registry,” 51–52
imy-r hry htmt n r nswt n pr-ʕ3 n mrt n šht, “overseer of the registry of royal decrees of the great house for serfs and for fields,” 51–52
imy-r hry sdst, “overseer of sealbearers,” 50
imy-r hrt-ʕ n nswt pr-ʕ3 n mrt n šht, “overseer of the registry of royal documents of the palace for serfs and for fields,” 34
imy-r zmywt isbt, “overseer of the eastern deserts,” 210, 211
imy-r zšw izwy hkrw nswt, “overseer of scribes of the two chambers of the king’s regalia,” 14, Fig. 1, 19, 25, 38, Pl. 4
imy-r zšw wʕby, “overseer of scribes of the two workshops,” 14, Fig. 1, 25, 38, Pl. 4
imy-r zšw prwy-nbw, “overseer of scribes of the two houses of gold,” 14, Fig. 1, 20, 25, 38, Pl. 4
imy-r zšw prwy-hd, “overseer of scribes of the two treasuries,” 14, Fig. 1, 18, 25, 38, Pl. 4
imy-r zšw hry htmt, “overseer of scribes of the registry,” 51–52
imy-r zšw hry htmt ʕ nswt, “overseer of scribes of the registry of royal decrees,” 51–52
imy-r swt špst pr-ʕ3, “overseer of the august places of the palace,” 2 (79 [d]), 6, n. 38
imy-[r] spawt Hn-Nhn, “overseer(?) of the nomes of Hn-Nhn,” 20, n. 46
imy-r sšr, “overseer of linen,” 2 (79 [e]), 4, 8, n. 5, 216
imy-r sšr pr, “overseer of linen of the house,” 216
imy-r sšrt, “overseer of the milk herd,” 192, n. 146
imy-r stī(w)-nbw, “overseer of necklace-stringers,” 193
imy-r stī(w) nbw hkrw nswt, “overseer of necklace-stringers of the king’s regalia,” 193, n. 153
imy-r šnʕ, “overseer of stores,” 219, n. 319
imy-r šntwt, “overseer of disputes,” 108, n. 3, 207, 208, 235, Pl. 46a
imy-r qd(w) n wʕbt, “overseer of builders of the workshop,” 19
imy-r tzt, “overseer of the herd,” 33
imy-ht, “under-supervisor,” 17, 18
imy-ht pr-hd, “under-supervisor of the treasury,” 14, Fig. 1, 18, 25, 34, 35, Fig. 4, 38, Pl. 4
imy-ht pr-hd ip ʕwy Šmʕw T3-Mhw h3swt nbw, “under-supervisor of the treasury who takes stock of the production of Upper and Lower Egypt and all foreign lands,” 14, Fig. 1, 25, 29, 38, Pl. 4
**imy-ht r-pr*, “under-supervisor of the temple,” 18, n. 23
imy-ht hmwt pr-ʕ3, “under-supervisor of craftsmen of the palace,” 216
imy-ht hry(w)-pr, “under-supervisor of major-domos,” 214
imy-ht hrpw n mšʕ, “under-supervisor of directors of the army,” 17
imy-ht hnw izt, “under-supervisor of those who are within the palace(?),” 237
imy-ht z3(w)-pr, “under-supervisor of police,” 18, n. 25
imy-st-ʕ, “functionary,” 24, 181
imy-st-ʕwy, “functionary,” 26
imy-st-ʕ hnt-š, “functionary of tenant-landholdings,” 14, Fig. 1, 17, 24, 25, 38, Pl. 4
imy-st-ʕ hnt-š pr-ʕ3, “functionary of tenant-landholdings of the palace,” 24
imy-st-ʕ n šnw, “functionary of the granary,” 24, n. 72
imy dsrw Hr stp-z3, “he who is in the splendor of Horus, bodyguard,” 104
imyw-b, “those in the ground/land,” 230
imyt-r hkrw, “overseer of regalia,” 238
inʕ, (meaning uncertain), 238, 239, Fig. 2
inn hrt h3swt rsyt mhnt n nswt, “one who brings back the produce of the southern and northern lands for the king,” 21
ir m ʕwy.f, “one who acts with his two hands,” 181
ir hzzt nb.f, “who does what his lord praises,” 64, n. 153
ir hzt nb.f, “who does what his lord praises,” 219
iry, “custodian,” “keeper,” 20, n. 44, 37, n. 146, 44, 177, n. 5, 178, n. 11, 179
iry ʕwy, “keeper of (manufactured) production,” or “of (agricultural) produce,” 21, 37, Fig. 5
iry ʕwy Tp-hpš(?), “keeper of produce/production of the Letopolite nome (for) Re in (the sun temple) Šz-p-ib-Rʕ, (and for the Pyramid) Mn-swt-Nywsrrʕ,” 37
**iry ʕwy stī(w)*, “keeper of the production of jewelers,”

- 37, Fig. 5
**iry P nb*, “keeper of every Butite,” 45, n. 16
iry-pt, “hereditary prince,” 5, 6, Fig. 2, 45, 82, Fig. 3, 83, 85, 89, Pl. 9
iry md3(w)t, “keeper of documents,” 44, n. 12
**iry-Nhn*, “keeper of Nekhen,” 44–45
iry hst-nfr m st nt nswt, “keeper of the diadem in the place (storeroom?) of the king,” 21
iry-ht pr-hd, “custodian of property of the treasury,” 23, n. 70
iry htmt, “keeper of what is sealed,” 50
irr hzzt nb tswy, “who does what the lord of the two lands praises,” 159
irr hzzt hzz sw, “who does what is praised by him who praises him,” 221
[irt] hzzt Hthx, “who does what Hathor praises,” 64, n. 153
iqr ndt-r m hb n Tni, “I was excellent of counsel in the council of Thinis,” 103, n. 3
iqr shx, “excellent of counsel,” 87
idnw, “deputy,” 108, 110, Pl. 16
cm̄t, “servant,” 131, 139, Pl. 26 (See D(6) the servant *Rn(.i)-snb*)
cnh n niwt, “stalwart of the town,” 131, 133, 139, Pl. 26
ch̄3, “warrior,” 103, n. 2
ch̄3 n d̄ Wpwswt, “warrior who defends Wepwawet,” “warrior and defender of Wepwawet,” 103
ch̄3ty, “warrior,” 103, n. 2
ch̄r, “attendant,” 129, 130, 138, Pl. 25
w̄r wr(w) hb, “unique one of the greatest of the festival,” 28
w̄rb 200, “w̄rb-priest of the 200,” 3, n. 15
w̄rb 200 Mn-nfr-Ppy, “w̄rb-priest of the 200 of *Mn-nfr-Ppy*,” 2 (79 [k]), 3
w̄rb 200 pr-3, “w̄rb-priest of the 200 of the palace,” 3, n. 15
w̄rb 3, “great w̄rb-priest,” 48, n. 33
w̄rb n Hthx nbt Iwnt, “w̄rb-priest of Hathor, mistress of Dendera,” 125, 126, 134, Pl. 21
w̄rb nswt, “w̄rb-priest of the king,” 34, 35, Fig. 4, 215
w̄rb R̄r, “w̄rb-priest of Re,” 214, 236, pl. 47
wb3(y)t/ib3t, “maidservant,” 125, 126, 132, 134, Pl. 21
wn r hrw n mdt nb hps̄ r̄ n ch̄3, “who is open of mouth on the day of speech, possessor of a (strong) arm on the day of fighting,” 87
wr idt, “great of incense,” 36
wr bzt, “great of *bzt*” (i.e., “abounding in brilliant objects”), 34, 35, Fig. 4, 36
wr mdw Šm̄rw, nst hntyt, “greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt, of preëminent seat,” 218
**wr hm̄mw(t)*, “w̄r-scepter of the craftsmen,” 238
**wr hm̄mw(t) nb*, “w̄r-scepter of all craftsmen,” 238
wr-hrp(w)-hm̄wt n Wnis, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen of Unas,” 31, 238
wr šm̄rw, “great of Upper Egyptian grain,” 36
wr dh̄r, “great of leather,” 36
wrt-hzt, “great of praise,” 219
wḥr, “fowler,” 182
Wsir, “Osiris” (as epithet), 71, n. 234
wt, “embalmer,” 47
wdpw, “butler,” 132
wd̄r mdw m h̄yt, “one who judges in the court,” 230
bity, “king of Lower Egypt,” 36
ph̄rr, “runner,” 178, n. 16
ptr n nb tswy iqr.f, “whose excellence was seen by the lord of the two lands,” 159
pdty, “bowman,” 105
m33 rw Mh̄w Šm̄rw, “who supervises the production of Lower and Upper Egypt,” 21
m33 kst, “supervisor of works,” 21, n. 51
... m33..., “... true...,” 200, n. a
m33-hrw, “justified,” 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 134, Pl. 21, 137, Pl. 24, 139, Pl. 26, 152
m33t-hrw, “justified (f.),” 126, 127, 129, 131, 138, Pl. 25, 139, Pl. 26
mst Hr, “she who beholds Horus,” 112, 113, Fig. 1
mn t̄bwt hr iwt mdd wswt nt nb tswy, “firm of sandal, easy of gait, adhering to the ways of the lord of the two lands,” 159
mn̄iw, “herdsman,” 177–79
mn̄iw nfr, “good herdsman (royal epithet),” 177
mn̄iw/z3w Nhn, “herdsman/guardian of Nekhen,” 44
mn̄rt, “nurse,” 22, n. 60
mn̄h sh̄r, “efficient of counsel,” 87
mry it.f, “beloved of his father,” 32, 40, Pl. 6, 71
mry (n) it.f, “beloved of his father,” 33, 82, Fig. 3, 89, Pl. 9
mry Nbty, “he who is beloved of the two ladies,” 189
mrwty, “beloved,” 127, n. 25, 137, Pl. 24
mrrw sn[w.f], “whom [his] broth[ers] loved,” 82, Fig. 3, 89, Pl. 9
mrt.f, “his beloved,” 79, 131, 139, Pl. 26, 212, Fig. 19
mhnk nswt, “rewarded by the king,” 193, n. 153
ms.f dt, “his child of the funerary estate,” 31
msw.f nw dt, “his children of the funerary estate,” 31
**msw.f snw dt*, “his children and brothers of the funerary estate,” 31
nty n z3, “regulator of a phyle,” 8, n. 5, 227
mdw rhyt, “staff of the commoners,” 32, 40, Pl. 6

