EGYPTIAN STUDIES III

VARIA NOVA
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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
TO THE MEMORY OF
LILA ACHESON WALLACE (1890–1984)
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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Egyptian Studies I, and in a further sense; for, although all but one of the articles that comprise it (14/4) are unpublished, a few of them were written as long ago as 1978, and most of the others were written in the 1980’s. Thus the adjective “nova” may seem a trifle misleading.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 reunings 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.
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2  Determinative of inrā
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<td>ĀA</td>
<td>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden</td>
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<td>ĀF</td>
<td>Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York</td>
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<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton, New Jersey</td>
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<td>Anthes, Hatnub</td>
<td>R. Anthes, <em>Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 9)</em>. Leipzig 1928</td>
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<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Cairo</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASE</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of Egypt</td>
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<td>AV</td>
<td>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kairo</td>
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<td>BdE</td>
<td>Bibliothèque d’Etude (IFAO)</td>
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<td>BES</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York</td>
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<td>BIFAO</td>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>The British Museum, London</td>
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<td>BMMA</td>
<td><em>Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art</em>, New York</td>
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<td>Borchardt, <em>Denkmäler des A.R.</em></td>
<td>See CG + number</td>
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<td>BSA</td>
<td>British School of Archaeology, London</td>
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<td>BSEG</td>
<td><em>Bulletin de la Société d'Egyptologie</em>, Genève</td>
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<td>CAA</td>
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<td>CG 1308–1315 and 17001–17036</td>
<td>C. Kuentz, <em>Obélisques</em>. Cairo 1932</td>
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<td>DAIK</td>
<td>Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo</td>
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<td>Daressy, <em>Mera</em></td>
<td>G. Daressy, <em>Le mastaba de Mera</em> (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut égyptien 3). Cairo 1900</td>
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<td>EEF</td>
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<td>GI</td>
<td>Griffith Institute, Oxford</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Göttingen</td>
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<td><em>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum</em>, 11 parts. London 1911–1987</td>
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<td>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</td>
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<td><em>Journal d'entrée</em>, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Unpublished unless otherwise noted</td>
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James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum* I. Brooklyn 1974


*JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore–New Haven

*JARCE* Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, Princeton, New York

*JEA* Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London


Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers* G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqara: Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (SAE). Cairo 1929

*JNES* Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago

*JSSEA* Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto


Kanawati et al., *Saqqara*  | Naguib Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara I*. Sydney 1984  
*Kêmi*  | *Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*, Paris  
*Kush*  | *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service*, Khartoum  
Lacau, *Sarcophages*  | See CG + number  
Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*  | See CG + number  
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<td>Orientalia</td>
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<td>Petrie</td>
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<td>Petrie</td>
<td>Dendereh 1898 and Extra Plates (EEF). London 1900</td>
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<td>Petrie</td>
<td>Deshasheh 1897 (EEF). London 1898</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

Petrie, Koptos
W.M.F. Petrie, Koptos. London 1896

Petrie, Medum
W.M.F. Petrie et al., Medum. London 1892

Petrie, Royal Tombs
W.M.F. Petrie, Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, 2 vols. and Extra Plates (EEF). London 1900–1901

Petrie and Brunton, Sedment
W.M.F. Petrie and G. Brunton, Sedment I–II (BSA). London 1924

Petrie and Murray, Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels
Hilda Petrie and M.A. Murray, Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels (BSA). London 1952

PM

PN

Posener-Kriéger, Archives

Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, Abu Sir Papyri

PSBA

Pyr.
Pyramid text reference, in terms of K. Sethe’s arrangement in Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Leipzig 1908–1922, and his Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten, Glückstadt 1935–1939

Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1905–1906
J.E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1905–06 (SAE). Cairo 1907

RdE
Revue d’Egyptologie, Paris

Rec. trav. 
Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris

Reisner, Hist. Giza Necr. I
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<td>Mohamed Saleh, <em>Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes (AV)</em>. Mainz 1979</td>
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<td><strong>Wörterbuch</strong></td>
<td>See Wb.</td>
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<td><strong>WZKM</strong></td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna</td>
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<td><strong>ZÅS</strong></td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig and Berlin</td>
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<td><strong>Ziegler, Catalogue des stèles</strong></td>
<td>Christiane Ziegler, Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Inter-médiare. Musée du Louvre. Paris 1990</td>
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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, a burial that is situated below Room III. T.G.H. James observes that the pair of false doors in this room (Fig. 1), both of which bear the name in question as well as the nickname Thhi, 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.

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. 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!Jrw in the offering formulae, while the false doors have the newer formulation pri-huw n NN. Furthermore the inscriptions of the entrance show ☐ as the determinative of qrs, rather than ☐, 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:

78 (a) ☐
    (b) ☐
    (c) ☐

79 (a) ☐
    (b) ☐
    (c) ☐

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 ☐ (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.
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 smr-wt (a), while both have the more modest rank of smr-wt (78 a, 79 a), and that 78 has hry-hbt hry-tpt while 79 has only hry hbt (b in each case). Furthermore two of the dissimilar titles of 78, namely hry-nst (f) and hry hbt km (g) occur in the titularies of two viziers in neighboring mastabas, Mrr-w(J)-k~(J) and Ttw, 8 while the third, zš mšt-ntr, occurs not only in the last two cases, but also in the titulary of the vizier K(J)-gm.n.(J), whose mastaba is also near at hand.9 Thus it is not at all surprising that the Vizier Hnty-kJ 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-kJ 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 šr (c: Fdnw,10 no. 77) and shd dbt (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 šr (j) is applied, without mention of a specific funerary cult, to a retainer in Room III (Bqt[J], no. 86).

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

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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 ḏbtw 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 ṣr rather than imy-r šr. The latter title occurs very frequently in this context: e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pls. 5, 23, 25, 26, 32.
11 For the reading cf. PNI, 298 (17).
13 E.g., ibid., pp. 132 (21), 153 (51).
14 Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918), 148-65, and especially p. 132, where the int of no. 16 should be emended to "špt-cloth" (for which see *JARCE* 2 [1963], 25). The fact that šr 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, *TII*, pl. 126).
15 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).
ably have claimed that title. Otherwise this comparison leaves hry ṣtš n mdw-nṯr (f) which is appropriate to any lector priest; wrb 200 (k), which does not seem to be a very lofty title;\textsuperscript{15} and imy-r hntšt (h) “overseer of the treasury.” Probably the last is to be interpreted thus rather than imy-r htmtyw “overseer of sealers,” since the final = is hardly ever added to or and || in Old Kingdom tomb chapels.\textsuperscript{16} In the Middle Kingdom both alternatives are attested, and the overseer of sealers is written & = or, more rarely, &.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{15} See Junker, Gīzā 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 Gebrawi II, pl. 10), alone (or preceded by =) is known for two retainers of Tḥ-ntr (or Tqr-Tḥ) in the tomb of Mrr-w(.m)-k1(.i) (Daressy, Mena, 582, 587).

\textsuperscript{16} The only exceptions I have noted are: \& Wild, Ti II, pl. 76; \& Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 31.

\textsuperscript{17} Ward, Index, no. 567, to which Turin 1447 (wrongly included with no. 964 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 In-It.f in the Eleventh Dynasty. One of the inscriptions added to the facade of the Sixth Dynasty nomarch Twtt at Qasr es-Sayad, made by an imy-r hmt, may possibly be a little earlier than the Upper Egyptian reunification. As has been noted by Helck, 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 nomarchs 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 Hdy, a high ranking official, but neither a nomarch nor a vizier. 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.

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 hmt m is r drf “overseer of the treasury in the entire land,” (the well-known Hdy, official of Nb-hpt-R’ Mentuhotep) and imy-r hmt Ti-wr “overseer of the treasure of the Thinite Nome.”

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 zü = ) and e. And the titles of two loose blocks (XIII, XIV) which James says “belong almost certainly to the north wall of Room III,” 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 kq-house of the tomb ( ? sht).”

18 Clère and Vandier, TPFI, § 20.
19 LD II, 114 (e); cf. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Sayad) (Stockholm 1994), pl. 13 (l); 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 II, 517; Aeg. Inschr. I, p. 135). But that seems doubtful.
20 Note , in imy-at and , “libations;” for the latter see Fischer, Dendera, pp. 196–97, and the Chatsworth stela, MDAIK 4 (1933), 187.
22 Ibid.
23 Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 284.
24 CG 20561 and Louvre C167 (Gayet, Sièges de la XIIe 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.
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 sht; this can hardly refer to the tomb of Hnty-k(J since no non-royal person, no matter how revered, would have hm-nr priests (JARCE 4 [1965], 52). Might it designate the sun-temple of Menkauser at Abusir, sht-R'?
It may also be observed that the Ḥnty-ki/Iḥḥi 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 𓊪𓊵 “hereditary prince,” which

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2⁹ Cf. JARCE 1 (1962), 17, n. 80, referring to Ḥzi 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 Nḥbw (Giza 2381), there is a second example from Akhmim (Kanawati, El-Hawaawish 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-Hawaawish I, figs. 17, 21; II, 4, 24; VII, figs. 8, 10, 14.
3⁴ As compared with that of Ḥs-ḥḥ, PM III³, p. 615, which in turn resembles that of Ḥḥ (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 (245), 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 Ḥs-ḥḥ but not that of Ḥḥ.
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 Mhaw. 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). 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.

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.

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37 JARCE 4 (1965), 51.
38 The replacement of $\text{by } \text{is odd. Perhaps } \text{was intended, but could not be completed because space was lacking. At any rate the erased title is one that the later Hnty-k3 does not claim.}$
39 The name Bqti(i) is inserted in the scene on pl. 9 (49), that of shi 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 $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$ (pl. 26, following the copy of Mariette), but Vittmann more accurately transcribes it as $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$ 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 nfrt “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 $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{+}}$ (PNI, 319 [10]) and another as Nj-kaw (PNI, 180 [18]), citing the Copenhagen false door as the sole evidence in both cases. A third name is read Irт (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 $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$, 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 $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$.

Inasmuch as there is abundant evidence for Old Kingdom names such as $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$, $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$, $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$, and $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}\text{\textsuperscript{-}}$,³ it must be considered whether $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}$ 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', 456.
² Cf. Fischer, Calligraphy²–³, 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 $\text{\textsuperscript{+}}$, 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 \( \text{Ny-nfr} \) 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 \( \text{Ny-rnlj-Nfrtm} \) (Junker, Giza VIII, fig. 6) (Copenhagen false door)\(^6\) (Pl. 3a).\(^5\) \( \text{Ny-kJw-Nfrtm} \) is attested from a fragment of late Old Kingdom relief in Strasbourg (Pl. 3a)\(^5\) (Copenhagen false door)\(^6\) (Pl. 3a).

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 Duw.ti-Snfrw, Snfrw-h.t.f and Snfrw-br.f on the false door of the King’s son KJ(i)-nfr, BM 1324.\(^10\) In this case the frequent allusion to Snfrw may not seem surprising since KJ(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: B1k-n-Hnmw, Htp-Hnmw, Tr-n-Hnmw 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 Sym-nfr-Nfrtm, Ny-kJw-Nfrtm, Ir-t-Nfrtm and [Nfr]tm-h.t.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 \( \text{Ny-rnlj-Nfrtm} \) by Kees, who con-

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\(^5\) No. 2541A. I am indebted to Jacques Parlebas for permitting me to publish my own photograph. The name is preceded by the titles \( \text{mty n z} \) “regulator of a phyle,” \( \text{imy-r sfr} \) “overseer of linen,” and \( \text{smr z n z} \) “companion, scribe of a phyle.”

\(^6\) PNI, 200 (24); II, 370, where Ranke notes that Junker’s example is now published in his Giza VIII, fig. 6. This name is also known from the Middle Kingdom, when the name \( \text{Nfrtm-m-w.s} \) is also attested (PNI, 200 [27]) as well as two examples of Zt-Nfrtm (Ahmed Moussa, JEA 70 [1984], 51, fig. 1 [a] and Habachi, Heqaiq, 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 PNIII, 234.

\(^8\) Posener-Krieger 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 I\(^2\), 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. B1k-n-Pt}:t (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 \( \text{hfr} \) (Wb. III, 30), which is not otherwise attested before the Middle Kingdom. The meaning would be “Khnum is hidden,” possibly to be read \( \text{Hnmw-hfr(h)} \).

\(^14\) 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 ḫnswt is therefore to be read ḫmswt.17 His reasoning is followed by Reisner and Smith, in reference to an occurrence of ḫmr 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 ḫmr ḫmr ḫmswt in the present example, leaving the last word unexplained,20 and Werner Kaiser likewise quotes it as ḫmr ḫmr ḫmswt, stating that Bissing and Kees regard this as possibly giving the phonetic reading of the standard.21 He also observes, like them, that ḫmr is not to be confused with the standard ḫ, and rightly favors Junker’s explanation of the former as a seal.22

If ḫmswt were the reading of the seal-standard, one would expect it to precede the standard on the Copenhagen false door, not follow it. And there is distinctly more space between the standard and ḫmr than between the latter and ḫ. It is therefore much more reasonable to suppose that ḫmr represents a separate title, with the sign ḫ inadvertently omitted,23 and that ḫmr ḫmr ḫmswt is written normally, trailing off to the right at the end of the column as does the title ḫmr ḫmr on the adjacent jamb. As for the reading of the seal-standard, it may well be simply ḫtm. At any rate the reading ḫmswt should be abandoned.

16 For the interpretation see Fischer, Titles, p. 20, no. 923a, and for other examples see Urk. I, 231 (11 = Cairo J 15048); Wild, Ti III, pls. 185–85; Daressy, Mena, p. 569 (false door of Me-Ti); CG 1484 (= Mariette, Mastabas, p. 307, with ḫmr miscopied as ḫmr); Petrie and Murray, Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. 15 (= Mariette, op. cit., p. 312); Hassan, Giza I, pp. 4, 6, 9, 19, 34 (R–w–r: the first example written ḫmr ḫmr ḫmr = ḫmr ḫmr ḫmr, where ḫmr, if correctly copied, may refer to the epithet ḫmrty, i.e. “solely presiding over”); ibid., II, p. 107 and fig. 113B (Kf. I–m–nfr), p. 186 and fig. 214 (Wp–m–nfr). For Middle Kingdom examples see Ward, Index, no. 900; Fischer, loc. cit. Ogden (Varia Aegyptiaca 3 [1987], 271) is probably right in taking Horus-Anubis as a single divinity, despite CG 1484, which evidently regards them as two.

17 Bissing and Kees, Re-Heiligtum III (Berlin 1928), p. 25 f. This is quoted identically by von Bissing and Kees in Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures I (Abh. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wis., Ph.-Hist. Kl. 32/1, Munich, 1922), p. 11*, n. 83, where no interpretation is attempted.


19 Kaplony, Rollsiegel II, p. 149 and pl. 52 (8).

20 Beamtentitel, p. 49, and Index, p. 145.


22 AASAE 49 (1949), 209.

23 Attested by (1) CG 1307; (2) W.V. Davies et al., Saqqâra Tombs I, pl. 28 (= ASAE 43 [1943], 500, fig. 67); (3) ibid., pl. 32 (7); (4) Jéquier, Oudjebten, fig. 28 (= AASAE 26 [1926] 54); (5) Mariette, Mastabas, p. 179 (= MMA 08.201.1). Probably another example is to be recognized in Bissing and Kees, Re-Heiligtum III pl. 19 (316), although the rounded end of the incomplete emblem does not seem to represent either end of a seal. It is true that the fifth example in the foregoing list has an even more indeterminate form (~), but this must be distinguished from ~ which occurs elsewhere in the same titulary and is the only alternative that is known from Old Kingdom titles. It should be noted that the present example and no. (1) bear a feather, and that all the examples except the present one place the seal itself in front—doubtless because it was felt that it should precede the loop. The present example of ~ , on the other hand, follows the usual orientation of normally vertical signs that are presented horizontally with the top foremost (Fischer, Egyptian Studies II, pp. 121–22).
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, *Agyptische Kunst: Son- derausstellung der Ägyptischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Budapest 1965), p. 8, no. 42, dated “11. Dynas-tie(?),” and assigned to the Middle Kingdom. The length is 63 cm, the height 47 cm. Vandier, in his *Manuel d’Archiologie 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 III ², 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).
Embalmimg, 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 ‘q-tmr Official and Overseer of Two Treasuries, Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Treasuries; (The Overseer of Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Workshops; (The Overseer of the Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Chambers of the King’s Regalia, (The Overseer of the Two Treasuries), Under-supervisor of the Treasury and Overseer of Scribes of the Two Houses of Gold, (Špss-Pth). (3) An Offering which the King gives, that funerary offerings go forth to him 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 Production of Upper and Lower Egypt and All Foreign Lands, One Revered with Ptah-Sokaris, Špss-Pth.
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, but is also known from Sixth Dynasty examples at Meir, Quseir el-Amarna, and Akhmim. 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, and in the other he lacks a staff, both hands being empty. At Meir it reappears in one of the Twelfth Dynasty tombs, combined with similar differences in attitude as well as clothing, but does not seem to have been used elsewhere during the Hera-

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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 (ZAS 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, Kémi 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.
cleopolitician Period or the Middle Kingdom, although there are a few still later occurrences. The broad collar is found fairly often in Old Kingdom examples, the pair of bracelets less often. 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. 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. A small figure facing the owner, likewise wigless and beardless, but wearing a short kilt, offers incense, using a censer of Old Kingdom style. His name (A 5) is Ss-m-nfr.

Area B shows a figure similar to the owner, though with heavier torso, again beardless, and lacking collar and bracelets; he is: The Scribe nhr-swt-NN. All the signs retain rightward orientation, whereas the inscriptions pertaining to all the other minor figures are reversed, as would be expected. Beneath him is a woman, who, in view of her preeminent position, may be the owner’s wife. In accordance with the style of the late Old Kingdom, 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. 1928), 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. 485, 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, Qequer ElAmarna, pl. 30; 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, 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 Mut 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 censing in this manner before the owner, cf. Junker, 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 (Qr 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 Oising et al., Denkmäler, pl. 58, and an even later one in Newberry and Griffith, Beresh II, 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 (Dz, Ez, Fz).

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, pl. 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. One hand raises a lotus blossom to her nose, while the other hangs empty at her side. Her title and name are: The King’s Acquaintance, Tw-f-n[i].

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. 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; (4) the Revered Śps-Pḥ; (5) The Inspector of Custodians of Property of the Treasury, the Revered Ḥw’; (6) The Inspector of Custodians of Property of the Treasury, the Revered Ḥw’; (7) The Functionary of tenant-landholdings, Ḥn.

**Comments**

(a) Note that the title imy-r pry-hd normally follows hry-tp nswt and zlb 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 zlb 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-hḥ as “Untervorsteher,” and I doubt that it ever means “assistant” in Old Kingdom titles (as Junker sometimes interprets it in his Giza series). Thus ḫry-tp nswt (Fisher, Giza, pl. 44 [1]) is evidently “under-supervisor of directors of the army,” 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 ḫry-tp nswt (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-hḥ (ibid., p. 139). These occurrences of isolated imy-hḥ can hardly refer to a simple “helper” in either case, or to a hereditary successor, as...

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18 E.g., Junker, Giza V, fig. 23; Simpson, Qar and Idu, figs. 25, 41; Blackman, Meir IV, pl. 9; Davies, Deir el Gebrāwī 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, Athisibis, pl. 10; Davies, Deir el Gebrāwī I, pl. 3; CG 1576 [Abydos]), although there are a few later examples (e.g., Dunham, Naga-ed-Dēr Stelas, no. 53); the example shown in MMJ 11 (1976), 16-17, may well be as early as Dyn. VII (see Ancient Egypt in the MMJ [New York 1977], p. 184 [top 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., Hemamisch, 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, Medium, 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. ḫry-tp nswt (Abu Bakr, Giza, p. 35); ḫry-tp nswt (LD II, 97a, ḫry-tp nswt (with additions, Mariette, Mastabas, p. 229 f.).
Rosemarie Drenkhahn argues.\textsuperscript{22} Another title which Junker translates “Unterhausverwalter” (\textit{Giza} XI, p. 219) is written \(\text{\textsuperscript{[85]}} \text{\textsuperscript{[86]}}\) (his fig. 85), which looks like a scribal error; perhaps to be read \textit{imy-r \textit{pr}}, \textit{imy-h\textit{t} (pr)}.\textsuperscript{23} The examples of isolated \textit{imy-h\textit{t}} are interesting, however, since it seems doubtful that examples of isolated \textit{imy-r} “overseer” and \textit{sh\textit{d} “inspector” are attested in Old Kingdom titularies.\textsuperscript{24} Thus \textit{imy-h\textit{t}} may be somewhat different in nature, although the examples where it is isolated are admittedly rare. For the position of the \textit{imy-h\textit{t}} below the rank of \textit{sh\textit{d}} cf. Helck, \textit{Beamtentitel}, p. 107, referring to Junker, \textit{Giza} VI, 209. Another indication is the sequence from greater to lesser in \textit{imy-r \textit{pr}} and \textit{imy-h\textit{t}} “inspectors of funerary priests, under-supervisors of funerary priests, funerary priests.”\textsuperscript{25} In the present case \textit{imy-h\textit{t} pr-\textit{hd}},\textsuperscript{26} is again clearly subordinate to \textit{imy-r pr wnh \textit{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 \textit{imy-h\textit{t} pr-\textit{hd}} is given in some other titularies such as that of \textit{Kt.(i)-ptw-R3}\textsuperscript{\footnote{22 Handwerker, pp. 81–83.}} in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (Mariette, \textit{Mastabas}, p. 278), the false door of \textit{Kt.(i)-dbh.n.(i)} (Hassan, \textit{Giza} V, fig. 67) and that of \textit{Izi} (Louvre C 164; Ziegler, \textit{Catalogue des stèles}, p. 83).

(c) “Scribes of the treasury” are fairly well attested,\textsuperscript{27} as well as a \textit{sh\textit{d} “inspector” of them,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Izi} in the Louvre (C 164), who is “overseer of scribes of the two treasuries.”\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{25} Von Bissing, \textit{Gem-ni-kai} II, pl. 32 and p. 19 (177); Murray, \textit{Saqqara Mastabas} I, pl. 12; Petrie and Murray, \textit{Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels}, pl. 14. Lacking the terminal \textit{hmw-ki}: Mariette, \textit{Mastabas}, pp. 380 (CG 1418), 406 (CG 1492); \textit{Urk. I}, 11 (CG 1432). On the other hand the sequence of \textit{z-pr}, \textit{imy-h\textit{t} z\textit{pr}} (\textit{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 *\textit{imy-r wpt z(w-pr)} “overseer of commissions of police.”

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. Mariette, \textit{Mastabas}, p. 254, where a son is \textit{imy-h\textit{t} pr-\textit{hd}}, while his father is \textit{imy-r pr-\textit{hd}}.

\textsuperscript{27} Murray, \textit{Saqqara Mastabas} I, pl. 7; Petrie and Murray, loc. cit.; Hassan, \textit{Giza I}, figs. 133, 135; III, fig. 84; VI/3, fig. 40; CG 1689.

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

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.}, no. 10.
(d) The uses of wḥt, 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 hmrw “craftsmen” in this connection,\(^3²\) as well as carpenters,\(^3³\) a painter (zš), and a sculptor (\(\frac{\text{zš}}{\text{m}}\)), to which may be added \(\frac{\text{zš}}{\text{m}}\) “inspector of stonemasons of the king’s workshop,”\(^3⁴\) and \(\frac{\text{zš}}{\text{m}}\) “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-Pḥt to “take stock of the production.” No other overseers of “scribes of the workshop” seem to be attested, although another zš wḥt, 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 wḥt “scribe of the two workshops.”

(e) The phrase izwy hkrw nswt is easily recognized despite the anomalous form of hkrw, which resembles ∆. 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 \(\frac{\text{hkrw}}{\text{izwy}}\) or \(\frac{\text{izwy}}{\text{hkrw}}\).\(^4⁰\) This title is often preceded by imy-r ṭwrty. The overseer of scribes does not seem to be otherwise associated with the king’s regalia, although there are at least two examples of \(\frac{\text{hkrw}}{\text{izwy}}\) “scribe of the king’s regalia.”\(^4²\) There is also an odd example of \(\frac{\text{hkrw}}{\text{izwy}}\) “inspector of scribes of the treasury and of the king’s regalia,” for which see Excursus III below.


\(^3¹\) 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 ḫḫn-haš from Reisner’s G 2111.

\(^3³\) Paget and Pirie, Ptb-hetep, p. 55; see also Macr-mallah, Idout, pl. 12, overlooked on p. 21.

\(^3⁴\) LD II, 34 (c); cf. Eva Martin-Pardey, CAA Hildesheim 1, 82, which she mistakenly translates “Untervorsteher der wḥt der Nekropole” (p. 75). Also \(\frac{\text{hkrw}}{\text{izwy}}\) (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 10618), which is abbreviated \(\frac{\text{hkrw}}{\text{izwy}}\) on a second statuette of the same person (10621) Nyhnu-Inpuy.

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

\(^3⁶\) See now Badawy, Nyhetep-Ptb, fig. 52; here designated \(\frac{\text{mḥt}}{\text{mḥt}}\) “scribe of the southern wḥt,” but also in fig. 45. \(\frac{\text{mḥt}}{\text{mḥt}}\).

\(^3⁷\) Davies, Der et Gebräus I, pl. 13, cols. at right.

\(^3⁸\) CG 1916, 1953; 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, 1457; 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 Tomb I, pls. 9, 10.

\(^4⁰\) Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pp. 111 (5), 123, 154 (54); Hassan, Giza I, p. 7 (and pl. 9); III, figs. 114, 115; Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II, III, fig. 63.

\(^4²\) Strudwick, JEA 71 (1985), 45 and pl. 5 (2).
(f) No scribes of the two houses of gold are attested, but the “two houses of gold” are commonly associated with imy-r prwy nbw43 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; 3/5 (9)), also Couyat-Montet, Hammâmâât, 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 pri n.f hru, see p. 1 above.

(i) The term “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 epitaph: \[\text{\texttt{\textit{imy-r prwy nbw}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{prwy nbw}}}}\], followed by a separate title beginning with hry-sšt. The preceding sign could be \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] or a sign such as \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\], and a possible emendation is “one who assessed (\[\text{\texttt{\textit{imy-r}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{prwy}}}}\]) the production of the nomes45 of southern Upper Egypt (Hu-Nn)46 which were to be assessed(?).”47 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 “\[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] 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, Teis Pyramid Cemeteries, pp. 106 (16) and 107 (32); 138 (16); pp. 152 (34) and 153 (35), where the title in question is replaced by \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\].

44 Petrie, Abydos I, pl. 54, mistated to the Sixth Dynasty on p. 27, and by Janssen, Ägyptische Autobiografie I, pp. 6, 9, 15, 94, 114. Even if there may be doubt about the form of \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] (twice copied thus, twice \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\]), the writing of \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] as \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] is not attested until the Ninth Dynasty (Fischer, Dendera, p. 154, from Petrie, Denderah, pl. 10) and \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] even later (Schenkel, Frühm. Studien, § 7). To judge from Janssen’s other evidence (op. cit., pp. 147–48), the epithet \[\text{\texttt{sr}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{mr}}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{mr}}}\texttt{hrt} }\] hrty 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 ‘i 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 \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] “overseer (?) of the nomes of Huw-Nn” 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 \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] 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 \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] (Stu III, 28). The “seven nomes of \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\]” 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 Sesostris I), which refers (line 13) to \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] “Thebes (in) Huw-Nn 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-šm’w, for which see p. 86 (c, g) below. Most of the references for Huw-Nn are also given by Gomaá, Besiedlung, p. 340, and by E. Brovarski, Dissertation, pp. 297–301.

47 The problem is that \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] seems to agree with spnut rather than with \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] as would be expected; cf. \[\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}{\text{\texttt{\textit{ipt}}}}\] “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 Suds-kht.i at Giza, probably dating to the Fifth Dynasty, a damaged inscription mentions šp-mr šškḥ, which again seems to refer to the “production of Lower and Upper Egypt.”\(^4\) The preceding signs, recorded as šp-mr šškḥ, can hardly be anything but špš-šškḥ, i.e., “he who supervises the production.”\(^5\) 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”\(^6\) 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 Tš: Išš-knh-ntr “one who brings back the produce of the southern and northern lands for the king.”\(^7\) As an official concerned with expeditions, Tš was based at the trade center of Aswan, where he made his tomb, whereas Ṣps-Pḥ, 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.\(^8\)

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

(k) It would be natural to assume that šš 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 of the king himself at the opening of the pillared hall Išš-knh-ntr Pšt-b|t, while his majesty supervised the daily requirements thereof every day” (Boston MFA 21,9081; Reisner, \(Hist. Giza\) Necr. I, pl. 65 b). Similarly špš-šškḥ “the work that was done on them (a pair of false doors) in the stp-šškḥ was supervised throughout the day” (\(Urk. I, 39 (11)\); for stp-šškḥ see Goelet, \(JARCE\) 23 (1986), 89).

\(^4\) Hassan, \(Giza\) VI/3, fig. 190.

\(^5\) The only alternative is “singers of Lower and Upper Egypt,” which seems unlikely. Ḥs “singer” is occasionally written as šš-kḥ, 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. šš-kḥ, ibid., pp. 395, 397 (= CG 1420, 1421, 1461), 398 (= 1461). Phonetically |šš| usually precedes this sign, however. And it seems highly doubtful that šš-kḥ would refer to the singers of Upper and Lower Egypt (mentioned in titles: Junker, \(Giza\) II, pl. 23, II, fig. 34).

\(^6\) Mistakenly recopied in the text, p. 191, as šš-kḥ šškḥ-mnr ššm-ntr “...” but šš-sh 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 šš-sh has been misspelled as šš-sh, but šš-sh is more commonly transcribed in \(Denkmüler des Alten Reiches\) II, p. 147. And šš-sh has conversely been transcribed as šš-sh which has been transcribed as šš-sh, as Borchardt has transcribed it in \(Denkmüler des Alten Reiches\) II, p. 147. And šš-sh has conversely been transcribed as šš-sh, as Borchardt has transcribed it in \(Denkmüler des Alten Reiches\) II, p. 147. And šš-sh has conversely been transcribed as šš-sh by Mariette, \(Mastabas\), p. 300, and Borchardt, \(op. cit.\) I, p. 180 (CG 1484 17), is actually šš-sh.

\(^7\) For mn meaning “see to,” “supervise” cf. Hassan, \(Giza\) IV, fig. 118 (3, 4), in the phrase mn kḥt, 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 Išš-knh-ntr Pšt-b|t, while his majesty supervised the daily requirements thereof every day” (Boston MFA 21,9081; Reisner, \(Hist. Giza\) Necr. I, pl. 65 b). Similarly špš-šškḥ “the work that was done on them (a pair of false doors) in the stp-šškḥ was supervised throughout the day” (\(Urk. I, 39 (11)\); for stp-šškḥ see Goelet, \(JARCE\) 23 (1986), 89).

\(^8\) Cf. \(MDAIK\) 14 (1956), 102.

\(^9\) In \(Urk. I, 141 (11)\), where the last words are corrected from my own copy; moreover the preceding title is not šš-sh, as Sethe suggests, but šš-sh. In \(Urk. I, 140 (17)\), the southern and northern lands are specified as Punt and Byblos. For šš-sh “products” (of a place) Faulkner, \(Concise Dictionary\), p. 195, cites \(Urk. I, 123 (17)\).

\(^10\) This meaning is evident from the juxtaposition of “Upper and Lower Egypt.” It is true that šš-sh may simply mean “upland” as opposed to the Nile Valley (\(Wb. III, 234 (7)\); also Moussa and Altenmüller, \(Nianchenhua\), fig. 15, showing šš-sh as the nearby habitat of fruit trees; cf. Roquet in \(Mélanges Vercoutter\) [Paris 1985], pp. 295 ff.). But šš-sh probably always refers to “every foreign land” or “all foreign lands” (\(Wb. III, 234 (10)\)); cf. the Old Kingdom title ššs-bršt bršt-nb 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 abroad.
of \( b \) (V33)\(^{55} \) somewhat resembling the sack at the end of the name \( Qr \) in B (5), which in turn may be compared with \( \La \) in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II 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 \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) (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,

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)

**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 \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) 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 \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \), 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-\text{nh-N\text{h}bt}. \(^{60} \) A more remote possibility is \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) which occurs as the

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\(^{55} \) For this variant of Old Kingdom \( \La \) see Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 229.

\(^{56} \) The phrase \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) (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: \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) (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 \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) on the same false door, as seen from the original, Univ. Mus., Philadelphia, F.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. \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \), a graffito of uncertain date in Davies, *Sheikh Said*, 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, *PNL*, 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. 158) and again in Bologna B 1901 (Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, p. 5). In this case and Turin Inv. 1868 it is placed upon \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \), as would be expected, but apparently not in the case of the Cairo examples (belonging to one person). The form \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) is also known from Eleventh Dynasty names at Saqqara: *Nh\text{h}bt-m-\text{nh} and her nurse (mnrt) Ny-\text{nh-N\text{h}bt} (Cairo) 55618*, for which cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 100; cf. also \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 57, pl. 32); \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \) (J.E. Quibell and A. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid*, North Side [Cairo 1927], p. 11); similarly in Firth and Gunn, *ibid.*, p. 200 (57). For further examples (using \( \begin{array}{c} \text{\La} \\ \text{\La} \end{array} \)) see Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pls. 59 (15), 79 (52), both Fifth
determinative of 𓊙 in the tomb of Mra6¹ 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 𓊙 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 ṣnb-sw†-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 Sbw-ṣnb, as the name has been read previously.6⁵ The closest comparisons are 𓊙𓊙𓊙𓊙 (ibid., 332 [15]), while the names of several royal pyramids likewise come to mind, dating from the late Fifth to early Twelfth Dynasty.6⁶

(1) This is evidently the masc. name ṣbw.f-m.(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 𓊙𓊙, as in the Middle Kingdom (PNI, 15 [4]). The writing of 𓊙𓊙 is particularly characteristic of the Old Kingdom, although Middle Kingdom examples are occasionally attested.6⁹

(m) The title šḥd ḫrw-wḥt pr-hd is attested by only a few other occurrences.7⁰

(n) Ranke, PNI, 22 (15, where the first writing should be 𓊙𓊙); 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.

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. 8166 N, 1725a N. The same form appears in the Middle Kingdom: Lacau-Chevrier, Chapelle de Sesostris I², pls. 40, 42. The Pyramid Texts of Menere and Pepy II often add the same determinative to another designation of the same god, 𓊙𓊙𓊙𓊙 Pyr. 1211a M, N; 1670a M, N; 1864b N; 2015c N; 2086c N.

⁶³ Simpson, Kawah, Khafhukhu I and II, p. 34 and fig. 62 (263-153). In two other cases an erect falcon likewise bears the flagellum: 𓊙 in imnt “western” (Saleh, Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pl. 4): 𓊙𓊙 (El-Khouli and Kanawati, El Hammamiya, pl. 52) the latter evidently representing 𓊙𓊙 itywy (for which see Edel, ZÄS 102 [1975], 24–27).


⁶⁵ Roeder, Avg. Inscrh. II, p. 618; Ranke, PNI, 298 (24).

The name Sbw-kn (PNI, 341 [10], 428 [16]) is not really comparable; it is analogous to Stk (PNI, 298 [23]), but Stk-kn is not attested.

⁶⁶ Conveniently listed by Helck, in LA V, 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 𓊙𓊙𓊙 Giza IX, p. 237 f., there interpreted as “Die ḫnmt setzt (e) sich gnädig.” Cf. also 𓊙𓊙𓊙 (PNI, 195 [171]) and see p. 64 below.

⁶⁹ CG 30356c, 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. 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 [Munksjard 1952], 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 𓊙𓊙𓊙 (Blackman, Meir IV, pl. 15; Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts 51 [1972], 76) and 𓊙𓊙𓊙𓊙 “of the granary” (loc. cit.). Simple 𓊙𓊙 is uncommon: Junker, ZÄS 75 (1939), 64; Petrie, Giseh and Rifâh, (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 titulataries suggests the sequence is [sequence], 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 [symbol] (bag with a handle), but also [symbol], as in Mereruka I, pl. 83, Macramallah, Idout, pl. 12; Simpson, Qar and Idu, figs. 36, 39, 41, as compared to [symbol], 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 [symbol] 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. [symbol]: Kanawati, El-Hawawiss VI, fig. 29a) and ibid., pls. 14-16 (det. [symbol]).