- mdh zš(w) nswt*, “commander of the king’s scribes,” 32, 33, 40, Pl. 6
- ny ib ntr.f*, “who belongs to the heart of his god,” 47, n. 28
- nb ibtt*, “lord of the east” (epithet of Sopdu), 214
- nb imšh*, “possessor of reverence,” 131, 139, Pl. 26
- nb imšh n nb tswy*, “possessor of reverence of the lord of the two lands,” 159
- nb imšh h[r] it.f*, “possessor of reverence with his father,” 200, n. a
- nb imšh hr ntr.f*, “possessor of reverence with his god,” 214, 236, pl. 47
- nb nhh*, “lord of eternity” (Osiris), 101, 106, Pl. 15
- nb nswt tswy*, “lord of the thrones of the two lands” (epithet of Amun-Re), 125, 134, Pl. 21, 157, 173, Pl. 40
- nb ntrw*, “lord of the gods” (epithet of Amun), 157, 158, 173, Pl. 40
- nb ts dsr*, “lord of the sacred land,” 14, Fig. 1, 38, Pl. 4
- nb tswy*, “lord of the two lands,” 157, 158, 173, Pl. 40
- nb dt*, “lord of eternity,” 104, n. 13
- nbt pr*, “mistress of the house,” 123, 125, 129, 131, 134, Pl. 21, 138, Pl. 25, 139, Pl. 26
- nfrwt*, “beautiful ones,” 64, n. 147
- nfrt hkr(wt)*, “most beautiful of ornaments,” 64, n. 147
- *nfrtj*, “who has to do with the throat (in slaughtering),” 7
- nhb n nb tswy ks.f*, “whose *ks* was provided by the lord of the two lands,” 159
- nhl-hrw*, “tally man,” 179, n. 23, 193, 230
- nhl-hrw hwt-wrt*, “tally man of the lawcourt,” 230, n. 427
- nhl-hrw zsb*, “tally man of the judiciary,” 230
- r P nb*, “mouth of every Butite,” 44, n. 8, 45
- r Nhn*, “mouth of Nekhen,” 43–45, 125, 127, 128, 134, Pl. 21, 137, Pl. 24
- rhy nswt*, “king’s acquaintance,” 218
- rhy nswt imy-ht*, “king’s acquaintance and under-supervisor,” 17
- rhy nswt m3c*, “true acquaintance of the king,” 104, 106, Pl. 15
- rhy nswt n pr-c3*, “king’s acquaintance of the palace,” 214, 236, pl. 47
- rhy nswt shd pr-c3*, “king’s acquaintance and inspector of the palace,” 18, n. 24
- rht nswt*, “king’s acquaintance” (f.), 25, 26, 238
- [rth].ty(?)*, “baker,” 131, 139, Pl. 26
- rdi n nb tswy f3w.f*, “whose authority was granted by the lord of the two lands,” 159
- hsty-c*, “count,” 1 (78 [a]), 2, 83, 84, Fig. 4, 85, 90, Pl. 10, 207, 235, Pl. 46a
- hmww*, “craftsmen,” 182, n. 49
- hmwt*, “craftsmen,” 19
- hm-ntr*, “priest,” 4, n. 28
- hm-ntr Inpw zhy-ntr*, “priest of Anubis, he of the divine booth,” 46, Fig. 2, 48
- *hm-ntr Inpw zh-ntr W3dt*, “priest of the divine booth of Anubis in Aphroditopolis,” 46, Fig. 2, 48
- hm-ntr W3dt*, “priest of Wadjet,” 48, 49
- hm-ntr M3c*, “priest of Maat,” 32, 40, Pl. 6, 218
- hm-ntr Rc m Nhn-Rc*, “priest of Re in (the sun temple of Userkaf) *Nhn-Rc*,” 34, 35, Fig. 4
- hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr šmswt*, “priest of Horus-Anubis who presides over the House of the Retinue,” 8–9, 49
- hm-ntr htm(?)*, “priest of the seal(?),” 9
- hm-ntr Sshw-Rc*, “priest of Sahure,” 34, 35, Fig. 4
- hm-ntr Swt*, “priest of the pyramid ‘the places,’” 76
- *hm-ntr šmswt*, “priest of the cushion,” 9
- hm-k3*, “funerary priest,” 6, n. 39
- hm-k3 hry hnt*, “foremost(?) funerary priest,” 226
- hmt-nswt*, “king’s wife,” 237
- hm(t)-ntr Hthr*, “priestess of Hathor,” 84, Fig. 4, 90, Pl. 10
- hmt.f zst dt*, “his wife, the daughter of the funerary estate,” 31
- hry pr*, “major-domo,” 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
- hry n pr*, “major-domo,” 214, n. 276
- hry (n) pr n pr-c3*, “major-domo of the palace,” 214
- hry n pr dbst*, “major-domo of the robing room,” 214, 236, Pl. 47
- hry n tm*, “supervisor of the *tm*,” 129, 131, 138, Pl. 25, 139, Pl. 26
- *hry n dbst*, “supervisor of the robing room,” 214
- hry-sš3*, “privy to the secret,” *45, 47, 49, n. 43, 190
- hry-sš3. . .*, “privy to the secret of. . .,” 20
- hry-sš3 n bw-r nswt m ts wdhw nb tswy*, “privy to the secret of the king’s repast as the one who arranges the tables of the lord of the two lands,” 159
- hry-sš3 n pr-dwst*, “privy to the secret of the house of morning,” 2 (79 [i]), 9
- hry-sš3(w) n Pth*, “privy to the secrets of Ptah,” 47, n. 28
- hry-sš3 n mdw-ntr*, “privy to the secret of the god’s word,” 2 (79 [f]), 3
- hry-sš3 n nb tswy*, “privy to the secret of the lord of the two lands,” 159
- hry-sš3(w) n ntr.f*, “privy to the secret(s) of his god,” 47, n. 28

- **hry-sšts(w) Hry-sšts sr-Iwnw*, “master of secrets of the Master of secrets (= Anubis) of the prince of Iwnw,” 47
- hry-sšts hst nbwt*, “privy to the secret of all foreign lands,” 21, n. 54
- hry-tp*, “chief,” “overlord,” 45, 190
- hry-tp idr ʕ*, “overlord of great punishment,” 218
- hry-tp ʕ*, “great overlord,” 20, n. 44
- hry-tp ʕ n nswt*, “great overlord of the king,” 86 (c)
- hry-tp ʕ n Šmʕw*, “great overlord of Upper Egypt,” 83, 84, Fig. 4, 85, 86, 88, 90, Pl. 10a
- hry-tp mdw šts n hwt-wrt*, “overlord of the secret words of the tribunal,” 219
- hry-tp md(w) n wdʕ mdw šts n hwt-wrt*, “overlord of the words of secret judgment of the tribunal,” 219
- hry-tp Nhb*, “overlord of El Kab,” 218, nn. 315, 316
- hry-tp hry-hbt*, “overlord of lector priests,” 218, n. 315
- hry-tp sšr*, “overlord of linen,” 218
- hry-tp dšt*, “overlord of clothing,” 218
- hzi n it.f*, “one whom his father praised,” 207, 235, Pl. 46a
- hz n mwt<.f>*, “one whom his mother praised,” 207, 235, Pl. 46a
- hzy (n) mwt.f*, “praised of his mother,” 33, 82, Fig. 3, 89, Pl. 9
- hzw mwt.f*, “whom his mother praised,” 32, 40, Pl. 6
- hs*, “singer,” 21, n. 46, 186
- hqz*, “chief, nomarch,” 86
- hqz dt*, “prince of everlastingness” (epithet of Osiris), 104
- hqzw hryw tp-dšrt*, “chiefs who ruled over the desert,” 86
- hqzw Šmʕw Mhwt*, “chiefs of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 84, Fig. 4, 85, 86, 90, Pl. 10
- hw*, “exempted,” 230, n. 425
- hnw.w*, beaters,” “percussionists,” 85, 185, Fig. 6
- hnty ipt-sw t m Wst*, “who presides over Karnak in Thebes” (epithet of Amun-Re), 127, 137, Pl. 24
- hnty hkrow n ibz(w) n pr-ʕ*, “one who presides over the ornaments of the dancers of the Great house,” 21
- hnty zh-ntr*, “who presides over the divine booth,” 48
- hntyw-š*, “tenant landholders,” 24
- hnnt Imntt*, “who presides over the Western Nome (L.E. 3)” (epithet of Hathor), 108, 110, Pl. 16
- hrp izt Inpw* “director of the troop(?) of Anubis,” 49, n. 50
- hrp izt Inpw zht-ntr*, “director of the troop(?) of Anubis, he of the divine booth,” 46, Fig. 2, 49
- hrp wsh t*, “director of the broad hall,” 131, 139, Pl. 26
- hrp nbw*, “director of gold,” 193, n. 153
- hrp nsty*, “director of the two seats,” 2 (78 [f]), 6, Fig. 2
- hrp hst km*, “director of the black vessel,” 2 (78 [g])
- hrp hz(w)*, “director of grain-measurers,” 205, 206, Fig. 14, 234, Pl. 45
- hrp hrpw n hwt-ʕt*, “director of directors of the palace,” 17, n. 21
- hrp zh*, “director of the dining pavillion,” 47, n. 30, 208, n. 236, 209
- hrp ssm n nb tswy*, “director of the affairs of the lord of the two lands,” 159
- hrp sšr n tpt*, “director of linen cloth of the first weaving,” 104, 106, Pl. 15
- hrp st(w) nbw pr-ʕ*, “director of necklace-stringers of the palace,” 193, n. 153
- [*hrp*] *st(w) nbw hrp nbw*, “director of necklace-stringers and director of gold,” 193, n. 153
- hrp šndyt nb*, “director of every kilt,” 2 (78 [e]), 3, Fig. 1
- htm hst dšw bit*, “who seals the best of the king’s food,” 34, 35, Fig. 4, 36
- htmwt(w)*, “treasurers,” 50
- htm(w)ty-bity*, “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt,” (title of rank), 50, 84, Fig. 4, 85, 90, Pl. 10, 131, 139, Pl. 26
- htmty*, “seal-bearer,” 3
- htmty n Tty ʕnhw*, “treasurer of the vizier ʕnhw,” 123
- htmty ntr*, “seal-bearer of the god,” 21, n. 53
- htmty šzpt nswt*, “sealer of šzpt-cloth of the king,” 214, 236, Pl. 47
- hnmt bity*, “she who joins the king of Lower Egypt,” 189
- hnmt nfr-hdt*, “she who joins the white crown,” 189
- hry-ʕ hrp zh*, “assistant of the director of the dining pavilion,” 56, n. 12
- hry mhrw*, “bearer of milk bottles,” 179, n. 22
- hry-hbt*, “lector priest,” 1 (79 [b]), 2, 97, Fig. 6, 209, 240
- hry-hbt (n) Iwnt*, “lector priest of Dendera,” 127
- hry-hbt n Hthr nbt Iwnt*, “lector priest of Hathor, mistress of Dendera,” 127
- hry-hbt hry-tp*, “chief lector priest,” 1 (78 [b]), 2, 3, Fig. 1, 6, Fig. 2
- hry-hbt smsw n dbst*, “senior lector priest of the robing room,” 214, n. 280
- hry sdst*, “sealbearer,” 50
- <*hry*> *kz(?)*, “possessor of a *kz*,” “deceased,” 207, 235, Pl. 46a
- hry-tp nswt*, “chamberlain of the king,” 14, Fig. 1, 16, 17, 25, 32, 38, Pl. 4, 40, Pl. 6