(q) PNI, 267 (12); Murray, Index, pl. 11. This form of the name (with final [symbol] rather than [symbol]) 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-š 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 [sequence].73 A later example (probably late Dyn. XI) occurs in the tomb of the Overseer of U.E. 21-22 ḫp, at El-Saff, near Atfih, written [sequence].74 In view of the fact that [sequence] follows in all three cases, it seems likely that it is not a separate title; possibly it represents ḫntyw-š “plantations” or “holdings” rather than ḫntyw-š, which is usually translated “tenant landholders.” In the present instance the replacement of ḫ by ḫwy might possibly be a meaningless assimilation from the ḫwy of the tomb owner’s epithet in A(4). But this is not necessarily the case since the related term [sequence] provides earlier evidence for ḫwy, 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 [symbol], which is evidently a feminine form of ḥw.f-n(.l), as it is written in that period (comment l), and [sequence], not otherwise attested, but which apparently shows a retrograde sequence that is applied to Old Kingdom theophoric names. Ḥwt is attested later than the Old Kingdom, although less frequently, and Qr still less frequently. Only ḫp is equally well known in both the Old and Middle Kingdom. Neither ṣpš-ḏḥ nor ṣm-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-š in Ward, Index, p. 55, especially [sequence].
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).
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 Šps-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) ḫrt-tp nsut
(2) rd-ntr zsb
(3) imy-r prw-y-hd
(4) imy-ht pr-hd
(5) imy-r zšw prw-y-hd
(6) imy-r zšw wšby
(7) imy-r zšw izw-y hkwrt nsut
(8) imy-r zšw prw y 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 hkwrt-nsut; no. 8 because neither scribes of this kind nor over­seers of such scribes are attested, although the title imy-r prw y nbw is frequently claimed by other “overseers of the two treasuries,” as are imy-r wšby and imy-r izw-y hkwrt. 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) ḫrt nsut (f.)
(2) shd iryw-hct pr-hd
(3) shd zšw pr-hd
(4) shd iryw-hct pr-hd
(5) shd iryw-hct pr ẖd
(6) imy-st-rwy hnt-s

Here one misses pr ẖ in no. 6, and ẖw, instead of ḫ 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 Šps-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 titulat­ries 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 ḫrt

75 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. 9; Kanawati, El-Hawawish III, fig. 8; Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pp. 16 ff. The last is the vizier.
nsut 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 $\text{\textdeg}$ (comment e), the problematic sign $\text{\textdeg}$ (comment k), and the omission of the final $\text{\textdeg}$ of imdyw in B 3, 4, 6 (not uncommon in the Old Kingdom). The reduplication of $\text{\textdeg}$ in imy-st $\text{\textdeg}$ (comment r) is probably not to be included among these lapses. But the abnormal forms of $\text{\textdeg}$, $\text{\textdeg}$, and $\text{\textdeg}$ must be considered more seriously.

The sign $\text{\textdeg}$, 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 Eight Dynasty examples in the pyramid texts of Ibi.84

In the sign $\text{\textdeg}$ the reduplication of the attachment at the top anticipates the Middle Kingdom form $\text{\textdeg}$, 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 $\text{\textdeg}$ normally persists as late as the Twelfth Dynasty.91

The form of $\text{\textdeg}$, 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

77 At Dendera *Mrri* and *Sn-nqdwt* have this feature in contrast to their predecessors, while the later *Mri* and *Twti* resume the normal form; for their sequence see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 187. For Theban examples see Gîre and Vandier, *TTP*, §§ 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 Wnî the Elder, *Urkh I*, 102–104.
80 Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, p. 11, 12.
82 Junker, *Gîza VIII*, figs. 41–43 (both $\text{\textdeg}$), 66, 70; Hassan, *Gîza VI/3*, fig. 9; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. I, figs. 16 (also $\text{\textdeg}$), 18. Three grains are also attested: e.g., Junker, *Gîza IX*, fig. 44.
83 CG 1434, 1483 (also $\text{\textdeg}$ in both cases), Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara I*, pl. 29; Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37; *Pyrs. des renes*, pl. 7 (34), 13 (34b), 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 $\text{\textdeg}$, pl. 14 (col. 735).
85 Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. 18 (less clearly in pl. 14).
87 Junker, *Gîza VII*, figs. 108, VIII, figs. 59, 66, 70; IX, fig. 50; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 96, 33 (once thus, twice with the normal form); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. I, fig. 41; Badawy, *Tombs of Ipeti et al.*, (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).
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; MFM 11 (1976), 172, fig. 12 (esp. left outer jamb). Also James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* (Princeton 1902-1909), p. 36 (5), of unknown provenance.
architrave from Abydos, and on a series of inscriptions from Naga ed-Deir, belonging to the same period. 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 \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \), 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 \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \) is an infrequent variant of the form \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \). The latter is known from Sixth Dynasty inscriptions at the Memphite cemeteries and at those of the Upper Egyptian provinces. The variant with two projections in front occurs on Sixth Dynasty stelae from Edfu, and Naqada; there are also somewhat later examples from Balat, Dendera, Naga ed-Deir and Thebes.

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), and another, at Memphis itself, that is at least equally late. Some Twelfth Dynasty examples are a little different: \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \).

One might also consider the form of \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \), 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. A few of the other signs are somewhat clumsily executed in

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93 CG 1591.
94 Dunham, Naga ed-Deir Stelae, nos. 20, 65; Lutz, Steles, nos. 42, 45; CG 1607; also the tomb described by Sayce, Rec. trav. 13 (1890), 64 (for which cf. Fischer, Dendera, p. 94, n. 23).
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); ASAÉ 40 (1941), p. 681, fig. 72; Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara III, figs. 33, 34; W.V. Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl. 11.
96 Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 21; also on the architraves of Qar of Edfu (Urk. I, 253 [3], as well as [11], which should be corrected). Davies, Deir el Gebrah II, pl. 11 has \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \).
97 Louvre E 14329 (Ziegler, Catalogue des stèles, no. 9): Alliot, Tell Edfu (Cairo 1933), pl. 14 (top and bottom), 2. The same form occurs on the stela of Nfr: Bruyère et al., Tell Edfou 1937 (Fouilles Franco-Poloniennes I, Cairo 1937), fig. 15 (1).
98 Fischer, Copitite Nome, pl. 4: here the orientation of the top of the sign was wrongly reversed and corrected.
99 Oslng et al., Denkmäler, pls. 53, 55, 58. The dating of the epigraphic material is discussed by Leprohon, JSE 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 hypogèges 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 Khentiamentiu 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, pl. 58–59), discussed in ZAS 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 JÄOS 76 (1956), 102 (two coffins, late Heracleopolitan Period).
102 CG 28029, 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 (Nbt-m-ra). The apparent Sixth Dynasty example in pl. 58 (4) is eliminated in James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 39 (217).
104 Lilyquist, JARCE 11 (1974), 30 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: \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \) (Brussels Ex160: MMF 9 [1974], fig. 34). Two other examples from Saqqara and Gebelein are said to have the form \( \frac{\Lambda}{\lambda} \) (CT II, 177; III, 296). 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, March, 182, 184; Junker, Giza VII, fig. 101; Simpson, Qar and Idu, fig. 7. For the shoulder see ibid., fig. 33; Davies, Deir el Gebrah II, pl. 8. For later, more anomalous examples see Fischer, Copitite Nome, nos. 17, 18 and p. 55, n. 2.
the captions of the last five subordinate figures (B 3–7), and notably „, 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 („) 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 — (—) 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 „ in imyut (rather than „ or the like) 109 the determinatives „ (in this sequence) after hrt-nfr, 110 the form imdyw rather than imdy, 111 and written fully (rather than „ or the like), 112 and the ligatured group „, 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.t.w.f m hrt-nfr rather than qrs.t.w.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 slowly 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 GebräwI, 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, Pschhënt, pl. 39; Davies, Pschhënt II, pl. 29; Herta Mohr, Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti (Leiden 1943), p. 33; Capart, Rue de tombeaux, pl. 11; Badawy, Tombs of Ieti, etc., fig. 19. The sequence of „ is reversed on a late false door, with „ among the determinatives at the bottom of the jams, CG 57200; for this determinative see Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, p. 39, n. 41. The same group is again reversed after ãûw 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 Njht-nfr-nfr-Imy) the yending, or no ending at all, became prevalent. Schenkel, Frühm. Studien, § 16 (d), rightly regards an early Dyn. XII example of imdyw 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, Beite 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 Said, pl. 23, and the uppermost architrave of Qr of Edfu (Urk. I, 255 [111]).
Excursus I: Metropolitan Museum 04.2.4–6

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, or a more elongated example from the Thinite Nome, of somewhat later date.

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 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, 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 censing), 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.

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 dividi-

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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. 1266; 2 = 1267; 3 = no. 430 (one example); for 5 cf. no. 1389 (ṣn pr bd); for 7 cf. no. 45 (imr izny n hkr nswt); for 8 cf. no. 191 (imy prwy nbw). The last of the titles of the subordinate 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 representa­
tion 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. 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.] ... (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 con­
tinue 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, per­
haps 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 monu­
ment 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
imh hr “revered with” is repeated before each of six consecutive rulers, from Redjedef to
Sahure, while in another case a son of Chephren repeats the same epithet before the
name of that king and four successors. In inscriptions of the later Old Kingdom we hear
of officials who exercised various offices under a succession of kings, but as far as titular-

\[\text{LDII, 10, 22, 25. Standing: ibid., 19–21, 32, 46; Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, fig. 33.}
\]

\[\text{CF. p. 19 (e) and n. 39. For the title in its present form see Fischer, Egyptian Studies I, p. 30, fig. 3 (5); also:}
\]

\[\text{Petrie and Murray, Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. 14 (where the end of the title is to be read \(\[\text{[\(B\)}\])}.}
\]

\[\text{ASAE 25 (1925), 180.}
\]

\[\text{Giza, fig. 64.}
\]

\[\text{E.g., Urk. I, 98 (12, 15), 142 (9–11), 254 (1–3).}
\]
ies are concerned, those that name kings are nearly always associated with funerary cults. A rare exception is \((\text{\textcopyright{}})\)---\(~\), which is evidently to be read \(\text{wr-}\text{hrp(\(w\))-hmwt} \text{n Wnis\)}\), 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 \(\text{zl.f tn}\) "his ‘son of the funerary estate,\"\(^{125}\) a term that must mean much the same thing as the more familiar \(\text{sn dt}\) "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 \(\text{\textcopyright{}}\)\(~\)\(~\)\(~\) "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 \(\text{msw.f nw tn}\) "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 \(\text{\textcopyright{}}\)\(~\)\(~\) "his ‘child of the funerary estate.\"\(^{130}\) Junker, in discussing this, compares the caption \(\text{\textcopyright{}}\)\(~\)\(~\) in the chapel of \(\%\%\%\%\) at Hildesheim, which he takes to mean “(seine) Stiftungskinder und -brüder,” but is, I think, more probably "his children and \(\text{snw-dt.}\"\(^{131}\)

The "son of the funerary estate" is further identified as “the judicial scribe \(\text{Tnnt}\)" and he is followed by a scribe whose name is correctly interpreted by Strudwick as \(\text{N-}\text{ksmm-\(k\)}(i)\).\(^{132}\) It is not attested elsewhere, but the meaning "My \(\text{k}\) is not opposed" is almost synonymous with the well known Old Kingdom name \(\text{Nn-htf-\(k\)}(i)\) "my \(\text{k}\) has no opponent."\(^{133}\) The scribe \(\text{Pt/h-\(h\)tp (or Htp-Pht)}\) 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.\(^{135}\)
Excursus II: Berlin-Charlottenburg Inv.-Nr. 1/85

The Old Kingdom statue mentioned on p. 20, comment i, has been illustrated by Jürgen Settgast, but without clear views of the inscriptions or a complete translation of them. He has kindly supplied the photographs shown in Plate 6, and his permission to reproduce them. The base gives the owner’s name Hip-n.(i), followed by the rather unusual presence of the determinative $\wedge$ and preceded by the archaic title $\tilde{\wedge}$. The proper right side is covered with four columns of inscriptions: (1) The King’s Chamberlain, Staff of the Commoners, Pillar of the Knmt, Priest of Mrt, Hip-n.(i); (2) $\tilde{\wedge}$, One Who Takes Stock of the Production of the Deserts, Marshlands and Heaven; (3) Commander of the King’s Scribes, Who Takes Stock of the Production of the Deserts, Marshlands and Heaven, Hip-n.(i). The proper left side has five horizontal lines of inscription, reversed ($\leftarrow$) as usual: (1) Beloved of his father, (2) whom his mother praised, Hip-n.(i), Commander of the King’s Scribes, Hip-n.(i), (3) Revered with the King, Hip-n.(i).

Comments (a) For the name see not only PNI, 258 (12) but Vol. II, p. 380. It is probably an abbreviated version of a name such as Hip-n.(i)-Pt/pt (PNI, 258 [14]).

(b) See MMJ 8 (1973), 7.

(c) Discussed by Godron, RdE 8 (1951), 91–98, who reads the name of the divinity as Ht on the basis of archaic seals. The meaning of the sign $\leftarrow$ is unclear; it also precedes the name of Anubis (CG 1385 and Davies, Sheikh Said, pl. 28; cf. Godron, op. cit., 91 and n. 3), as well as $\tilde{\wedge}$ “god” (CG 1482).

(d) The first three titles occur repeatedly in Old Kingdom titularies, always in this sequence and often followed by hm-nfr Mrt, as here. For the second and third titles, which evidently pertain to judicial functions, see Helck, Beamertitel, p. 74.

(e) Evidently an empty epithet, in which $\wedge$ cannot be understood as “handiwork,” or “production” but in a more general sense such as “produce.” It is analogous to imy-r ht nbt ddt pt qmut tv “overseer of everything that heaven gives and earth creates,” which is known from the late Old Kingdom (Fischer, Titles, p. 7 [289d]). In the present case the term for “heaven” (Wb. V, 30) is unusual; the Old Kingdom evidence for it seems to be confined to the Pyramid Texts. This epithet is comparable to an Old Kingdom title in which $\wedge$ is written rather differently, but may be recognized by the very similar context if taken as a continuation of the title that precedes it: $\wedge$ $\wedge$ $\wedge$ $\wedge$ $\wedge$ (Z.Y. Saad, Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan [1941-1945] [Cairo 1947], p. 58 and pl. 19 = Barsanti, ASAE 1 [1900], fig. 10 on p. 156 [reversed rubbing] and Urk. I, 193 [11-12]). The other titles of the official are also concerned with provisioning as well as the supervision of clothing (dt). This pair of titles is therefore to be translated “overseer of all the king’s repasts, which heaven gives and earth creates, overseer of the produce of all the deserts (scil. “game”).” The use of the sign $\wedge$ for $\wedge$ is discussed below, in Chapter 14, section 2.

(f) This title is associated with 𓊀 and in most cases is written 𓊀 (CG 1426–1430; Lutz, *Eg. Tomb Steles*, pl. 1; Junker, *Giza I*, pl. 23; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 303; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 47). In these cases Junker (*Giza 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, *Kemi I* [1928], 84), but here it takes the form; 𓊀𓊀𓊀, 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'Egyptologie 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 zs tzt “scribe of troops” is applied to people. 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 Tr-ws-Pth may be added: Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, illustr. 4; also Tr.n-ks-Pth, *ibid.*, pls. 6, 10, 12. For the reading 𓊀 (𓊀𓊀), see p. 182 below, n. 62.

(i) For hzw see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, § 699 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 𓊀 in both inscriptions is not particularly exceptional. 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 𓊀 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 Kingdom but the combination 𓊀 is an archaic borrowing, while the epithets beginning with ḫ “who takes stock,” are novel and unexpected—particularly in respect to the strange use of ḫ to designate, apparently, flesh, fish and fowl.

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137 Scribes: e.g., Hassan, *Giza 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 (*ZAS* 93 [1966], 67); Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 18; CG 17002.

138 Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, § 38, and *LÄ* V, col. 189. For 𓊀 (𓊀) see Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 17, Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 4; for 𓊀 (𓊀) see *ibid.*, pl. 16, 19, 41. Both 𓊀 (𓊀) and 𓊀 (𓊀) are to be found in Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 36.

139 And there is at least one Twelfth Dynasty example: Fischer, *Tûtes*, 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-kw-Pth.

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

Above and behind the figure censing: 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-h\(^c\).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-kw]-Pth.\(^c\) The Inspector of Scribes of the Treasury and of the King’s Regalia,\(^d\) [Ny-kw]-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-Rr, Wḥ-priest of the King, Ny-kw-Pth.

Right inner jamb: uninscribed.

Comments (a) It is just possible that the last part of this title should be emended to \(\langle\rightarrow\rangle\), 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: \(\langle\rightarrow\rangle\) “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, Gīsa 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 tombaux, fig. 7, p. 15; cf. pp. 51–52 below.
Fig. 4. False door of Pth-h.s.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 GrdseIoff had already recognized it in Murray's photograph: ASAE 42 (1943), 46; cf. Helck, Beamtenfetitel, 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 ꝑꜣ (Pyr. 324), in the epithet ḫb ỉḥw “fiery of burning.” In later texts the determinative is replaced by ꝑ. Possibly there is a connection between the brilliance of gold ornaments and the brilliant coat of the leopard. Its use in bzt can hardly be derived from ꝑꜣ “Kopfschmuck,” i.e., “diadem,” or the like (Wb. I, 1 [111]) since ꝑ here functions as a phonetic borrowing from ꝑ “power” (ibid., 2 [3, 4]), both words occurring in the Pyramid Texts); this also takes the form ꝑ, which never occurs in the title. And the title is at least once written ꝑ ꝑ (Hassan, Giza III, fig. 107), where only the context shows that the second sign is to be read bzt rather than ḫt “leopard,” or “leopard skin.” For the form of the title cf. ṯr ḫt “great of incense” (Wb. I, 152 [12]), ṯr ṣm “great of Upper Egyptian grain” (Fischer, Dendera, p. 94, n. 423), ṯr ṓh “great of leather” (Brovarski, JNES 32 [1973], 455); in all these cases ṯr is evidently the equivalent of ṯr ṣ “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 ṯb, the meaning of ṯr 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. ꝑꜣ (“The Regalia of Pepy” (ibid., p. 198).

(f) For this and comparable titles see Fischer, Coptite Nome, p. 127, to which add ꝑꜣ ꝑ ꝑ (“King of Lower Egypt,” rather than “honey” even though this element precedes ḫt ūw 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) inscribed for a certain ṯy-imt. A single long title, which begins
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 ḫwy “keeper of (manufactured) production” or “of (agricultural) produce.” Conceivably the last sign might represent a variant of ḫ like ḫ, and despite the omission of ḫ, this could refer to “jewelers,” lit. “stringers (of necklaces).” But the form of the conjectural ḫ 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 ṣḥ, referring to Lower Egyptian Nome 2, immediately north of that of Memphis, on the western edge of the Delta. If this is so, the sign appears to have fused with the standard beneath it, as in some other cases. The meaning of the entire title would then be: “Keeper of produce/production of the Letopolite Nome (for) Re in (the Sun Temple) Ṣḥḫ-ḫb-(Rʾ), (and for the Pyramid) Mn-swḥ-Nywsrt.”

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 Gaue (Wiesbaden 1974), 151. The reading of the emblem may be ṣḥḫ, for which see my Egyptian Studies I, pp. 122, 147.
149 It rests directly upon the standard in the inscription of Mḥḥ (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 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-Nḥn

On a Twelfth Dynasty coffin from Meir in the Metropolitan Museum,¹ belonging to the Overseer Of Treasurers Wh-ḥtp son of Hpw (𓊳𓊳𓊱),² a pair of udjḥt-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 ⲁ 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 (𓊱) in a configuration that may perhaps be read ḫtr(w) nfr(w) nb “behold all beauty.”⁴

The Middle Kingdom example is evidently more literal in that the sign ⲁ actually represents a mouth, but it is more difficult to explain why ⲉ should have been added, beyond the fact that these two signs had long been associated in the juridical title r-Nḥn “mouth of Nekhen.” I think, however, that the addition of ḥn probably provides a graphic pun, ḥ n ḥn “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 Ḥn (PNI, p. 238 [14]) in which ⲁ is replaced by ⲁ, as in the later writing of the name of Nb-hps-Rˁ 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 ⲁ 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. 285), and on a bronze votive plaque: Naville, Xth Dynasty Temple III, pl. 24 (5).
⁴ The udjḥt-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 ZAS 55 (1897), 116–17. He points out that the signs ⲏ and ⲉ 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. 7, and MMJ 11 (1976), 125–26 and fig. 1.
interpreted as “mouth of Nekhen” by the Wörterbuch, most Egyptologists have preferred to read it iry- Nh as “keeper of Nekhen.”

The Wörterbuch’s interpretation is supported by other Middle Kingdom occurrences of the title, which include ꜣ  but not writings in which the initial element is either  or ꜣ, as would at least occasionally be expected for writings of  in that period. Conversely, while ꜣ occasionally appears in Old Kingdom titles as a writing of 11, and scarcely ever as r,12 it was frequently applied to r rather than  in Middle Kingdom titles such as, for example, in  for “overseer.”13 Thus the Middle Kingdom writing ꜣ can hardly be read otherwise than r-Nh. The writing ꜣ is attested from the Middle Kingdom, but, as Gardiner has pointed out, this is a survival of the old, and quite distinct, title zw (or mniw) Nh, which is sometimes written ꜣ ꜣ,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 Wh. II, p. 390 (5) (probably based on Gardiner’s conclusion in ZAS 42 [1905], 153, that r-Nh “mouth of Nekhen,” is to be accepted as a provisional reading). Gunn, in Firth and Gunn, Tutu Pyramid Cemeteries, pp. 274, 281, also translates “Mouth(? of Nekhen,” while ꜣ (see below) is translated “Mouth of every Butite,” without a query. T.G.H. James likewise transliterates the first of these titles as r Nh in Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, p. 188. Gardiner, Grammar, p. 375, s.v. Nh, remains undecided: “r Nh mouth of (or r attached to) Nekhen.”

9 So, for example, K. Sethe in Murray, Saqqara Mastabas II, p. 12; Helck, Beamtentitel, p. 145, s.v. sb  Nh; Fischer, MIO 7 (1960), p. 304, reading  Nh (but r Nh 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  Nh; J.-L. de Cenival, RdE 27 (1975), 66; Paule Posener-Kriéger, Archives, p. 660, s.v. sb  Nh; P. de Bourget, Mâlenges Mastepo 1/4, p. 14; Dimitri Meeks, Année Lexicographique II (Paris 1981), 78391.

10 Many examples in the index of Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches III, pp. 50-52. ꜣ is also attested as a writing of  in the Old Kingdom, albeit rarely: MMJ 10 (1975), p. 20.


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


14 Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pls. 13, 44; commented upon by Gardiner, ZAS 42 (1905), 122, who observes that “in their respective usages ꜣ and ꜣ never interchange.” Kaplony, Inschriften, p. 449, errs in transliterating an archaic example as  Nh. The sign ꜣ does not have this value before the Heracleopolitan Period (ZAS 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 15 (1978), 7, n. 12.
A similar interpretation must be applied to the old title 𓊧𓊱, which the Wörterbuch rightly interprets as 𓊱𓊨 nb “mouth of every Butite,” and which, in the Middle Kingdom, was sometimes written 𓊡𓊡.\textsuperscript{16}

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

2. ZHY-NTR

The group 𓊡(var. 𓊡) appears in a very few Old Kingdom inscriptions and in a limited number of contexts (Fig. 2)\textsuperscript{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 𓊡-sšt\textsuperscript{21} and dispenses with any explanation, doubtless because he considers it self-evident that this reading is supported by the Middle Kingdom titles where 𓊡-sšt is certainly to be recognized in 𓊡 and 𓊡. It is by no means certain, however, that such a connection exists. There is much more reason to regard the Middle Kingdom writing of 𓊡-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., 𓊣 for 𓊨-p.t and 𓊧 for 𓊨-r.\textsuperscript{22}

The application of the new phonetic value of 𓊡 is probably based on nothing more than a graphic allusion to this writing of Anubis, which goes back to offering formulae of the Sixth

\textsuperscript{16} Wb. II, p. 390 (4). Junker adopts the same reading, Giza XII, p. 171, s.v. n Ḑ.w nb nb as, does Gunn (note 8 above). But Helck transliterates Ḑ.w nb nb (Beamtenstitel, p. 144). Selim Hassan inconsistently transliterates this title as Ḑ nb (or r Ḑ.w nb nb) in Giza X, p. 74, but nonetheless interprets the other title as Ḑ nb Ḑ nh, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{17} As suggested by W. Helck in Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{18} See ZAS 105 (1978), pp. 54–55. For the Middle Kingdom cf. Ward, Index, nos. 4496–556.

\textsuperscript{19} For the fullest discussion, see Gardiner, Onomastica I, pp. 10–17. See also Franke, SAK 11 (1984), 211, who categorically endorses the accepted reading.

\textsuperscript{20} (1a, twice) Cairo CG 1417; (1b) Cairo CG 1585; (1c) Cairo CG 1585 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. 72–73; (3c) ibid., figs. 72–73, 76; (3d) ibid., fig. 73; (4) Cairo J 15048 (Urk. I, p. 291 [8]); (5) Leipzig 2887 and Berlin 15302–3 (W.S. Smith, AJA 46 [1942], 518 [fig. 7], 521 [fig. 9]).

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

\textsuperscript{22} All three of these writings seem to have been created in the reign of Sesostris I. For 𓊡 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 Sesostris II at Beni Hasan (p. 37 [8]). For contemporaneous examples of 𓊣, which occurs only at Beni Hasan, see below, Chap. 14/4. Contemporaneous examples of 𓊡 and 𓊡 as 𓊨-sšt appear at all three cemeteries: Aswan (Urk. VII, p. 1 [16]), Beni Hasan (p. 22 [9]), and from the reign of Sesostris II, Urk. VII, pp. 37 [7], 38 [8]), Asyut (p. 65 [61]).
Fig. 2. Old Kingdom titles mentioning Anubis
(rearranged from columnar inscriptions, except 3c, 3d)
Dynasty. As for the use of hry-sḥt 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. The alias may be based on the previous use of Š-hr, as a sportive writing, but it seems unlikely that the sportive writing is, conversely, based on the prior use of hry-sḥt 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 š-n.f hry-sḥt, 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-sḥt Ḥry-sḥt šf-šnw “Geheimrat des Geheimrats (= Anubis), des Fürsten von šnw.” It should also be noted that, in both cases, š-n.f is decidedly bent forward, so that smsw “elder” is indicated rather than š-n.f (tš). And with š-n.f eliminated, there is no reason to interpret š-n.f as a transposed reference to šnw “Heliopolis.”

If the reading *hry-sḥt Ḥry-sḥt is precluded for CG 1417, the same is true of Fig. 2 (3c), which is followed by wt “embalmer” and hry-sḥt. In this connection it should be noted that there is no other Old Kingdom evidence for hry-sḥt name of god, with the god’s name honorifically transposed. But if š-n.f and hry-sḥt 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-sḥt (although it is scarcely needed) is the fact that š-n.f and z-n.f 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., zḥy-ḥntr l sortable. Additional support for this reading is to be found in the Pyramid Texts, where š-n.f are mentioned (Pyr. 750 d). The title zḥy-ḥntr is attributed to a lector priest in the Sun Temple of Neuserre, and reappears as zḥy-ḥntr in one of the Sixth Dynasty tombs located at Qasr

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23 For examples of this date see Fischer, Dendera, p. 84 (14).
24 The Belegstellen for Wb. IV, p. 298 (22), include two references, Rituell de l’embaumement (new edition by S. Sauneron [Cairo 1952], p. 11 [101]), 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.
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-sḥt n nfr.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 nfr.f refers to the king, as also in epithets such as ṣy ib nfr.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 š-n.f š-n.f “he who is privy to the secrets of Ptah” (CG 667).
29 The version of Merenre is thus, while that of Teti has š-n.f zḥy-ḥntr š-n.f l sortable ; Sethe (Übersetzung und Kommentar III, p. 391) notes that this is to be read as š-n.f in Pyr. 26 b (N), “das allgemeine Personendeterminativ der Pyr.,” and he identifies š-n.f as the structure over which Anubis presides. The composite sign zḥy-ḥntr quite frequently replaces š-n.f in the epithet of Anubis hny zḥy-ḥntr, 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 zḥy-ḥntr 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 š-n.f (broken at the top) is š-n.f, so that the title is actually the familiar hpy zḥy-ḥntr. The same error is made by Lauer, ASAE 55 (1958), p. 212, where š-n.f zḥy-ḥntr is restored in another inscription.
es-Sayyad. In the Middle Kingdom it reappears in various forms: \(\text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr}^{32}, \text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr}^{33}, \text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr}^{34}\), which are not to be confused with Middle Egyptian \(\text{ḥmt-ntr}^{35}\) "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 \(\text{ḥm-ntr}^{36}\), which is patterned on one of the common epithets of this god "who presides over the divine booth." Thus, as Blackman has perceived, the meaning is not "councillor 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 \(\text{ḥnty-ntr}\text{ Inpw}\), "he who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." In the second title the reading is (a) \(\text{ḥmn smsg Inpw ḥnty-ntr}\) and (b) \(\text{ḥmn smsg Inpw}\), perhaps "senior pillar of Anubis."39

The third title (3a) confirms the fact that Anubis is himself called \(\text{ḥnty-ntr}\): it is "\(\text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr-priest of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth.}\) Since the possessor of this priestly title is also "\(\text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr-priest of Wdjt,}\) 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 "\(\text{ḥmn-}\text{ntr-priest of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth, and of Wdjt.}\) The omission of \(\text{ḥm}\) before

\[\begin{align*}
31 & \text{Torony Säve-Söderbergh, The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Sayyad) (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 ḥnty-ntr." A reference to ḥwt-ntr "temple" does occur in another caption below this, but the form of ḥwt is different, as is the context.}
32 & \text{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 wḥ n'great wḥ-priest."}
33 & \text{Engelbach and Gunn, Harageh, p. 26, note 11, and pls. 71, 74 (3).}
34 & \text{Berlin Pap. 10003: Borchardt, ZÄS 37 (1899), p. 98. This reference is cited by Gunn (see preceding note) as well as another ḥnty ntr in F.Ll. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Geru (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 ḥnty ntr is translated as "counselor[etc] of a God."}
35 & \text{Wh. III, p. 466 (7–9): ḥnty-ntris 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 ḥmnt ntr in Griffith, Inscriptions of Siut, pls. 16 and 19. Gunn (note 33 above) evidently reads this as ḥnty-ntr mr.y.f, but Janssen more plausibly reads ḥnty mr ntr.f (Égyptische Autobiografie I, p. 135 [III T 1]; II, p. 173, and there translated "een raad­gever dien zijn god liefhad." An anomalous writing of šḥy is probably to be recognized in the phrase ḥmnt-ntr "I was a great councilor, whom [his] lord loved" (Petrie, Abydos I, pl. 54, a Middle Kingdom inscription misdated to Dyn. VI). Browarski has independently made the same observation in his Dissertation, p. 474 (c).}
36 & \text{Junker, 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 ḥmnt-ntr (Wh. III, p. 465 [21]), var. ḥmnt-ntr (M. Alliot, Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou (Paris 1916), p. 183); here there does not seem to be any specific connection with Anubis despite the similarity to the epithet of that god.}
37 & \text{Janssen, Égyptische Autobiografie II, p. 174 (E), takes the second element separately as "zuil van den ouderdom" or "van den grijaard;" but "pillar of old age" is not otherwise known before the Middle Kingdom. Other epithets mentioning ḥtyn are discussed here and in JAOIS 76 (1956), 107; ZÄS 90 (1968), 39–40. A closer analogy is perhaps to be seen in personal names such as ḥnty-ntr ḥḥr (PNI, p. 17 [15]); ḥmnt-ntr ḥḥr (PNI, p. 17 [17]); ḥmnt-ntr ḥḥr (Hassan, Giza VI, pt. 3, fig. 26, p. 33); "pillar of Min," "pillar of (my?) ḥḥr," "pillar of Re," although these names might mean "my support is Min," etc.}
38 & \text{Junker, Giza IX, p. 156.}
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 hmac-not Wdt.

Title 4 is apparently hrp 1st Inpu zhy-ntrr "director of the troop(?) of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth," and 5 is "sttm-priest of the temple of Anubis, He of the Divine Booth, Presiding over the Sacred Land." It will be noticed that is often unaccompanied by in these titles, raising the possibility that, in such cases, zhy is the correct reading, rather than zhy-ntrr. The absence of is, in fact, much less common in funerary formulae invoking Anubis hnty zhy-ntrr. There is nevertheless little doubt that alone is to be read zhy-ntrr, as may be seen from writings such as (Pyr. 2100 of N) and (note 179). The use of in titles may be explained by the fact that it is written thus in archaic examples of . On the other hand 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 which Anubis normally appears as : "hm-ntrr-priest of Horus-Anubis who presides over the house of the retinue." The same may be true of Fig. 2 (2a). And the group is obviously the precursor of 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. The tabulation equally necessarily omissions the supposed title , which Kaplony quotes from Cairo statue CG 62, and which actually represents an incorrect transcription of the personal name by his epithet alone. In the context, it is difficult to believe that this is to be isolated as the rather modest title "overseer of the troop(?)" for which see Junker, Giza III, p. 179; IX, p. 47. For this title see Kaplony, Inschriften, note 179. The same title is probably to be seen in what Kaplony reads (Inschriften, p. 368) as shd Inpu on the First Dynasty stela of Sh.h (Petrie, Royal Tombs I, pl. 30).

This approximates one of the alternative interpretations of Kaplony in Inschriften, note 181, save for his transcription of hry-stn (= Anubis). In Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, p. 51, he evidently prefers his other alternative: "hry stn dessen, der im Friedhof wohnt (hntys-ftrs, Anubis) im (?) Tempel."

See Junker, Giza II, p. 116, who points to examples on the sarcophagus of Mnv-hr-f (Cairo J 48852: JEA 19 [1933] pls. 21–24). But Old Kingdom examples of normally show the sign 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.

The same writing also occurs in the epithet of Anubis hnty zhy-ntrr. LD II, pl. 18; Junker, Giza IX, fig. 117, p. 257.

Martin, Hetepka, pl. 31 (73), again in the epithet hnty zhy-ntrr. Compare, in the same context (note 181), Lutz, Steles, pl. 3 (4).

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

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

For the normal writing see p. 9 above.

Borchardt, Grabd. Ne-user-net, p. 132; Reisner-Smith, Hist. Giza Necr. II, figs. 50 (34-12-8) and 57, the latter perhaps to be read shd wtw Inpu "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 Inpu, as also on the stela of Sh.h, but the latter is probably hrp 1st Inpu; see note 42 above.

Kleine Beiträge, p. 58. Correctly transcribed by Ranke, PNI, p. 263 (10), as seen from the statue itself in Cairo.
3. The reading of ♃ in titles

In my Coptite Nome, pp. 126–29, I concluded that, although there is ample evidence for sdm “seal” in the Old Kingdom, the determinative, when present, is consistently ♃, and that this determinative was evidently not replaced by ♃ until the Middle Kingdom. Furthermore, while there is not a great deal of evidence for phonetic writings of ♃ and ♃ in Old Kingdom titles, which are interchangeable, all of that evidence consistently shows ♃ as a phonetic complement to these signs, indicating htm or htmty. Despite these indications, I still hesitated to abandon the prevailing preference for the reading of ♃ as sdmw/sdmwty in most titles, since it seems unwise, in such cases, to replace a standard reading, however doubtful, by another that cannot be proven conclusively. 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 ♃ which clearly betrays the root htm; ♃ can hardly be read in any other way than htmty Bity, or, more precisely htmty-Bity “treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.” There is further phonetic evidence for the word htm “treasure” on which this title is based; the Old Kingdom title ♃ is at least once written ♃ in the Middle Kingdom, i.e., ḫty htmty, lit. “keeper of what is sealed,” and an Old Kingdom caption to an offering scene mentions ♃ htm hrt st-hb “treasure” (or “that which is sealed”) containing festival scent.