- hkrt w^ctt nswt*, “sole ornament of the king,” 84, Fig. 4
z3 iqr, “dutiful son,” 105
z3 pr, “policeman,” 230
z3 pr, imy-ht z3 pr, “policeman, under-supervisor of police,” 18, n. 25
z3.f mry, “his beloved son,” 205, n. 220
z3.f dt, “his son of the funerary estate,” 31, 39, Pl. 5
z3 mr.f, “loving son,” 72, 104, 105
z3 mr.f n nb tswy, “loving son of the lord of the two lands,” 157, 173, Pl. 40
z3 n dt, “brother of the funerary estate,” 31, n. 125
z3w pr, “police,” 230
z3w/mniw Nhn, “guardian/herdsman of Nekhen,” 44
z3b, “judiciary official,” 125, 127, 128, 134, Pl. 21, 137, Pl. 24, 228, n. 413
z3b ʕd-mr, “judiciary ʕd-mr official,” 14, Fig. 1, 17, 25, 38, Pl. 4
z3b r Nhn, “judiciary official and mouth of Nekhen,” 44, n. 9, 45, n. 16, 219, 228, n. 413
z3b zš, “judicial scribe,” 31, 39, Pl. 5
z3b smsw hsy, “judiciary elder of the court,” 219
z3t.f hm-k3.f, “his daughter and his funerary priest(ess),” 31
z3t-nswt, “king’s daughter,” 69, n. 203, 112, 113, Fig. 1, 237
z3t dt, “daughter of the funerary estate,” 31
z3hy, “councillor,” “belonging to the council,” 48, n. 36, 49
z3hy ʕ3, “great councillor,” 48, n. 36
z3hy ʕ3 mrrw nb[.f], “great councillor, whom [his] lord loved,” 48, n. 36
z3hy mr ntr.f, “a councillor whom his god loved,” 48, n. 36
z3hy-ntr, “one who belongs to the divine booth (of Anubis),” 47–48
z3hy-ntr Inpw, “he who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis,” 45–49 (with 46, Fig. 2)
zš, “scribe,” *21, n. 53, 31, 39, Pl. 5, 157, 173, Pl. 40, 222–224
zš, “painter,” 19
zš ʕ(w) n nswt, “scribe of royal decrees,” 30, 39, Pl. 5
zš ʕ(w) nswt pr-ʕ3, “scribe of royal documents of the palace,” 34
zš ʕ(w) nswt pr-ʕ3 m w^cbt prwy nbw, “scribe of royal documents of the palace in the workshop of (? and?) the two houses of gold,” 34, 35, Fig. 4
zš w^cbt, “scribe of the workshop,” “painter” 19
zš w^cbt rsy(t), “scribe of the southern *w^cbt*,” 19, n. 36
zš w^cbty, “scribe of the two workshops,” 19
zšw pr-hd, “scribes of the treasury,” 18
zš n pr-hd, “scribe of the treasury,” 29, n. 117
**zš m ššr*, “scribe for linen,” 22, n. 56
zš mdst-ntr, “scribe of the god’s book,” 2 (78 [i])
zš n z3, “scribe of the phyle,” 8, n. 5, 18, n. 24, 22, n. 57
zš n z3 Mn-nfr-Ppy, “scribe of the phyle of *Mn-nfr-Ppy*,” 2 (79 [j])
zš hn, “scribe of the (document) chest,” 226, n. 402
zš hwt-ntr, “scribe of the temple (at Dendera),” 127
zš hry htmt, “scribe of the registry,” 51–52
**zš-hr(t)-ʕ*, see *hry-ʕ hryp zh*, “assistant of the director of the dining pavilion,” 56, n. 12
zš hkrow nswt, “scribe of the king’s regalia,” 19, 25
zš ššr, “scribe of linen,” 22, n. 56
zš ššr nswt, “scribe of royal linen,” 22
zš ššr nswt n z3(w), “scribe of royal linen and (scribe) of phyles,” 22, n. 57
zš ššr nswt hkrow nswt, “scribe of royal linen of the king’s regalia,” 19, n. 42
**zš qdt ntr*, 2, n. 9
zš tzt, “scribe of troops,” 33
šbt, “instructress,” 238
špd šsw nb Šsw, “one who supplies the arrows of the lord of Asyut,” 104
šmyt Nbtj mryt, “the beloved one who joins the two ladies,” 189, n. 114
šmyt NN mryt, “the beloved one who joins King NN,” 189, n. 114
šmswt mry Nbtj, “she who joins him who is beloved of the two ladies,” 189
šmr-w^cty, “sole companion,” 1 (78 [c], 79 [a]), 2, 3, Fig. 1, 6, Fig. 2, 80, Fig. 1, 82, Fig. 3, 84, Fig. 4, 85, 89, Pl. 9, 90, Pl. 10a
šmr zš n z3, “companion, scribe of a phyle,” 8, n. 5
šmsw, “elder,” 47, 81
šmsw iz(t), “elder of the chamber,” 81
šmsw wh^cw, “elder of the fowlers,” 81, n. 14
šmsw whrt, “elder of the dockyard,” 81, 82, Fig. 3, 83, 89, Pl. 9
šmsw pr, “elder of the domain,” 81
šmsw hsy, “elder of the (judicial) court,” 80–81, 227, 228, Fig. 34, 230, 231, 232
šmsw snwt, “elder of the *snwt*-house,” 81
sn dt, “brother of the funerary estate,” 31, 34
sn.f dt, “his brother of the funerary estate,” 34, 35, Fig. 4
snt dt, “sister of the funerary estate,” 34
sr m-ht [rhyt], “official at the front of the people,” 20, n. 44
šhd, “inspector,” 18, n. 24

- shd imyw h^cw*, “inspector of those who are in attendance,” 237
- **shd Inpw*, “inspector of Anubis,” 49, nn. 42 and 50
- shd iryw-ht*, “inspector of custodians of property,” 23, n. 70
- shd iryw-ht pr-hd*, “inspector of custodians of property of the treasury,” 14, Fig. 1, 17, 23, 25, 38, Pl. 4
- shd iryw-ht n šnw*, “inspector of custodians of property of the granary,” 23, n. 70
- **shd w^cbt hrt-ntr*, “inspector of the workshop of the necropolis,” 19, n. 34
- shd wtw Inpw*, “inspector of embalmers of Anubis,” 49, n. 50
- shd pr-^c*, “inspector of the palace,” 18, n. 24
- shd Pr-wr*, “inspector of the great house (temple of Nekhbet),” 18, n. 24
- shd pr-šn^c*, “inspector of department of stores,” 205, n. 220, 234, Pl. 45
- shd hm(w)-ntr . . .*, “inspector of priests of . . .,” 4
- shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy*, “inspector of priests of *Mn-nfr-Ppy*,” 2 (78 [j]), 6, Fig. 2
- shd hm(w)-ntr hwt-k3 šht*, “inspector of priests of the *k3*-houses of the tomb(? *šht*),” 4
- shd hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Tti*, “inspector of priests of *Dd-swt-Tti*,” 2 (78 [k])
- shdw hmw-k3 imyw-ht hmw-k3 hmw-k3*, “inspectors of funerary priests, under-supervisors of funerary priests, funerary priests,” 18
- shd hmwt w^cbt*, “inspector of craftsmen of the workshop,” 19, n. 32
- shd htmtyw*, “inspector of sealbearers,” 3
- shd hrty(w)-ntr*, “inspector of stonemasons,” 19, n. 34
- shd hrty(w)-ntr w^cbt nswt*, “inspector of stonemasons of the king’s workshop,” 19
- shd zš(w)*, “inspector of scribes,” 18, n. 24
- shd zš(w) pr-hd*, “inspector of scribes of the treasury,” 14, Fig. 1, 17, 18, 24, 25, 38, Pl. 4
- shd zš(w) pr-hd hkrw nswt*, “inspector of scribes of the treasury and of the king’s regalia,” 19, 34, 35, Fig. 4
- shd zš(w) hry htmt*, “inspector of scribes of the registry,” 51–52
- shd zš(w) hry htmt^c nswt*, “inspector of scribes of the registry of royal decrees,” 51–52
- shd šmsw*, “inspector of liegemen,” 131, 139, Pl. 26
- shd dbst*, “inspector of the robing room,” 2 (79 [g]), 3, Fig. 1, 214, n. 280
- **shm-^c*, “attendant,” (lit. “powerful of arm”), 130
- stš*, “harpooner,” 193
- stš nbw*, “necklace-stringer,” “jeweler,” 193, n. 153
- stš nbw hkrw nswt*, “necklace-stringer of the king’s regalia,” 193, n. 153
- stš(w) n pr dt*, “jewelers of the funerary estate,” 193, n. 153
- stš-rw*, “stringer of beads,” 192, n. 146
- stp-z3*, “protector,” 104
- stp-z3 n nb nhh*, “protector of the lord of eternity,” 104, 106, Pl. 15
- s(tm)*, “*se(tem)*-priest,” 2 (78 [d]), 3, Fig. 1
- stm hwt-ntr Inpw, zhy-ntr, hnty t3-dsr*, “priest of the temple of Anubis, he of the divine booth, presiding over the sacred land,” 46, Fig. 2, 49
- strw*, “stringer,” 192, n. 146
- **sdzwtj bity*, “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt,” 85
- šmsw*, “liegeman,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
- šmsw n hq3*, “liegeman of the ruler,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
- šmsw nswt*, “liegeman of the king,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
- šmsw n ntr*, “follower of the god,” 105
- šmsw Skr pdty*, “follower of Sokaris and bowman,” 105
- šmsw dbst*, “retinue of the robing room,” 214, n. 280
- qsty*, “sculptor,” 19
- kny*, “gardener,” 179, n. 22
- gm ts m gzw.f*, “who finds a phrase when it is lacking,” 87
- tms-^c*, “strong of hand” (epithet of Horus), 181
- tms-^cw*, “strong of hands,” 186
- dwt Hthr*, “who worships Hathor,” 65
- dwt Hthr r^c nb*, “who worships Hathor every day,” 65
- dd htpt n nb t3wy*, “who gives offerings to the lord of the two lands,” 159
- dd ts r hzw.f*, who declares a statement in its (proper) time,” 87
- , archaic title, 32
- , “washer(?),” 204, n. 199

C. Pyramids, Estates, Buildings and Places

- šh-swt*, “glorious are the places” (of Nebhepetre), 76
- šh-swt-Nb-hpt-R^c*, “glorious are the places of Nebhepetre,” 76
- šht-R^c* (sun-temple of Menkauhor at Abusir), 4, n. 28
- Imzw*, Kom el Hisn, 108
- **Izzi-nfr(w)*, 76
- zwy pt*, “two doors of heaven, shrine,” 98, n. 27
- Wsst Hn-Nhn, T3-wr Tp-Šm^cw*, “Thebes (in) *Hn-Nhn*, and the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of Upper Egypt,” 20, n. 46
- w^cbt*, “place of embalming,” “workshop,” 19

Wr-Wnīs, (estate name), 74
Wr-nfr-R, “great is the beauty of Re” (temple), 75
Wr-Rḥ.f, 76
Wr-Sḫwr, (estate name), 74
**wšht*, “court,” 230
Bzt, (estate name), 36
pr ʿw nswt, “house of royal decrees,” 52
Pr-wr, temple of Nekhbet, 13, n. 24
pr mdḫwt, “house of documents,” 52
pr ḥryw wdb, “house of those in charge of reversion offerings,” 52
pr-ḥd, “treasury,” 19, n. 42, 31, n. 135
Pr-Ḥty, “House of Khety,” 88
prw nw mhṯy, “the domains of the northerner,” 88, n. 31
Ptr-Snwsrt-tḫwy, “Sesostris beholds the two lands,” 77
Mn-ḥ-Ppy, “the life of Pepy abides,” 75
Mn-nfr, Memphis, 73
Mn-nfr-Ppy, “the beauty of Pepy abides,” 75
Mn-nfr(w)-Mryr, “the beauty of Meryre abides,” 77
Mn-swt-Nywsrr, 37
mr, “pyramid,” 75
mhwt, “the north,” 86
msprt, “haven,” 87
Ny-nfrt-Ṭy, (estate name), 58
Ny-k3(.i)-Ṭy, (estate name), 58
Nfr-Ṭz3, 76
Nfr-Wnīs, (estate name), 74
Nfr-Rḥ.f, (estate name), 74
Nfr-Ḥwfw, (estate name), 74
Nḥb, El Kab, 206
r-int, “mouth of the valley,” 211
**R-ḥ.f-wr(w)*, 76
ḥst, “court,” 230
ḥwt, “mansion,” 48, n. 31
Ḥwt, “the mansion” (modern Hu), 73
Ḥwt-ihyt, “estate of cattle,” 108
ḥwt-nṯr, “temple,” 48, n. 31
Ḥwt-šm, “the mansion-is-powerful,” 73
Ḥwt-šm-Ḥprkḫr-m3-ḥrw, “the mansion Kheperkare (justified)-is-powerful,” 73
Ḥwt-k3-šht, 4
Ḥwt-k3-Pth, Memphite temple of Ptah, 156, n. 92
Ḥr, pyramid and temple name, 74
Ḥzt-n-Wnīs, (estate name), 67
ḥst, “(up)land,” 21, n. 54
ḥst nbt, “every foreign land/all foreign lands,” 21, n. 54
Ḥr-wrt-Sḫwr, “the *wrt*-crown of Sahure appears,” (estate name), 74

Ḥr-bḫw-Sḫwr, 75
Ḥr-nfr-Mmr, pyramid of *Mmr*, 74
Ḥr-[Nfrk3]r, (estate name), 74
Ḥr-Ḥwfw, (estate name), 74
Ḥnmt-swt-ḥprkḫr, “she who encompasses the places of Khakheperre,” 76
Ḥn-Nḥn, “Upper Egypt,” 20, n. 46
ḥrt-nṯr, “necropolis,” 28, 191
Ḥkrw-Ppy, (estate name), 36
zmyt, “desert,” 210, n. 261, 211
zh, “pavillion,” 208, 209
zh nṯr, “divine booth,” 45–49
swt, “places,” in names of pyramids, 76
Swt, “(the pyramid) ‘the places’” (pyramid of Merykare), 76
Swt Mrykḫr, “the places of Merykare” (pyramid of Merykare), 76
Swt ḥw Imn-m-ḥst, “the places of the appearances of Amenemhet (I),” 76
štp-z3, “royal residence,” 21, n. 51
Šmʿw, “Upper Egypt,” 224
Šmʿw Mḥt t3 pn r ḏr.f, “the south and the north, this entire land,” 86
Šzp-ib-R, (sun temple), 37
Q3 nfrw Imn-m-ḥst, “Exalted is the beauty of Amenemhet,” 77
Tp-rs, “head of the south,” 83
Tp Šmʿw, “head of Upper Egypt,” 83
Tp Šmʿw mḥtt, “northern head of Upper Egypt” (region of the Thinite nome), 82, Fig. 3, 83, 89, Pl. 9
Ṭnnt, “Ṭnnt-shrine,” 74
Dw3-n(.i)-Snfrw, (estate name), 67
Ḍb3-skḫw, “the wages of tilling,” (estate name), 215
ḏb3t, “robing room,” 214

D. Words and Phrases






















3ʿw, “bag,” 229, n. 423
3ʿw n zš, “bag of the scribe,” 229, n. 423
m, “pressing (grapes),” 186, n. 95
z3b i3ḥw, “fiery of burning,” 36
st, “diadem,” 36
st, “power,” 36
ii nṯr z3 t3, “the god is coming! Rejoice!” 97
ii.kwi m ḥtp, “I returned in peace,” 82, Fig. 3, 83, 89, Pl. 9
iw(.i) <r> rmn.f, “I will be his support,” 180, n. 28
iw in.n.i prt Wpwswt wd.f r nd it.f, “I made the procession of Wepwawet, when he proceeds to defend









