In addition there is ample evidence, in Old Kingdom inscriptions, for humbler “treasurers” whose title is usually written ♃ but also ♃, ♃, pl. ♃, ♃, htmty(w). The terms htm and htmty are doubtless also to be recognized in titles referring to “the treasure of the god,” as has long since been advocated by Yoyotte and Sauneron.

Evidently a distinction is to be made between ♃ “treasurer,” “sealbearer,” and the phrase ♃ (var. ♃), which occurs in the following series of titles:

54 To explain the odd writing of ♃ 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 ♃ 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 ♃ and ♃ 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 Sehet, 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.

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

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

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

58 As exemplified by Cairo CG 1396, 1443. 57196; Junker, Giza VI, fig. 83, p. 215; VII, fig. 50, p. 135.

59 Cairo CG 20080 (= Petrie, Abydos III, p. 164; cf. Ward, Index, no. 593).

59 Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, fig. 30.

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

58 As exemplified by Cairo CG 1396, 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).

58 All quoted in Fischer, Coptite Nome, loc. cit.

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

59 Junker, ZAS 73 (1939), 64. I think a defective writing of the same title is probably to be recognized in the of James and Apted, Pl; p. 9 (48). But the caption of 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 *d.t.s.

60 Cairo CG 1564.
3. The Reading of \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) in Titles

The distinction between title 1 and \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) is indicated by title 3(c), which shows that \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) once again contains the stem \( \text{htm} \), probably the difference of terms reflects a difference of meaning, and the absence of \( \text{\textasciitilde}_{} \) 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 \( \text{htm} \) is feminine, as does title 6(b). And the examples assembled here further show that the preceding word is \( \text{hr} \) or \( \text{hry} \); it does not seem likely that the phonetic complement \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) would be included in some cases—2, 3(b), 4(b), 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 \( \text{hry} \) (or \( \text{hryw} \)) \( \text{htm} \) “containing what is sealed.”

The occasional absence of \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) 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 \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) is accompanied by \( \text{\textasciitilde} \), 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 \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) 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 \( \text{\textasciitilde} \); the sign \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) below \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) 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).


67. LD II, pl. 64 (b). Cf. (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 4; Gunn, Notebooks (Griffith Institute, Oxford) XIV.46.2).

68. Uk. I, p. 282 (3); Gunn, Notebooks (Griffith Institute, Oxford) XIV.46.2.

69. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 4.

70. Gunn, Giza V, p. 62; Gunn, Notebooks (Griffith Institute, Oxford) XIV.46.2. (false door of Hnw, Saqqara).

71. Gunn, 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 Boosch, Siegel, p. 121, who ignores this example despite the mention of it in my Coptite Name, p. 127, n. 3. My previous discussion also provides examples of \( \text{hm} \) written both as \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) and \( \text{\textcircled{c}} \).

77 For the use of masculine \( \text{hr} \) compare the term \( \text{hrw} \), which, as I have suggested in ZAS 105 (1978), 55–56, may refer to “authorizations” and which is similarly linked to \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \text{\textasciitilde}_{\text{\textcirci}} \text{\textasciitilde}_{\text{\textasciitilde}} \text{\textasciitilde}_{\text{\textasciitilde}} \text{\textasciitilde}_{\text{\textasciitilde}} \) “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,” which suits the generic determinative as well as the scribal titles 6–9. But in the Coptos Decrees hry htmt is on the same basis as pr ḫw nswt, pr hryw wḏb 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; he is imy-r izwy “overseer of the two bureaux” of the hry-htmt, the pr mdswt and pr hry(w) wḏb, as well as the ḫw ḫr “serfs” (who also appear in titles 2 and 5). Perhaps, then, hry htmt is best translated “registry,” as Goedicke has suggested. 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;” (3) “overseer of the two bureaux of the registry;” (4) “overseer of the two bureaux of the registry of royal decrees;” (5) “overseer of the two bureaux 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 bureaux of serfs.”
82 Hans Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, pp. 87, 166 (the latter in reference to Urk. I, p. 296 [15]): “Registatur der gesiegelten Dokumente.”
83 Less probably “overseer of the registry of royal decrees and of the Great House, etc.”
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-mort-R²

The importance of the aforementioned points is well illustrated by Westendorf’s discussion of the pattern Ny-mort-R² which he takes to be *Ny-R²-mort.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 𓊆𓊢𓊍𓊭. Moreover Westendorf correctly points out that the feminine examples of the well-known name that is invariably written 𓊦𓊥𓊤𓊪 cannot be read Ny-mort-Hthr “A possessor of life is Hathor;” he fails, however, to see that it can be understood as Ny-mort-Hthr “Life belongs to Hathor,” in which the element ny is invariable,⁴ conforming to the pattern of 𓊆𓊢𓊪 Ny-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 PN II, 13, note 4; delete, however, 𓊍𓊭, for which see his p. 347, correcting PN I, 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-mort-R² as “Der zur Weltordnung des Re gehörige” (GM 85 [1985], 10).
⁵ PN I, 177 (25).
Some Theoporic Names of the Old Kingdom

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):

$$
(1) \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}$$

(earlier \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}})$$

$$
(4) \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}$$

$$
(8) \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}$$

$$
(11) \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}$$

In another of Westendorf's Old Kingdom examples (no. 10) the initial — does not belong
to the name, which is \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} \text{Kd}(1)-\text{wd-}\text{nh}(1) "My k3 is one who commands that I
live.”

A second name, which is thought to be \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}, less certainly indicating \text{*Ny-Rc-usr,}
is actually \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} \text{Snhw-Rc}.$$

The reading of his no. 6, written sign-by-sign in a column
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}},
remains uncertain.$$

In a third name, not considered by him, the sequence of signs in
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}
is influenced by the exigencies of available space.$$

It is more difficult to explain
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}},
which is not cited either, but \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} may well have been considered
a more pleasing arrangement than \boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array},
since it occurs twice,$$
and twice again
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} \text{Ny-kd}(1)-\text{Nh}u.$$

In the case of
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}},$$
his no. 12, the first two or more signs may have been interchanged, since
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} is written thus on the same false door, and
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}} is usual in other names;$$
moreover, a similar interchange is attested in the name
\boxed{\begin{array}{c}
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}} \\
\text{\text{-}}
\end{array}}.$$
For the displacement of — one may compare names in which \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \) is written \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \) or \( \text{\textit{Nh}} \) is written \( \text{\textit{Nh}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \). This comparison suggests that theophoric names of the type that is under discussion should even more frequently show — at the end rather than at the beginning, since the sequence then becomes retrograde, i.e., \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{nn}} \), and a retrograde sequence likewise appears in some other tripartite theophoric names of the Old Kingdom. There are, in fact, a greater number of examples of this kind:

1. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Wis}} \)
2. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Pth}} \)
3. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Nnh}} \)
4. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{nswt}} \)
5. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Hth}} \)
6. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Hnw}} \)
7. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Hht}} \)
8. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{Pth}} \)
9. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{hpt-Rc}} \)
10. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{hsut-nswt}} \)
11. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{swt-Pth}} \)
12. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{ips-Pth}} \)
13. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{ku}(i)-Rc} \)
14. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{ku}(i)-Hr} \)
15. \( \text{\textit{Ny}} \text{-\textit{ksw-Ny}} \)

25 Junker, Giza VI, fig. 104; VII, figs. 47, 48 a; CG 1590.
26 PNI, 303 (19), reading \( \text{\textit{sn}} \) (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.
27 Abu-Bakr, Giza, fig. 83. Cf. also \( \text{\textit{sn}} \) \text{-\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{n}} \text{-\textit{Hth}} \ (Hassan, Giza VI, 5, p. 155).
28 Hassan, Giza I, pl. 44 (1). Also \( \text{\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{n}} \text{-\textit{Hth}} \) (Málek, BSEG 6 [1982], 59).
29 For the normal writing see ibid., 171 (11).
30 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.
31 PNI, 294 (3), for which see PM III, pp. 694-96; also Málek, SAK 8 (1980), 204. Cf. \( \text{\textit{nn}} \) (Reiser's G 2435, records of MFA, Boston); also PM III, p. 247; \( \text{\textit{nh}} \) \text{-\textit{n}} \text{-\textit{Hth}} \ (Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 65 (35)).
32 ibid., pl. 72 c; ten other examples are all written normally.
33 Hassan, Giza III, fig. 222 (also the normal writing); Junker, Giza X, fig. 49. For the normal writing see also PNI, 171 (18).
34 Paget and Pirie, Pthah-hetep, pl. 12 (top); Hassan, Giza VI/3, p. 47 (not illustrated); Blackman, Mer IV, pl. 12 (also normal on pls. 8, 9, 12); Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianchnum, 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).
35 Abu-Bakr, Giza, figs. 94, 95 A, C.
36 Mereruka I, pl. 82.
37 PNI, 422 (22). Another example occurs on the false door of \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) (PM III, 179, miscopied), excavated by Abu-Bakr at Giza: \( \text{\textit{ns}} \). For this name cf. Edel, ZAS 85 (1960), 80-81. A similar name, \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) \text{-\textit{ns}} \text{-\textit{nswt}} \ — is to be found in Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 11 (1); cf. Posener-Krieger, Archives I, Tableau V. For the more normal sequence in a name of this pattern see JARCE 30 (1993), 5-6.
38 Hassan, Giza II, fig. 204, noted in PNI II, 295 (27). Leipzig 2557 has the sequence \( \text{\textit{nh}} \text{-\textit{nh}} \) \text{-\textit{hpt-Rc}} \ (PM III, 173 [11], for which see Klein, Reliefs des alein Reiches [Heidelberg 1915], p. 130, fig. 102).
39 Moussa, SAK 16 (1983), 276 and pl. 8. Cf. \( \text{\textit{n}} \) \text{-\textit{ips}} \text{-\textit{nswt}} \ (PM III, 180 [8] and XXIV [for which see PM III, 127]; similarly \( \text{\textit{n}} \) \text{-\textit{ips-Rc}} \ (PM III, 180 [9]).
40 Hassan, Giza III, fig. 127. Cf. \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) \text{-\textit{ns}} \text{-\textit{nswt}} \ (PM III, 180 [16]); Junker, Giza IX, fig. 33), and other names of the same pattern: \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) \text{-\textit{ns}} \ (Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianchnum, p. 32 [26]); \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) \text{-\textit{ns}} \ (PM III, 180 [17]; Simpson, Western Cemetery, fig. 44).
41 BM 1603 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 41 [1]), Cf. \( \text{\textit{ns}} \) \text{-\textit{ns}} \ (PM III, 207, same as PNI II, 296 [11]).
42 PNI, 425 (5).
The terminal position of — also appears in some names of Old Kingdom estates, and notably:

\[ (16) = \text{Ny-nfrt-Ty}^{40} \quad (17) = \text{Ny-ks.}(i)-Ty \]

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 "nh-n(i)-NN," but, as the appended documentation shows, there is ample evidence for the reading given here. On the other hand, I have omitted names such as — because the weight of evidence conversely favors "Htp-n(i)-NN" rather than "Ny-htp-NN." While the inclusion of nos. 13 and 14 seems warranted by other examples of "Ny-ks.}(i)-NN," Ranke is probably right in reading — and as "Ks.}(i)-ny nbyt/"nsut "My k1 is one who belongs to the king," since these two names, while not very common, virtually always show the same two writings of the name occur, once each, in Hassan, Giza VI/3, p. 99 and pl. 38 c; Junker, Giza XI, fig. 17, p. 148; CG 57192. The reading "Ks.}(j)-nybty/lr is advocated in PNI, 340 (8); cf. PNI, 366 (referring to I, 180 [14]).

Thus — is Htp-n(i)-Hmwn (or B) as shown by the more frequent writing — in the same tomb chapel (ibid., figs. 10, 11, 13, 14). The same two writings of the name occur, once each, in PNI, 258 (14); P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, Pyramide de dégrés V (Cairo 1959), no. 65; Murray, Saggara Mastabas I, p. 29; Fitzwilliam SS 77 (Mrák, BSEG 6 [1982], 53-54); Posener-Kriéger and de Genival, Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 68 (d 1, 6). In the index of names given by Posener-Kriéger, Arch. III, p. 652, the name "Ny-htp-Pth is read on pl. 68 (d 2, 5), but this is by no means certain, and a second example (pl. 97 c) is clearly "Htp-Pth."

The pattern would also explain the apparent transposition of "k1 in — which need not be read "Ny-nbh-ks.}(i)," but is more probably "Ks.}(i)-ny-"nh.

40 Jacquet-Gordon, Domains, 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-nsut PNI, 294 (17). Cf. p. 64 below, n. 147.

41 Jacquet-Gordon, loc. cit.; see also pp. 131, 136, 166, 236, 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 "Ny-nbh-NN; cf. PNI, 171 (9, 10, 13, 14), 422 (16), II, 294 (2) or, in the case of PNI, 271 (7), "nb-NN (cf. PNI, 66 [19], 417 [7, 8], II, 270 [33, 34], 271 [3, 24]).

43 See notes 25-31 above.

44 Thus — (Abu-Bakr, Giza, figs. 8, 10) is Htp-n(i)-Hmwn (or B) as shown by the more frequent writing — in the same tomb chapel (ibid., figs. 10, 11, 13, 14). The same two writings of the name occur, once each, in I, figs. 26g, 270; Junker, Giza XI, fig. 17, p. 148; CG 57192. The reading "Ks.}(j)-nybty/lr is advocated in PNI, 340 (8); cf. PNI, 366 (referring to I, 180 [14]).

45 Reisner, Hist. Giza Necr. I, figs. 26g, 270; Junker, Giza II, figs. 15, 18, 22, 24 (but —, figs. 18, 19); III, figs. 20, 21, 24 (but —, fig. 22). The reading "Ks.}(j)-nsu is advocated in PNI, 340 (9).

46 Discuss in JEA 60 (1974), 248.

47 Ibid., n. 5; also attested by Louvre E. 147 (Christiane Ziegler, Catalogue des titres, nos. 46, 47).

48 As proposed by Ranke, PNI, 172 (7); II, 208, n. 9, and this is listed — (Junker, Giza VI, fig. 38b). The apparent transposition of the last two elements...
The only way to reconcile an example such as \( \text{\textit{Ny-M\textsuperscript{9}r-T-R\textsuperscript{9}}} \) (Westendorf’s no. 11) and \( \text{\textit{Ny-k\textsuperscript{9}}} \) (my no. 1, from the same source) is to conclude that — 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, \( \text{\textit{Ny-k\textsuperscript{9}}} \) (his no. 9), is abundantly attested and almost invariably.\(^5\) Although it is rightly read \( \text{\textit{Ny-k\textsuperscript{9}}}\text{-}n\text{\textsuperscript{9}} \), it does not mean “Zu meinem Ka gehörig ist das Leben,” however, since “n\text{\textsuperscript{9}}” is a divinity, as Junker has pointed out.\(^5\) The correct interpretation is therefore “My k belongs to \( n\text{\textsuperscript{9}} \).” 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 Nyx-NN. Nor is it the only example of its kind. The name — \( \text{\textit{r\textsuperscript{9}}} \) clearly shows the same pattern, \( \text{\textit{Ny-\text{\textsuperscript{9}}n\text{\textsuperscript{9}}-S\textit{Si}}} \), referring to an individual named \( r\text{\textsuperscript{9}} \).\(^5\)

Westendorf has also, in defense of his interpretation of these names, taken up Ranke’s suggestion that the name \( \text{\textit{Impy}} \) may have derived from \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} \textit{Ph}}} \), with which it is linked, in which case the latter should be read \( \text{\textit{Ny-P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{k\text{\textsuperscript{9}}}}} \).\(^5\) Nor is Westendorf deterred by the fact that the same nickname is also linked with \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \),\(^5\) since he takes these two names to be abbreviations of a hypothetical \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \), which he reads \( \text{\textit{Ny-\text{\textsuperscript{9}}}s\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} \). The only evidence for this prototype (my no. 12) precludes this reading. It was certainly uncommon, whereas \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \) occurs frequently—so frequently\(^5\) that it can hardly be regarded as an abbreviation, but is a name of different pattern, in which \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{Ph}}} \) is a verb rather than a noun. This difference is clearly demonstrated by \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \) and \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \) which are consistently distinguished from one another in the rock tombs at Meir.\(^5\) As will be indicated presently, in section 3, the first is probably to be read “n\text{\textsuperscript{9}}-\text{\textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}}” and it should not in any case be regarded as an abbreviation of the second. The same is true of \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{Ph}}} \), which may be an abbreviation of \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \), but probably not of \( \text{\textit{Ny-\text{\textsuperscript{9}}}s\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \). The argument for \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \) as the origin of \( \text{\textit{Impy}} \) is actually weakened by the two cases where \( \text{\textit{Impy}} \) is associated with other names, and

\(^{51}\) PNI, 180 (10); written \( \text{\textit{r\textsuperscript{9}}} \) in Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, \textit{Abu Sir Papyri}, pl. 77 (B), but normal in pl. 22 (B). Cf. \( \text{\textit{r\textsuperscript{9}}} \), 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 Ed. Edel, "Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches" (Opladen, 1983), fig. 20; on p. 422 Ranke (PNI) compares \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \), but this is a Middle Kingdom name \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \text{\textit{Ph}}} \). L.P.H., as may be seen from Anthes, \textit{Hatnub}, pl. 6a.

\(^{54}\) For which see PNI, 320 (11).

\(^{55}\) Sak 11 (1984), 389, referring to PNI, 128.

\(^{56}\) Referring to PNI, 26 (13), where it should be noted that the first example is also combined with \( \text{\textit{Sp\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{Ph}}} \). For another example of the first combination see PM III, p. 626 and two more in the auction catalogues of Sotheby’s, New York, June 8, 1984, no. 50, and The Breit­ bart Collection, June 20, 1990.

\(^{57}\) PNI, 326 (19); Murray, \textit{Index}, pl. 6.

\(^{58}\) Ny-\textit{\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}} - \textit{Ph}}. Blackman, \textit{Meir IV}, passim; Blackman and Apted, \textit{Meir V}, (chap. A 1). ‘\textit{Ny-\text{\textsuperscript{9}}-P\text{\textsuperscript{9}}}’ ibid., (A 2).
by two more cases where it is linked with Mr-Pth-‘nh-Mryr and Hnnt. If the Old Kingdom evidence against the pattern Ny-NN-x may seem to have been presented with excessive minuteness, that is because the sparse evidence from the Middle Kingdom would otherwise favor it. One of Westendorf’s examples is to be eliminated; (his no. 2) is probably Mr-PrJ-Mryr. This leaves two examples:

(3) \[ \text{[name]} \]

(7) \[ \text{[name]} \]

There are two other sources for no. 3, one of which is part of the name (his no. 2) is probably Mr-PrJ-Mryr. And there is another source for no. 7, written the monument on which this occurs is in such close proximity to the other that both doubtless came from the same workshop. The three occurrences of no. 3 are more difficult to explain, however. They are particularly striking because names of this type were very much less frequently used in the Middle Kingdom. In the absence of further evidence it seems hazardous, moreover, to assume that the Middle Kingdom interpretation of such names differed from that of the Old Kingdom, although that conclusion is difficult to avoid so far as these particular cases are concerned.

2. Ihy-\(\text{hw.f}\) and Ihy-\(\text{n.s}\)

Ranke has quoted the Old Kingdom name \(\text{[name]}\) to demonstrate that theophoric names of this pattern are to be read \(\text{sdm.fNN}\) rather than \(\text{sdm.fNN}\). An additional example is provided by \(\text{[name]}\), since, as will be emphasized presently, the name of the god \(\text{Ihy}\), like the godly epithet \(\text{Nfrt}\), is not transposed. This piece of evidence speaks against Brunner’s suggestion that the pattern \(\text{NN-} \text{sdm.fNN}\) was only used when \(\text{NN}\) was not, strictly speaking, the name of the god; and that, when it was truly the name of the god, the pattern was \(\text{sdm.fNN}\). There is, in fact, no evidence whatever for such a distinction between these two categories of theophoric names.

In view of the lack of honorific transposition in Old Kingdom names mentioning \(\text{Ihy}\), it is also clear that \(\text{[name]}\), which is known from at least five sources, cannot be interpreted as \(\text{Ny-su-Ihy}\), as proposed by Ranke and Edel, since this would normally be written like

59 PM III, pp. 91 and 569.
60 P. Vernus, Le Surnom au Moyen Empire (Rome 1986), p. 29 and n. 29, p. 35 (151).
61 PNI, 180 (20); for the example in question see Bosticco, Stele I, no. 38.
62 PNI, 171 (19) and p. xxiv, referring to Cairo J 55618, for which see Abdalla, JEA 77 (1992), 98.
63 For the latter see Jequier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II, III, p. 31, fig. 11; for the other see BM 534, Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 14 (but note that the same individual is twice \(\text{[name]}\), BM 560, ibid., pl. 35).
64 Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1905-1906, pl. 17 (6).
65 JAOS 70 (1950) p. 66.
66 Cited ibid., p. 65, but not to this effect. Cf. PNI, p. 267 (4).
67 Another name that similarly fails to transpose \(\text{Ihy}\) \(\text{nn} \text{Mryr} \text{sds}\) (PNI, 421 [10] = Hassan, Giza II, figs. 33, 35).
68 ZAS 102 (1975) p. 95.
69 PNI, 258 and PNI, 44 (26); besides Ranke’s two sources (Cairo CG 1483, Hammamat inscr. 151) further examples may be found in ASA 37 (1937), 110, and in Engelbach and Gunn, Harageh, pls. 6 (8), 77 (3).
70 PNI, 344, referring to Vol. I, p. 44 (26).
3. THE AVOIDANCE OF THE OLD PERFECTIVE

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 Amanhatpi)—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 𓊮𓊫𓈉𓊱 𓊨𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱 𓊩𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱 𓊩𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱 is generally read ḫpt-hтвор rather than ḫtpt-Pтвор. The Old Kingdom evidence to the contrary is so abundant, however, that it seems useful to re-examine the question.

To begin with, there are Old Kingdom names referring to the god ḫṯḏ and the goddess Mḥrt, both of which fail to show honorific transposition. These names uniformly employ the predicative participle in place of the expected old perfective form:

- 𓊮𓊫𓈉𓊱 𓊨𓊫𓊱
- 𓊩𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱
- 𓊩𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱
- 𓊩𓊫𓊱 𓊰𓊫𓊱

78 PNI, 174 (13), citing several examples.
79 PNI, 277 (15).
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.
SOME THEOPHORIC NAMES OF THE OLD KINGDOM

One name referring to Mrt is  and here the theophoric element seems, exceptionally, to be transposed (Hr-Mrt), for there is no feminine ending after  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:

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: Nbt “The Ombite” (Seth), Nfr “The Beautiful One” (Hathor?), 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:  “Anukis,”  “Anubis,”  “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  Ranke’s  (PNI, p. 181 [5]) is written  and the final  may belong to mrt hrw. The name  (PNI, 312 [12]) may be  Zl-Smt. While  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 Nbt “Ombite” (Wh. II, p. 242 [6]).
90 Hassan, Gīṣa IV, fig. 152.
91 BM 529: T.G.H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 15. Another apparently Old Kingdom name mentioning Htp is to be found in Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 48:  this should be added to the Middle Kingdom examples of Ranke, PNI, 406 (16), where Htp is sometimes honorifically transposed, sometimes not. For Wr-Htp cf. the New Kingdom names Htp-wr, Htp-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, Süle, no. 18).
94 Cairo CG 17002 (Charles Kuentz, Obelisques [Cairo 1932], p. 9 and pl. 3).
95 PNI, 308 (24).
96 PNI, 258 (19); Junker, Gīṣa IX, p. 145; Hodjash and Berlev, Egyptian Reliefs, p. 24.
97 PNI, 259 (7); the reference to Junker is Gīṣa II, fig. 22.
98 PNI, 258 (20); Hassan, Gīṣa II, fig. 26; also probably LD II, pl. 109.
99 Junker, Gīṣa VI, fig. 76.
100 PNI, 426 (27).
101 Junker, Gīṣa IX, fig. 107 and p. 238, where the divinity is taken as feminine Ḫmt; possibly, however, the final  belongs to htp. Or it may feminize the entire name; cf. p. 23 above, n. 68.
102 Curto, Gli Scavi Italiani, fig. 13 and pl. 13.
(Hathor), R* “Re,” Hnmw “Khnum.” To this group we may also add Nb(i)-ims, Htp-nb(i)104 The apparently similar Nb(i)-im105 may, on the other hand, be interpreted in a quite different way, either as “content of nsw,” or possibly as the abbreviation of a longer name such as Htp-ks-R4106 and so too probably Nfr-l,ttph.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 Nb(i)-im108 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 Nb,110 nsw,111 nb,112 and Nb,113 but none of these cases is by any means conclusive. Both Nb and Nb occur fairly frequently as writings of Htp, examples may be found in personal names114 such as Nb,115 nsw,116 nb,117 nsw,118 and Nb,119 and Nb,120 as well as in writings of Htp-hr.s: Nb,122 Nb,123 If Htp is less frequently written Nb or Nb, that is because the last two signs are in any case more rarely arranged vertically, but examples may nonetheless be found in Nb,124 Nb,125 (quoted earlier), and Nb.126 Furthermore the writing Nb more usually follows the name of a divinity in this group of names: Nb,126 Nb,127 Nb,128 Nb,129 Nb,130 Nb,131 Nb.132 Here

104 PNI, 238 (16); Fischer, Coptite Names, nos. 2, 3 (and 32, 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 Nb, 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-hp, PNI, 158 (14), which is a contraction of Nfr-hp-NN (PNI, 158 [16–18], 423 [29]; II, 258 [29]).

108 From the unpublished false door of Snw, excavated by Abu Bakr at Giza. This name can hardly be interpreted as nb-im(l)”possessor of graciousness;” not only is the feminine missing, but there is no evidence that this phrase was used as an epithet until some time after the Old Kingdom (cf. Janssen, Equeste Autobiographie, p. 140).

109 Junker, Giza II, p. 188, points out, in this connection, that a feminine name often lacks d if this element appears elsewhere nearby, but his examples (ibid., p. 163) show that this situation occurs chiefly after nsw, in which the phonetic complement d 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 nsw (ibid., § 12).

115 For the first writing see Petrie, Medum, pls. 13, 15; Junker, Giza II, fig. 19, and Hans Kayser, Chemka, p. 33; for the second see Hass, 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, Asas, 43 (1943), 402.

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-Wḏt*, *Htp-Mnw*, *Htp-Nby*, *Htp-Hthr*, *Htp-Hqt*, *Htp-Sḥt*, *Htp-Ztt* and *Htp-Sšt*. I have not found a single Old Kingdom case in which this type of theophoric name shows a clearer feminine form such as 135 Edel has noted, in his discussion of Old Kingdom personal names from Aswan, that Tomb 35 shows a woman named  (quoted earlier), immediately followed by another named (d.i. des Königs). It does not seem likely that is to be interpreted as *Hḥt-sḥt*; quite possibly, however, the last two are *Nfr*-*Hthr*147 and *Spt*-*Nby*.146 In three other cases of this kind, (Leipzig 1957). It does not seem likely that is to be interpreted in the same way, however, since the other *nfrt* names of the O.K. all apply to the king (*PNII, 202 [20–22], 203 [21]), with the exception of *Spst-Nbty* (*PNII, 202 [12]); II, p. 370) which may mean “a beauty (is born) to her father.” For *Nfr*-*nb* see also 165 below.

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

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

150 *PNII, 332 (22).

151 *PNI, 398 (22).

154 *PNII, 255 (3).

153 *PNII, 308 (3). Analogous epithets came into use after the Old Kingdom: (Newberry, *Bemi Hasan II*, pl. 19) the Old Kingdom example quoted by Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, p. 21 (from Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 16) may be defective, to be read *[mr] hḥt Hhr* “who does what Hathor praises,” since *mr hḥt nb f* etc. is well known in this period (Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie*, p. 47 [140–461]).

In addition, the feminine ending of the old perfective is similarly missing in 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 and these are accordingly to be read *ḥḥt-Hthr*, *nb-Nby*, *ḥḥt-Hthr*, *Nfr-Hthr*, *Hč-Mṛt*, *Sḥm-Hthr*, *Spst-Hthr*, and *Ndm-Sšt*. There are, to be sure, some examples which are apparently comparable, and which do show a feminine ending: 143 144 and 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 146 Quite possibly, however, the last two are *Nfr*-*Hthr*147 and *Spt*-*Nby*.146 In three other cases of this kind, (Leipzig 1957). It does not seem likely that is to be interpreted in the same way, however, since the other *nfrt* names of the O.K. all apply to the king (*PNII, 202 [20–22], 203 [21]), with the exception of *Spst-Nbty* (*PNII, 202 [12]); II, p. 370) which may mean “a beauty (is born) to her father.” For *Nfr*-*nb* see also 165 below.

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echoing a familiar epithet of the Old Kingdom priestesses of Hathor: *dwst Hθθr* or *dwst Hθθr nbt* "who worships Hathor every day."¹⁵⁴ Some problems are presented by other names containing *hθθ* and *dwt* (which are discussed in the following excursus), but they do not affect the question at issue here. Finally there is the feminine name *nfr* which is certainly to be read *Nfr-stdqmt* It is less certain, however, whether *sqmt* 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 *k*, 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 \( \bigcup \) represents *K.(i)-nfr* "My *k* is good" (old perfective), \( \bigcap \) is not *Nfr-kl.(i)* with the same meaning, but *Nfr-kl*, which is probably to be interpreted as "one who is beautiful of *k*,"¹⁵⁷ as is shown by its apparent feminine counterpart \( \bigcup \). The same pattern is attested by \( \bigcap \) *K.(i)-ujrt* and (m.) \( \bigcup \) Wsr-kl,¹⁶² (f.) \( \bigcap \) Wsr-kl.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 *K.(i)-nfr* and *Nfr-kl*,¹⁶⁴ or for comparisons such as *Nfr-kl* and *Nfr-kl*.¹⁶⁵ The interpretation of these names is also borne out by \( \bigcap \) *K.(i)-kmt* "My *k* is foremost" and (m.) \( \bigcup \) Hnty-kl,¹⁶⁷ (f.) \( \bigcap \) Hnty-kl.¹⁶⁸ "One who is preeminent of *k*", 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-kl* and *Wsr-kl* may be abbreviations of longer names like *K.(i)-nh* (PNII, 338 [25]) and (f.) "nht-kl" (next note).¹⁶⁵

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 \( \bigcup \) \( \bigcap \) (200 [18]) probably does not indicate, as Junker argues (*Giza IX*, p. 105), the first pers. suffix, since \( \bigcap \) 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 *Nfr-kl*, PNI, p. 203 (6) and ASAE 40 (1941) p. 679.

¹⁶¹ PNI, 339 (5).

¹⁶² PNI, 86 (12).


¹⁶⁵ *Nfrt-kl* (PNI, 74 [121]), *Nfrt-kl* (PNI, 74 [13]); *Wsr-kl* (PNI, 81 [26]; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 9: VI, fig. 103; VII, p. 72), *Wsr-kl* (PNI, 81 [19]); *Spss-kw* (Hassan, *Giza VI*, fig. 41; and cf. *Spss-k*, PNI, 327 [1]; Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 28), *Spss-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: \( \bigcup \) (PNI, 68 [18]); \( \bigcup \) (PNI, 425 [29]); \( \bigcup \) (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 \( \bigcup \) (PNI, 65 [6]) but Ranke is probably right in suggesting (PNII, 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).

Nfr-ks-R' and Wsr-kw-R'h'-f.\textsuperscript{170} But even if this were the case, the transcription of \textsuperscript{14} would still be Nfr-ks rather than Nfr-ks(\textit{i}). In contrast to the theophoric names, the \textit{k} 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 \textit{Nfr-NN} and \textit{NN-nfr}, or between \textit{Htp-NN} and \textit{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: \textit{\textit{f}-Nfrt}\textsuperscript{171} and \textit{\textit{f}-\textit{Pt}t};\textsuperscript{172} but probably not \textit{\textit{f}-Nfrt},\textsuperscript{173} since this name does not seem to be theophoric. I know of no Old Kingdom evidence, however, that demonstrates the contrary.

\textsuperscript{170} PNI, 86 (14), var. \textit{Wsr-kw}.
\textsuperscript{171} PNI, 10 (7). For \textit{Nfrt} in another theophoric name see above, p. 62 and notes 98, 103.
\textsuperscript{172} PNI, 138 (13). Here the old perfective is excluded by the use of the \textit{sqm}.' form \textit{\textit{f}t\textit{w}-\textit{Pt}}.
\textsuperscript{173} PNI, 136 (5). Not to be read \textit{\textit{Pt}-Nfrt}, as Ranke does; the writing \textit{\textit{Pt}-Nfrt} is from \textit{ASAE} 15 (1915) 227; and, as may be seen from Blackman, \textit{Meir IV}, pl. 14, this may be read as follows: \textit{\textit{Pt}-Nfrt}. Thus it is no different from the writing of the same name on the plate following. The meaning of the name is discussed in \textit{Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson} (Boston 1996), forthcoming.
Excursus I: *Hzzi* and *DwJ*

The Old Kingdom theophoric names containing *Hzzi* and *DwJ* show some curious similarities, given the fact that these verbs involve a quite different relationship between men and the gods: *Hzzi* refers to praise, in the sense of commendation of someone, by the gods; *DwJ* to praise, in the sense of worship by someone, of the gods. Hence names of the type *DwJ-NN*, *DwJt-NN* and *Hzzi-NN*, *Hzzit-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:

- *DwJ* (1) (3 exs.)
- *Hzzi* (6)

It is tempting to explain most of these two series of problematic names as *Ny-dwJ-NN* (nos. 1–3) “Worship belongs to NN” and *Ny-hzzi-NN* (nos. 7–9) “Praise belongs to NN,” although the meaning of *Hzzi* becomes rather forced; *DwJ* would be worship that NN receives, whereas *Hzzi* 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; it it were correct, one should expect — to precede *DwJ* and *Hzzi* in some of the examples—and indeed in most of them. The same is true of a closely related masculine name which is known from three sources—once as *jis*, where the position of — is ambiguous, once, more clearly, as *jst*, and once (in hieratic) as *jst*.

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 PNI, 398 (18), citing LD II, 82 (a).


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

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

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


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

183 Posener-Kriegers and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 65 (23, 42); the example of *kHtP* — *kHtP* on pl. 45 (A) is highly doubtful.

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

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

186 As in *kHtP* (masc.): PNI, 173 (6).

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

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

189 Thus in Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 64 (A). In *Archives II*, p. 690, Posener-Krieger omits the terminal — , but it is evidently present as well as V. As she notes on p. 648, the name *lnP* is also known (PNI, 6 [9]).
Ranke initially thought that nos. 1–3 contained an imperative: Dw–n(.,i)-NN “Pray NN for me!,”190 while no. 4 would be an abbreviation of the same: Dw–n(.,i) “Pray for me.” This interpretation was abandoned in the second volume of Personennamen in favor of Dw–n-NN “worshiper of NN.”191 He recognizes, however, that no. 4 does not suit this interpretation.192 Furthermore the location of — 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 Dw–ti-Snfrw “Sneferu is worshiped” or “May Sneferu be worshiped.”

The series containing the verb hau 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 hau “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 Hzt–n–ib(.,i)-ib(.,i)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 PN II, 398 (17, 18).
191 PN II, p. 400 (referring to I, 398 [12 and 17-20]).
192 Ibid. (referring to PN I, 398 [171]).
194 PN II, p. 40, gives no examples, but one is to be found in 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 im–n(.,i)-ib(.,i) “give me my heart” (PN II, 203 [29]), rather than Ny–ib-im).
195 Cf. PN I, 254 (23) and II, p. 378.
196 PN I, 266 (18–25), 267 (1); II, 399 (28–29), 310 (1); for feminine examples see PN I, 267 (21–22, 25) (the last two in Junker, Gisa VI, pl. 16a and Simpson, Western Cemetery, fig. 31); PN II, 427 (7); also Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianchetnum, p. 35 and pl. 72; Drioton and Lauer, ASAE 55 (1958), 234 and pl. VI (b).
197 PN I, 173 (c), referring to LD II, 53 (a).
198 Ranke (PN II, p. 3 and n. 7) cites three Old Kingdom examples that lack the feminine ending: Nym–ib (PN I, 215 [19], and Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 12); Nfr (PN I, 194 [1]); Wsr (PN I, 85 [6]). Note also fem. (CG 1592; the masc. form is common: PN I, 254 [28]) and fem. (PN II, 421 [14], II, 403, and p. 70 below). More surprising is fem. (PN I, 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 $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$ and $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$ do not show honorific transposition of the word $\hat{\kappa}$ “father,” but are to be read $\hat{\iota}(i) \cdot \hat{\mu}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i) / n.f$. 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 $\hat{\phi} \hat{\gamma} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$ on a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga ed-Deir. It is therefore highly probable that $\hat{\kappa}$ is indeed transposed in the other case, which is accordingly to be read $\hat{\mu}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i) / n.f$.