- his father," 103
- iw ir.n.i z3 mr.f n Wsir Hnty imntyw*, "I acted as 'loving son' for Osiris Khentamentiu," 104
- iw nd.n.i Wnn-nfr hrw pf n ḥ3 3*, "I defended Onnophris on that day of the great fighting," 104
- iw ḥb n ʿwy.k whʿ pw*, "there is a catch (of fowl) for thy hands, O fowler!" 182
- iwn*, "pillar," "support," 48, n. 39
- ibw*, "purification booth," 98, n. 27
- ip(.i) iḥt nb(t) iḥt*, "I assessed everything that was to be assessed" (*Urk. I*, 106 [7–8]), 20, n. 47
- imy-wt*, "who is in the place of embalming," 4, n. 20, 28
- imy-st-ʿwy*, "schedule of duty," 181–82, 186
- imyt-r*, "staff," 44, n. 12
- innt ḥʿpy*, "what the inundation brings," 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
- ir*, proleptic, 87
- ih mk snʿ(.i)*, "Ho, see (how well) I am smoothing," 187, Fig. 7
- iḥ wn.i m šmsw n ntr*, "thus I was a follower of the god," 105
- iz*, "bureau," 52
- izwy*, "two chambers," 19, n. 42
- it*, "father," 71, n. 231
- itiwy*, kind of cloth, 23, n. 63
- ity*, "master," 71, n. 231
- idr*, "bind," "binding," 217
- idr*, "punishment," 216
- idr n.tn ʿwy.tn ḥr.n*, "remove your hands (from) under us," 182
- idrwt*, "punishment," 219
- ʿ, (var. *ir*), "wash," 182
- ʿ *mdw*, "wetting a stave," 182
- ʿ *dʿm*, "a ewer and basin of electrum," 182
- ʿ3 *rd.k, rd.k wri*, "great is thy foot; thy foot is large," 76, n. 33
- ʿwy, "hands," 183, n. 77
- ʿwy, "production," "produce," 20, 32, 33, 40, Pl. 6, 180
- ʿwy *Mḥw Šmʿw*, "production of Lower and Upper Egypt," 21
- ʿwy (*n*) *mw*, "two vessels of water," 183
- ʿwy *n ḥmww*, "handwork for the craftsmen," 182
- ʿwy *di.sn bʿḥ swʿb.f*, "the two arms, that they may give; the flood that it may purify," 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
- ʿbw-ʿwy, "washing of hands," 182
- ʿbw-r, "washing of mouth, repast," 31, 33, 182
- ʿnh *wḏ3 snb*, "may he live, prosper and be healthy (after name of nomarch)," 191
- ʿnh *dt r nhḥ*, "may he live for ever and ever," 191
- ʿḥ, "brazier," 227
- Wpwawt m prt tpt m Šn-Hr*, "Wepwawet at the first procession from Shenhor," 103, n. 7
- wpt*, "mission," 83
- wpt-rʿ*, "opening (day) of the month," 191
- wpt(t)-rnt*, "opening (day) of the year," 191, 230, 231
- wn ʿwy pt pri ntr*, "Open the two doors of heaven that the god may come forth!" 97
- wr.ki ʿ3.ki*, "I am great and mighty," 239
- Wsir*, "Osiris," 28
- wsr mʿ hrw*, "being powerful and justified," 188
- wsrt*, "neck," 188
- wdn m ʿwy.tn*, "offer with your two hands," 181
- wḏḥw*, "offerings," 203
- b3*, "leopard," "leopard skin," 36
- b3t*-emblem, "be living?," 189
- bʿḥ*, "flood," 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
- bzt*, "brilliant objects," 36
- bsw*, "flood," 132
- pri n.f ḥrw*, "that invocation-offerings go forth for him," 1, 20
- phw*, "end," 219, n. 323
- f3i ʿwy.t m it pn iw.f dḥ3*, "lift your arms from this grain; it is (but) straw," 182
- m ḥtp m ḥtp in zmt imntt ʿwy.s r.s(n)*, "welcome, welcome, says the western desert, her two arms towards them," 180, n. 29
- m-ḥnw-ʿwy*, "by virtue of," 181
- m33*, "see to," "supervise," 21, n. 51
- m33 ʿwy pr* , "viewing the production of the weaver's house," 180
- m33 stt n pzn*, "look at my batch of *pzn*-loaves," 193
- m33 k3(w)t*, "supervise works," 21, n. 51
- m33.t(i) irt im.sn m stp-z3 ḥrt-hrw*, "(the work) that was done on them (a pair of false doors) in the *stp-z3* was supervised throughout the day" (*Urk. I*, 39 [1]), 21, n. 51
- m3ʿ ḥrw*, "vindication," 216
- m3ʿt*, "truth," 229
- m3wt*, "staff," 229
- m3t*, "flute," 229, n. 422
- m3ḥt*, "clap," 183
- mw r ʿwy*, "water for the hands," 183
- mw ḥr ʿwy*, "water upon the hands," 183
- mnit*, "necklace," 237
- mnmnt*, "cattle," 207, 208, 235, Pl. 46a
- mrḥt m izwy*, "oil from the two chambers," 19, n. 42
- mrt*, "mrt-singer," 183, 185
- mḥtm*, "box," 226, n. 403

































































































- mk nbw ïi.ïi*, “Behold, Gold (= Hathor) has come forth!” 97
- mk r.k sn^c(.i)*, “See (how well) I am smoothing,” 187, Fig. 7
- niwty ïptn*, “these two (pyramid) cities,” 75
- nb n^h*, “possessor of life,” “coffin,” 75
- nbw*, “gold” (epithet of Hathor), 75
- *nfrt*, “throat,” 7
- nty hn^c(.i)*, “my companion,” 193
- ndt-r*, “counsel,” 103
- r*, “mouth,” 44
- r n hn*, “mouth for utterance,” 43
- r^cwy*, “activity,” 181
- rwi*, “dance,” 183
- rwi*, “wander,” 178, n. 13
- rmn*, “support,” 186
- rmn*, “support,” 180, nn. 26, 28
- mpwt*, “yearly offerings,” 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
- hst*, “ceiling,” “sky,” 232, n. 446
- hstyw*, “court people,” 230
- hnw*, “chest,” 226
- hrw n ndwt-r*, “day of conference,” 88
- hb*, “festival,” 208, 209
- hb nb*, “every feast,” 208, n. 238
- hnwt(.i)*, “my mistress” (referring to pyramid), 75
- hr(y)*, “over,” 47, 190, Fig. 9
- hry wy*, “handkerchief,” “towel,” 181
- hsi*, “sing,” 183, 185
- hsw*, “one who is cold,” 108, n. 3
- hwt-r*, “make offering,” 186
- htp di nswt*, “an offering which the king gives,” 63, n. 114
- h^c nbw m rw^t wrt q³ shm.ï in Hr*, “Gold appears in the great portal: ‘Thy (f.) power is exalted,’ says Horus,” 75, n. 27
- hni*, “beat (the rhythm),” 183, 185, 186, n. 87
- hnt-s*, “plantation,” “holdings,” 24
- h^tm*, “seal,” 51, n. 76
- htmt*, “treasure,” 50
- htmt ntr*, “treasure of the god,” 50
- htmt hrt sty-hb*, “treasure (or ‘that which is sealed’) containing festival scent,” 50
- h³b, h³bt*, “crooked,” “crookedness,” 229, n. 421
- *hr*, “watch out!,” 182, n. 51
- hry htmt*, “what is sealed, registry,” 51, 52
- hryw-r*, “authorizations,” 51, n. 77
- hrt*, “products,” 21, n. 53
- z^p tpy skr isbt*, “the first occasion of smiting the east,” 212, n. 269
- zš m sšr*, “writing down the (amount of) of linen,” 22, n. 56
- zš dšt.s <n> pr-hd(?)*, “writing its balance of the treasury(?),” 50, n. 59
- spr*, “arrive,” 87
- spr*, “ribs,” 87
- sn^c*, “to smooth,” 186, 187, Fig. 7
- šhtp Hthr dd mrrt.s r^c nb wn wy n nbt t³*, “Propitiate Hathor! Say what she loves every day! Open the two doors of heaven for the mistress of the two lands!” 97, n. 26
- ssnt tw m ntyw sntr*, “breathing of emanations of myrrh and incense,” 126
- sšr*, “linen,” 217
- sšr*, “milking,” 192, n. 146
- sšrt*, “milk herd,” 192, n. 146
- sk hm.f m³.f hrt-hrw im r^c nb*, “while his majesty supervised the daily requirements thereof every day” (MFA 21.3081), 21, n. 51
- *sti*, “moulding,” “throw in,” 192
- sti/stt*, “spearing,” 192
- sti nw r mn^h*, “count this out properly,” 192
- sti nt[y hn^c.i]*, “count, [my] com[panion],” 193
- sti/str/stt nbw*, “stringing a necklace,” 192
- sti nbw in sti(w) n pr dt*, “stringing of necklaces by the jewelers of the funerary estate,” 193, n. 153
- stt*, “assemblage,” “batch,” 193
- st³-hb*, “festival scent,” 208, n. 239, 209, n. 247
- *st³t*, “turned out,” 193, n. 152
- st³t*, “chest,” 213
- sdst*, “seal,” 50
- sdst im³h Hnqw. . . r sti.t rmw*, “the revered *Hnqw* travelling . . . to spear fish,” 192, n. 147
- š^cw(y) n(ty) i^cw^cwy*, “the two vessels of the wash (-hands) and a jar,” 183
- š^cti*, “two vessels” (ewer and basin), 183
- šm iy nb r st tn*, “all travelling (lit. every going and coming) to this place,” 85
- šm.k(wi) m wpt nt nb(.i) pn ir.n(.i) mrt.n.f*, “Having gone on a mission of this my lord, I did what he desired,” 87
- šm³w*, “wanderers,” 178, n. 13
- šmt*, “mother-in-law,” 237
- šndt*, “šndt-kilt,” 85
- šzpt*, “šzpt-cloth,” 2, n. 14, 214
- q³*, “exalted,” “great,” 77
- qb^h mw hzmn*, “a libation of water and natron,” 219
- qb^hw*, “libations,” 4, n. 20
- qrs.tw.f m hrt-ntr*, “that he might be buried in the necropolis,” 28
- qrs.tw.f nfr. . .*, “that he might be buried well. . .,” 28