In the same discussion Ranke notes that the feminine name $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$ does show honorific transposition of the same element in $\hat{\alpha}(i) \cdot \hat{\mu}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i)$, but points out that the transposition is more understandable in this case since, in this variant of the usual writing $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$, the woman in question is a “king’s daughter;” 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 $\hat{\phi} \hat{\gamma} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$, but the woman’s mother is again a “king’s daughter.” No such connection can be seen, however, in another case, not noted in PN, where a woman is $\hat{\phi} \hat{\gamma} \hat{\alpha} \hat{\gamma}$. This corresponds to Middle Kingdom $\hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota}$ and is to be read $\hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota}$ “Her father belongs to her.” Perhaps one should conclude that the transposition of $\hat{\kappa}$ originated in situations where it referred to the king, but was secondarily applied in some cases where it did not.

The word $\hat{\kappa}$ is seldom transposed in names of the Old Kingdom. One exceptional example has already been noted, and another occurs in $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa}$, which is probably to be understood as $\hat{\mu}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i)$, “my lord lives for him,” on the pattern of $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa}$ “Anubis lives for him.” Yet another may be found in $\hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa} \hat{\kappa}$ $\hat{\mu}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i) \cdot \hat{\alpha}(i)$ “My mistress.”

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.
of this kind that can be dated to the Old Kingdom. The earliest is \[\text{Ny-}nh-Tt\], clearly dating to the Fourth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{211} A second reference to \(Tt\) occurs in \[\text{Nh}(i.)-Tt\], of later date, perhaps the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{212} The third case, which belongs to the early Fifth Dynasty, is \[\text{Nh-}nh-Ssi\].\textsuperscript{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 \[\text{Mr-y(1.1)-}Tt\] “Beloved of \(Tt\.”\textsuperscript{214} The name \(Tt\) is well known from other sources,\textsuperscript{215} and it is probably to be recognized in another feminine name: \[\text{Ssi}\], reading \(Ny-\text{nh-Sr}\) rather than \(\text{Mr-y(1.1)-}nh\), which is hardly suitable for a woman.\textsuperscript{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 \[\text{Nh}(i.)-\text{Mw}\], whose tomb chapel was again nearby: “\(Mw\) is my lord.”\textsuperscript{217} The same veneration of an individual is perhaps to be seen in \[\text{Nh}(i.)\], and \(\text{Mr-sy Nh-Tt}\), but \(Nh\) may possibly be the god \(Ny\), and \(Tt\) 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 \[\text{Nh}\], which may be read \(Di-sw-Snb\) (rather than \(Snb-di-sw\)).\textsuperscript{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 \[\text{Nh}\], for example, is surely not \(Wb-Bsw\), as he says, but \(Wb-sw\), as Junker reads it:\textsuperscript{221} “He is pure.” And the name \[\text{Nh}\], which might conceivably be interpreted as \(Ko(i.1)-\text{Mw}\), is equally certainly \textit{Nhao-kw-km “Nhao-kw” the black” as Abu Bakr takes it,\textsuperscript{222} despite the fact that one would expect \(km\) to be written \[\text{Nh}\], as it is in other cases.\textsuperscript{223} There is, however, at least one further possibility that is more difficult to eliminate. It is the label \[\text{Nh}\], which occurs in a scene from the tomb of \(Snb\), showing men paddling a series of three boats.\textsuperscript{224} The label is one of four

\textsuperscript{211} PM III, pp. 741-42. Not in PN.
\textsuperscript{213} See above, note 53.
\textsuperscript{214} PNI, 421 (14); II, 403, referring to Hassan, Giza II, fig. 210.
\textsuperscript{215} PNI, 24 (22). Also Hassan, Giza VI/3, fig. 220.
\textsuperscript{216} PNI, 414 (19); II, 402, referring to Hassan, Giza II, fig. 195. Not, apparently, related to fem. \(\text{Nh}(i.)\) (p. 23 above, comment l).
\textsuperscript{217} Wilson, JNES 13 (1954), 244. For the identification of \(Mw\), see also JARCE 4 (1955), 51.
\textsuperscript{218} Hassan, Giza II, figs. 33, 35.
\textsuperscript{219} PNI, 291 (4).
\textsuperscript{220} Ranke, PNI, 513 (22), and p. XXIX, who assumes that the second transliteration is correct; similarly Junker, Giza II, p. 167, who reads \(Snb-n(s)\), without discussion.
For the common name \(Snb\) see PNI, 312 (15); II, 387.
\textsuperscript{221} PNI, 417 (22), correcting the reference to Junker, Giza II, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{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 \[\text{Nh}\] 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.
\textsuperscript{223} PNI, p. 11; all the references given in Ranke’s n. 21 are so written (the last should be PNI, 149 [201]).
\textsuperscript{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 $Z-n$-ht$^p$-kl, referring to a divinity named $Ht$ $p$-kl; $^{225}$ $Ht$ $p$-kl.$(i)$ 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 $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{N}}$; 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 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{R}}$ have come to light. Ranke read one of them $^{228}$ as $hr$-$nt$ (with a query), but subsequently wondered if it might be feminine, $^{229}$ comparing the other example, $^{230}$ which he had read as $mi.t$-$hr$.$(u)$. This reading cannot be correct, however, since both occurrences are masculine. The confusion is probably due to the epithet $\frac{\text{W}}{\text{W}}$ 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: $\frac{\text{W}}{\text{W}}$. The first sign is to be understood as the preposition "to," and the remainder is to be read $lfr$-$kl$. The closest parallel is $U$ $\frac{\text{W}}{\text{W}}$ 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 $kl$ smites," or "Horus/my $kl$ smites."
is one who smites,” on the pattern of the priestly title ḫmr “loving son.” 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 ḫ(wi) is written so briefly. The same writing is, however, attested on a statue of ḫ(wi) from Saqqara, and a false door at Abu Roash.

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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 ḫ(wi), and this error is repeated by Ranke, PNI, 256 (26) and PM III², 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, but it has not, to my knowledge, been conclusively endorsed or refuted. 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, 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, and toponyms were similarly curtailed, one of the most striking examples being "The Mansion Kheperkare (Justified)-is-Powerful," which was soon shortened to and finally , the modern Hu. 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. "Memphis," which he also cites, is not known to have been used until the Middle Kingdom, although it was applied to the pyramid somewhat earlier, 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 "breath" although does not seem to be attested otherwise in personal names at so early a date: "Mn-nfr is my breath," " is the breath of Mryr." Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, p. 58 (8) suggests in the second case, but has not taken account of the first one. Cf. also the names (PN I, 63 [20]) and (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 Im is simply another term for the pyramid and its temple. 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, \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) whose name is also written \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), whose name is also written \(\text{\textit{Im}}\). 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 and at least one of them is worth quoting in this connection. The name \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) is explained by Ranke as ‘\(\text{\textit{Im}}\)’ König Phiiops lebt in Memphis.’ In view of the fact that \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) 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 \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), with the name of the pyramid replacing \(\text{\textit{Im}}\). At the very end of the Old Kingdom, probably dating to the Eighth Dynasty, another personal name is oddly written \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), however the form of \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) 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 \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) “my kis is (or “is in”) \(\text{\textit{Im}}\).”

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 \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), which he interprets as “\(\text{\textit{Im}}\)’s building (where) the \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) appears in splendour.” This is more probably to be translated “The \(\text{\textit{Im}}\)-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)-\(\text{\textit{Im}}\)-NN (king), “The God NN Desires that King NN Live,” and, \(\text{\textit{Im}}\)-NN (god)-NN (king), “The God NN Causes King NN to Live.” 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 \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), \(\text{\textit{Im}}\), and all three of these

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10 \textit{Urk. I}, pp. 251–55; the variant with \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) occurs on the upper architrave; compare Daressy, \textit{ASAE} 17 (1917), p. 136.
11 Blackman and Apted, \textit{Meir} V, pl. 5–50. The variant with \(\text{\textit{Im}}\) occurs on pl. 6. Similarly ‘\(\text{\textit{Im}}\)’ (Petrie, \textit{Abydos II}, pl. 19, 21) and ‘\(\text{\textit{Im}}\)’ (CG 1431, etc.).

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12 See n. 8 above.
14 \textit{PNL}, 132 (g).
15 Cairo CG 1717.
16 Citing \textit{Urk. I}, 38.
18 Ibid., pp. 460, 465–66, 469.
repeated patterns occur in the names of pyramids—those of Chephren (wr), Isesi (nfr) and Sneferu (h'). Furthermore some similar patterns are repeated in the Twelfth Dynasty, when h' is likewise applied, for example, to Sesostris I, and sh is applied to Sesostris II.

Theophoric personal names provide further examples of Wr-NN, Nfr-NN, and Hr-NN,19 and this class of evidence likewise includes parallels for the pyramid-name Hr-bw-Sihur, including Hr-bw-Pth, Hr-bw-Huathr and Hr-bw-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-nh 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-ds-Nfrirk21 “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-nh-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-Rr “Great is the Beauty of Re.”23 And in the case of Mn-nh-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 “possessor of life,” 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-nh 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 hnut.(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 Hath or, is followed by feminine forms in personal names such as Old Kingdom Nbw-Hnt, and Middle Kingdom Nbw-hpt, Nbw-hr.s, Nbw-hr.s.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-hdy (PNI, 80 [14]); Wr-Hth (PNII, 274 [20]); Nfr-Mrt (PNI, 196 [17]); Nfr-Hth (PNI, 198 [21]); Nfr-nq (PNII, 258 [113]); Hr-Inpu (PNI, 263 [10]).
20 PNI, 263 (2-14).
21 For this and other estate names of the same pattern see Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines, p. 462.
22 For nfr as a substantive, see Wh. II, p. 258 (11-17).
23 Cairo CG 1747.
24 Wh. I, 169 (15), and see also Wh. I, p. 199 (14), where late examples are cited.
25 Wh. I, 106 (17), 107 (6); I follow Gardiner’s explanation (JE 41 [1955] p. 121) as opposed to that of Goedicke in WZKM 56 (1960) pp. 52-54.
26 Wh. I, 210 (7, 17), 211 (6, 14), etc.
27 PNI, 192 (5,13), 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 [personal name] \(\text{Mn-swt-it. i-nswt}\) “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: \(\text{A}\).\(^{30}\) 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 \(\text{U}\), again omitting the initial element \(\text{J}\).\(^{31}\) 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-Rr\(\text{f}\)*, as quoted above, or *Izzi-nfr(w)* and *Rr-fwr(w)*. A comparison of theophoric names\(^{32}\) 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 \(\text{I}\).\(^{34}\) This is evidently “The Places of the Appearances of Amenemhet (I)” as initially suggested by Mace.\(^{35}\) The name \(\text{J}\) is also unusual; *lnmN* looks like a feminine participle, “She Who Encompasses the Places of Khakheperre,” and this case points up the absence of the ending \(\text{J}\) in the Old Kingdom names. Such an ending is not, however, to be recognized in Bennett’s listing of \(\text{J}\) for the pyramid of Mentuhotep II, which should be corrected to \(\text{J}\) “Glorious are the places of Nebhepetre,” later abbreviated to \(\text{J}\).\(^{37}\)

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\(^{28}\) Junker, *Gisa V*, p. 188.


\(^{30}\) Fischer, *The Tomb of Ipu 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, *Altd. 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-perfective is used to ring a change on the expected use of participle + noun, and this is done to create the chiastic ABBA pattern that has been favored by stylists down through the ages: ‘*rd.k, rd.k ur* “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 Sesostris I* (New York 1988), fig. 37, p. 91.

\(^{35}\) *BMMA* (Nov. 1921) p. 17. So too Helck, *LA* V, col. 6.

\(^{36}\) Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. 5.

\(^{37}\) H.R. Hall in Naville, *XIIth 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, 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 meaning “exalted” or “great,” one may compare the Old Kingdom personal name ( ) “Her Power is Great,” and ( ) “Great is the Might of Re,” the latter perhaps dating to the Eighth Dynasty. 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 wrjlt-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 wrjlt-eyes, as does that of Khendjer, dating to the following dynasty.

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 ( ) and ( ), but ( ) and ( ).

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38 Louvre C 2: Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pl. 44.
39 Wb. V, p. 2 (13).
40 PN II, p. 439, referring to PN I, 332 (10).
41 PN I, 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 ( ) is to be recognized in names such as ( ) “Ptah is exalted,” ( ) “Maat is exalted,” and ( ) “R 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 "Nn-nfr R" "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, 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, 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 Dig and not Dmg or a variant of Dmg, 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, while at Naqada there is a masculine occurrence of the virtually identical .

Inasmuch as the masculine name Dig (var. Digi) is well known from contemporaneous stelae from Naqada, it must be considered whether the present example may have the same provenance—especially since the two writings of Digi 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 site—the provenance seems confirmed by the style and format, and most particu-

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1 Accession no. 69.74.1, in Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972), p. 40 and fig. 6. The name of the owner, -ni is evidently the same as the -ni in Fischer, Copite Nome, no. 26. This provides another example of a feminine determinative like -ni, 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 Léclant (Cairo 1994) 1, pp. 181–88.


3 Dunham, Naga-ed-Dér Stelae, no. 63; cf. Ranke, PNI, 295 (26), and II, 370.

4 Fischer, Copite Nome, no. 38.

5 Ibid., no. 36; Digt, 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, 490.

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.
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. 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. At first sight it is not clear whether the detail between the shoulder straps of the woman resembles that which is frequent at Naqada, 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, 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 hryt “seniore del portale,” but without great conviction. The older writing of this title is \( \text{ms} \), the last sign sometimes taking the form, in the Middle Kingdom it was at least once replaced by \( \text{ms} \) (= \( \text{ms} \)), but the word

\begin{flushleft}
7 Fischer, Coptite Nome, no. 29.  
8 Ibid., no. 26.  
9 Ibid., fig. 5, p. 52.  
10 Ibid., nos. 25, 32.  
11 Wh. 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 200177, illustrated in Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pl. 20 (where the CG nos. are transposed).
\end{flushleft}
in question was not determined by a domed structure until the Graeco-Roman Period, 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. In addition to the aforementioned \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \), there are \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \), \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) (var. \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \)) and \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \), written \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) in the late Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period. To these may be added \( \text{smsw} \text{iz(t)} \) “elder of the chamber,” in which the two elements have been transposed for aesthetic reasons. In the present case the enigmatic sign may be the result of a correction, the title \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) “eldest of the domain,” having replaced \( \text{smsw} \text{wht} \) “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 \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) in the assumed writing of \( \text{wht} \); if this had been the replacement, it would have been easier to erase the stroke of \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \), and to have placed \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) above it. But the change to \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) would more understandably have required \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) 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. 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**

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13 Wb. Belegstellen II, to 476 (6, 7).
14 The sole exception is \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) “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, *Nianchchnum*, p. 95, pl. 36 a, fig. 12. The supervisor of fowlers (or fishermen) is more usually \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \): Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 91; Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 123; Bissing *Gem-ni-kaï II*, pl. 8; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 8; V, pl. 30; Davies, *Sheikh Sáid*, pl. 12; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, figs. 33–36; Moussa and Altenmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 93 and fig. 12. Also \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \): 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 \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) and \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) are actually \( \text{smsw} \text{pr} \text{en} \) (for the second cf. CG 1516, belonging to the same person). And for the writings of \( \text{smsw} \text{wht} \) 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: *Archeologie: Egyptienne et Greco-Romaine*, Dec. 1, 1993, p. 15 (111).
16 See *Wb.* I, 127 (g), where the Old and Middle Kingdom writings may be compared.
A clearer example of a contemporary \textit{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).\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{a} [\textit{Mf}f (?)],\textsuperscript{b} (3) [who says]:\textsuperscript{c} "I made a boat for the Hereditary Prince and Overseer of Priests (4) NN\textsuperscript{d} .... He [prai]sed me (5) [for it] ... in the northern Head of Upper Egypt.\textsuperscript{f} (6) I came back from there in peace.\textsuperscript{g} I was one beloved of his father (7) one praised of his mother, whom [his] broth[ers] loved."

\textsuperscript{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 \( T \) and \( L \) favors the presence of \( \Delta \), of which some traces seem visible. The arrangement of \( L \) 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. \( \Delta \), Ranke, PNI, 159 (21).

(c) There is just enough room for \( \Delta \).

(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 \( Dj \), who is again mentioned on no. 17. See also comment g below.

(e) It is difficult to identify the first sign; it could be \( \Delta \) or \( \mu \) (cf. line 7), and \( [h]z.n.f w(\cdot) [h.rs] \) is in fact the likeliest restoration.

(f) The sign \( \Delta \) 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 \( \frac{1}{4} \) (with a base) is, in any case, to be read \( Smr.w \), 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, no. 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, \( Tp-Smr.w \) 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,\(^1\) the fragmentary inscription known as Florence 7595 is more intact than Bosticco realised when he published it.\(^2\) 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).\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) ZAS 85 (1960), 83.

\(^2\) Bosticco, Stelie I, p. 31, fig. 26.

\(^3\) Collection de l'Universite 349; Spiegelberg-Pörnter, *Aegyptische Grabsteine*, pl. 11 (18); Clère-Vandier, *TPF*, § 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. 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. The initial titles of the great over-

\[ \text{References:} \]

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 1, 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 Rustafjæll Collection (Sotheby Catalogue, Dec. 19–21, 1906, pl. 9 [51]); 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 1, 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 6 [1933], 187). The motif is scarcely known from Twelfth Dynasty stelae; the only one known to me is Berlin 22820 (ibid., pl. 52 [2] and Anthes, ZAS 65 [1930], 108 ff.); this late a date is indicated by for imy-r and instead of ; 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 ṣm. The lack of detail in the wigs and clothing of the man and wife corresponds to the style of the hieroglyphs, and notably Ⲟ (for ḫ) and Ⲣ. 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 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 upstreamᵇ (3) on a mission for the Hereditary Prince, Count, Great Overlord of Upper Egyptᶜ In-it.f (4) to the placeᵈ to whichᵉ the chiefsᶠ of Upper and Lower Egyptᵍ (were going). (5) Every chief, having arrived there,ᵇ then rejoicedᵇ (6) on meeting me,ᵇ because I was good of speech. I am one who is outspokenᵏ (7) [and is efficientlator of] counsel, commanding of voiceᵐ on the day of assembling,ⁿ who declares a statement.ᵒ (8) [being self-collectedᵖ on the day of ] conference,ⁿ 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 ṣm and ḫw “going” and “coming,” were used in this fashion; a Twelfth Dynasty inscription at one of the turquoise mines of Sinai speaks of ṣm 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 V, pl. 35 [2]) and Florence 7588, from Gebelein, is illustrated by Bosticco, Stile I, no. 12. Yet another example from Gebelein is to be recognized in the fragment from the Rustaifaell Collection (note 23 above). There is also a fragmentary example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. 1248, of unknown provenance.
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 ‘nhnty.fy of Mo‘alla.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 ȝ. In another example of “Great Overlord of Upper Egypt,” probably referring to the same person (ibid., pl. 29), Šm’w shows the normal form: ȝ. For further examples where it is written ȝ 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 . . . iry, as distinguished from the usual bw nty . . . im, for which see Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 1062, and Gardiner, Grammar, § 200 (2).

(f) Hpq 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 ȝ ȝ ȝ ȝ 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 ‘nhnty.fy (Vandier, Mo‘alla III, 27; 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], 205; Černý, JEA 47 [1961], 7 [2–3]). In all these cases the determinative is similarly ȝ. Cf. also Fischer, Coptite Nome, p. 67, where ḫqw evidently refers to the three overseers of priests whom the deceased served, but they too probably acted as nomarchs (ibid., p. 60). Hpq 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 ȝ in mhwt 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’w is equally certain, with ȝ represented by ȝ 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. ȝ ȝ ȝ ȝ ȝ ȝ ȝ in Vandier, Mo‘alla, p. 186 (II, B, 2). Vandier translates “le Sud et le Nord, ce pays tout entier,” and plausibly recognizes the same combination of

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27 For the Theban–Coptite coalition see Vandier, Mo‘alla, p. 198 (II, r, 3). For the extent of ‘nhnty.fy’s domain see p. 242 (VI, 2, 3–4).
29 Urk. I, 109 (1), 125 (8), 126 (15), 127 (7), 133 (15), 134 (6, 10). Also in Old Kingdom Excration texts: Osing, MDAIK 29 (1973), 112; 32 (1975), 135.
“Upper Egypt” and “North” in IV, 12, p. 225(k). Probably the same interpretation is to be accepted in the present case (rather than “northern Upper Egypt”), although the inscription in Figure 2 seems to apply mḥty “northern” to the “Head of the South,” a smaller portion of Upper Egypt.

(h) I take ḫr,sn to represent spry (old perfective). For the use of the old perfective in a preliminary circumstantial clause, without any kind of introduction, cf. “having gone on a mission of this my lord, I did what he desired” (Gardiner, JEA 4 [1917], pl. 9 [6]). Edel (ZÄS 85 [1960], 83) takes spry to be a perfective relative form “(as for) every chief whom I reached.” His interpretation is theoretically possible, and one might even consider the preceding ḫr as a proleptic ir, resulting from a scribal error—either haplography (to be read twice, as irt and ir) or the omission of im after bw nty. James Allen has suggested to me that the phrase in question might also be translated “(and/or) to which every chief had arrived.” But neither of these alternatives is likely unless one assumes that the omission of nb after bw is another scribal error, and one that is less comprehensible. The idea of a single destination, and a single meeting, also suits the epithets in lines 7–8, referring to “the day of assembling” and “[the day of] conference.”

For the writing of spr cf. ḫr,sn (Urk. I, 130 [16]), ḫr,sn (Pyr. 1188c [N]) and the derived noun ḫr “haven” (Fischer, Dendera, p. 140); the sign derives from ḫr in writings of spr “ribs” (Hasan, Giza VI/2, 354 [list 44] 356 [list 109T]), and the boat replaces the generic determinative A to indicate arrival by water.

(i) ḫr,sn + old perfective. For the omission of the suffix ending see Edel, ZÄS 84 (1959), 31 (84).


(k) Cf. ḫr,sn “who is open of mouth on the day of speech, possessor of a (strong) arm on the day of fighting” (CG 1609, from Mesheikh, in the Thinite Nome).

(l) The second sign might be either or ; cf. (Siut III, 4; Montet, Kemi 3 [1930], 91). But ir sign seems too short for the available space, and therefore seems more likely. For the latter phrase see Janssen, Ägyptische Autobiografie I, pp. 20–23.

(m) Cf. Polotsky, Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie, § 64d, who cites this occurrence from the Wb. Belegstellen; further examples are given by Janssen, op. cit., pp. 9–10.

(n) Dmḏyt is unusual, but the meaning is unmistakable; cf. Bosticco. This clearly refers to the meeting mentioned in lines 2–5.

(o) Cf. ḫr,sn “who declares a statement in its (proper) time” (Couyat-Montet, Hammâmât, no. 114 [6–7], which is strangely reminiscent of the more common epithet ḫr “who finds a phrase when it is lacking” (Janssen, op. cit., p. 114). There is insufficient room for ḫw,f in the present case.

(p) For this epithet, which is clearly connected with the phrase just quoted, see ibid., p. 94 f.

(q) I initially took this word to be ḫr,sn, “orders,” but the form of ḫ is odd; it does not seem altogether suitable for ḫ either, but this sign shows some other variations of the same
kind in the late Heracleopolitan Period and Twelfth Dynasty; see p. 103 below. For the entire phrase cf. 𓊡𓊙𓊲𓊖𓊪𓊲𓊛𓊡 (Anthes, Hatnub, Gr. 20 [5]).

(r) The use of the name-determinative 𓊥𓊙 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, Coptic 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 ḫˁ (“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 Wkh-ḥnḫ 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 Wkh-ḥnḫ, 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/2, p. 595 f.
31 JEA 61 (1975), 35–37, and Clère-Vandier, TPPL, § 18 (3). Another Eleventh Dynasty text refers to 𓊢𓊣𓊭𓊫 “the domains of the Northerner” (Gardiner, JEA 4 [1917], 35, and pl. g [line 3]).
35 Fischer, Dendera, p. 201 f.
33 JEA 61 (1975), 35–37.
Plate 9. Turin Suppl. 1292

Courtesy Museo Egizio
PROVINCIAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HERACLEOPOLITAN PERIOD
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 Sesostris 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 naos of that period. A pair of miniature dummy naos 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-hr-wbty in Leiden, in which a shrine for the statue of the deceased shows the bolt and battens when

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1 For examples of the Old Kingdom see Mohammad Zaki Nour, Zaki Elsaker, Mohammad Salah Osman, and Ahmad 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 (pl. 20, 62); G (pl. 22, 64); H (pl. 25, 66); J (pl. 28, 68); N (pl. 39, 70); O (pl. 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.

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.
the doors are closed, and omits the battens when the doors are open (Pl. 12). Another clue is provided by the mastaba of Mrr-wi-kš.i, where a naos was built into the rear wall of the pillared court (Pl. 13a). 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). 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. A further clue to the resolution of this question is provided by one of the two

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6 Boeser, Besch. aeg. Sammlg. I, Atlas, pl. 9. The same distinction may be seen in Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, 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 Rḥḥ.f-nḫ (G 7948); also LD, Ergänzungsbuch, 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).\footnote{Mereruka, pl. 107.} 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,\footnote{Examples in Smith, \textit{HESPOK}, pl. 57 (a–c); Murray, \textit{Saqqara Mastabas I}, pl. 19 (Cairo CG 57190); James, \textit{Hieroglyphic Texts I\(^*\)}, pl. 4 (1); Cairo CG 1447.} 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.\footnote{For these naotropic features compare Alexander Badawy, \textit{ASAE} 48 (1948), p. 256. 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 naos 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, \textit{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.} And that conclusion suggests that the missing doors of \textit{Mrr-wi-k\textsuperscript{i}}'s naos similarly displayed battens on the outside.

The bolted and battened niche of \textit{Mrr-wi-k\textsuperscript{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,\footnote{The battens are shown on a false door in Davies, \textit{Deir el Gebrawwi 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, \textit{Coptite Nome}, pp. 40–41); two other examples (Firth and Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyramid Cemeteries}, pls. 67 [2], 69) are of the same date, or only slightly earlier, and yet another example (H.W. Müller, \textit{MDAIK} 4 [1933], p. 187, fig. 11) is Eleventh Dynasty.} although the detail is more usually limited to a verti-
Fig. 3. Entrance passage of mastaba at Giza. After Lepsius

cal median line and the two bolts. 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.” In support of his view one might also cite several cases where the hieroglyph ☳, representing a door, shows battens (Fig. 5). This detail is usually omitted in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs, however. 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. And from the Fifth Dynasty, in or near the reign of Neuserre, there is a series of four dummy doors in the tomb chapel of Sim-nfr II

14 Bolts are attested by Cairo CG 1401, 1404, 1407, 1439, 1459, 1499, 1574, 1576, 1617, etc. Also Davies, Deir el Gebraïn 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 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 Türk, p. 15, fig. 12.
17 See in particular Meneruka, 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 (5); 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-nsit-ka-i. Drawing by S.R. Shepherd
Fig. 5. Hieroglyphs representing doors

(Pl. 13b). 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. 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-R Mentuhotep, and one of them, in addition, shows a battened door on the inside, directly behind the other (Pl. 14). 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 nowhere battens are so repeated. 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, Met IV, pl. 19; James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 49; Borchardt, 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 ‘ūysect H.E. Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1912 (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, Xth 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); 28049 (pl. 15); 28030 (pl. 16). On the other hand, one example (28085) 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 University
It remains to be considered why the battens of the doors of naoi should be so oddly externalized. The fact that they opened outward rather than inward does not, to my mind, seem sufficient to explain this feature, for it would have been technically feasible to accommodate the battens internally either by making them slightly shorter or by cutting a series of notches along the rabbeted inner jambs. In turning the doors so conspicuously inside out the Egyptians evidently wished to emphasize a reversed point of view: these doors were not primarily a means of access to the naos, but rather a means of access from the naos to the temple or chapel within which it was placed. As noted earlier, some of the false doors show an emergent figure that not only suggests the analogy of the shrine, but also indicates that the false door was designed to admit the deceased to the offering place within the tomb chapel. The idea of emergence is also emphasized by a scene in one of the Twelfth Dynasty tomb chapels at Beni Hasan (Fig. 6), where a naos containing a statue of the deceased is dragged to the local temple. One group of men cries "Open the two doors of heaven that the god may come forth!" and the response is "The god is coming! Rejoice!" In a parallel text the divinity, who is not present, is "Gold," i.e., the goddess Hathor, and the response is "Behold, Gold has come forth!" It is true that of Chicago's Oriental Institute, including post-Old Kingdom coffins in Boston, Chicago, London (supplemented by data from T.G.H. James) and Cairo (the latter including 3 of those mentioned above); 22 of these show battens on doors within the coffin, usually accompanied by bolts, and 8 others show bolts on doors inside the coffin; only 4 show battens and bolts on doors outside, and only 6 others show bolts in this location. In one case (British Museum 30842) bolts appear both inside and outside. Thus, of these 40 examples, 30 show the inner face of the door on the inside and 10 show the inner face on the outside.

Another possibility is to eliminate the battens altogether, in which case each leaf might consist of a panel reinforced by an outer frame; a Dyn. XXVI example is shown by Roeder, Naos, pl. 44 (a). Compare also the small shrines of Tutankhamun, as shown in Carter, Tut-ankh-Amen III, pl. 11, and the Dyn. XIX example in Ernesto Scamuzzi, Egyptian Art in Turin, (New York 1965), pl. 77, where the frames are imitated by a painted black band.

Fig. 6. Twelfth Dynasty scene at Beni Hasan. After Newberry

25 Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 29.
26 Davies, Antefoker, pl. 23. In an Eleventh Dynasty scene (my Plate 14) the "Scribe of the God's Book, Beloved of His Mistress In-it." reads a rather similar litany to the deceased: "Propitiate Hathor! Say what she loves every day! Open the two doors for the Mistress of the Two Lands!" Here, as in the preceding texts, the imperatives might theoretically be translated as infinitives: "propitiating Hathor," "saying what she loves," "opening the doors." For a clear transcript of the hieratic text see Clère and Vandier, TPPI, § 27 (§ 3).
the doors of the shrine are attributed to heaven, as also in the New Kingdom. 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,” 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 ‘nwy-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 13a. Shrine of Mrr-wi-š.t, after Strekalovski

Plate 13b. Dummy doors in tomb of Sès-m-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 at in place of at in hieroglyphic texts of the Heracleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom, a substitution that evidently derives from hieratic forms such as at. 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: at at. There can be no doubt that the first two words are to be interpreted as at at. For the form of at one may compare at at in Clère-Vandier, TPPI, § 15, line 6, and at in Newbery, Beni Hasan I, pl. 26, line 151, and probably also at at, ndt-r on a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga-ed-Deir, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, 14-19-1. An earlier example, dating to the end of the Old Kingdom, occurs in the name Dr-snd. Once again the source is probably hieratic, where forms such as at were in use in the Middle Kingdom and earlier. 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 Th-hr-nfrt, Berlin 1204, where the deceased says at at “I made the procession of Wepwawet, when he proceeds to defend his father.” Here Wepwawet takes on the role of Horus as defender of Osiris. 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

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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 at and at 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 at is apparently to be interpreted as the title “warrior” in CG 20313; also at at (at) in CG 20746.

3 Most recently published in C. Vandersleyen, Das Alte Ägypten, pl. 24 and p. 297. The passage in question is an epithet at at in Wiesbaden 1965), p. 189, note 2, reads tpt-n “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 at at at “Wepwawet 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.
service of Wepwawet, performing that function in his place. Such a conclusion is far from certain, however, since Wepwawet could be identified with Osiris, as might any god who is considered the passive recipient of the priest who serves him and who, in so doing, assumes the filial Horus-role. If a genitival relationship were intended, one would very much like to see it expressed more explicitly, by the use of n.

But even if the safest translation seems to be "warrior, who defends Wepwawet," it is analogous to the sacredotal function of Ti-hr-nfr himself, who says iw ir.n.i zi mri.f n Wsir-Hntyimntyw "I acted as 'loving son' for Osiris Khentamentiu," and later, certainly in reference to this same function, iw nd.n.i Wnn-nfr hrw pf n 3hi i "I defended Onnophris on that day of the great fighting."

The early Twelfth Dynasty nomarch Djfr-Hpt also refers to himself as a military adjunct of Wepwawet: one who supplies the arrows of the lord of Asyut. This follows a reference to Wepwawet as "he who is upon his standard, lord of the sdSd," but the arrows can hardly allude to the standard as such; although the standard bears a weapon, the weapon takes the form of a single spear or mace. In addition to providing Wepwawet's arrows, the nomarch, a little later in the same inscription, is "one who drives off the enemies of Osiris in the presence of Horus who is upon the throne of his father."

Yet another case of this kind occurs in the titulary of an individual who is represented in a group statue of the later Twelfth Dynasty, along with his father Htp-Shm and two other members of his family (Pl. 15). He is True acquaintance of the king, Director of Linen Cloth of the First Weaving, Protector of the Lord of Eternity, Overseer of the Sealers, Pepy." The "Lord of Eternity" certainly refers to a god, and the god is most probably Osiris, although, in the Middle Kingdom, Osiris is more commonly given the synonymous epithet hph gd "Prince of Everlastingness." Stp-z3 "protector" is attested from the Old Kingdom, and again from the New Kingdom and later, but is known less frequently from the period in question. It occurs again, however, among the titles and epithets of the Thirteenth Dynasty vizier T-p-mry, on his statue in Hildesheim: . Ranke has convincingly explained the reading of the first sign as imy dsrw, and he translates: "He who is in the splendor of Horus, bodyguard." It seems likely that stp-z3 again refers to the god in this case, and that one should understand it to mean "protector (of Horus)."

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8 Siut I, 232: Montet, Kemi 3 (1930), 49.
9 In the Middle Kingdom the spear is superimposed on the support of the standard: e.g., Lacau-Chevrier, Chapelle de Sesostris I, pl. 3 (bottom center).
10 Siut I, 246: Montet, op. cit., 51.
11 University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia 59-23-1. Previously illustrated in the Museum's Guide to the Collection: Egypt (1965), and by Wildung, Sesostris und Amenemhet (Munich 1984), fig. 91, p. 102. The mrs-sign appears to have the form in Pl. 15, but this is illusory. The nfr-sign somewhat resembles a quail chick, as often in the Middle Kingdom: see Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List G 21 and p. 361, n. 3. For tpt-mr see Wb. II, 97 (1).
12 Wb. II, 299 (9), gives one Middle Kingdom example: BM 574 (Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 9); and a second one may be seen in Pl. 8 (p. 53 above). Another, referring to Wnfr is to be found in BM 580 (ibid., pl. 37).
13 E.g., CG 20056b, 20056b, 20353b, 20614b, 20705c; Petrie, Abydos I, pl. 60. Also nb dt CG 20693a.
14 Cf. Wb. IV, 340 (8–10). For the translation of stp-z3 Goelet (JARCE 23 [1986], 89 f.) prefers "escort."
Finally it may be noted that a certain *Nfr-nry*, again probably dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty, is \(\text{\textsuperscript{16}}\) “follower of Sokaris and bowman” on his stela in the Louvre. The omission of a determinative after the name of the god does not seem unusual, 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 *sms* 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, and as commoners began to view themselves as the dutiful son (*zi iqr*) in the role of Horus who repelled his father’s enemies and assumed his responsibilities, 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 *\(\text{\textsuperscript{17}}\) as the same individual (Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 18 [8]).

\(^{17}\) E.g. CG 20443, 20529.


\(^{19}\) Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 147.


*Courtesy of the Museum*
10. A Statuette of the Late Middle Kingdom

The statuette shown in Plate 16 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. 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, 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 JEIN 932; Durham 501 (Farouk Gomaâ, SAK 11 [1984], 107-12,
One of the statuettes of the same type, Durham 501, shows a hieroglyph (واء) with inner detail that is associated with the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period. 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 over the Western Nome (L.E. 3), the Steward and Deputy Sbk-htp (or Htp-Sbk)
2. The revered son of the Steward Dhwty-htp (؟ or Htp), Sbk-htp
3. The revered Steward Sbk-htp, 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 Tmuw, Kom el Hisn, for which see Helck, Die altägyptischen Gaue (Wiesbaden 1974), pp. 154–56, and Gomaâ, 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 Ht-wth “Estate of Cattle” is named as the principal city on the geographical list of Sesostris I at Karnak along with its divinity, Apis (Gomaâ, 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 Tmuw (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 Rs (seen on the London market in 1970); Habachi, Heqaib, pl. 73. Many of these are listed by Vandier, Manuel d’archéologie III, p. 251. 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 1893; Brooklyn 62.717; Cairo CG 480; Louvre E 11196, E 10975, E 20171; MMA 22.1.199, 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. Clere).

4 For 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 "" and 「 belongs to the former or the latter. Note that a stroke accompanies 「 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 ๑; the projections on either side may be accidental, however, and this writing of ḫwty 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.
11. Archaisms in a Statuette of Middle Kingdom Style

The upper part of a schist statuette shown in Plates 17–18\(^1\) poses a most interesting problem, since it combines the style of the later Twelfth Dynasty with an attitude, cloak and coiffure that hearken 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 II*, pl. 83 [1]) and BM 100 (*ibid.*, pl. 92 [6]).

\(^3\) All examples are male: e.g., Alnwick 501 (Gomaï, *SAK* 11 [1984], 107 ff., pl. 2); BM 1957 (Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 75); Brooklyn 41.83 (*ibid.*, pl. 89); Cairo J 34572: plate 84. 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).

does not. I know of only one exception, and here the woman's cloak is quite different, leaving one shoulder exposed.  

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 pouched. 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).  

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 Ini-t-kt.s and his wife "She who beholds Horus, Htp-hr-nbyt" (Fig. 1). 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); 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 Hufwet-hr.t, where it is worn by his mother Queen Mrr-kt.s (Fig. 2b); 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 Mrr-sy-rnh III, in a representation of her mother, Queen Htp-hrs (Fig. 2c). 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 BMMA 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 (zat-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, Mensy-ankh, 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 Hufun-h-f's mother, after Smith; (c) Mother of Mr-sy-mh 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),\textsuperscript{11} and in a fragmentary statue of a woman which may come from the tomb of Mr-sy-nb III (Fig. 3a).\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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)\textsuperscript{14} show that they too wore the vulture headdress.\textsuperscript{15} Although some alabaster fragments of such a headdress have been attributed to queens of the Fourth Dynasty,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{18} as also in

\textsuperscript{11} Cairo CG 4: PM IV, 91.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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.
\textsuperscript{15} See Fig. 3, p. 184 below, and the references on p. 183, n. 79. Also Borchardt, \textit{Grabd. S'ahure-re II}, pl. 22. None of the few Old Kingdom examples is known to pertain to Lower Egypt, however.
\textsuperscript{16} Uvo Holscher, \textit{Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren} (Leipzig 1912), figs. 140, 141-44, pp. 102-105, 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, \textit{Mycerinus} [Cambridge, Mass. 1931], p. 108 and pl. 17d). The colossal statue of Queen Hf-mr-nbty, Cairo] 48856 (PM III*, p. 274), has no vulture on the head, nor does it appear in thedy of Mycerinus and his wife (perhaps the same queen), for which see Reisner, \textit{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, \textit{Grabd. S'ahure-re II}, pl. 16).
\textsuperscript{17} Cairo CG 1431 (facsimile in Fischer, \textit{Egyptian Studies} II, fig. 58); Brooklyn 39.119 (Vandier, \textit{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, \textit{Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions}, p. 28); Firth and Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyramid Cemeteries}, pl. 57 (7); Jéquier, \textit{Monument funéraire de Pepi III}, pl. 4; \textit{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, \textit{Manuel d'Archéologie III}, pl. 9).
\textsuperscript{18} Gardiner, Peet and Černý, \textit{Sinai}, pl. 9 (17); cf. PM VII, p. 342.
another case, where the same queen may be represented.\textsuperscript{19} It is not to be seen in other representations of the queen that are earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty,\textsuperscript{20} at which point it is exemplified by the renowned pair of statues portraying the wife of Sesostris II,\textsuperscript{21} and at least a dozen other statuettes of queens and princesses, some doubtless belonging to the following dynasty.\textsuperscript{22} As far as sculpture is concerned, the vulture headdress apparently did not

\textsuperscript{19} Petrie, \textit{Abydos II}, pl. 20, representing one of two wives of Pepy I.


\textsuperscript{21} Cairo CG 381–382; Vandier, \textit{Manuel d’Archeologie III}, pl. 74 (1, 3); cf. PM IV, pp. 18–19.

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reappear until the New Kingdom, although the wife of Amenemhet III wears it in a two-dimensional representation on her false door, and a small vulture is affixed to one of the inlaid gold diadems from Dahshur, dating to the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty. It became frequent in statuary of the New Kingdom, where the head of the vulture is usually replaced by that of the uraeus. 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. 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 female 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, 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. As Bernard Bothmer has pointed out, however, no stone sculpture of a queen

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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 headress, is considered by Vandier, Manuel d'Archéologie III, p. 315 to be early Dyn. XVIII rather than Middle Kingdom as Steindorff supposed (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, RA II 32 (1980), 95-116, and illustrated on pl. 8.

25 Cairo CG 52860: Erika Feucht, in Vandersleyen, Das Alte Agypten, p. 388 and pl. LVa. For the date (not much before Neferhotep I) see Bruce Williams, Serapis 5 (1975-76), 48.

26 E.g., Cairo CG 572, CG 42009. J 45076 (Vandier, Manuel d'Archeologie 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'Archeologie III, pl. 98 [7]; Giorgio Carredu, Museo Barracco di scultura antica: la collezione egizia, no. 17); Vienna AS 5778 (Brigitte Jaros-Deckert, Statuen des Mittleren Reichs und der 18. Dynastie [GAA Wien, Mainz/ Rhein 1988], pp. 126-31).


28 The most striking example is Berlin 14475 (Vandier, Manuel d'Archeologie 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 headress nor the uraeus.

29 For the Eleventh Dynasty see Artibus Asiae 22 (1959), 240-52. For the early Twelfth Dynasty see Hayes, Scepter 1, 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. xxxii. E. Russmann also notes archaisms of other periods, ranging from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty onward, but not so early as the Middle Kingdom (MM 8 [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. 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, 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 distincively 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, 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.

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 organized 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

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31 Bothmer et al., loc. cit.
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 ÂEin 595 (Pl. 20). 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. 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, in which case there would not have been a cloak. The use of a harder type of stone 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. Acquise en 1894 dans le commerce de l'art, en Égypte. 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 photographed 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.
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Plate 18. Metropolitan Museum 65.59.1
ARCHAISMS IN A STATUETTE OF MIDDLE KINGDOM STYLE

Plate 19a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÅEIN 932. Courtesy of the Museum

Plate 19b. Berlin 4435

Plate 19c. Louvre E 11576

Plate 19d. Cairo J 345572, after Kamal

Plate 19b. Courtesy Staatliche Museen

Plate 19c. Courtesy of the Museum
Plate 20. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ŒIN 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 Hermitage and the Louvre. 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 ṇḥw,” who is known to have lived in the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably as late as the reign of Khendjer. 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 ḫkr-frieze, below which is a large pair of ṣwt-eyes flanking the ṣn-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, MMA 63.154 (Plate 26) and Copenhagen AEIN 964, the last two belonging to the same individual. It is known again from the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Tuthmosis III. Suggestions of double kilts are first known from the reign of Amenemhet II; they appear more clearly on a stela of the reign of Amenemhet III, and in the latest of the Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Meir, as well as

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1 Hermitage 1063, 1064, and 1075: Lourié, Mélanges Maspero I, 907 f.; Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pls. 78 f.
2 Louvre C16–18: 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, Faurei, 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].
8 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).
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. This fashion is attested in the Seventeenth Dynasty, and in the Eighteenth down to the reign of Amenophis III.

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 lines (Fig. 1a). Although young women, as well as boys, 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.” Another example, probably equally late (Fig. 1b) is much less detailed than a third (Fig. 1c) 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. 29). 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. 50); 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, Puheri, 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 Nfrw, Dyn. XI: MMA photo MyC 174); late M.K. or Dyn. XIII examples include CG 20549 (Simpson, op. cit., pl. 41); CG 20700, 20706, 20694, 20731, 20276, 20736 (pictured in this sequence, Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pls. 67 [163-67], 68 [163]); Garstang, ElArishah (London 1901), pl. 12 (E 512, 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 wbyt) 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 Égyptien: 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.
It may also be considered whether there is any relationship between the coiffure in question and another worn by servants, as shown in Fig. 1 d). 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, 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.

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 (3) to the kꜣ of the Judge and Voice of Nekhen b nb, c born of ḫḥw,d justified.

Above his wife: (1) And to the kꜣ of his wife, the Mistress of the House Zztr-ɪmm³ (2) born of Nfrw,f justified.

Above second woman: The Mistress of the House, Snbtsy, g justified.

Before offering bearers: The sweet breath of life h to thy nose, i Judge and Voice of Nekhen n,j justified. Making (over) mdḥ-oil j to the kꜣ of the Judge and Voice of Nekhen n,j justified.

Before the kneeling woman: The maidservant k Snb-Ddi-mr-wy, l justified.

Before the standing man: The wrb-priest of Hath or, Mistress of Dendera, Rn(, )-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 213), 48 (BM 239); W. Spiegelberg, Agyptische 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 (1998), 14, fig. 2; Louvre C 85 (MMf5 (1972), 20); Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1951-344, Berlin 7286 (Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pl. 28), Parma 178 (ibid., pl. 89).
§ 162 (5, 6). Cf. an Eighteenth Dynasty offering formula invoking "the breathing of emanations of myrrh and incense" (Montet, *Kemi* 6 [1936], 149 [Rifeh Tomb IV, 38–39]); myrrh and incense are also coupled in a statement wishing that the deceased might smell them (Tylor and Griffith, *Paheri*, pl. 10).

(b) For this title see above, Chapter 4, section 1.

(c) For *n* cf. PNI, 61 (7–9); *ibid.*, 62 (13); *ibid.*, 62 (8); all examples but the last (Dyn. 18) are feminine. This may be an abbreviated form of a theophoric name referring to the god as "the beautiful one," for which Ranke gives two examples, dating to the Middle Kingdom and onward (PNI, 61 [12, 13]).

(d) Attested for both men and women in the Middle Kingdom: PNI, 265 (26 and cf. 27). In the present case the mother is named, the name followed by *mr-t-hrw*, referring to *n*, but by *mrt-hrw* on a statuette belonging to the same individual (Figure 2 below).

(e) A common name: PNI, 286 (6).

(f) A common name: PNI, 203 (18).

(g) A common name: PNI, 314 (25).

(h) [taw nfm] n nh occurs in an offering formula as early as the 43rd year of Amenemhet III (Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, no. 30, p. 70 and pl. 13; no. 142, p. 141 and pl. 53, provides another example from the same reign). Barta, *Operformel*, p. 65, n. 5, cites only Cairo CG 20039, which might be as late as Dyn. XIII; see also BM 254 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. 26) and CG 20476 which are equally late. Examples are fairly recurrent in this period.

(i) Cf. [taw nfm] n Hnty-imntyw r šrt nt NN, cited by Barta, *loc. cit.*, n. 6, referring to Berlin 1188, for which see Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 17. The date of this is probably no later than the middle of Dyn. XII. Cf. also CG 20164, similarly in an address to the living: "so may ye say 'the breath of life to the nose of the revered NN,'" this may be somewhat later than Dyn. XIII.

(j) The closest parallel occurs on BM 215 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. 46; Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl. 38). Cf. the front of an inlaid chest, MMA 26.7.1438 (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years’ Explorations*, pl. 49 [1]), where the same legend accompanies the deceased, who presents a jar of ointment to Amenemhet IV; this is paralleled on Louvre stela C 58 (Pierret, *Recueil d’inscriptions* II [Paris, 1878], p. 8), where the presentation is made to Osiris. The first example is the only other one known to me where the recipient is neither a king nor a divinity.

(k) Evidently the designation, normally written *iblt*, is here written *iblt*, i.e., *iblt*, as also on the aforementioned rear wall of a contemporary shrine in Moscow (note 13 above). The shift of initial *w* and *i* is attested much earlier, see Edel, *Altägypt. Gramm.*, I, § 144.

(l) This seems to be a combination of two names, *Snb + Ddi*; for the former see PNI, 312 (15), for the latter PNI, 402 (1), both well attested for women as well as men. Such combinations of the Middle Kingdom are discussed by Vernus in *RdE* 23 (1971), 193–99, and more fully in *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire* (Rome 1986). The name *Snb-Ddi*, on the other
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Hand, is not attested, unlike Ddi-snb(w) (PNI 402 [6]) and Dd-snb(w) (PNI, 401 [21]); if this were the proper interpretation, one might connect the epithet mr’t-hrw to the reference to Ddi, since mr’t lacks a feminine ending, but once again, I know of no parallel for the addition of this epithet to the mention of someone whose memory is honored in a personal name. The writing of the epithet does not preclude its being read as mr’t-hrw, of course (cf. comment (d) above), although this epithet is not usually applied to the names of servants.

(m) The name and title recur on a scarab in the British Museum, no. 41564 (Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, no. 831). According to Martin’s classification of the back, the date is Thirteenth Dynasty, and it is therefore possible that the same individual is involved, although the name Ru(i)-snb was so popular in this period (PNI, 222 [26]) that one cannot be certain. All of the other examples of Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty wrb-priests of Hathor of Dendera that are known to me—three in all—are listed by Ward, *Index*, no. 673: CG 20030; CG 20334; Vernus, Rde 25 (1973), 256. Apart from these, the only other evidence Ward gives for priests of Hathor’s Denderite cult is a lector priest whose title and name have been read a n P I (Martin, *op. cit.*, no. 746; Ward, *op. cit.*, no. 1203), but are perhaps to be reconstructed as a P I. A second lector priest, more clearly written as a P I, is identified as Smh-sn, whose mother was Zt-Sbk and whose father Sbk-r or Sbk-r has the same title on a stela that must come from Dendera (Charles Ede Ltd. sale catalogue, *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egypt* [London 1972], no. 3). A “scribe” (Π), of the temple” (Ward, *op. cit.*, 1398) is also known from a crude stela invoking Hathor of Dendera and Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Dendera (Brussels E 2286), and thus doubtless refers to the same cult. The two stelae are both probably as late as Dyn. XIII.

The lower part of a seated statue, probably of schist (Pl. 24), represents the same individual wearing a long cloak, his right hand placed palm upward on his lap, the other missing, but evidently raised to his chest. The height is 22.5 cm, and that of the entire statue must have been about 33 cm when it was intact. The lower part of the cloak and the left side of the seat are inscribed as follows:

A, on cloak (Fig. 2, Pl. 24a): (1) [An offering that the king gives to] Ptah-Sokaris, that he may grant invocation offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl and everything; (2) the sweet breath of life to the kl of [the Judge and Voice of Nekhen], n, justified.

B, left side of seat (Plate 24b): (1) An offering that the king gives (to) Amen-Re, (2) the Beloved, ṣmt, Who Presides over Karnak (3) in Thebes, ṣmt, that he may grant invocation offerings of bread and beer (4) oxen and fowl, alabaster (5) of ointment) and clothing, and

23 The provenance is indicated not only by the titles but by the offering formula, which invokes Hathor Mistress of Dendera, Horus the Behdetite and Harsomtus; for the connection of the last two divinities with this cult see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 24, 125 f.
25 For ṣmt see Wh. II, 109 f.; p. 104 [2] notes the use of this as an epithet of Amun, although the relevant Belegstellen (including [3]) give no evidence prior to the New Kingdom.
26 Note the odd form of what is certainly meant to be ṣmt.
everything goodly and pure to the \( k\) of (5) the Judge and Voice of Nekhen \( mn\), born of \( Hu\) justified.

No further commentary is required except to note the additional mention of Amen-Re of Karnak. It is thus fairly likely that the rear wall of the miniature chapel and the fragmentary statue, both of which were purchased from the same dealer in New York, come from the Theban necropolis rather than from Abydos, which is the provenance of the two intact shrines mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It seems fairly certain that the statue and chapel belonged together, and the statue could easily have been accommodated within the latter.

The association of breath and incense goes back to the Pyramid Texts, where the dead king is told “thy wind/breath is incense; thy (refreshing) north wind is smoke” (Pyr. 877a); while elsewhere the dead king “receives for himself the breath of life” and “breathes the wind, an abundance of north wind” (Pyr. 1158a, c). Late Old Kingdom scenes in tomb chapels frequently show the deceased holding a jar of ointment to his nose. These themes are very much emphasized at the end of the Middle Kingdom, and on no other monument of the Thirteenth Dynasty is the association of the “breath of life” with ointment and incense so repeatedly stated in the texts and representations.

**Excursus I: The colors of MMA 69.30**

Yellow: The background on which \( wdb\)-eyes and \( sh\)-sign appear; the background of the column of hieroglyphs right of center.\(^{27}\) The lower of the two broad bands at the bottom. At top, every other one of the elements in the border below the \( hkr\)-frieze. Bottom of the \( sh\) circle. Top of staff held by owner.

Red: Each of the round elements in the \( hkr\)-frieze. Initial painting of the rim (but not the extended “cosmetic line”) of each \( wdb\)-eye, later painted over in black. Traces in inner line of \( sh\)-circle, in incised outline of the bags offered by woman; outline of this woman’s body and kilt of man in the register below her. Upper broad band at bottom of stela. Flesh of the two men.

Blue: Traces in outline of \( hkr\) elements except for round center; in incised horizontal lines of border below this; in incised outline of brow, cosmetic line and pendant elements of \( wdb\)-eyes; in incised border line at right; in right incised border line of the column of inscription; all hieroglyphs.\(^{28}\)

\(^{27}\) Cf. the stela in the Pushkin Museum, cited in n. 13 above, where all the hieroglyphs have a light yellow background.

\(^{28}\) Cf. the stela mentioned in the preceding note, but monochrome blue hieroglyphs had already become common on stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty: Pflüger, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 135.
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 krof (2) the Overseer of Treasurers and Liegemen of the King\(^a\) Isi\(^b\) (3) born of the Mistress of the House Buwi\(^c\) 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-sn, justified, (named) Rs, justified, born of the Mistress of the House Hmt, justified.

Middle register, man at left: (1) The liegeman Zs-Imn, justified, born of (2) the Mistress of the House \(^e\)nh-it.i. The man facing him is: (1) The revered \(P\-hm(t).nu\)\(^f\) justified, born of Rn.s-sn. The woman at right: The mistress of the House Hmt, justified, possessor of reverence.

Bottom register, man at left: (1) The attendant(?\)\(^g\) Htp-Hnmu\(^h\) born of (2) the Mistress of the House Ikh, justified. The man facing him: (1) The Liegeman of the Ruler,\(^i\) Tii, 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-sn, justified, (3) (and?) her daughter, \(H\-kw\)\(^j\) justified.

**Comments:**
(a) Cf. Ward, \textit{Index}, no. 1523, where \(\) normally shows honorific transposition.
(b) Ranke, \textit{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: \(\) \(\) \(\).
(c) \textit{PNI}, 276 (25) gives a single example from the New Kingdom.
(d) See Ward, \textit{Index}, no. 1087; judging from the variant writing \(\) \(\) \(\) (CG 20430) \(t\)m refers to land, and the same connection is suggested by the hymn quoted by Schafer, \textit{ZÄS} 40 (1903), 96.
(e) Cf. \textit{PNI}, 63 (3), where \(\) clearly precedes. Note \(\) for suffix \(i\).
(f) Evidently \(\) is the same as \(\) \(\) \(\), “The Third” (\textit{PNI}, 116 [12], II, 354).
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(g) I.e., 'hr (Ward, Index, no. 625) rather than shm- (ibid., no. 1339), although the choice is difficult; cf. my Titles, p. 74.

(h) Or Hnma-ḥtp; but cf. PNI, 276 (6) and 426 (27), II, 404.

(i) Ward, Index, no. 1526. The writing of ḫ(m) in the present case is exceptional.

(j) PNI, 264 (24) gives only masculine examples, but (25) both a feminine and a masculine example of ḫ-ḥsw-R; these may be abbreviations of longer names mentioning Sesostris III (PNI, 264 [26], 265 [1-2], 315 [17]). For the fusion of ḫ ḫ 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-snb 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 wḏt-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 AIN 964.29 Many of the same individuals appear on the latter, and these have been marked with an asterisk (*).

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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 štu n ḫp languid (which appears on the Copenhagen stela) is mentioned in Papyrus Bulaq 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, oil, offerings of food, and every offering, (2) all yearly offerings, and everything goodly and pure on which a god lives, that which the sky bestows, earth creates and the inundation brings; the two hands, that they may give; (3) the flood, that it may purify; Thoth, that he offer to the \( k_i \) of the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Director of the Broad Hall, possessor of reverence, born of Znt, justified. And his wife, his beloved, the Mistress of the House Nh\( \text{y} \), justified.

C (1) His son, the Inspector of Liegemen, \( Rn.f-rs \), justified
(2) His son, the Inspector of Liegemen, \( Ddw-Sbk \), justified
(3) His son, the Supervisor of the \( tm \), \( Nb-Swmnw \)
(5) His daughter, \( Hnsw-i.f-\text{lib} \)
(6) His daughter, \( Nb\text{w}-hr-hnt \)
(7) His daughter, \( Ti\text{-nt-Nb}\text{w} \)

D (1) The Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Director of the Broad Hall, \( Rn.(i)-snb \)
(2) [The baker(?)] \( n-Hr(*) \)
(3) The major domo \( Wr-n.(i)-\text{Imn} \), who is called \( Rs^l \)
(4) The major domo \( \text{Iw}^l \)
(5) The Asiatic \( Snb-Rn.(i)-snb \)
(6) The servant \( Rn.(i)-snb \)
(7) \( Zt.kr-Twnw \) (another servant)

E (1) His father, the stalwart of the town \( rnhw \)
(2) His (his father's) wife, the Mistress of the House Znt
(3) His (his father's) son, the stalwart of the town, \( Ddw-Sbk \)
(4) The Inspector of Liegemen \( Ib-i^r \)
(5) The Inspector of Liegemen \( Mny \)
(6) The Inspector of Liegemen \( Mntw-h\text{thp} \)
(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.
(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 counterarguments of Lapp, Opferformel, §§ 243-46, are not entirely convincing except for his evidence from the New Kingdom. In § 243 the determinative of ꬏ cannot be considered the equivalent of ꏋ, 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 Dug (ibid., p. 10 [420a]), while the addition of innt hapy 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 brh "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 Ꚓ Ꚓ.

(f) For further examples see Ward, Index, no. 1147. Presumably a judicial title, as it was in the Old Kingdom (Helck, Beamten titel, 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 Ṣn.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 Ḥnsw 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 [痧] by Koefoed-Petersen, op. cit., p. XXIII, is to be emended accordingly.

(j) Restoring [iała] (Ward, Index, no. 860). A man of the same name on the Copenhagen stela is wdptw "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 Ṣb Ṣb Ṣb Ṣb, in which Ṣb is apparently a determinative of the title (contra Koeford-Petersen, op. cit., p. XXIV).

(m) The Copenhagen stela precedes this name by a different designation, which is probably to be read Ṣbtyt. There the same title Ṣbtyt is applied to the other maidservant (D, 7 below).

(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 \textit{Ddw-Sbk}, one of whom is the owner's son, and has his title, while the other, whose relationship is unspecified, is similarly \textit{\textasciitilde{nh} n niwt}.

(p) Identified on the Copenhagen stela as \textit{sn.\textasciitilde{fn} 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, \textit{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 69.154
Pulitzer Bequest Fund, 1963
Plate 23. Brussels E 6749

Courtesy Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
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Plate 24. Metropolitan Museum 1976.383
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1976
A SHRINE AND STATUE OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

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, 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 (tamarisk), 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 (Z). 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 cord 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. 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...
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 per­
pendicular 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 hori­
zontal 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 splats 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-

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\(^5\) 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.
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 rectangular 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 a lionine 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-heres\(^{12}\) 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 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 Gurna\(^{19}\) 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

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\(^{10}\) 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. Gisa 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, Pys. des reines, pls. 4–5 (on the diadem). Eleventh Dynasty representations show the lion head on chairs of a king (Habachi, MDAIK 19 [1953], 26 and fig. 8 [where the ear should be added] and pl. 8); of royal consorts (Naville, Xth Dyn. Temple II, pl. 20; H.E. Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931 [Cambridge 1942], pl. 8) and of a non-royal couple (Faulkner, JEA 57 [1951], p. 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. Gisa Necr. I, pls. 18 (a, b), 39 (a), 40 (b), 259; LD II, pl. 3.

\(^{16}\) E.g., Davies, Paabhetep II, pls. 13, 14, 24–26; Paget and Pirie, Paah-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 Gebrawi, passim; Simpson, Qar and Idu, passim. A more detailed summary is given by Strudwick, RdE 38 (1957), 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.


\(^{19}\) Petrie, Qurnah (London 1909), pl. 26.

\(^{20}\) BM 21574 Baker, op. cit., figs. 64–65 and PM I, p. 586.
later, for it has stretchers on all four sides (Pl. 32a).\(^{21}\)

Stretcher 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 archaically, 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)

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\(^{21}\) 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. 83–87, 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 \(\text{whm} \) (F 25) as represented in Calverly, Temple of Sethos I III, pl. 30 (b); IV, pl. 63 (Fig. 4), 79 (6w). But if so, one might expect the top to be more horizontal and the "tenon" to be distinctly broader.

\(^{22}\) 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 sit that came from tomb N 3765, which also contained Dunham, Naga-ed-Deir Stelas, 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 I’ti in Turin, showing the owner seated on such a chair), Moalla (Vandier, Motalla, fig. 36, p. 82; CG 28116: Lacau, Sarcofages I, pl. 6), Thebes (sarcophagi: Cairo J 47267; C. Lylyquist, Ancient Egyptian Mirrors [Munich 1979], fig. 129, and Cairo J 47397; Naville, Xth Dyn. Temple I, pl. 20), El Deir (Fischer, Captive Nome, p. 113, fig. 16 [b], line 9 [det. khz]), 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.


\(^{29}\) Cairo CG 51113 (Theodore Davis et al., The Tomb of Iwuya and Touiyou [London 1907], pls. 33–34 [chair]); CG 51110 (ibid., pl. 37 [bed]).
they were used on all four sides, and sometimes with the addition of diagonal braces that had been used to reinforce stands, tables and chairs with plain legs as early as the reign of Tuthmosis III. 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.

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. 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, 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. 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. Men are occasionally represented in the same way, but much more rarely, and always on low stools rather than chairs with backs. The preference of low
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). The distinction I have proposed may be applicable to the early Fourth Dynasty chairs of Queen Htp-hrs, 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. The mid-Eighteenth Dynasty chairs of the Princess Zut-Imn are much more variable, the height of the seats being 34 cm and 23.5 cm respectively, 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, the curved reclining back, supported by stiles, is not attested with certainty before the reign of Sesostris I, when it was represented twice in the tomb of In-it-fiqr and Znt at Thebes (Pl. 35). A chair from Naga ed-Deir showing this feature was initially dated to the Second or Third Dynasty, and subsequently attributed to a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty, 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. A radiocarbon test has recently supported the later alternative, for it indicates an adjusted calendar age of 1880-1450 BC. The representation in the tomb of In-it-fiqr does not provide evidence 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-Deir, 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.

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, Antefoer, pls. 25 (shown here, from MMA neg. T 1373), 30.


45 In my article "Stuhl," LÀVI, 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 Made by Beta Analytic Inc., Coral Gables, Florida (Beta 26901) and the Eidgenossische 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.
A CHAIR OF THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM

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-Rr, dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty (Pl. 36), while a reclining back with similar slats is represented in a chair placed within another model boat, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty (Pl. 37). 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-hrs.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:

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:

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 the in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (Pl. 38). Although the presence of the winged disk seems to indicate that the chair

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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].
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.P5–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 Hr 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 Snaqm in Cairo likewise bears inscriptions identifying him on the crestrails and upper part of the back, but this

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55 It appears on the headrail of Zet-Inn's throne: CG 51112 (Theodore Davis et al., Tomb of Iujiya and Touiou, pl. 33), and on the headrail of a chair of King Tutankhamun (Carter, Tutank-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 26.7.438); for the last two see also Hayes, Scepter I, figs. 155, 157.
57 MMA 25.5.308A. Width 44 cm.
58 E.g., Brooklyn 37.40E (Baker, op. cit., pl. 173); Louvre 2950 (ibid., pl. 176); BM 2480 (ibid., pl. 184).
59 Carter, op. cit. I, pl. 59.
61 See n. 20 above.
62 Cairo CG 51110: Theodore Davis et al., Tomb of Iujiya and Touiou, 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. 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). A few folding chairs are inscribed with the name of the owner on one of the legs, 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, nor does the epithet \textit{mr hrw} “justified” after his name. It is true that the carving does not show signs of wear, but it is uncertain how much wear should be expected. 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
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 Renni 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
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, and toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty the phrase \( \text{n \( k\)s \( NN \) (with or without the standard) makes its first appearance in offering scenes, to link the funerary formula with the name of the recipient. \( A \) 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." 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. It is true that the \( k\)s-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. The earliest of these, in a tomb at El Kab, dates to the reign of Tuthmosis I (Figure 5). A large-scale representation of \( \varphi \) 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 \( k\)s." The offering table similarly accompanies the \( k\)s-emblem on a false door made by Hatshepsut for Tuthmosis I and on two false doors of non-royal persons, both dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III. A further example occurs in a tomb belonging to the reign of Amenophis II.

In all five of these parallel cases the \( k\)s-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 \( k\)s-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, while no fewer than ten are known from those of the preceding note also provide good comparisons: e.g., Moret, \( \text{op. cit.} \); Wiedemann and Pörtner, \( \text{op. cit.} \). Cf. also Sotheby Catalogue, June 1921 (Amherst Coll.), pl. 4 (191); Brooklyn 07.420 (Richard Fazzini, \textit{Art of Ancient Egypt} [Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, 1971], no. 14). This feature persists later in the same dynasty: e.g., Hayes, \textit{Scepter II}, figs. 166, 167.

\[ \text{76 Ursula Schweitzer, } \textit{Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter} \text{ (Glückstadt 1956), p. 22, figs. 2–3.} \]

\[ \text{77 Ibid., p. 81.} \]

\[ \text{78 Georg Steindorff, } \textit{Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II: Der Sarg des Sebk-o} \text{ (Berlin 1901), pl. 2.} \]

\[ \text{A second, almost identical example is to be found in R. Engelbach, } \textit{Riqqeh and Memphis VI}, \text{ pl. 23; here no stand is visible, but the position of LJ suggests that a very low one is to be restored.} \]

\[ \text{79 Jéquier, } \textit{Fries d’objets}, \text{ p. 339.} \]

\[ \text{80 The apparent Old Kingdom example of a } \text{k}\text{-emblem filled} \]

\[ \text{with offerings shown by Kamal, } \textit{ASAE 15} \text{ (1915), 248, actually represents a basket in the form of a boat; cf. the more accurate copy of Blackman, } \textit{Meir IV}, \text{ pl. 9.} \]

\[ \text{In a later Twelfth Dynasty tomb in the same cemetery a } \text{k}\text{-emblem on a standard appears before the deceased in an unclear context, but it is not located immediately before him in any case (Blackman and Apted, } \textit{Meir VI}, \text{ pl. 13, lintel above recess for statue).} \]

\[ \text{81 After Weigall, } \textit{ASAE 11} \text{ (1911), 173.} \]

\[ \text{82 Louvre C 48: Winlock, } \textit{JEA} \text{ 15 (1929), pl. 11 (2), 13.} \]

\[ \text{83 Boeser, } \textit{Beschr. aeg. Sammlg. VI}, \text{ pl. 18 (28); CG 34047 (Davies, } \textit{Puyemrell}, \text{ pl. 48, 51 [B]).} \]

\[ \text{84 Davies, } \textit{Ken-Amün}, \text{ p. 55.} \]

\[ \text{85 Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, } \textit{Tomb of Kheruef} \text{ (Chicago 1980), pl. 67, 70, 72; Norman Davies, } \textit{Tomb of Two Sculptors}, \text{ pls. 18, 27, 29 (two examples, including CG 34051); } \textit{Ramo} \text{ (New York 1941), pl. 19; } \textit{Nefer-hotep}, \text{ pl. 19 (A). The last seems to be as late as the reign of Ay.} \]
8. The Representation: The *Ki*-Emblem

Nineteenth Dynasty (e.g. Pl. 42a). And in one of these ten cases (Pl. 43) the motif appears three times, and not only before the deceased and his forebears, but also before Osiris and other deities.

This motif has been linked—mistakenly, I believe—with spell 105 in the Book of the Dead, the “spell for propitiating the *ki* of NN,” which speaks of censing and giving libation to the *ki*. 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, as the text indicates, but the emphasis of the text is not on nourishment. In some cases, to be sure, the *ki*-emblem is filled with offerings, but these may be influenced by the late New

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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 Muhamed, 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.


89 Edouard Naville, Das aegyptische Todtenbuch (Berlin 1886), pl. 117 (P d).


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Fig. 5. Scene from Dyn. XVIII tomb at El Kab. After Weigall
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 $k$-emblem, filled with offerings, is given by the deceased to Osiris, as already attested in the Nineteenth Dynasty stela mentioned earlier. In the other the deceased is twice shown seated before a similar representation of offerings, one of which is labelled $\ldots$ “the $k$ of Ptah.”

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 $k$-emblem (Pl. 42b). Quite exceptionally, in view of the period, the $k$ 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 $k$-emblem again faces in the same direction as the deceased. The accompanying text is “a spell for bringing nourishment ($k\text{nw}$) 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 $k$-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 $k\text{i}$ or $k\text{nw}$ is known to have had that meaning from the Middle Kingdom onward.

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. The double brace continued to be used from the beginning to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, however, and is attested at least once in an inscription of Ahmosis I. Thus its occurrence on a chair dating to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while unexpected, is not implausible.
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 \( \text{Rn}(.i)-\text{snb} \), 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. \( \text{Zs-mry} \) "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 \( \text{Rn}(.i)-\text{snb} \) 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 \( \text{nb} \; \text{twy} \), 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 \( \hat{\text{l}} \), \( \hat{\text{b}} \) and \( \hat{\text{r}} \) are the most distinctive examples, as well as \( \hat{\text{s}} \), with tufted "ears." On the other hand, \( \hat{\text{t}} \) has the normal form rather than \( \hat{\text{r}} \), 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 pen-case in \( \hat{\text{t}} \) 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 \( \hat{\text{t}} \; \hat{\text{b}} \; \hat{\text{l}} \; \hat{\text{t}} \)

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\(^99\) 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 Gardner, *Amenemhet*, pl. 17 and pp. 59-60; Davies, *Rekh-mi-Res*, pls. 106-107 and p. 77. In both cases he performs the opening-of-the-mouth ritual. Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19 (1922), 170, aptly cites Pyr. 11 and 15 in this connection, but these passages refer to "thy son thy beloved/thou lovest."


is known from the reign of Tuthmosis III,\(^{105}\) but \(\text{[]}\) occurs in inscriptions of the late Middle Kingdom or Dyn. XIII,\(^{106}\) as does \(\text{[]}\).\(^{107}\) although the latter became more common thereafter. Similarly the writing of \(\text{[]}\) is said by the \textit{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 \(\text{nb ntrw}\),\(^{110}\) which is known at least as far back as the end of Dynasty XI,\(^{111}\) while the close grouping of \(\text{[]}\) in this phrase is known both from the Middle\(^{112}\) and New Kingdom.\(^{113}\) According to the \textit{Wörterbuch}, the phrase \(\text{nb t\text{\texttext{-}wy}\text{}}\) 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 \(\text{Rn.(i)-s\text{nb}}\) was, conversely, most commonly used in the Middle Kingdom, although a few occurrences are known from the end of the Second Intermediate Period\(^{115}\) 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 \(\text{nb\ t\text{\text{-}wy}}\)**

1. \(\text{[]}\) “who is in the heart of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands.” Blackman, \textit{Meir III}, pl. 19 (temp. Amenemhet II)
2. \(\text{[]}\) “revered with the Lord of the Two Lands.” CG 20476, a 5

\(^{105}\) Davies and Gardiner, \textit{Amenemhet}, pl. 25.