k3, “*k3*,” 7, n. 4, 65, 153–56
k3 Pth, “the *k3* of Ptah,” 156
ksw, “nourishment,” 156
t hdt hbw, “white bread of festivals,” 209, n. 247
tpy-ꜥwy, “best quality” (of cloth), 180
tp(w)-ꜥwy, “predecessors,” 180, 181, n. 34
**tpt-r*, “speech,” 103, n. 3
**tmt*, “*tmt*-cloth,” 2, n. 14
thn, “ibis,” 204
tzw, “breath,” 73, n. 8
tzw m, “wind from/namely/consisting of,” 125, 128, 134, Pl. 21
[tzw ndm] n ꜥnh, “sweet breath of life,” 125, 126, 134, Pl. 21
tzw ndm n hnty-imntyw r šrt “NN, “sweet breath of Khentyamentiw to the nose of NN,” 126
tzw.k sntr mhyt.k hty, “thy breath is incense; they (refreshing) north wind is smoke,” 128
dît hn n mšꜥ, “giving the rhythm to the army,” 185, n. 82
**dbhw*, 2, n. 10
d3d3t nt dt, “council of the funerary estate,” 193
db3, “payment,” 215
dbzw, “cages,” 215
dfw, “food,” 36, 157, 158, 173, Pl. 40
dh3/dh3, “straw,” 182, n. 50
Dhwtyt, “the Thoth festival,” 202, n. 183, 204










































E. Forms of Signs

A1 , as redundant name det. at end of Heracleopolitan Period, 88
A1 , as feminine det. with long wig, 79, n. 1
A19 , *smsw*, 47
A20  for , from hieratic , 103
A20 , ,  for , *ꜥh3*, 103, n. 1
A21 , *ꜥ3*, “great,” 239
A24  for  (A47), 177–79
A25  for  (A47), 177–79
A30 , det. of name, 28, n. 110
A40 , 79, n. 6
A47 , , , for , *mnw*, “herdsman,” *iry* “keeper,” 177–79





















































A48 , *mnw*, “herdsman,” *iry* “keeper,” 179; var. , 177, n. 5
A50 , redundant det., 32
A— , det. of *hsw*, “one who is cold,” 108, n. 3
A— , *hry*, *kmy*, 179, n. 22
A—  for  (?), 179
A— , *hs*, “singer,” 21, n. 49
A— , 230, n. 425
B1 , 79, n. 6
B— , *Mrt*, 183, n. 80
B— , fem. title, 238
D1 , emphasized on head end of coffin, 43, n. 6
D2 , emphasized on front end of coffin, 43, n. 6
D2  or  for , *hr*, “over,” 190
D10 , *wd3*, “be sound,” 189
D21 , mouth on coffin, 43–45
D28 , fusion of, 130
D29 , *k3*, 153–56
D34  for , *ꜥh3*, 103
D36 , 180–87, 230
D41 , *rmn*, 182, n. 58
D41  for , and for *mh*, “cubit,” 186
D41 , , *ꜥwy*, 186
D45 , *dsr*, variants of, 27
D52 , 227
D61  and  assimilated, 196, n. 165
D— , *ꜥwy*, as dual of  (D2), 32, 180–87
D— , *ir*, “wash,” 182, 186
D— , 28; , 207
D— , *wdst*-eyes in pyramid name, 77
D— , *ꜥbw-r*, 33, 182, n. 62


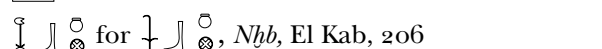

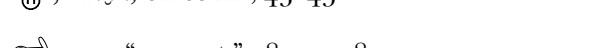
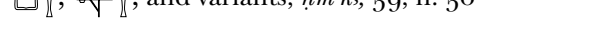
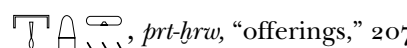
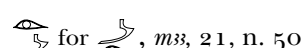
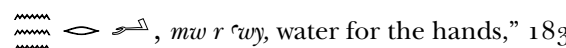
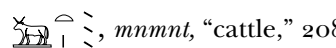

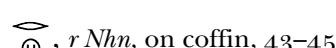
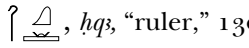
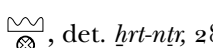
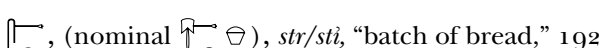
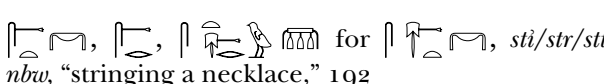
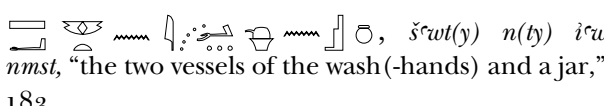
- E15 , *hry-sst*, *Inpw*, 45-47, 49
- E16 , , 28, 45, 49, 190
- F4 , , for , *hst*, 190 and n. 123
- F9 , and , det., 36
- F12 , for , 187-90; , 188
- F13 , , *wp*, 191, 231
- F20 , *imy-r*, 45, 84, n. 23, 190
- F21 , , ear det., 79
- F23 , probably miscopied for , 230
- F25 , *whm*, 147, n. 21
- F29 , , , , , 37, 192-94
- F29 , for , 194
- F29 , for , 192, n. 146
- F— , , vars. of F29, 194
- F35 , in hieroglyphic “faces” on coffins and concubine figures, 43, n. 3
- F39 , *imsh*, 85, 194-201 (with variants, reversals and semi-reversals [, ])
- F39 , *imsh*, 26
- F40 , for , (F39), 196
- F— , *wpt-r*, “opening (day) of the month,” 191; *hry-tp*, “overlord,” 45, 190, Fig. 9
- G6 , for , *itiwy*, 23, n. 63
- G12 , 22
- G15 , 22
- G17 , for , 157, 207
- G21 , *nh*, 104, n. 11
- G26 , *Dhwtj*, Thoth, 201-205, esp. 202, Fig. 13
- G— , 22, Fig. 3, 24, 26
- G— , 23
- G— , *imy-dsrw*, “who is in the splendor,” 104
- I4 , 22
- I— , 22, n. 58
- K— , det. of *stt*, “spearing,” 193
- M3 , as det. in *smsw hsy*, “elder of the portal,” 80, 229, 231 (absence of), 232
- M3 , for , (A25), 230
- M4 , *mpt*, 231, n. 437
- M8 , 33
- M12 , for , 205-207
- M12 , for , 205, n. 221
- M12 , for , 205
- M13 , omission of, in pyramid name, 76
- M17 , as terminal ending in personal name, 65, n. 158
- M17 , for suffix *.i*, 129
- M17 , for , 157, 207
- M22 , replaced by , 205-207
- M23 , for *Šmꜣw* (M26), Upper Egypt, 86
- M23 , *nswt*, “king,” not shown in honorific transposition, 129
- M23 , replaced by , 205
- M26 , *Šmꜣw*, Upper Egypt, 86, 224
- M26 , *Šmꜣw*, Upper Egypt, 83
- M28 , , 207, 218
- M40 , for , 31, n. 135
- M— , for  , *sm*, “join (the land),” 203
- N1 , det. of *hsyt*, 232; , , 207
- N5 , *r*, 191
- N7 , for , *hrt-hrw*, 21, n. 51
- N16 , derived from  (F42), 87
- N16 , *t*, 26
- N18 , base on standard of Thoth, 202
- N24 , det. of Thebes, 127, n. 26
- N25 , in cryptic writing, 211
- N29 , for *hkr*, 19; for *whrt*, 81
