\(^{106}\) Cf. \textit{wb.} IV, 541; e.g., CG 20694; John Garstang, \textit{El Arribah}, pl. 8 (E 236, E 345), Bologna KS 1937 (Simpson, \textit{Terrace of the Great God}, pl. 73).

\(^{107}\) For the entire group see Boeser, \textit{Beschr. aeg. Sammlg.} II, pl. 24; Berlin 7732 (\textit{Aeg. Inschr.} I, p. 205); CG 20093; Munich GL WAF 34 (Simpson, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. 63).

\(^{108}\) \textit{Wb.} V, 569.

\(^{109}\) Louvre C 43. Note, however, that even before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty writings such as \(\text{[]}\) and \(\text{[]}\) appear in two stelae of the same individual: Clère and Vandier, \textit{TPPI}, § 32 (5), § 33 (6).

\(^{110}\) \textit{Wb.} II, 227 (7), citing CG 20693 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, \textit{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, \textit{Stele II}, pl. 11.


\(^{115}\) Ranke, \textit{PNI}, 222 (26); for examples of Dyn. XVII see Bosticco, \textit{Stele I}, pl. 51; Winlock, \textit{JEA} 10 (1924), 219, n. 1; Frankfort, \textit{JEA} 16 (1930), 219 and pl. 28; Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, \textit{Theban Necropolis} (London 1908), p. 17 (3), pl. 16 (10-11).

EXCURSUS: MIDDLE KINGDOM EPITHETS REFERRING TO NB TİWY

(3) "who does what the Lord of the Two Lands praises." Siüt I, 215–16 (Montet, Kêmi 3 [1930–35], 45; temp. Sesostris I)

(4) (same) BM 582, Hieroglyphic Texts III, pl. 22 (first half of Dyn. XII)

(5) (same) BM 557, ibid., II, pl. 3 (year 25, Amenemhet III)

(6) (same) BM 569, ibid., pl. 19 (temp. Amenemhet II)

(7) "whose excellence was seen by the Lord of the Two Lands." CG 20538, I, c 3 (temp. Amenemhet III)

(8) “firm of sandal, easy of gait, adhering to the ways of the Lord of the Two Lands.” Louvre C 176 (Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pl. 32)

(9) “possessor of reverence of the Lord of the Two Lands.” W.F.M. Petrie, Lahun II (London 1923), pl. 28 (temp. Sesostris III)

(10) “whose ki was provided by the Lord of the Two Lands.” BM 1213 (Hieroglyphic Texts III, pl. 12; Simpson, op. cit., pl. 31, temp. Sesostris III)

(11) “whose authority was granted by the Lord of the Two Lands.” Siüt I, 153, 221, 243 (Montet, Kêmi 1 [1928], 65; III, 46, 51; temp. Sesostris I)

(12) (same) K. Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke (Leipzig, 1928), p. 82 (18); Simpson, loc. cit. (temp. Sesostris III)

(13) “Privy to the secret of the Lord of the Two Lands.” Louvre C 243 (RdE 24 [1972], pl. 7 B: year 14 Amenemhet II)

(14) “Privy to the secret of the king’s repast as the one who arranges the tables of the Lord of the Two Lands.” MMA 26.7.1438 (Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years’ Explorations, pl. 49; temp. Amenemhet IV)

(15) “director of the affairs of the Lord of the Two Lands.” Couyat-Montet, Hammâmât, no. 113 (8) (temp. Mentuhotep Nb-tswy-R’)

(16) “who gives offerings to the Lord of the Two Lands.” MMA 26.7.1438 (Carnarvon and Carter, loc. cit.; temp. Amenemhet IV)
Plate 27. Metropolitan Museum 68.58
Purchase, Patricia R. Lasalle Gift, 1968
A CHAIR OF THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM

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 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
A CHAIR OF THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM

Plate 41a. Louvre N 3312
Courtesy of the Museum

Plate 41b. Detail from tomb of Rnī, El Kab, after Tylor
A Chair of the Early New Kingdom

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, 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.” And he observes that this sign was normally replaced by (A33) in that period. In the meantime the Belegstellen volume of W. II, 75, makes it clear that continued to be used in other contexts, and that, in addition to (A2), the form (A24) or (A25) was also used in the New Kingdom.4

The Worterbuch 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 (1).6 Furthermore at least one occurrence of is known from the Twelfth Dynasty; it very probably belongs to a personal name 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.
3 Theban Tombs 56 (Urk. IV, 1477 [g], 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, RJ I, 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 ꜫꜫ, 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 Ꜩꜫ is probably borrowed from contemporary examples of ꜫꜫ, where ꜫ replaces the goad that is held by their Old Kingdom counterpart.11

The Twelfth Dynasty occurrence of Ꜩꜫ 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 Ꜩꜫ was used frequently,16 almost completely supplanted ꜫꜫ but not ꜫꜫ, 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 ꜫꜫ.19 The New Kingdom hieratic

For another example of about the same period (reign of Tuthmosis III) see Tylor and Griffith, Paheri, pl. 3; here the other hand holds a whip.

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 (try), 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 ( Sandbox) 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 ꜫ in an example of ꜫ for both ㎝ 2 and Ⅳ, dating to the Hareopolitans Period (note 24 below).
12 Davies, Nefer-botep I, pl. 24.
13 Gardiner, Grammar, p. 445 (A93), citing Davies, Puyemrei I, pl. 50, and Naville, Deir el-Bahari, pl. 115 for the verb ru "wander" and Udk IV, 396 (8) for Ⅳ "wanderers." For the latter see also Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, p. 296, translated "foreigners."
14 The example illustrated is from Davies, Puyemrei I, pl. 12; in a register above this the other hand holds the ꜫ staff.
15 Calverley, Temple of Sethos IV, pl. 65, Architrave 10, N (e) (= Kitchen, RII, 118 [16]).
16 Two good examples are to be found in James, Hieroglyphic Texts IX, pls. 28 (no. 135), 49 (304); see also Kitchen, RII, 311 (7); III, 428 (8); IV, 4 (5); V, 30 (12), 223 (7–8) and the Wb. Belegstellen. Also note the use of ꜫ in a Dyn. XXVI funerary text as determinative of 亻 亻 "runner." M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des "Anch-horl (Vienna 1978), fig. 44, p. 119 and Plan 24.
17 Still exemplified in the reign of Horemhab: Udk IV, 2174 (7).
18 Müller, op. cit., 142 f., notes a Dyn. XXII example: ZAS 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: Udk III, 87 (5); Louvre A 90 (cited by Belegstellen to Wb. II, 75).
1. The Evolution of the Signs for "Herdsman"

form \( \text{♔} \) poses a problem, for it does not correspond to any of the foregoing signs; perhaps one should transcribe it as \( \text{♔} \).\(^{20}\)

There are also a few further Nineteenth Dynasty variants of \( \text{♔} \) such as \( \text{♔} \) (apparently holding a stick in one hand, and a loop of rope or cloth in the other)\(^{21}\) and \( \text{♔} \).\(^{22}\)

In hieroglyphic texts of all periods the sign for herdsman need not be followed by other signs except in the case of \( \text{♔} \) which also has the value \( \text{nḥt} \) "strong," and had to be distinguished from the latter.\(^{23}\) The sign \( \text{♔} \) was used alone in the Old Kingdom; in the Middle Kingdom, when both \( \text{♔} \) and \( \text{♔} \) served for \( \text{ḥr} \) "keeper" as well as \( \text{mḥn} \) it was often followed by the phonetic complement \( \text{♔} \);\(^{24}\) in the early New Kingdom \( \text{♔} \) was added; while the later variants of the additions include \( \text{♔} \), \( \text{♔} \) and \( \text{♔} \).

The evidence for the writings of "herdsman" may be summarized as follows:

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<th>Dyn. XVIII (to Ay)</th>
<th>Dyn. XIX (and later)</th>
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<td>( \text{♔} )</td>
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<td>( \text{♔} ), ( \text{♔} ), etc. + ( \text{♔} ), ( \text{♔} ), ( \text{♔} ), etc.</td>
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\(^{20}\) For the sign in question see Möller, Hiaratische Paläographie II, no. 48, as compared with 47 (\( \text{♔} \)); Möller states: "Die hieratischen Formen können nicht auf \( \text{♔} \) zurückgehen. Sie stellen einen Mann dar, der einen Stab vor sich hält." Cf. Gardiner, JEA 15 (1929), 54. It is also distinct from hieratic \( \text{♔} \) 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, RLI, 65 (8); the same text has the normal form of \( \text{♔} \), p. 66 (13). The unusual form is to be distinguished from \( \text{♔} \) in Ch. Kuentz, La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramses II à Louxor (Cairo 1971), pl. 21. This is followed by \( \text{mḥr} \) and the whole is evidently to be read \( \text{ḥr} \) \( \text{mḥr} \) "bearer of milk bottles;" cf. Kitchen, RII, 349 (3), where the sign is copied inaccurately. In other cases, dating to the Heracleopolitan Period and the New Kingdom, this sign is read \( \text{kḥy} \) "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, Dendereh, pl. 10, bottom center).

\(^{23}\) As in a Middle Kingdom occurrence of the title \( \text{♔} \) \( \text{nḥt-hrw} \) (Spiegelberg-Pörner, Ägyptische Grabsteine I, no. 3; cf. Ward, Index, no. 837), or the writing of some New Kingdom names: Ranke, PNI, 209 (22); 210 (18); 211 (5) (also somewhat earlier: ibid., 211 [11]).

\(^{24}\) 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 in the Old Kingdom

Elsewhere in this volume (p. 32) I have drawn attention to a title, in which is to be read 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 , while or is used for the singular. It is true that is written in Pyr. 119b, while the singular is in 574b, 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 at Saqqara, where is written and the singular is written . In three other cases the writing of is or in a similar context, where the Western desert extends her arms to the deceased, and in another it is apparently , although the formula more usually shows in inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom.

The same tendency to use in place of appears in variants of / tpy, a term for "best quality" (of cloth): Edel has cited four cases that have and one that has . He also discusses the legend in the tomb of (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 . The evidence shown above removes all doubt on this point, but as "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)-"predecessors" is written or , whereas at least two examples show "before" show . And there is a term

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28 A variant of and not rmm, which normally shows the shoulder in the Pyramid Texts.
27 Wilson, JNES 13 (1954), pl. 18.
26 JARCE 4 (1965), pl. 29. Note that rmm is here distinguished by the form in the phrase i(w.l) <> rmm 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 mh htp in zmt imn tt rwy 3. r.f.(n) (var. ... in imn tt) tft rwy.5 r NN on pl. 211) "welcome, welcome, says the western desert, her two arms toward 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 toward 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 1493 ( ); Fischer, Coptite Nome, nos. 1, 2, 5, 6; Davies, Deir el Gebreus II, pls. 8, 211; Petrie, Denderah, pl. 5A (C–D). But James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 19, evidently has . Cf. Lapp, Opferformel, § 96.
32 ZÁS 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 as slanted downwards to resemble (as in examples such as Junker, Giza IX, fig. 107; Hassan, Giza VII, fig. 38). Cf.
hry-\(\tilde{\gamma}y\), meaning "handkerchief, towel," or the like, which is written \(\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) in one case\(^{37}\) and \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) in another.\(^{38}\) An isolated example of the compound preposition \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) "by virtue of" is cited by Edel, *Altägypt. Gramm.* II, § 800, referring to CG 57188.

It further seems highly probable that \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\), an epithet of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, is to be read *not-\(\tilde{\gamma}y\)* "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 Eleventh\(^{40}\) and early Twelfth Dynasties.\(^{41}\)

The orthography of this epithet contrasts with one applied to Horus: \(\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) "strong of hand," which is written thus in the Old Kingdom.\(^{42}\) In one case it is followed by \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\),\(^{43}\) where the distinctive form of the arm may simply be attributed to graphic disimilation. 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 \(\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) 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 \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) offer with your two hands."\(^{45}\) A similar address of the same period has \(\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\),\(^{46}\) while two other versions write \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) and \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\).\(^{47}\) The second is the expression \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) for "activity" in a Fifth Dynasty decree (Neferirkare) which is written \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) in an inscription of the early Twelfth Dynasty.\(^{48}\)

The term \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon}\) "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-\(\tilde{\gamma}y\)"functionary" some-

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\(^{35}\) J 36809 (Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *funeraire* also 41 Lacau-Chevrier, and on p. 54 he rightly observes that and 37 38 36 35 34 33 32 Borchardt, 31 30 29 28 27, 26, 25, 24, 23, 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.

\(^{36}\) Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi III*, pls. 54-55.

\(^{37}\) Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II* (Mainz 1974), pls. 26, 51 (3555).

\(^{38}\) Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris III*, pls. 12, 14, 19, 22-24, 27, 30, 34, 37, 38 (writings varying between and ).


\(^{40}\) Janssen, *Egyptische Autobiografie*, p. 48 (II F 161-65). The form of the arms in no. 162 should be corrected from to .

\(^{41}\) In the original inscription of a reused mastaba: Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, fig. 5.

\(^{42}\) Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 12.


\(^{44}\) See Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 23, fig. 2; on p. 26 he rightly reads the arms as dual \(\tilde{\gamma}y\), referring to Junker, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 3 ff.; on p. 8 Junker cites a Twelfth Dynasty variant for Siut I, 214 (Urk. VII, 60).

\(^{45}\) Posener-Krieger 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 𓊤, this also appears as 𓊤 in Pyr. 398b, 558b (and as 𓊤 and 𓊤 in CTVI, 150,e), and it is hardly coincidental that one example discussed earlier (p. 24) has 𓊤. The term used in the Abusir papyri is clearly to be read 𓊤𓊤𓊤𓊤.

In view of the several examples that have been given of 𓊤 alone as a writing of 𓊤, it is equally clear that this interpretation is to be applied in some speeches accompanying scenes of daily life:

(1) 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦. 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) 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦. 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 𓊤.

(3) 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦. “There is a catch (of fowl) for thy hands, 𓊤 𓊤!”52

Sehet says that in the Pyramid Texts 𓊤 is to be read 𓊤 (var. 𓊤) “wash.”53 Certainly it means no more than “wash” since it is applied to the face54 as well as the hands and 𓊤 or 𓊤 is added in the latter case.55 This is also true of 𓊤 “wetting a stave” in two scenes of the Fifth Dynasty,56 as also in some names such as 𓊤𓊤57 and 𓊤𓊤.58 In these cases 𓊤 replaces 𓊤, but it obviously derives from the idea that the two hands are washed. The sign 𓊤 also designated the ewer and basin in the early Old Kingdom, as in an offering list specifying 𓊤𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦.59 “a ewer and basin of electrum,” or the representation of an attendant who carries these utensils, identified as 𓊤 in the label above them.60 Here the reading may include a reference to 𓊤 with the meaning “wash-hands” (as in French “lave-mains”). This is suggested by the fact that the washing of hands is 𓊤𓊤𓊤 in an offering list of the Fourth Dynasty,61 which may be compared with 𓊤𓊤 in another that may be somewhat later.62 If the second of these is 𓊤𓊤𓊤, the first is presumably 𓊤𓊤𓊤. I doubt that

the expression 𓊤𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦, “handwork for the craftsmen,” discussed by Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, pp. 195–97. In *Abu Sir Papyri* some of the entries for 𓊤 (Pal. pl. 11) should go with 𓊤, and the form of the latter should be corrected to 𓊤: 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 𓊤, but this is evidently a scribal error.


54 E.g. Pyr. 601b, 1443a.

55 E.g. Pyr. 788c, 1428b.

56 Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 4; Verner, *Ptahshepses I/1*, pl. 28.


58 CG 1495; cf. *PNI*, 11 (23); II 338 (incorrectly copied). But 𓊤 is 𓊤 in some other names: 𓊤 (PNI, 423 [28]). 𓊤 (Martin-Pardey, *CAA Hildesheim* 1, 38), the latter evidently to be distinguished from the example in Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 80, which has 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤 𓊤.


60 LD II, pl. 4.

61 Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 21 and pl. 10; in *Giza IX*, p. 44. Junker reads only 𓊤.

62 BM 1172: Hieroglyphic Texts VI, pl. 19. For 𓊤 𓊤 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." Other lists refer to "water for the hands" or "water upon the hands." An inscription of the Fifth Dynasty mentions "the two vessels of the wash(-hands) and a jar" much as Junker reads it, but it may be "water-uary." At a later date (probably no earlier than the Heracleopolitan Period) the term for the ewer and basin was reduced to "the two vessels," and in the Middle Kingdom it was commonly expressed by "two vessels of water."

The group frequently appears before the face of the deceased in offering scenes of Dynasties II–IV (rarely later) and usually arranged thus, although the sequence is reversed in a few examples, including some of the earliest, and one Third Dynasty example very logically places below the ewer and above the basin. Occasionally is added to this configuration, and or , designating a supply of water.

The most characteristic ideographic uses of are to be found in the determinatives of "sing," "mrt-singer," and "beat (the rhythm);" also, more rarely, "dance" and "clap." 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). In the Nineteenth Dynasty the outline of the arm was doubled, making it clear that both hands are extended (Fig. 4) and this reduplication was applied to a group of female mourners as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (Fig. 5).

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Fig. 3. Old Kingdom *mrt*-goddess. After Lindsley Hall

Fig. 4. Dyn. XIX *mrt*-goddess. After Calverly

Fig. 5. Dyn. XII singers. After Davies
representations of men who make the same gesture accompanied by $\equiv$ in the archaic festival scenes of Neuserre's sun temple (Fig. 6). They are clearly $hmu.w$ "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 $\equiv$, made with one hand, also figures among the chironomic repertory of Old Kingdom singers, but this sign probably became an ideogram for $hs$ in consequence of its association with the $mrt$-singers, 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 (446), 19 (458). A Middle Kingdom variant of the determinative $\equiv$ is applied to $hn$ in Newberry, *Bersheh I*, pl. 12: $\equiv = \equiv = \equiv$ "giving the rhythm to the army." And the Old Kingdom sign reappears in a funerary scene of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Davies, *Puyemrell*, II, pl. 52), where the caption $\equiv$ 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 *LA* 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 $Nh$hpt-Rˁ 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 \( \text{𓊠} \) 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 \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) “wide of wings,” mentioned earlier (p. 181), and another is possibly to be recognized in the expression \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) “offering” in the Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari.\(^85\) But the sign in question only partly resembles \( \text{𓊠} \); 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 \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \).\(^86\)

By the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty the search for further survivors becomes obscured by the replacement of old \( \text{𓊠} \) by \( \text{𓊠} \) (D41),\(^87\) which also serves for \( \text{𓊠} \). The old form reappears in the Late Period, but not with any degree of regularity.\(^88\) The form \( \text{𓊠} \) is also attested in Old Kingdom inscriptions, but only very infrequently except in the term \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) 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 \( \text{𓊠} \) are to be found in Fourth and Fifth Dynasty titles concerning \( \text{𓊠} \) “singer;”\(^92\) in a Fifth Dynasty example of the epithet \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) “strong of hands,” as mentioned earlier;\(^93\) and rarely in the phrase \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) “schedule of duty,”\(^94\) as well as in a very few Sixth Dynasty examples of \( \text{𓊠} \) written \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) and \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \).\(^95\)

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 \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) above them, which describes that action, replacing \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \). 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.\(^98\)

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\(^{85}\) Arnold, Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II, pls. 19, 21 (4965). The sign is \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) in Lacau-Chevrier, Chapelle de Sésostris I\(^a\), pl. 35 (right).

\(^{86}\) Cf. Wb. III, 47 [2-3].

\(^{87}\) Of the examples in Chapelle de Sésostris I\(^a\) cited in note 41 above only those on pl. 12, 22 and 34 (left) have the old form. Also note the determinative of \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) in note 82, and CTVI, 150 c; VII, 32 k, 389 b.

\(^{88}\) Walters 22.152, 22.153: G. Steindorff, Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture (Baltimore 1946), no. 274. The form \( \text{𓊠-𓊠} \) (or the like) appears in Klaus Kulhmann 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), pl. 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 \( \text{𓊠} \) “pressing (grapes)” in Blackman and Apted, Met V, pl. 20, and the form of the hand is also similar in \( \text{𓊠} \) “cubit” (e.g., Bissing, Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 29). Cf. also n. 28 above.
3. A MIDDLE KINGDOM VARIANT OF † (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). It has previously been identified as a jackal, a seated jackal, or "the symbol of Anubis." There can be no doubt, however, that it is simply a variant of the hieroglyph † wr (F12). That interpretation is demon-

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98 E.g., Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 174; Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi 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.
103 As Cyril Aldred has evidently recognized in his *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London 1971), p. 188, referring to pl. 30 ("Strength").
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strated by a cartouche of Sesostris I that shows virtually the same form (Fig. 8b), and by another example (Fig. 8c), which occurs in a phrase expressing funerary benefits, *wsr mfr ḫrw* “being powerful and justified,” on a non-royal statue that is probably as late as the reign of Amenemhet III. Given the fact that the phonetic value of \( \text{\textdagger} \) derives from *wsrt* “neck,” it is surprising that the neck should be replaced by a leg, but there are even earlier examples of \( \text{\textdagger} \) in Sixth Dynasty hieratic, although the hieroglyphic equivalent of this is known only from the Second Intermediate Period and the later New Kingdom. The wig alone appears more frequently in this sign, the earliest examples of it dating to the Heracleopolitan Period and the Eleventh Dynasty, 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. Examples of still later date may also be cited, but they are not frequent.

Fig. 8. (a) Element from the necklace of *Hnmt*, Dahshur. From a photograph. (b, c) Similar hieroglyphs

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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 \( \text{\textdagger} \) again shows the wig in the same cartouche (Louvre C 1: *ibid.*, pl. 14), but not the leg.
106 *MMJ* 12 (1977), 17, n. 156; also CG 20964.
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]).
Except for the presumed central element, a well known device that combines \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{3}{4} \) "live and be at peace," 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. In the other cases the slight variation of height is not significant, since it occurs in some of the identical pairs.

In the present restoration the sequence is \( \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \) (reversed) \( \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \). Since this arrangement is, for the most part, arbitrary, it seems likely that \( \frac{1}{2} \) should precede \( \frac{1}{2} \), constituting an old variant of the queenly title smnwt 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." And it is equally likely that \( \frac{1}{2} \) should precede \( \frac{1}{2} \), 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 \( \frac{1}{2} \), "she who joins the White Crown," which occurs on Hnmt's canopic chest.

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: \( \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \). The first three might then be translated "may (she who joins the king) be strong, enduring, living." And the sign \( \frac{1}{2} \), the wdbt-eye of Horus, would mean "may (she) be sound." The sign \( \frac{1}{2} \) shows the bt-talisman combined, as often, with \( \frac{1}{2} \), the so-called "Isis-knot." The latter is closely associated with \( \frac{1}{2} \) in the Protodynastic Period, and these two signs alternate in two friezes dating to the end of the Old Kingdom, in one case showing the form \( \frac{1}{2} \), in the other case the composite form, incorporating the bt-talisman. Its propitious meaning is much the same as \( \frac{1}{2} \), which it closely resembles in First Dynasty examples.

Thus it seems possible, once the hieroglyphic nature of \( \frac{1}{2} \) has been perceived, to view all the other elements as having a more hieroglyphic character than has previously been supposed.

The peculiar variant of ws does not seem to have been used very often, and it seems unlikely that there is any connection between this and the variant \( \frac{1}{2} \) for \( \frac{1}{2} \) on coffins from

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111 MM\textsuperscript{5} 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 Vilimkova, 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 smr\textsuperscript{N} mry\textsuperscript{N} smr\textsuperscript{N} mry\textsuperscript{NN} mry\textsuperscript{NN} the beloved one who joins the Two Ladies/King NN.
115 MM\textsuperscript{5} 5 (1972), 12-15.
116 MM\textsuperscript{5} 5 (1972), 12-15.
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Akhmim, dating from the very end of the Old Kingdom or later;121 with the variant ḫ for ḫ (ḥst) in a royal decree of the Seventeenth Dynasty, where /runtimeassumes its customary form,122 or with the still later variant ḫ for ḫ, 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 ḫ125

Among the orthographic innovations in titles of the Middle Kingdom, such as ḫ (tongue) for ḫmr “he who is in the mouth” and ḫ (Anubis upon his shrine) for ḫmr “he who is over (privy to) the secret,” the substitution of ḫ for ḫ hr-

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 ḫr “over” is occasionally written ḫ or ḫ instead of ḫ. I have subsequently noticed further examples of this kind in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 9).128 Thus the new writing of ḫr-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.

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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 ḫ, 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, R/II, p. 346 (6). See also a Dyn. XXVI example in K.P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, Grab des Ibi (Mainz 1983), pl. 57 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 ḫ-kāfr, in the king’s letter, to the right of the entrance, line 14 (= Urk. I, 129 [129]).
127 Tomb of ḫr-kh, 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 $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ and $\text{Opening (day) of the year}$. 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 $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$, where the determinative, appropriate to a calendrical event, was placed below $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$. 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: $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$. At the same time, and during the Sixth Dynasty the sign $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ tended to be partly enclosed by $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$. 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. A hieratic example at Hatnub occurs in a graffito that has been dated even earlier; this date seems improbable, however, in view of the fact that the name of a local nomarch is followed by $\text{Opening (day) of the year}$ “may he live, prosper and be healthy” and $\text{Opening (day) of the year}$ “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, many of which show features that are associated with the Eighth Dynasty and the Heracleopolitan Period. In the present case the specifically late feature is the separation of $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ and $\text{Opening (day) of the year}$ in place of the older form $\text{Opening (day) of the year}$ for $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$. There remains one example of $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ that does, however, seem to antedate the end of the Old Kingdom, if only by a few years. 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. 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.

\[\text{Opening (day) of the month}\]

\[\text{Opening (day) of the year}\]

\[\text{Opening (day) of the year}\]

\[\text{Opening (day) of the year}\]

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; Qur 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 $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ is missing, as is often the case in contemporary inscriptions).

131 Fifth Dynasty examples in Firth and Gunn, Ten Pyramid Cemeteries, pls. 62, 63 (1); Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianch-chnum, fig. 4; Moussa and Junge, Two Tombs of Craftsmen, pls. 1, 2. Sixth Dynasty: Macramallah, Idou, 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-Dir Stelae, no. 87, belonging to the Red Group, which E. Brovarski dates to the early Heracleopolitan Period: Dissertation, pp. 558-66; 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 Cerny, 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.


139 In place of $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$ it has $\text{Opening (day) of the month}$, which, at Dendera, is first attested in the inscriptions of Nfr-sim-Pps/Snni, ibid., p. 79. n. 251. 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 a more conventional form.
5. Variants of the Old Kingdom form of “_errno” (F2g)

The detail shown in Figure 10 is from the lower edge of an isolated block of relief in the Louvre. 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 (_errno) with an ideographic one (_errno). At least three, and probably four, other examples of the same composite hieroglyph can be cited. In one case the context clearly shows that it is a variant of F2g; the caption __errno replaces the more familiar __errno “stringing a necklace.” The composite variant is doubtless also to be recognized in a less completely preserved example, written __errno, which is comparable to __errno. The last two examples confirm Osing’s reading of the former as __errno, which is also confirmed by the likelihood that the captions show the masculine infinitive of a triliteral verb. In yet another case __errno also replaces __errno as the infinitive of __errno in the sense of “spearing.”

Fig. 10. Detail of Old Kingdom relief in the Louvre, E 17499. After Ziegler

In the example at hand __errno evidently occurs in the same context as the phrase __errno __errno, a command given by a scribe who records the delivery of bread and beer as it is relayed to him by a second scribe: “count this out properly.” This seems again to employ the verb __errno—either “stringing” together the number of deliveries or “assembling” 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 __errno (Simpson, Western Cemetery I, pp. 34-35 and fig. 45). The reading __errno is excluded for any of the examples of __errno discussed here, although the example of __errno (cited in n. 144 above) appears immediately above a scene showing __errno “milking,” and may have been influenced by the latter.

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 Gebrawi II, pl. 19.
145 Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 17.
146 OLZ 74 (1979), 13, commenting on Middle Kingdom strw; cf. my Titles, p. 48 (177), where the reading str-rw is to be disregarded. Drenkhahn, loc. cit., n. 81, likewise compares __errno and __errno, citing examples of the latter from the New Kingdom and later. Here it may be noted that __errno (str) 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 __errno (Simpson, Western Cemetery I, pp. 34-35 and fig. 45). The reading __errno is excluded for any of the examples of __errno discussed here, although the example of __errno (cited in n. 144 above) appears immediately above a scene showing __errno “milking,” and may have been influenced by the latter.
147 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. 23: sdi imh Hnqw ... r __errno 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 __errno as “moulding” (p. 52, n. 82) but “throw in” is scarcely more satisfactory.
them. Sometimes nominal $\text{⟨⟩} \text{⟨⟩}$ is used in such scenes, probably based on a masculine infinitive as before: an “assemblage” or “batch” of bread.\textsuperscript{149} In one instance the delivery of bread is carried out in the presence of the $\text{ḥn-hrw}$ “tally man” and the $\text{ḏḥt nṯ nṯt}$ “council of the funerary estate,”\textsuperscript{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 $\text{stt n.i} [\text{nsw}]$ “count this out for me,” although the residual $\text{⟨⟩}$ is difficult to explain. More probably $\text{⟨⟩}$ is followed by $\text{⟨⟩}$ in the phrase $\text{nty nhn.(i)}$: “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: $\text{⟨⟩} \text{⟨⟩} \text{⟨⟩} \text{⟨⟩}$.\textsuperscript{151} This is perhaps to be translated “Look at my batch of $\text{ḥn}$-loaves.”\textsuperscript{152}

Three further variants may be noted. The first is $\text{⟨⟩}$, which occurs in the title “ overseer of necklace-stringers.”\textsuperscript{153} The second appears at the end of a caption describing the catching of fish by the $\text{⟨⟩} \text{⟨⟩}$ “harpooner.”\textsuperscript{154} Here the substitution of $\text{⟨⟩}$ (an Old Kingdom form of Aa5) for $\text{⟩}$ has evidently been prompted by an overall similarity of shape. The third occurs in a similar context, where the determinative of $\text{⟨⟩}$ repeats the fish that is speared in the adjacent scene (albeit another species of fish).\textsuperscript{155}

![](image)

**Fig. 11. Arrows in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs**

\textsuperscript{149} Wb. IV, 332 (13); Epron et al., Ti II, pl. 66–67; Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, p. 71 and pl. 28, Berlin 11406 (Aeg. Inschr. I, p. 22). The same word, apparently, is used in Pyr. 120a, 123f (Wb. IV, 332 [12]).

\textsuperscript{150} Epron, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{151} W. Schurmann, Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidentombenners Iti-nefret (Karlsruhe 1982), fig. 15.

\textsuperscript{152} Schurmann, ibid., p. 40 reads $\text{ṣt}t$ (i.e., $\text{⟨⟩}$), which is invalidated by the other examples of $\text{⟨⟩}$.

\textsuperscript{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, Rollseigel II, p. 102, pl. 35 [9]). Cf.:

\textsuperscript{154} Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. 3. Cf. Montet, Scènes, pp. 4–5 (11), 21; the sign in question is not explained.

\textsuperscript{155} Kanawati, El-Hawawish IX, fig. 15.
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Although the standard Old Kingdom form is יִו rather than יִו, the latter form is prefigured 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: יִו \(^{157}\); this might possibly have been inspired by Old Kingdom יִו, but a coffin at Bersha has יִו, which looks more like a shield mounted as a target.\(^{158}\)

6. Semi-reversed forms of יִו (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 יִו (Gardiner’s F39). The word in which it occurs (∞mā “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 יִו (both → and ←).\(^{160}\) The reverse of this (ר) 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 Merenre, 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 יִו, rightward and leftward, are four in all.\(^{162}\) With the introduction of the semi-reversed יִו, the possibilities are increased fourfold, as shown in Fig. 12. To clarify the comparisons, the normal forms are written יִו, the

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\(^{156}\) 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: Save-Soderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Tombs at Hamra Dom (El-Qair wa es-Sayyad)*, pl. 7.

\(^{157}\) CT IV, 99h (two coffins of the same man).

\(^{158}\) CT I, 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 יִו יִו occur on a false door from Heracleopolis that may be as late as Dyn. XII (Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 [1975], fig. 14, p. 175).

6. Semi-reversed forms of Δήμαρχος (F39) 195

semi-reversed ones Δήμαρχος. 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
(h) 62
(i) (24), (42)

(m) (3 + 55)
(o) 61
(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 Δήμαρχος (←) 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 Gebrawi* 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 Djozer complex. For the unusual epithet ḫmēw ḫw-bw 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.
\(\overline{P} (\rightarrow): 30, 32, 33, 37, 47, 49, 54.\) An exception is ex. 2, where the tops of both \(P (\rightarrow)\) and \(\triangle (\rightarrow)\) 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 \(\triangle (\rightarrow),\) 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 \(\overline{P} (\rightarrow).\)

Possibly the semi-reversal under discussion is responsible for the substitution of \(\triangle\) for \(\overline{\ell}\) (both \(\rightarrow\) and \(\leftarrow\)) 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 \(\triangle\), then for \(\overline{P}\), subdividing the material according to provenance. An asterisk (*) indicates the orientation and number of occurrences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>(\triangle (\rightarrow))</th>
<th>(\overline{P} (\leftarrow))</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GIZA</td>
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</table>
| (1) Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 63 | (normal \(P\) opposite) | *
| (2) * | (normal \(P\) opposite) | *
| (3) * | (normal \(P\) opposite, but \(\overline{P}\) in fig. 11) | *
| (4) * | (normal \(P\) in fig. 44) | *
| (5) * | (normal \(P\) in fig. 44) | *
| (6) * | (normal \(P\) in fig. 44) | *
| (7) * | (normal \(P\) in fig. 44) | *

\(^{165}\) It may also be noted that \(\overline{\ell}\) (D61) has been assimilated to this sign in the cartouche of Sahure, a short distance above it. Conversely, \(\triangle\) is assimilated to \(\overline{\ell}\) on CG 1336, a small offering slab.

\(^{166}\) Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 44; also CG 1565; Hassam, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, fig. 37B; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 11; Wüest, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 1* (1951), 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 \(\overline{P}\).

\(^{169}\) 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 \(\leftarrow\) in imy-r. Another example seems to be indicated by Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 333.
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<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>VIII, fig. 58</td>
<td></td>
<td>normal $\supset$ opposite</td>
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<td>(9)</td>
<td>IX, fig. 104</td>
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<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza I</em>, fig. 143</td>
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<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>I, fig. 168, pls. 63, 64</td>
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<td>(12)</td>
<td>II, fig. 131</td>
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<td>(13)</td>
<td>III, figs. 173, and probably 171</td>
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<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>V, fig. 127</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ in fig. 119)</td>
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<td>(15)</td>
<td>VII, fig. 38</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ opposite)</td>
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<td>(16)</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Sept. tombeaux</em>, fig. 6</td>
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<td>(17)</td>
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<td>(18)</td>
<td><em>LD II</em>, pls. 10a, 11</td>
<td></td>
<td>** (and normal $\supset$)</td>
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<td>(19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 34 (g); cf. Hassan, <em>Giza VII</em>, pl. 16(A)</td>
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<td>(20)</td>
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<td>pl. 82 (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>Cairo J 48852 (Smith, <em>JEA</em> 19 [1933], pl. 23)</td>
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<td>(22)</td>
<td>James, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts I</em>², pl. 11 (probably Giza)</td>
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<td>(23)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 21 (3) (probably Giza)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>Fischer, <em>Egyptian Studies</em> I, p. 36, fig. 12 (probably Giza)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ on p. 34; retained $\supset$ on p. 33)</td>
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<td>(25)</td>
<td>Eva Martin-Pardey, <em>CAA Hildesheim</em> 1, p. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ opposite)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>Boston MFA 13.4352 (Wreszinski, <em>Atlas III</em>, pl. 69)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ opposite)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>Cairo J 38674 (offering slab from Reisner's G 2009)</td>
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<td><strong>SAQQARA</strong></td>
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<td>(28)</td>
<td>Hodjash and Berlev, <em>Egyptian Reliefs</em>, pp. 32, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td>(normal $\supset$ p. 27)</td>
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<td>NOTES ON HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY</td>
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<td>(29)</td>
<td>————, p. 37</td>
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<td>(30)</td>
<td>CG 1388 (Smith, AJA 46 [1942], p. 512)</td>
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<td>(31)</td>
<td>Murray, <em>Saqqara Mastabas</em> I, pl. 31 (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>Fig. 2 above</td>
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<tr>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Excavations at Saqqara</em> II, fig. 34 b</td>
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<td>(34)</td>
<td>Moussa and Nassar, SAK7 (1979), 156, 159</td>
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<td>(35)</td>
<td>Capart, <em>Rue de tombeaux</em>, pl. 11</td>
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<td>(36)</td>
<td>Jéquier, <em>Tombeaux de particuliers</em>, figs. 38–40 (post-Dyn. VI)</td>
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<td>(37)</td>
<td>Quibell, <em>Excavations at Saqqara</em> 1905–06, pl. 12 (post-O.K.)</td>
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<td>(38)</td>
<td>Schneider, OMRO 52 (1971), 12 (Dyn. X or later)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>Cairo J 59158 (Fischer, ZÄS90 [1963], pl. 6 [post-O.K.])</td>
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**Provincial**

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<tr>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>Davies, <em>Deir el Gebrāwi</em> II, pl. 19 (post-Dyn. VI?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>A. El Khouli and N. Kanawati, <em>Quseir El Amarna</em> (Sydney 1989), pl. 36</td>
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<tr>
<td>(42)</td>
<td>Kanawati, <em>El-Hawawish</em> I, fig. 19a (post-Dyn. VI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>I, fig. 24c (post-O.K.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>II, figs. 15, 19 (post-Dyn. VI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>VI, pl. 10a and fig. 26a (post-Dyn. VI?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>VII, fig. 7 (post-O.K.)</td>
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* (normal ▼ opposite) *
* (also normal ▲)
**
*** (normal ▼)
* (and reversed ▼)
* (and normal ▲ elsewhere)
* (in fig. 16g)
* (and normal ▲ elsewhere)
* (▼)
*** (normal ▲, figs. 10, 24)
* (normal ▼ elsewhere)
*
6. Semi-reversed forms of \( \text{\( \pi \)} \) (F39)

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>( \pi ) (( \rightarrow ))</th>
<th>( \pi ) (( \leftarrow ))</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Athribis</em>, pl. 8 (post-O.K.)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>CG 1574 (Fischer, <em>Egyptian Studies</em> I, pl. 20; Abydos)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>CG 1578 (Abydos)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>* (and normal ( \bighat{\pi} ))</td>
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<tr>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>CG 1619 (Abydos; post-Dyn. VI?)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(51)</td>
<td>Boston, MFA 04.1851 (Brovarski, <em>Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes</em> [Chicago 1977], p. 39; from Thebes? Post-O.K.)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>Sotheby, <em>Parke Bernet Sales Catalogue</em>, May 16, 1980, no. 360 (provenance uncertain; post-O.K.?</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>CG 57200 (provenance uncertain; end of Dyn. VI?)</td>
<td>(and normal ( \overline{\pi} ))</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>Berlin 77779, Pl. 7 above (provenance uncertain; Dynasty VIII?)</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
<td>* (and three ambiguous exs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>Petrie and Brunton, <em>Sedment</em> I, pl. 27 (C–D) (post-O.K.)</td>
<td>(and ( \bighat{\pi} ))</td>
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<th></th>
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<th>( \pi ) (( \rightarrow ))</th>
<th>( \pi ) (( \leftarrow ))</th>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
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<td>GIZA</td>
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<tr>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>Simpson, <em>Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II</em>, fig. 17 (24–12–201)* (Dynasty IV)</td>
<td>( \pi )</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza</em> III, fig. 15</td>
<td>( \pi ) in fig. 14</td>
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<td>(58)</td>
<td>———— III, fig. 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>(59)</td>
<td>———— IV, fig. 11</td>
<td>* (and normal ( \overline{\pi} ))</td>
<td>(normal ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite, but ( \pi ) in fig. 6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(60)</td>
<td>———— V, fig. 48</td>
<td>* (and normal ( \overline{\pi} ))</td>
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<tr>
<td>(61)</td>
<td>———— IX, fig. 36</td>
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<tr>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>———— IV, fig. 78</td>
<td>* (and normal ( \overline{\pi} ))</td>
<td>(retained ( \overline{\pi} ) opposite)</td>
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</table>
Notes on Hieroglyphic Palaeography

### 200

| (63) Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 126 | * | (normal □, opposite) |
| (64) Fisher, *Giza*, pl. 48 (3) | * |
| (65) Petrie, *Giza and Rifeh*, pl. 7A (right, second from top) | * |

**Saqqara**

| (66) Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 31 (6) | * | (no. 5 has □) |
| (67) Brooklyn Museum 51.1 (Dynasty VI) | * |
| (68) Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 152, fig. 16A (post-O.K.) | **** (and normal □) | (also normal □) |
| (69) Berlin 8800 (provenance uncertain) | * |
| (70) Manchester 10780: Chap. 4 above, Fig. 8 | * | (normal □ opposite) |

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*a* Misread on p. 8; this is *mr nb [imii h[r] if 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.

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### Provincial

| (71) Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi II*, pl. 23 (post-Dyn. VI) | * (normal on pl. 25) |
| (72) Kanawati, *El-Hawawish I*, fig. 16g (post-Dyn. VI) | * (and normal □ elsewhere) | (□ on pl. 19a) |
| (73) Fitzwilliam Museum FMS 1812 (Plate 50 below, Abydos, post-Dyn. VI?) | * |
| (74) Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London 1901), pl. 25 (Dyn. XI) | *** |
| (75) Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. 27 (C) (post-O.K.?) | * | (and □ in C, D) |
| (76) Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 15 ("Ankhsena," post-O.K.) | * |
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 (‘\(\ddagger\), 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-ḥtp (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

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\(^{170}\) Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 8 (112).


\(^{172}\) 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).

\(^{174}\) In II, pl. 19, both lack it.

\(^{175}\) 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, *Nianch-chnnum*, fig. 4.

\(^{176}\) Last example and Borchardt, *Grab. S'ahu-re II*, pl. 12.

\(^{177}\) Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sesostris Ier*, pl. 11 (D 2); this detail is lacking *Ibid.* (C 2), which is reproduced in *Epigraphie*, pl. 8.
rectangular. Later in the same dynasty, during the reign of Sesostris 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. A color facsimile from this source (Fig. 13d) indicates that the base is very light in hue—perhaps white.

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. These examples normally show the base in the form =, and if painted (as in Fig. 13e), 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.

It has occurred to me that the supplementary base might have suggested the sign (X4), which in turn might have led to the Middle Kingdom writing of Thoth as or . As I have pointed out, however, the base is not known to have resembled = before the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty, long after the enigmatic writing came into use at the end of the Heracleopolitan Period. And even if it had occasionally acquired the form = at

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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. 157).
179 Obelisk of Tuthmosis I, Karnak (G. Jéquier, *L’architecture I* [Paris 1920], pl. 21); Tuthmosis II (M. Abdul-Qader Muhammad, *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 02.4-1999 (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 III*, pl. 7, but not IV, pl. 33 D. The detail in question became less frequent in the Nineteenth Dynasty.
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 (detail).
182 Invariably transcribed as by De Buck in *CT*, but Lacau distinguishes between the two forms; cf. in his *Sarcophages II*, pp. 43 (top), 140 (top, line 2) and on pp. 138, 139 (bottom). Kamal, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 278, also gives the form as well as , and this may be compared with and 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 Dhaty, the Thoth-festival, as may be seen from the more accurate copy by Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 8. The sign transcribed as in Anthes’ pl. 11 a (6) may well be ; the traces suggest (cf. Ranke, *PNI*, 335 (30) and Hatnub Gr. 48).
that early a date, it seems surprising that the enigmatic writing would always appear as \( \Theta \) 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 \( \Theta \). He argues that this writing derives from *wdhw* “offerings,” which sometimes, in the Coffin Texts, has the determinatives \( \Theta \Theta \) or \( \Theta \). But these determinatives indicate food in general, as in \( \square \). Although it does not seem theoretically impossible that *wdhw* might be followed by \( \Theta \) alone, Parlebas is unable to cite any evidence of this except for an incomplete Sixth Dynasty example of *wdhw* from Dendera which is clearly to be restored as \( \Theta \Theta \). Moreover, he does not mention the more numerous cases in the Coffin Texts where *wdhw* is followed by different groups of determinatives, among which, as it happens, \( \Theta \) occurs without \( \Theta \) rather than the opposite; these variations include: \( \Theta \Theta \), \( \Theta \Theta \), \( \Theta \Theta \) (or the like), \( \Theta \Theta \) or \( \Theta \Theta \) (most frequently) and \( \Theta \Theta \). The alleged association with \( \Theta \) is therefore extremely tenuous and unconvincing.

It is not altogether clear whether, as Lacau has supposed, the enigmatic writing of Thoth’s name was intended to replace the sign \( \Psi \) in funerary texts for superstitious reasons, as an alternative to \( \Psi \). 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. It may perhaps be compared with some other curious writings that likewise made their appearance on the eve of the Middle Kingdom, notably \( \Psi \), \( \Psi \), “Isis” and \( \Psi \) for “join (the land)” — 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: \( \Theta \Theta \Psi \) Dhwty-nht, and the same is possibly true of the statuette of a Twelfth Dynasty steward named Sbk-htp whose father may be named \( \Theta \Psi \), but the critical sign is doubtful. 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, \( \Theta \Psi \), has been interpreted as Hw-Dhwty, but one would expect honorific transposition, and the identification of the terminal sign seems doubtful (\( \iota m \)), 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 \( \Theta \Psi \) following

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185 Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5A (A). For similar determinatives of *wdhw* in the Old Kingdom see Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 101 (g1), 102 (g3) and cf. p. 114.
186 CTI, 126b (B12C); III, 5a (B17C).
187 CTII 26b (B17C); also \( \Theta \Theta \) CTIII, 254a (B15C).
188 CTI, 126b, III, 5a, 26c, 254a; VII, 143; a total of nine occurrences.
189 CTII, 127f (once).
190 Lacau, *ZA* 51 (1914), 59.
191 E.g., CTII, 324-325b; VII, 304a, 338d, 371j, 393a, 449a.
194 See note 183 above.
195 University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, E 3381; see p. 109 above (comment e).
196 *PNI*, 287 (11), referring to Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1911), 131, fig. 6.
Borchardt, and interprets as "möge Thot zu mir kommen." Here again the critical sign is quite different from ® and probably represents a title. By coincidence, a name that looks like ® is to be found in a painted tomb chapel of the Twelfth Dynasty at Meir. Once more there is reason for doubt, since Blackman disregards the apparent ®, reading "Init," and he notes that this name occurs in another tomb at Meir. 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 ®, to be read Zst-Dhuyt. The inscriptions on this stela are very poorly executed, however, and it seems possible that the initial signs are ®, in which case this may be a variant of the common Middle Kingdom name ®. 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 ® in which Parlebas is inclined to recognize a later variant of the enigmatic writing of Dhuyt. 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. 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 cartouche 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. 425 does not seem to provide a clue, nor does an isolated example of ® "Dhuyt-festival" in Urk. I, 28 (12). These merely show an Old Kingdom

198 PNII, 260 (29), referring to CG 1419.
199 In PN I, 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. 49, referring to Meir II, pl. 15.
202 PNII, 407 (21), referring to CG 20715d (3).
203 PNII, 295 (5), referring to CG 201171.
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 PN I, 294 (18).
206 PNII, 323, 22.
207 GM 15 (1975), 41.
208 Boylan, Thoth (London 1922), p. 9, 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 (Glücksstadt 1965), pp. 293–96.
210 Boylan, loc. cit., repeated by Wb. V, 211 (2).
8. THE ASSIMILATION OF 𓊡 (M 12) AND ﱡ (M 22)

The sign 𓊡 is occasionally assimilated to ﱡ 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 𓊡 assumes the same form as that of 𓊡 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 ﱡ is also to be seen in a series of Eleventh Dynasty examples of 𓊡, where the roots of the lotus are abnormally extended (Pl. 45 and Excursus). Conversely, the base of ﱡ seems to be assimilated to that of 𓊡 in an Old Kingdom example of the name Hn.n.f (Fig. 15),221 or to the top of 𓊡 in a list of offerings (Fig. 16).222


212 Lacau, ZAS 51 (1914), 139, referring to de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour II, pp. 82 (17, 18), 84 (47).

213 Kamal, ASAE 2 (1901), 219 (CG 28124, from Bershah, B15C); CG 28091 (Lacau, Sarcofages II, p. 48); CT I, 27c; V, 236a (both B3B). Here the sign 𓊡 may have the value d, however; see Edel, ZAS 85 (1960), 16–17, and Junge, GM 2 (1972), 47–48.

214 CT VI, 322, p. r, s (L1Li); VII, 258 (T1Be).


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 Cherpin, BIFAO 82 (1982), pl. 15–17. My drawing shows the titles and names on the crossbar, taken from a photograph.

218 Rowe and Lucas (ASAE 41 [1942], 348) illustrate the name 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 Kornmesserei,” which Cherpin, 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 hst.

219 Goedicke, op. cit., pp. 182 ff., reads Tf-hs. Rowe and Lucas (loc. cit.) and Cherpin, op. cit., p. 127, give a better reading, more or less corresponding to that of Ranke, PNI 33 (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, 𓊡-sp(.s)-p.t, is also sh.t. pr-in” inspector of the department of stores,” and imy-3 (m)-nr(w) “overser of confections.” His wife’s name is Tst (cf. PNI, 381 [7]). The son is apparently identified as z.s.f mry, and may have the second of his father’s titles, of which only nnn, is written; in this case his name is Nfr. For the orientation of 𓊡 = (𓊡) 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 𓊡 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 57006: Alexandre Moret and Dia’ Abou-Ghazi, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches III/1 (Cairo 1978), p. 18; from Reinsner’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 𓊡 seems to be assimilated to 𓊡 (Q 7) in an adjacent entry.

222 Junker, Giza X, fig. 53.
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 ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ in place of the usual ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ.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: ⲱ ⲱ for ⲱ ⲱ (CTVII, 109 u), ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ for ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ (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 ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ ⲱ = Nhbyt (CG 28123, no. 44).²²⁶

²²³ Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 15 and Urk. VII, 20 (11) (tomb 2); Beni Hasan I, pl. 44 and Urk. VII, 11 (7) (tomb 14).
²²⁴ All cited by Farouk Gomaa, 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, Sarcofages II, p. 141).
8. The Assimilation of \( \mathfrak{m} \) (M₁₂) and \( \mathfrak{t} \) (M₂₂); Excursus

Faulkner suggests that the substitution of \( \mathfrak{m} \) for \( \mathfrak{t} \) "perhaps arose from a misreading of Hieratic."²²²⁷ 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,²²²⁸ who observes that "it contains numerous incorrect signs and mispellings." Some of the signs are related to forms that occur as early as the Old Kingdom in semi-cursive hieroglyphs: \( \mathfrak{m} \), \( \mathfrak{t} \), and \( \mathfrak{a} \) (with tufted "ears").²²²⁹ The sign \( \mathfrak{m} \) has the cap that was usual from the Eighth Dynasty onward (for which see part 13 below). The form of \( \mathfrak{a} \) has been noted earlier. The form of \( \mathfrak{a} \) seems to show lugs on either side of the vessel, as in inscriptions of the Eleventh Dynasty,²³⁰ and \( \mathfrak{a} \), with five loops, is typical of the Heracleopolitan Period.²³¹ I have no parallels for the eyebrow in \( \mathfrak{a} \), or for the sign \( \mathfrak{a} \), 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 of\(^{i}\) (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, *Opferformeln*, 1, n. 4.

(b) The sign \( \mathfrak{m} \) seems to be written incompletely.

(c) Note that \( \mathfrak{a} \) is omitted from the group \( \mathfrak{a} \).

(d) The determinative \( \mathfrak{t} \) is missing.

(e) The suggested restoration is \( \mathfrak{m} \) "possessor of a \( \mathfrak{t} \)," 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 construction might be read \( \mathfrak{m} \), the suffix pronoun is clearly omitted in this case.

(h) The intrusive \( \mathfrak{m} \) is otherwise difficult to explain; it can hardly belong to \( \mathfrak{m} \).

(i) The plural strokes after \( \mathfrak{m} \) are superfluous.

²²²⁷ Faulkner, *loc. cit.*

²²²⁸ *Scepter I*, p. 294. Acc. no. 28.9.5; dimensions 22 x 8.5 cm. The provenance is unknown.

²²²⁹ 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 ZAS 100 (1973), 18, fig. 2 (t-\( \mathfrak{a} \)), 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).


²³² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 500. Cf. also \( \mathfrak{a} \) at Naga ed-Deir, Dyn. X-XI: Brovarski, *op. cit.*, p. 231. I cannot believe, with Westendorf, that the hieroglyph for \( \mathfrak{p} \) represents a bed, seat or table, as he argues in *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 425-34.
(j) The word $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{\textcircled{g}}$ is apparently $\text{mnmt}$, 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 $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ in the Twelfth Dynasty. Here the determinative is evidently $\text{\textcircled{f}}$: cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 107–109 and fig. 15 (line 4).

While the name *Iji* is not particularly indicative of the date, 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 $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ (O22) and $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ (W4)

The word *hb* "festival" is consistently written $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ 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. This usage evidently extended down through the reign of Djoser himself. Thus, prior to the Fourth Dynasty, only the context distinguished the interpretation of this sign as *hb* or *zh* "pavilion." The addition of $\text{\textcircled{w}}$ to clarify the reading as *hb* is first known from the time of Sneferu in the title $\text{\textcircled{m}}$, although it occurs there in only one out of four occurrences. 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. The writing of $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ "festival" persisted to some extent throughout the Old Kingdom when it is attested in names such as $\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{m}}$, as opposed to other examples on pl. 10, 13, 14. For the title cf. *Petrie, Royal Tombs*, pl. 30 (reign of Qe-).

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 Qe-; also pl. A 7 (8); V (1965), pp. 5, 6, 9, 13, 16, 41, 59.


236 E.g., in the title *hbr zkh* Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, pl. 30 (reign of Qe-).


238 Ahmed Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu II*, Pt. 1 (Cairo 1961), fig. 185, where $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ may possibly represent *hb* "every feast." The sign $\text{\textcircled{w}}$ is lacking in the estate name *Hbr-Snfr*, fig. 11.


240 Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 52.

241 Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papry*, pl. 9, F, Q.

242 E.g., Hassan, *Giza II*, figs. 217, 237; VII, fig. 23.
The signs  and  in the Old Kingdom.

In the Middle Kingdom the use of  for  survived to a lesser extent at Bersha and Beni Hasan as well as Elephantine. In addition,  was conversely used for  at the first two of these sites, if only occasionally, as in the phrase  "council of the officials" at Beni Hasan or  "festival scent" at Bersha, in the familiar epithet of Anubis, and probably also in the title  , on a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period.

It should be noted that the combination of  and  was written as two separate signs in the Old Kingdom, and that a separation continues to appear between them in most of the more carefully executed inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom. The composite form does not seem to have come into use much before the reunification of Egypt in the Eleventh Dynasty. It only gradually prevailed over the separated form, which is exemplified as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty, if only rarely, and one example from the reign of Amenophis I shows a curious compromise: . At the end of the Middle Kingdom the composite form was occasionally assimilated to the newly-created composite writing of  "lector priest" as , and this might, in turn, be assimilated to or even .

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243 Cairo CG 57028. Wb. III, 464, notes that  is attested as a writing of  in the Old Kingdom; the example is probably LD II pl. 6. For other examples see in Hassan, Giza VI/3 fig. 195, and Petrie, Denudereh, pl. 11 B.

244 LD II, 30: two examples in the same register.

245 Newberry, Bersheh II, p. 26, in the phrase  "a man of festival." But  has  on pl. 7 and Vol. I, pl. 15.

246 Newberry, Beni Hasan II, pl. 18.

247 Habachi, Hqapib, p. 27, fig. 1 j, in the phrase "white bread of festivals." Also a stela, probably from Abydos (Anastasi), in the phrase  "festival scent" (Boese, Besch. aeg. Sammlg. II, pl. 27). Many other examples could doubtless be found.

248 Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 9; for the reading of this phrase cf. Bersheh II, pl. 13, col. 23; Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), pl. 8 (line 7).

249 CG 28091: Lacau, Sarcophages II, p. 38; there is a further example of this writing of  in Newberry, Bersheh II, pl. 13 (col. 16, as opposed to 23, which shows the normal form).

250 Published by Clère, Miscellanea Gregoriana (Rome 1941), 455 ff. Although the lower right of this group has been lost (oriented →), the left end of  lines up with the edge of  above it, and is not centered below  ; cf. another example of  in the same column. For the peculiar name  which follows this cf.  on a stela of the same period from Gebelein, and the remarks on this in Kush 9 (1961), 57, n. 20.

251 Clère and Vandier, TPPI, § 3, § 27 (v, but not ψ), § 32 (line 5), § 33 (line 10); Louvre C 14 (line 7); Al. Badawy, CIE 36 (1961), 270.

252 For some relatively early Twelfth Dynasty examples see Louvre C 3, lines 10, 18 (Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, pl. 15, temp. Sesostris I); BM 567 (ibid., pl. 22 [5, 9, 15]) and Munich GL WAF 35 (ibid., pl. 30 [6], both temp. Amenemhet II).

253 Davies, Rekh-mi-Re, pl. 16 (15–16). For fused  see Griffith, Hieroglyphs, pl. 2 (9); Davies and Gardiner, Amenemhet, pl. 18 (top); Davies, Puyemre II, pl. 50 (upper register).

254 Winlock, JEA 4 (1917), pl. 4.

255 This is anticipated in an occurrence of  for  that is as early as Amenemhet II: Blackman, Mein II, pl. 13. A Thirteenth Dynasty example is to be found on CG 20556.

256 Martin, MDAIK 35 (1979), 233 (61). Cf. Daressy, ASA 17 (1917), 238, although Engelbach's index, ASA 22 (1922), 127 f., gives the normal form in this case. Also Winlock, Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (New York 1947), pls. 43 (41), 45 (74), although these are not exact facsimiles.

257 Winlock, op. cit., pls. 43 (42), 45 (75); here the absence of  is evidently certain.
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 $\hat{\varepsilon}$ 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 $\hat{\varepsilon}$ 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 $\hat{\varepsilon}$ $\Lambda$ $\Sigma$ $\Pi$ $\Theta$ $\Delta$ $\Gamma$ $\Phi$ $\Psi$ $\Omega$ $\Upsilon$ $\Pi$ $\mu$ $\eta$ $\tau$ $\varsigma$ $\iota$ $\mu$ $\nu$ $\omicron$ $\nu$ $\omicron$ $\omicron$ $\iota$ $\tau$ $\iota$ $\omicron$ $\eta$ “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

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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 $\u039b\u0396$. The cryptic writing is from Vol. II, pl. 14: details of the uppermost sign from Vol. III (1896), pl. 5 (80).

Egyptians would characterize any metal by its corrosion; in their iconography copper would normally be red.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{266} and the capital of the lotiform column behind the woman in Fig. 19 is similarly green.\textsuperscript{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 \textsuperscript{\top}, he may equally well have expected the bow drill to serve as an allusion to \textsuperscript{\top} (imy) with the hieroglyph for mountainland (\textsuperscript{\top}) 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 \textsuperscript{\top}, at the same time conveys the idea that it is imy-r “in the mouth.”\textsuperscript{268}

\textsuperscript{263} See Caroline Ransom Williams, Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb (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.”
\textsuperscript{264} Newberry, Beni Hasan II, pl. 16 (Tomb 17); cf. pl. 4 (Tomb 15).
\textsuperscript{265} Traced from Cairo Museum J 49804; for the entire monument see Jequier, 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 “speerähnlich” by Ali Hassan, Stöcke und Stabe im pharaonischen Ägypten, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 33 (Munich 1975), 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.
\textsuperscript{266} LD Text II, p. 97, describing the example in Newberry, Beni Hasan II, pl. 4.
\textsuperscript{267} LD Text II, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{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?
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)\textsuperscript{269}—but is indeed a feather, viewed from the

\textsuperscript{269} From an ivory tablet of King Den in the British Museum (55586), in the phrase zp ḫpy šfr ḫbt "the first occasion of smiting the East." For bibliography see A.J. Spencer, \textit{Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum V: Early Dynastic Objects} (London 1980), no. 460.
front, as exemplified by a Fourth Dynasty example (Fig. 22). This identification is confirmed by a scarcely later representation of three feathers on the top of a tall movable chest (stil), where the central feather is again viewed from the front, as compared with the profile view of the two feathers flanking it (Fig. 23). 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: $\Upsilon$. For the Middle Kingdom Griffith provides examples like $\Upsilon$, bearing a pair or feathers, 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 detail.

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270 From JNES 18 (1959), pp. 270–71, fig. 26(i), 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, Nianchchnum, 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. 25 (VIII), but this is probably the Thinite nome emblem; compare JAOS 74 (1954), p. 34.
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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: ⅔. 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 𓊂 (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 06.1879 (pl. 47): “The Wḥ-priest of Re, Sealer of ḥzp.t-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 Robbing Room, Snnw.” ḫhr-y-pr (var. ḫṛ n pr) “major-domo” is fairly well attested in the Old Kingdom,276 usually in combination with pr-rj “of the palace,”277 and at least one supervisor of such persons is known: imy-ht ḫṛ(w)-pr.278 The title ḫhr-y-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 𓊂𓊂 in Old Kingdom titles,280 rather than 𓊂𓊂, 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 𓊂 is transposed with 𓊂, so that one should read ḫṛ n ḫḥt.281 However this may be, his association with the robing room is undoubtedly linked with the title “sealer of ḥzp.t-cloth of the King.”

One of the most interesting points about this inscription is the form of 𓊂. This and comparable examples are shown in Fig. 24. The present example is (a). The next is from Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, Abu Sir Papyri, Pal. pl. 17, where it is listed among the signs of uncertain reading. Mme. Posener-Krieger considers the possibility that it may represent

274 His terminal fig. 53, from Tylor and Griffith, Paheri (London 1895), pl. 2; and Davies and Gardiner, Amen-emhêt, pl. 27. For other examples see Davies, Rekh-mi-Re’, 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, 1445, 1707 (the last ḫṛ 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 1445.
279 Ward, Index, nos. 977–90.
280 𓊂𓊂 𓊂 “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 𓊂𓊂 “senior lector priest of the robing room” (ZÄS 86 [1961], 25, n. 1), and 𓊂𓊂 𓊂 “retinue of the robing room” (Borchardt, Grabd. Ne-user-re’, pp. 73 [39], 74 [48, 1–2] and fig. 52b).
281 So read in PM III, pp. 68, 923 (559), 937 (V, ḫṛ ḫḥt).
Fig. 24. Old Kingdom variants of $\alpha$

$qb$, 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 $\alpha \Box \bigcup \bigcup \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \Box D_b-s.kn\theta$, 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 $q_b$ and $q_bh$, but $q_b$ “payment” is correctly adopted by Goedicke.\(^{285}\) The last case (e) occurs in a probably incomplete title $\Box \Box \alpha \Box \Box \Box \Box$.\(^{286}\) 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 $\alpha$ occur in the same group of papyri,\(^{289}\) along with other hieratic forms such as $\alpha$ and $\alpha$, that are probably to be identified with the variant in question.\(^{290}\) Hieroglyphic $\alpha$ 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 $\alpha$, which appears on the Narmer Palette, at the beginning of the First Dynasty.\(^{292}\)

At Saqqara, where $\alpha$ 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 $d_bn^w$ “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

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\(^{283}\) 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 III, pp. 238, 922 (336), 937 (V).

\(^{288}\) Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 206.

\(^{289}\) Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *op. cit.*, Pal. pl. 11 (T 25).

\(^{290}\) Ibid., Pal. pls. 10 (S 17), 17 (“Uncertain Reading,” last entry).


\(^{293}\) From a photograph. For reproductions of the scene see PM III, p. 637.

\(^{294}\) From the photograph by D. Johannes in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pl. XXII.
variant from Saqqara, with three floaters attached only at the top (Fig. 25c), also bears a certain resemblance to the form from Giza.\footnote{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, Kemi 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).

\footnote{295} Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. 16, and cf. pl. 10; (b) Davies, Psakhketep II pl 10, cf. I, pl. 14 (323); (c) Blackman, Meir IV, pl. 9; (d) Cairo CG 1353.

\footnote{297} PM III, pp. 758, 924 (511), 937 (V).

\footnote{299} BM EA 69573; JE 73 (1987), pl. 11 (1); the right end of a lintel repeating the figure of the tomb owner (cf. Fischer, Dendera, pp. 217–19).

\footnote{300} 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 = after \( \text{f} \), as opposed to an example in Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pls. 29–30.


\footnote{304} From the photograph in Hassan, Giza IV, pl. 17 (H).}{\footnotetext}{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, Kemi 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).

\footnote{296} Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. 16, and cf. pl. 10; (b) Davies, Psakhketep II pl 10, cf. I, pl. 14 (323); (c) Blackman, Meir IV, pl. 9; (d) Cairo CG 1353.

\footnote{297} PM III, pp. 758, 924 (511), 937 (V).

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\footnote{304} From the photograph in Hassan, Giza IV, pl. 17 (H).}
by a pair of female divinities named Gnat, on a relief of Pepy II (Fig. 28),\textsuperscript{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 $\mathsf{v37}$ (Fig. 27b),\textsuperscript{305} although this variant seems in part to be assimilated to detailed examples of the sign $\mathsf{v}$, a heart. Furthermore it resembles the determinative $\mathsf{b}$ of $\mathsf{v}$ (Pyr. 1467b), which occurs in an unenlightening context but is evidently to be distinguished from $\mathsf{v}$ 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 $\mathsf{v}$ (sfr “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 $\mathsf{v37}$.\textsuperscript{306}

\textsuperscript{303} CG 1747 (from a photograph). Erika Schott (GM 9 [1974], 54) plausibly considers that this and the rectangular object are being presented to the king, and surmises that they contain ointment and cloth. Kaphony, BiOr 28 (1971), 48, thinks they contain grain.

\textsuperscript{304} Edel, op. cit., p. 380, confirming the opinion of Helen Jacquet-Gordon in Domains, p. 255.

\textsuperscript{305} From Junker, Giza III, fig. 27; see also ibid., pl. 6 (g).

\textsuperscript{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. 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:

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 which is evidently a judicial title, and this possibility is supported by “[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. At the end of the second line the inexplicable second is also questionable; it seems possible to read “revered.” The beginning of this line is undoubtedly to be interpreted as “greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt,” although it is not possible to recognize “ten(s)” below and Hassan does not in fact show this in his transcription. The first line begins with the familiar title perhaps here to be translated “acquaintance of the king,” followed by hry-tp idr ḫ, the meaning of which remains to be considered.

It may be significant that, apart from the title hry-tp ḫ + nome emblem, designating Sixth Dynasty governors of Upper Egypt, the most common Old Kingdom titles beginning with hry-tp are ḫ ḫ ḫ hry-tp dt “overlord of clothing” (with a variety of determinatives representing cloth), and the less frequent ḫ ḫ, which takes very nearly the same form in the three cases known to me, all from Giza. Idr is not a general term for “cloth” or “clothing,” however, 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).
311 Fischer, op. cit., p. 265 f. (15).
313 Cf. the examples of the variant ḫ ḫ cited by Goedicke (MDAIK 21 (1966), 58).
315 I have likewise excluded ḫ ḫ ḫ and ḫ ḫ ḫ, 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 III, 205); Hassan, Giza II, fig. 117, where the last part of the preceding title ḫ ḫ ḫ is to be read twice, due to haplography; Cairo CG 1819; Cairo J 41978 (statue); Barsanti, ASAE 1 (1906), 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.
13. Variants of \( W_14 \)

The sign \( \text{a jar, representing phonetic } hz \), was occasionally assimilated to forms like \( \) (W9) and \( \) (W16). One example, dating to the Fifth Dynasty, is not very significant because it merely repeats the form of a sign that precedes it in the phrase \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( qbh \) \( mw \) \( hzmn \) “a libation of water and natron.” But no such explanation can be given for several Sixth Dynasty examples. One of them takes the form of \( \) in the epithet \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) “who does what his lord praises,” which appears on a cylinder seal bearing the name of Pepy I. This recurs as \( \) in the epithet \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) “great of praise,” referring to his mother, Queen Ipt. An offering slab of not much later date adds a handle to the spouted jar in the feminine name Hzt, written \( \). This last variation is also known from a late Old King-

319 Cf. the use of the later form of idr in the Middle Kingdom title \( \text{ cited by Ward, loc. cit.; examples listed in my Titles, p. 53 (381). This is probably to be interpreted as “overseer of stores” as distinguished from examples with the determinative } \text{, “overseer of the storehouse,” or “ergastulum.”}

320 For these closely related titles see the last of these palaeographic notes.

321 From the records of Reisner’s G 2375 (PM IIIF, p. 87), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

322 Note also that the reference to knmnt in Pyr. 1462a may allude to the judicial title \( \text{knnmt, mentioned earlier.}

323 For which the earliest textual evidence in a legal context seems to be Westcar Papyrus 8, 15-16, (A.M. Blackman,

324 E.g., Urk. IV, 159 (5), 195 (10), 196 (1), 699 (13), 725 (14), 736 (11), 827 (10).

325 Ibid., 745 (1), 1108 (14); for the latter cf. Davies, Rekhmi-Re’, pl. 26 (13).


327 Hassan, Giza V, fig. 109 (= LD II, 44 [b]).

328 BM 5495: H.R. Hall, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum I (London 1913), no. 2805; Goedicke, MDAIK 17 (1961), pl. 19; P. Kaplony, Rollsiegelll, pl. 99 (1).

329 Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 89.