- N35 for , 157
- N35 , displaced, 57, 67–68
- N35 — for , 28, 229 (as det. for *hst*, “portal,” “court,”); for (plural), 230, n. 434
- N(35) , designating a supply of water, 183
- N37 for , 227
- O1 , det. in *snr*, “storehouse,” “ergastulum,” 219, n. 319; det. in *wdc m hst*, “one who judges in the court,” 230
- O1 , for , det. in *hstyw*, “court people,” 230, n. 434
- O4 unlikely for (O15), in *wsh*, “broad hall,” 230
- O21 , *zh-ntr*; *zhy-ntr*; 49
- O22 , for both *zh* “pavilion” and *hb* “festival,” 208–209
- O28 , variant of , 222, n. 371
- O31 , 94; var. , 96, Fig. 5
- O34 for suffix , 237
- O44 for (*ist*), 190
- O49 for , 191, n. 139
- O49 for , det. of *imywt*, 28
- P5 , *lsw*, “breath,” in personal names, 73, n. 8
- P5 , in *T3-wr*, “Thinite nome,” 20, n. 46
- P8 for , *hp*, 43, n. 2
- Q5 , , det. of *hnu*, “chest,” 226
- Q6 for , det. of *qrs*, “burial,” 1
- Q7 , det. replacing (F9), 36
- Q7 replaced by , 205, n. 221
- Q— , as det. of *h*, “brazier,” 227
- R3 , det. of *wdhw*, “offerings,” 203
- R4 for , *htp*, 189, 226, 227, Fig. 33
- R7 , *ntr*, 158
- R8 , *ntr*; separated from in , 191
- R8 , *ntrw*, “gods,” 158
- R10 , *hrt-ntr*, “necropolis,” 191
- R12 , 156, 201
- R13 , *imnt*, “western,” 23, n. 63
- R14 for , 189
- R14 , 214
- R15 , 210–14
- R15 , (Middle Kingdom), 213
- R— , , , for , *hrt-ntr*, 27, 29
- R— , *dw3*, 9
- R— , *Tp-hps(?)*, Lower Egyptian Nome 2, 37
- S19-20 , , *htm*, 50–52; , , , *htm*, 9, with n. 23
- S29 , 178, n. 11, 192
- S42 , read as **wr*, 238
- T3 for , 28
- T7 , in titles, 32, 33
- T11 , variants of, 192
- T19 for , 26
- T20 , 26
- T20 , *qsty*, “sculptor,” 19
- T21 , reversed, 79
- T25 , , , etc., *dbst*, 214–16 (with esp. 215, Fig. 24, 216, Fig. 25)
- T28 , *ntr*; separated from in , 191
- U1 and , 33
- U1 or , in *h3b*, *h3bt*, “crooked,” “crookedness,” 229, 421
- U6 for , 205, n. 220
- U15 , , , , for , *tm*, 8
- U25 for , 216

- V1 , det. of *imy-r šntwt*, “overseer of disputes,” 208
- V2 , det. of *šwt*, “fields,” 238
- V7 , 178
- V20 , omitted from  (M28) in *wr mdw Šmꜣw*, “greatest of the tens of Upper of Egypt,” 218
- V24 , *wd*, 87
- V28 , 207
- V30  for , *nb*, 157
- V30 , *nb*, in hieroglyphic “face,” 43, 44, Fig. 1
- V33 , 22, 24, 217
- V35 , 22, n. 55, 216
- V35  for , *sš*; “linen,” 22
- V37 , , , 216–19, with esp. 217, Fig. 26; as det. of *šnc*, “stores,” 219, n. 319
- V8+39 , *bst*-fetish, 189
- V39 , Isis-knot, 189
- V— , in name *Qꜣ*; 24
- V— , det. *hꜣyt*, “(judicial) court,” 228, Fig. 34, 229–30
- W3 , 208–209, 231, n. 437
- W4  for  (O22), 209
- W4 , , 208–209, , *zh*, 209, n. 255
- W5 , *hꜣy-hꜣbt*, “lector priest,” 209
- W5 , for *hb*, “festival,” 20, n. 255
- W9 , *hnmt*, 189
- W14 , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , 207, 219–22
- W22 , 207
- W25 , *ini*, “bring,” not reversed, 240
- W— , “libations,” 4, n. 20
- W— , designating supply of water, 183
- X2 , , , , , , , as writing for Thoth, 59, n. 53, 109, 202, 203, 204, 205
- X8 , with value *d*, 205, n. 212
- Y1  for  (Y2), 84, n. 23
- Y3 , , , *zš*, 157, 222–225, with esp. 223, Figs. 29–30; , 22, n. 56; , 127
- Y3  for , 219
- Y5  for , gameboard, 157, 225–27
- Aa1  for , 207
- Aa5  for , 193
- Aa11 , 229, nn. 420–21
- Aa12 , as det. of *hꜣyt*, “portal,” “court,” 227–32
- Aa27 , *nd*, 87–88
- Aa27 , , and hieratic  for , *nd*, 103
- Aa— , in *imywt*, 4, n. 20

F. Groups and Arrangement of Signs

-  , *wt-ꜣwy*, “wide of wings,” 181
-   for  , *ꜣst*, “Isis,” 203
-  , *ꜣꜣw-ꜣwy*, vessels for “washing hands,” 183
-   , *ibst* for  , *wꜣs(y)t*, “maidservant,” 126
-  , *imy-r*, 20, n. 44
-  , *iry*, 20, n. 44
-  ,              , *ꜣwy*, “produce,” 180
-  , *ꜣwy*, “two hands,” 183, n. 77
-   var.      , *ꜣwy (n) mw*, “two vessels of water,” 183
-    , *ꜣwt*, “beasts” (reversed), 130
-   , *ꜣw-ꜣwy*, “wash hands,” 182
-  , *ꜣw-r*, “wash mouth,” 182

- , for  *nb*, 57
, *nh htp*, “live and be at peace,” 189
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , 
- , *pr-hd*, “treasury,” 31, n. 135
, *prt-hrw*, “offerings,” 207
, *m-hnw-ꜣwy*, “by virtue of,” 181
, *m3*, 21, n. 50
, *m3 stt n pzn*, “look at my batch of *pzn*-loaves,” 193
, *mw iꜣw-ꜣwy*, water and washing vessels,” 183
, *mw r ꜣwy*, water for the hands,” 183
, *mw hr ꜣwy*, water upon the hands,” 183
, *mn*, “abide,” in name of pyramid, 74
, *mnw*, “herdsman,” 177
, *mnmnt*, “cattle,” 208
, *n Hr-h(wi).f*, 71
, *Nhb*, El Kab, 206
, *Nhbyt*, 206
, *Nhbt*, 206
, *Nhbt*, 22, n. 60
, *nht hrw*, 179, n. 23
, *r3-ꜣwy*, “activity,” 181
, *r Nhn*, on coffin, 43–45
, *rmn*, “support,” 180, n. 28
, and variants, *hm-k3*, 59, n. 50
, *hry ꜣwy*, “handkerchief,” “towel,” 181
, *hry-pr*, “major domo, with det.,” 132
, *hq*, “ruler,” 130
, for , *htp*, 63
, *hnt*, “beat (the rhythm),” 76, 183
, *Hn-Nhn*, 20, n. 46
, for , in the epithet of Anubis *hnty zh ntr*, 47, n. 29
, det. *hrt-ntr*, 28
, *hrt(w)-ntr*, “stoneworkers,” 19
, *zhy*, “councillor,” 48, n. 36
, (var. ), *zhy ntr Inpw*, 45–49
, *zhyw ntr*, “they of the divine booth,” 47; with det. , 47, n. 29
, *spry*, “having arrived” (old perfective), 87
, *snꜣ*, “smoothing,” 186
, for , *snb*, 57
, *sꜣr*, “milking,” 192, n. 146
, *sꜣrt*, “milk herd,” 192, n. 146
, , for , infinitive of *sti*, “spearing,” 192, 193
, (nominal ), *str/sti*, “batch of bread,” 192
, , for , *sti/str/stt nbw*, “stringing a necklace,” 192
, *sti-hb*, “festival scent,” 208, n. 239, 209, n. 247
, *sꜣwt(y) n(ty) iꜣw nmst*, “the two vessels of the wash(-hands) and a jar,” 183
, *sꜣti*, “the two vessels,” 183
, *mnht*, *sntr*, *mrht*, “alabaster (jars of ointment), clothing, incense and oil,” 157–58

-  , *tp-ꜥwy*, “before,” 180
-  /  , var.  ,  , *tpy-ꜥwy*, “best quality (of cloth),” 180
-    , *tp(w)-ꜥwy*, “ancestors,” 180
-  , *tmꜥ*, “strong of hand,” 181
-      , (also with dets.  ,  ), *dfꜥw*, “food,” 158
-      , “*Dhwtyt*-festival,” 204