330 CG 1347: Borchardt, Denkmäler des A.R. I, p. 22. I have not been able to confirm this since the left half of the stone could not be located, but Borchardt’s copy of the sign is evidently a hand drawing.
Dom rock inscription at El Kab,\textsuperscript{331} and, a little differently, in inscriptions from three tombs at Balat, in the Kharga Oasis, which are somewhat later: $\textsuperscript{332}f^{2} \textsuperscript{2}$ and $\textsuperscript{333}\overline{t}$.\textsuperscript{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 ($\textsuperscript{334}\overline{t}$) rather than a spout or handle. This occurs as early as the Eighth Dynasty in one of the Coptos Decrees,\textsuperscript{334} and is known from that time or later at SaqQara\textsuperscript{335} as well as in the provinces: Gebelein,\textsuperscript{335} Thebes,\textsuperscript{337} Naqada,\textsuperscript{338} Dendera,\textsuperscript{339} Naga ed-Deir,\textsuperscript{340} Abydos,\textsuperscript{341} Hagarsa,\textsuperscript{342} and Assiut.\textsuperscript{343} At Naga ed-Deir, in the early Tenth–Eleventh Dynasties, this form was also combined with the addition of a spout ($\textsuperscript{344}\overline{t}$).\textsuperscript{344} The capped jars occurred much less frequently in the Twelfth Dynasty\textsuperscript{345} and even less frequently later (when the cap assumed a rather different shape).\textsuperscript{346} Although a number of examples are to be found in the tomb chapel of Djet-H$\textsuperscript{347}$ at Assiut, dating to Sesostris I.\textsuperscript{347} From the same reign there are also several occurrences of the spouted form ($\textsuperscript{348}f^{2} \textsuperscript{2}$ and the like) in an autobiographical inscription in Wadi Hammamat.\textsuperscript{348} This form is again indicated by Gauthier and Lefebvre in their copies of the texts on several wooden coffins from Assiut;\textsuperscript{349} so too Chassinat and Palanque,\textsuperscript{350} who also

\textsuperscript{331} Jansen, \textit{Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux} 12 (1951–52), 169 and pl. 29 (N5 = Sayce, \textit{PSBA} 21 (1899), 108–10 and pl. 1 (1)); also LD II, pl. 179q (last line).
\textsuperscript{332} Osing et al., \textit{Denkmäler}, pls. 1 (1), 53 (1); Valloggia, \textit{BIFAO} 93 (1993), 394. For further comments on the palaeographic peculiarities of this site see Leprohon, \textit{JSSEA} 16 (1986), 50–56, concluding that these tombs postdate the Old Kingdom, and p. 27, n. 99 above.
\textsuperscript{333} Osing, \textit{op. cit.}, pls. 4, 58 (right, line 7), Valloggia, \textit{BaE} 97/2 (1985), 333.
\textsuperscript{334} R. Weill, \textit{Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien} (Paris 1912), pl. 10, line 6.
\textsuperscript{335} Jéquier, \textit{Tombes de particuliers}, figs. 38, 41, 46, 51, 111; \textit{Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire} (Cairo 1933), fig. 30; Cairo J 59158 \textit{(ZAS} 90 [1963], pl. 6). Also at Memphis: C. Lévy, \textit{JARe} 11 (1974), pl. 2 (b).
\textsuperscript{336} Vandier, \textit{Moalla}, pls. 21 (right, center), 22 (right = pl. 6, left); Goedicke, \textit{JNES} 19 (1960), 288 (line 2), now MMA 65,107; Černý, \textit{JEA} 47 (1961), 7 (4, 15).
\textsuperscript{337} Clère and Vandier, \textit{TPPI}, §§ 14, 16 (3), 17 (4), 18 (10), 19 (5), 20 (3, 14), 24 (8). All Dyn. XI, as also Hodjash and Berlev, \textit{Egyptian Reliefs}, nos. 25(4), 26(10).
\textsuperscript{338} Fischer, \textit{Coptite Nome}, nos. 18, 19, 40, 41; Fazzioli, \textit{Miscellanea Wilbouriana} I (1972), p. 40, fig. 6.
\textsuperscript{339} Petrie, \textit{Denderah}, pls. 6 (bottom left), 8 c (right, 4th from bottom), 9 (top), 10A (bottom right), 13 (left, second from bottom).
\textsuperscript{340} On two groups of stelae: (1) Dunham, \textit{Naga ed-Deir Stelae}, nos. 12, 72, 75, etc.; (2) ibid., nos. 55, 62, 78, 83, etc. The first of these is Brovarski's Red Group (\textit{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.).
\textsuperscript{341} Dyn. XI examples: H.W. Müller, \textit{MDAIK} 4 (1933), 187; CG 20503; Turin 1447 (Luise Klebs, \textit{Reliefs des Mittleren Reiche}, fig. 14).
\textsuperscript{342} Petrie, \textit{Athribis}, pl. 7 in a caption above one of the cattle.
\textsuperscript{343} Griffith, \textit{Inscriptions of Siut}, pls. 13 (28), 14 (62, 70, 85), 15 (15).
\textsuperscript{344} Brovarski, \textit{Dissertation}, p. 747; one example is shown in his fig. 79, p. 861.
\textsuperscript{345} Clère and Vandier, \textit{op. cit.}, § 2; Newberry, \textit{Benti Hassan II}, pl. 35; Louvre C 1, C 3; Berlin ÄGM 26/66 (W.K. Simpson, \textit{Terrace of the Great God}, pls. 14, 15); BM 830 (ibid., pl. 8). At Rifa Tomb 1 (Griffith, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. 16 [5, 7, 11]) the neck of the vessel is eliminated: $\textsuperscript{346}\overline{r}$; another example like this is known from Sedment: Petrie and Brunton, \textit{Sediment I}, pl. 23 (center).
\textsuperscript{346} Hodjash and Berlev, \textit{Egyptian Reliefs}, no. 43, p. 96 (Edfu, Dyn. XVII); Quibell, \textit{Excavations at Saqqara} (1907–08) (Cairo, 1909), pl. 59 (4) (Dyn. XIX); Calverly, \textit{Temple of Sethos II}, pls. 18 (bottom), 26; II, pls. 4 (top), 14 (bottom). In all these examples the cap is conical or domed.
\textsuperscript{347} Griffith, \textit{op. cit.}, 4 (212, 220), 9 (356).
\textsuperscript{348} Annie Gasse, \textit{BIFAO} 88 (1988), fig. 1 on p. 94, and pl. 6 (5, 10, 11, 18).
\textsuperscript{349} ASAE 23 (1923), 11, 18 (twice), 20 (twice), 26, 30, 31, 32. In some cases the sign is reversed.
\textsuperscript{350} \textit{Une Campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout} (Cairo 1911), pp. 115, 165, 212.
show \( \text{\textcopyright } \). \(^{351}\) An example of \( \text{\textcopyright } \) 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 Z-\( \text{\textcopyright } \) at Aswan, dating to the reign of Sesostris II.\(^{353}\) The strangest of all these variations appears in an epithet of his grandfather Z-\( \text{\textcopyright } \) at Elephantine, which is evidently motivated by graphic dissimilation: \( \text{\textcopyright } \) \( \text{\textcopyright } \) \( \text{\textcopyright } \) \( \text{\textcopyright } \) “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 (\( \text{\textcopyright } \)),\(^{355}\) Amenemhet IV (\( \text{\textcopyright } \))\(^{356}\) and Tuthmosis III (\( \text{\textcopyright } \)).\(^{357}\) Examples of later date, down to the Ptolemaic Period, are encountered more rarely.\(^{358}\)

Yet another variation is \( \text{\textcopyright } \), 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,\(^{364}\) Akhmim,\(^{365}\) and Abydos.\(^{366}\) 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 \( \text{\textcopyright } \)), 179, 199. The normal form \( \text{\textcopyright } \) 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).


\(^{353}\) H.W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine* (Glückstadt 1940), pls. 31 a, 33. For the date see p. 105.

\(^{354}\) Habachi, *Hegy* (1999), p. 25 and fig. 1 d, pl. 9a.

\(^{355}\) Gardiner, Peet and Cerný, *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.


\(^{359}\) BM 1212 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 13 [1]), BM 1282 (ibid., pl. 11 [1]), both probably Dyn. IV; BM 212 (ibid., pl. 8 [1]), no earlier than late Dyn. VI.

\(^{360}\) Dunham and Simpson, *Meryankh III*, figs. 2, 7; Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 14a; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 9—also 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); Wn$n-khsr-t$w, PM III², 615, Room I 14 (early M.K.).

\(^{362}\) Newberry, *Bersheh II*, pl. 21 (bottom, cols. 2, 5, 8, 10, 14, 16).


\(^{364}\) Davies, *Deir el Gehrawi II*, pl. 4.

\(^{365}\) Mackay et al., *Bahrein and Hemamieh*, pl. 27, Dyn. V; not noted by El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamieh*, pl. 39, but see pl. 57.

\(^{366}\) Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, 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 Cerný, *Sinai*, no. 47, pl. 16 (Amenemhet II); Louvre C 243 (= E 3452: 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: Sm$h-khs$-rt³ $Sm$h-khs$-rt³).


\(^{370}\) 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, pl. 13[1]); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 11; Davies, *Deir el Gehrawi II*, pl. 4.
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Possibly its frequent recurrence in the hieroglyph was abetted by assimilation to another sign such as \[ \text{\textbullet} \].

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 \[ \text{\textbullet} \] (Y3)

The earliest detailed representations of the scribal kit, on the wooden panels from the Third Dynasty mastaba of Hesy-Rē, 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.\(^{371}\) But the top of the cap appears to be flat on the other panels (Fig. 29). A hieroglyph from the stela of Wp-m-nfri, 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 Hufu-hr \(\text{\textbullet} \).f, the upper cap displays, for the first time, a feature that also occurs in the contemporary mastaba of Kii(w)-\(\text{\textbullet} \).b'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 Dynasty\(^{376}\) (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 Bershah, the center being differentiated by a more reddish

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\(^{371}\) This variant of \[ \text{\textbullet} \] 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 [1941], 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, Grabl. S'ahu-re II, pl. 1; Bissing, Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 21 (345); Junner, 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, Psahhetep I, pl. 18 (408); a color reproduction.

\(^{378}\) E.g., Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepti 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., Junke, Giza XI, fig. 40; Hassan, Giza V, figs. 128–35; Simpson, Qar and Idu, figs. 20–22, 26, 28, 32, 36.
14. A detail of the sign (Y3)
hue (Fig. 30d). One of the early Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Meir represents the tubular holder as a papyrus, either in part (Fig. 30e) or in its entirety (Fig. 30f). 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).

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). 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. 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) 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. 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: 

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 sedgelike plant of Upper Egypt ( ), as well as the palm. Are the everted tabs of the Old Kingdom

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 Bershah. It seems probable that the same feature is to be recognized on an Eleventh Dynasty sarcophagus, Cêtre and Vandier, *TPPI*, p. 260; p. 15.
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.
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 (Y5)

Although both Gardiner and Lefebvre identify the sign as a gameboard, Lefebvre, citing Pillet, 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 “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 in two tombs at Bersha that apparently date to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. 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). The inward slope of the legs is also known from an actual gameboard of the Eleventh Dynasty, 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.

The principal interest of this curious variant of 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.

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 Vooraziatisch-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 Dow 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.
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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 http-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 $\text{\(\leftarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$, a priest who is designated as $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$.

The second (shown here), is on the south reveal of the entrance to the hall of Hqibs, excavated by Labib Habachi; it occurs in the name $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$, belonging to an overseer of crews (\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)). Evidently the projections below the sign again represent legs of an offering table, the top of which has the form of $\text{\(\left\downarrow\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$. Such tables are known from copper and wooden models of the Old Kingdom. One might expect the legs to be placed at the ends of the sign, as in $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$, but their position also occurs in hieroglyphic $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$ and $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$, 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. But possibly they derive from hieratic.

399 Illustrated in de Morgan, Catalogue des monuments, plate facing p. 164, where the http-sign is not completely visible, however. The title hm-kr hpr hnt recurs in the labels of funerary priests who added their names in the hall of Hqibs (next note). For the writing of the name, not cited in Ranke, PVI, 371 (12), cf. Wr. III, 299 (29); it should probably be transliterated as Htp-Hnsw or Hnsw-http(w).


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. 150, fig. 54 (BM 53115). 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, Grabb. Ne-user-Re, fig. 110 (Berlin 16436).

402 Reisner and Smith, Hist. Giza Neer. II, fig. 44 and pl. 36 (a); also Junker, Giza I, fig. 36 (assimilated to the writing of $\text{\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}$ 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 zi hnw: 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. 4912 W (Piannon, Pyramid of Unas, pl. 9); Urk. I, 106 (15); Goyon, Nouvelles Inscriptions, p. 41 and pl. 4 (determinative of htw); Junker, Giza IV, p. 72 and pl. 9 (\(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)}; cf. \(\left\uparrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\left\uparrow\right\uparrow\)} 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. 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 “\(\text{myt} \text{zr}\) "regulator of the phyle." The date of these labels can hardly be earlier than the Eighth Dynasty, and may well be later.

The sign also appears to have influenced an example of the sign in the title as it is written in a tomb of the Heracleopolitan Period at Naga ed Deir. A rather similar hieroglyph (\(\text{a} \text{a}\)) not infrequently occurs as the determinative of "brazier" in the lists of festivals that call for offerings. In this case the legs probably represent stones placed beneath the flat terracotta tray, in some examples the stones are indicated by rounding off the bottom of the projections.

\[\text{Fig. 33. Post-Old Kingdom variant of } \text{a} \text{a}, \text{Aswan}\]

16. The groups \(\tau\) and \(\tau\)

In \textit{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 \textit{smsw hryt} "elder of the (judicial) court," with a very exceptional determinative,
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for which no explanation is given (Fig. 34). The determinative is otherwise most commonly —, 4 1 4 which frequently appears before the final t: □ 4 1 5 or □ — 4 1 6 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 III, 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 III, p. 126).
(26) Ahmed Badawy, ASAE 40 (1940), 574 and pl. 60.
(27) Cairo T 6/4/49/1: Fischer, MIO 7 (1960), 303, fig. 5.
(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; James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions I, nos. 47, 48, pls. 4, 22.
(32) Thos. Midgley, Bankfield Museum Notes 4 (Halifax 1907), fig. 3.
(34) Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908, p. 26 (with — miscopied as —).
(35) Maspero, Trois années de fouilles (MIFAO 1/2, 1885), pp. 203–204 (miscopied as noted below, with n. 18).
(37) It is frequently linked with zek note 1 above, exs. 3, 4 (pp. 33, 35, 39, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19–24, 29, 31, 34, 36; with rNHEN zek exs. 4 (pp. 34, 36, 40, 64, 87), 11, 15, 22, 23, 27, 31; other judicial titles: exs. 4, 6, 15, 23, 25, 27–29, 31, 35, 36 and the present case (see MIO 7 [1960], 304, n. 9). In ex. 35 zek is omitted from both smsw hny and r NHEN because the text is within the burial chamber; for a similar case see MMf 9 (1974), 11 and fig. 7.
(38) 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.
(39) Exs. 2, 4 (pp. 34, 79, 87), 14, 16 (fig. 81), 20–22, 26, 27, 31, 32. The configuration □ appears in exs. 3, 4 (pp. 34, 86), 5, 11, 12, 13 (31), 17, 18, 33.
(40) Exs. 1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 16 (82), 23, 34; also □ —, ex. 15. The configuration □ — appears in exs. 7, 10, 16 (83), 23, 34, 36; also □ —, ex. 9.
Another variant is ..., which is known from at least three examples. And in at least one case it is replaced, perhaps inadvertently, by ... In view of the judicial character of the title, one might be tempted to surmise that ... derives from \( \text{\textit{mut}} \), 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. It is possible, however, that the original derivation was from \( \text{\textit{mut}} \) reinforced by the similarity of the word \( \text{\textit{mut}} \) "staff." The form that is displayed in the present case is totally different from any of these, and represents an elongated bag (Fig. 35) that was used, among other purposes, to store

Fig. 35. Elongated bag in the mastaba of Tb, Saqqara. After Epron
stubs and staves. In favor of this explanation of the various determinatives of hṣt it may be noted that the stick in the hieroglyph ḫ is sometimes replaced by — in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom. The composite sign ḫ 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 ḫ (Malaise, CDE 64 [1989], 117-18), but — is used consistently in this title. For the ṣwt-pr see Yoyotte, RDe 9 (1952), 142-44. For the ṣwt-hwt see LD II, 63 (top register, Yoyotte’s ex. 2, but this detail is not mentioned); Epron et al., TII, 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.

Note 1 above, exs. 28, 31. Ex. 33 has ṣwt-hwt maʿwt “tally man of the lawcourt.”

Note 1, exs. 1, 16; in exs. 14 and 25 the name of the pyramid precedes.

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 —.

Goyon, Kemi 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).

Posener-Krieger, Archives, p. 428. The sign in question appears to be —; cf. — for — in pls. 6zA1, 82b, 95C.
virtually identical to —, albeit with much clearer evidence for occasionally rounded ends. Unlike the case of smswḥyt, however, the determinative is often omitted, and does not yet appear in most of the earliest examples, dating to the Fourth Dynasty, although a sarcophagus of that period already shows ⦯, which is the most usual configuration down to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, when it tended to be rearranged as ⦯. Besides ⦯ there is also abundant evidence for four other basic variations: ⦯, ⦯, ⦯, and ⦯. Contrary to what one might suppose from ⦯, these configurations indicate that the horizontal (or vertical) element is associated with ⦯, 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 ⦯. Whatever its origin may be, the frequent omission of — and its occasional replacement by ⦯ 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 — and —, for the former never shows —, 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); Curti, Gli Scavi Italiani, pl. 27 (a), Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 8; CG 1732.

437 Ignoring the occasional addition of ⦯, the signs ⦯ and ⦯ 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, 110; IX, fig. 32; Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara III, fig. 39; Davies, Sheikh Said, pp. 18; Z.Y. Saad, Royal Excavations at Saqqara (Cairo, 1957), pl. 19: MMII (1976), 20, fig. 12; James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 19. With p of pt: BM 1179 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 39 [2]). With r of rmp: Mariette, Mastabas, p. 116; Dunham and Simpson, Mersyankh, fig. 7; LD II, 37a; Junker, Giza IX, fig. 44; Hassan, Giza I, figs. 132, 156, 142, 146, 142, 162; II, fig. 94; IV, fig. 114; BM 1122 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 15 [1]): BM 1176 (ibid., pl. 39 [3]); Fakhry, Sept Tombeaux, fig. 10; Davies, Sheikh Said, pp. 28; Wild, III, pls. 182, 184; Martin, Hetepka, pl. 21; Daressy, AAEE 17 (1917), 134 (IV, 1; corrected); Brooklyn 37.1495E. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions I, no. 72; Berlin 11573 (Aeg. Inscr. I, p. 66). With p and t: Hassan, Giza III, fig. 58; CG 1425; Mariette, Mastabas, p. 154. With n and t: Fischer, Giza, fig. 49 (3). With r: Petrie, Deshasheh, pp. 28; (sic); Cairo J 56994 (Cherpion, BIFAO 82 [1982], pl. 15; assimilated to —). The latest dated example (Daressy, loc. cit.) is Dyn. VI (Teiti).

438 Cairo CG 1790; thus in Grébaut, Le Musée égyptien I, p. 19, according to Maspero, and this seems correct. Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, p. 210, gives the last sign as —; Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 235, has —, with the bottom restored.

439 Junker, Giza VIII, fig. 32; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 153; Excavations at Saqqara II, fig. 34b; Davies, Sheikh Said, pl. 19; CG 1331; Moussa and Altenmüller, Nefer and Khay, pl. 29. With p: Hassan, Giza II, fig. 52. With q: 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, q: Hassan, Giza III, fig. 221.


441 Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 247, 349; Hassan, Giza II, figs. 237; III, fig. 35; VI/3, fig. 9; VII, fig. 98; Reisner, Hist. Giza Necr. I, fig. 270; Fakhry, Sept Tombeaux, p. 12; Fisher, Giza, fig. 49 (2); Kanawati et al., Saqqara I, pl. 27; W.V. Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pls. 2, 11; CG 1414, 1434, 1484; BM 527A (James, Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 15 [1]); Gmayer, MIO 7 (1960), 303; Wilson, JNES 19 (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. Inscr. I, p. 39).

442 CG 1403, 1404, 1420. Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 278, 279 (corrected), 283; Guth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pls. 63 (1); BM 718 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 28); Simpson, Western Cemetery I, fig. 16; A.M. Moussa and F. Junge, Two Tombs of Craftsman (Mainz a.R. 1975), illusts. 1,2; Moussa and Altenmüller, Nianechnum, fig. 4: LD II, pl. 89b (Berlin 1186, Aeg. Inscr. I, p. 8).

443 Usually or =, 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, pl. 17); Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pls. 8, 18; Simpson, Western Cemetery I, figs. 16, 22, 41, 42.
The first reappearance of smsw hnt in the Middle Kingdom, dating to the reign of Nb-twy\footnote{Goyon, Nouvelles Inscriptions, no. 52.} Mentuhotep, is written \textasciitilde{\textasciitilde} with the gratuitous stroke that became common in the Eleventh Dynasty\footnote{Schenkel, Frühmittelägyptische Studien, pp. 32–36.} but is otherwise identical to the Old Kingdom writing, except that the proportions of the determinative resemble those of the sign \textasciitilde{lake.\footnote{Gardiner, Onomastica I, pp. 60–61*}, explains this as a borrowing from \textasciitilde{ceiling, sky,\footnote{Ibid. II, 211*}} and says of the Old Kingdom determinatives: “Perhaps \textasciitilde{is a log, \textasciitilde} a stone roof-beam, while \textasciitilde{hints at a wooden roof.\footnote{A log would not be represented with rounded ends, however, and \textasciitilde{is not otherwise used as a generic determinative in Old Kingdom titles. And finally, if \textasciitilde{represented stone, it would probably be shorter, as in \textasciitilde{(O39); moreover it is highly doubtful that a public hall would have had stone beams.}}}}}}. I doubt that its subsequent transformation into \textasciitilde{provides a clue to its original significance.\footnote{Gardiner, Onomastica I, pp. 60–61*}}
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. Pen case 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 *shdj imyw hrw* 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-hjt hnw ist* 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:

...ιχγεεκπζΑΤΓΗΣΟΡΛΙΜΝΟΡΔΗΔΓΧ... 

p. 25. The use of — for suffix | should be remarked. Sethe notes several examples of this from the Pyramid Texts, *Das Ägyptische Verbum* 1 (Leipzig 1899), § 267. The present example is evidently even earlier, for the funerary formulae are more suggestive of Dyn. IV than “late Old Kingdom” as opined in PM III, 348.

p. 42. Another pair of small limestone mourners are illustrated in Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, pl. 23 (A–C); cf. *JE A* 65 (1979), 180 and fig. 1.

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pp. 52–53. Wolfgang Schenkel comments further on writings of imḥ 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 ḫwt “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 ḫr refers to Ptah; and, on the basis of an abridged form of the title in demotic, concludes that the reading is wr hmaw(t) and that wr NH;R is to be read wr hmaw(t) nb. This will scarcely seem credible to anyone who is thoroughly familiar with the use of ḫr and ḫ in Old Kingdom titles.

pp. 70–71. To title (5) add another (5a): ḫt “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 [ḥ]nrh is preserved before the name.

To titles (18–19) add another referring to dancers: (19a) ṣḥt “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 ḫn 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 ḫ. And since the title ḫn is applied to a gentlewoman who has the title ṣḥt-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
downward on the neck and back. And it is even more difficult to identify the rectangular object held upright upon the lap.

p. 89 (b). Another Dyn. VI example of ꞌoccurs on the entrance architrave of the vizier Mḥw at Saqqara, to be published by Zahi Hawass: ꞌ wr ki ꞌ ki, where wr and ꞌ may be nearly synonymous.


p. 103. A third bronze butcher's knife of the type shown in figs. 5 and 6 may be cited, a model found in a foundation deposit: Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes (London 1897), pl. 16 (34).

p. 116 (to p. 79). Wm. Ward, GM 100 (1987), has cast much doubt on the supposed "women of the council."
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’Egypte du crépuscule* (Paris 1980), fig. 109, p. 127. This readjustment evidently reverts to reality; cf. LÂ V, 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 II*, pls. 36, 42, as noted in LÂ V, 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’Egypte 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 \[ \text{ "beasts" are reversed.} \]

But the example in my own fig. 74 must be eliminated, for the sign \[ \text{ has proven not to be reversed, as may be seen from Kent Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000* (Boston 1994), fig. 26 and pl. 12(b).} \]

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” (𓊑𓊖𓎄).  

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.
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tnw smsw Inpu sby-ntr, "senior pillar of Anubis who belongs to the divine booth," 46, Fig. 2, 48

*tnw Sm'w, "pillar of Upper Egypt," 218

tnw Knmt, "pillar of the Knmt," 32, 40, Pl. 6, 218, 219, n. 322

ibst/wh(nty), "maidervant," 125, 126, 134, Pl. 21

*tp tny m prwt, "one who takes stock of the production of the deserts, marshlands and heavens," 32, 40, Pl. 6, 180 (partial)

[tp] tny smwt Hwsw-Nbjw Inpl, "one who assessed the production of the nomes of southern Upper Egypt which were to be assessed (?), 20

*tp tny Sm'w Tr-mhsw hswt nhb, "who takes stock of the production of Upper and Lower Egypt and all foreign lands," 14, Fig. 1, 20–21 (i), 38, Pl. 4

*tp n prwjt prwy, "one who takes stock of troops of men and cattle in the two houses," 32, 40, Pl. 6

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imdy, "revered," 28, 129, 198, Pl. 25

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imdy hr nb tnyy, "revered with the lord of the two lands," 158

imds, "revered," 14, Fig. 1, 17, 28, 38, Pl. 4, 80, Fig. 1, 218

imds mfr-hw, "revered and justified," 195, n. 164

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imyr mtyt hnty(w)-s pr-s, "overseer and under-supervisor of tenant landholders of the palace," 18, n. 23

imyr tns [n hkr+nswt], "overseer of the chamber [of the king's regalia]," 30, 39, Pl. 5

imyr tswy pr mdtr, "overseer of the two bureaus of the house of documents," 52

imyr tswy pr hryn(w) wdr, "overseer of the two bureaus of those in charge of reversion offerings," 52

imryt tswy mrt, "overseer of the two bureaus of serfs," 51, n. 67, 52

imyr tswy (n) hkr+nswt, "overseer of the two chambers of the king's regalia," 19, 29, n. 117

imyr tswy nw hryn hnty(w) pr, "overseer of the two bureaus of the registry of royal decrees," 51–52

imyr tswy hryn hnty(w), "overseer of the two bureaus of the registry," 51–52

imyr tswy hryn hnty mrt, "overseer of the two bureaus of the registry of serfs," 51–52

imyr tsw, "overseer of the troop(s)," 49, n. 41, 226

imyr wbt(w), "overseer of foreign mercenaries," 84, Fig. 4, 85, 90, Pl. 10a

imyr wbt, "overseer of the produce of all the deserts," 32, 180

imyr twt-nswt, "overseer of the king's repast," 32, 33, 40, Pl. 6

imyr twt-nswt n ddu pw nm, "overseer of the king's repast, which heaven gives and earth creates," 32

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imyr wbt(w), "overseer of the two workshops," 19

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imyr wht, "overseer of fowling/fishing," 81, n. 14

*imyr wpt zl(w)-pr, "overseer of commissions of police," 18, n. 25

imyr bnst(w), "overseer of confectioners," 205, n. 220, 234, Pl. 45

imyr pr, "steward," 4, 108, 110, Pl. 16

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[imyr pr-gd n] Rd-dj.f, "[overseer of the treasury for] Redjedef," 30, 39, Pl. 5

imyr prhw nbw, "overseer of the two houses of gold," 20, 34

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imyr hwt-nbw, "overseer of the mansion of gold," 20, n. 43

imyr hmt-ntr, "overseer of priests," 18, n. 24, 82, Fig. 3, 83, 89, Pl. 9
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imy-r htm To, "overseer of the treasury of the Thinite Nome," 4
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imy-r hrm htm n xsw n pr-t n mt n h, "overseer of the registry of royal decrees of the great house for serfs and for fields," 51-52
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imy-r szw prwy-bq, "overseer of scribes of the two treasuries," 14, Fig. 1, 18, 25, 38, Pl. 4
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imy-r sir pr, "overseer of linen of the house," 216
imy-r siri, "overseer of the milk herd," 192, n. 146
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imy-ht hprw n mtr, "under-supervisor of directors of the army," 17
imy-ht hsnw t, "under-supervisor of those who are within the palace(?)," 237
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shd ḫm(w)-nṯ ḫw-ḥkš ḫḥt, “inspector of priests of the houses of the tomb (? ḫḥt),” 4
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shd ḫm-kwšt, ḫkw-hṯ ḫm-kwšt, ḫm-kwšt, “inspectors of funerary priests, undersupervisors of funerary priests, funerary priests,” 18
shd ḫm ḫmr wbd, “inspector of craftsmen of the workshop,” 19, n. 32
shd ḫmtyw, “inspector of secalbearers,” 3
shd ḫrty(w)-nṯ, “inspector of stonemasons,” 19, n. 34
shd ḫrty(w)-nṯ wbd nswt, “inspector of stonemasons of the king’s workshop,” 19
shd ḫž(w), “inspector of scribes,” 18, n. 24
shd ḫž(w) pr-nṯ, “inspector of scribes of the treasury,” 14, Fig. 1, 17, 18, 24, 25, 38, Pl. 4
shd ḫž(w) pr-nṯ ḫhr nw thiện, “inspector of scribes of the treasury and of the king’s regalia,” 19, 34, 35.

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shd ḫž(w) ḫr ḫmty, “inspector of scribes of the registry,” 51–52
shd ḫž(w) ḫr ḫmty ḫ nswt, “inspector of scribes of the registry of royal decrees,” 51–52
shd ḥmsw, “inspector of liegemen,” 131, 139. Pl. 26
shd ḥḥṭw, “inspector of the robing room,” 2 (79 [g]), 3, Fig. 1, 214, n. 280

*ṭḥm, “attendant,” (lit. “powerful of arm”), 130
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šti ḫnw, “necklace-stringer,” “jeweler,” 193, n. 153

st ḫnw ḫhr nw thiện, “necklace-stringer of the king’s regalia,” 193, n. 153
st(w) n ḫḥḏ ḫl, “jewelers of the funerary estate,” 193, n. 153
stw “stringer of beads,” 192, n. 146
stw “protector,” 104
stw n ḫb ḫḥḏ, “protector of the lord of eternity,” 104, 106, Pl. 15
št(w) m, “sete(m)-priest,” 2 (78 [d]), 3, Fig. 1
šm ḫw-t nṯ Ḥnps, ḫny-nt, ḫny ħḏ[f], “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

*sdwy ḫḥḏy, “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt,” 85

šmsw, “liegeman,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
šmsw ḫ ḫḥḏy, “liegeman of the ruler,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
šmsw nswt, “liegeman of the king,” 129, 138, Pl. 25
šmsw ḫw nṯ, “follower of the god,” 105
šmsw Skr ḫḏy, “follower of Sokaris and bowman,” 105
šmsw ḫḥḏy, “retinue of the robing room,” 214, n. 280
qst, “sculptor,” 19
kmw, “gardener,” 179, n. 22
gm ṭm ṭm, “who finds a phrase when it is lacking,” 87
tm-w, “strong of hand” (epithet of Horus), 181
tm-ḥw, “strong of hands,” 186
dw₂ ḫḥḏ “who worships Hathor,” 65
dw₂ ḫḥḏr ḫ ḫḥḏr ḫ ḫḥḏr ḫ ḫḥḏr ḫ “who worships Hathor every day,” 65
d ḫḥḏ “who gives offerings to the lord of the two lands,” 159
d ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ “who declares a statement in its (proper) time,” 87

ğer, “washers (?)”, 204, n. 199

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ḥṣ-swt, “glorious are the places” (of Nebhepetre), 76
ḥṣ-swt-Nḥ-bḥt-Rḥ, “glorious are the places of Nebhepetre,” 76
ḥḥ ḫḥḏ-Rḥ (sun-temple of Menkauhor at Abusir), 4, n. 28
Inw, Kom el Hisn, 108

*Sξξ-Nṣr(w), 76

cnpt, “two doors of heaven, shrine,” 98, n. 27
West Ḥn-Nḥn, Ṭ-wr Ḫp-Šmrw, “Thebes (in) Ḥn-Nḥn, and the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of Upper Egypt,” 20, n. 46
wbd, “place of embalming,” “workshop,” 19
his father,” 103
iw h nr. 23 msf n Wsir Hnty imntyw, “I acted as ‘loving son’ for Osiris Khentamentiu,” 104
iw nd. 1 Wn-nfr hrr pt n ‘hi r, “I defended Onnophris on that day of the great fighting,” 104
iw h h n “wy k whr puw, “there is a catch (of fowl) for thy hands, O fowlers!” 182
iwm, “pillar,” “support,” 48, n. 39
ibw, “purification booth,” 98, n. 27
ipt. 1 ipt nh(t) ipt, “I assessed everything that was to be assessed” (Urk. I, 106 [7–8]), 20, n. 47
imy-at, “who is in the place of embalming,” 4, n. 20, 28
imy-st-wy, “schedule of duty,” 181–82, 186
imy-t-n, “staff,” 44, n. 12
imn’t b’py, “what the inundation brings,” 131, 132, 139, Pl. 26
ir, proleptic, 87
ih mk sn(“i), “Ho, see (how well) I am smoothing,” 187, Fig. 7
ih wn. i m smsw n ntr, “thus I was a follower of the god,” 105
is, “bureau,” 52
izwy, “two chambers,” 19, n. 42
ii, “father,” 71, n. 231
itissy, kind of cloth, 23, n. 63
ity, “master,” 71, n. 231
itry, “bind,” “binding,” 217
itr, “punishment,” 216
itr n. fn wy. fn hr. n, “remove your hands (from) under us,” 182
itrwt, “punishment,” 219
‘r, (var. ‘r’), “wash,” 182
rd sw, “wetting a stave,” 182
rdm, “a ewer and basin of electrum,” 182
rdk, rd wtr, “great is thy foot; thy foot is large,” 76, n. 33
‘wy, “hands,” 183, n. 77
‘wy, “production,” “produce,” 20, 32, 33, 40, Pl. 6, 180
‘wy Mhw Šmrw, “production of Lower and Upper Egypt,” 21
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‘wy n hnmw, “handwork for the craftsmen,” 182
‘wy ds sn b’h swb.f, “the two arms, that they may give; the flood that it may purify,” 131, 132, 199, Pl. 26
‘wy-wy, “washing of hands,” 182
‘wy-wr, “washing of mouth, repast,” 31, 33, 182
‘nh wrt snb, “may he live, prosper and be healthy (after name of nomarch),” 191
rnh dt r nhb, “may he live for ever and ever,” 191
‘b, “brazier,” 227
Wpwat m prī tpt m Šn-Hr, “Wepwawet at the first procession from Shenhor,” 103, n. 7
wp, “mission,” 83
wp(-r), “opening (day) of the month,” 191
wp(t)gt, “opening (day) of the year,” 191, 230, 231
wn “wy pt ntr, “Open the two doors of heaven that the god may come forth!” 97
wr.ki ‘r‘ki, “I am great and mighty,” 239
Wsis, “Osiris,” 28
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bsw, “flood,” 132
pri n.f hrw, “that invocation-offerings go forth for him,” 1, 20
phw “end,” 219, n. 323
fi ‘wy. i ‘wy pt wn.f dh, “lift your arms from this grain; it is (but) straw,” 182
m htp m htp in zmt imntt ‘wy. s r(s)n, “welcome, welcome, says the western desert, her two arms towards them,” 180, n. 29
m-hnw-wy, “by virtue of,” 181
mu, “see to,” “supervise,” 21, n. 51
mu ‘wy pr nnh, “viewing the production of the weaver’s house,” 180
mu stt n pen, “look at my batch of pen-loaves,” 193
mu k(w), “supervise works,” 21, n. 51
mu(t) iitr imn sn stp-tw hrr-tw, “(the work) that was done on them (a pair of false doors) in the stp-tw was supervised throughout the day” (Urk. I, 39 [1]), 21, n. 51
mr hrrw, “vindication,” 216
mr, “truth,” 229
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mt, “finger,” 229
mbt, “clap,” 183
mwy ‘wy, “water for the hands,” 183
mwr htr wtwy, “water upon the hands,” 183
mnlt, “necklace,” 237
mnmt, “cattle,” 207, 208, 255, Pl. 46a
mhr m izwy, “oil from the two chambers,” 19, n. 42
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mk nbw ii.t.t., "Behold, Gold (= Hathor) has come forth!" 97
mk r k snr(1) t., "See (how well) I am smoothing," 187, Fig. 7
niwy ipmt, "these two (pyramid) cities," 75
nb "mak," "possessor of life," "coffin," 75
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*nfr, "throat," 7
nty hrw(1), "my companion," 193
nty-t, "counsel," 103
r, "mouth," 44
r my nb, "mouth for utterance," 43
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htp di nswt, "an offering which the king gives," 63, n. 114
hr fl nbw m rtw wmt qy smt.t in Hfr, "Gold appears in the great portal: Thy (f.) power is exalted," says Horus," 74, n. 27
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zjr m snr, "writing down the (amount of) of linen," 22, n. 56
zjr w.s <m> pr-bdy(1), "writing its balance of the treasury(1)," 50, n. 59
sfr, "arrive," 87
sfr, "ribs," 87
snr, "to smooth," 186, 187, Fig. 7
shpt Hbr rd mrrt.s r' nb wmr rwh n nb.t, "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 snr, "breathing of emanations of myrrh and incense," 126
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sk hmt.f m fr. hrt-hrw im r' nb, "while his majesty supervised the daily requirements thereof every day" (MFA 21.3081), 21, n. 51
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stw r mnht, "count this out properly," 192
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