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THE MANSION OF LIFE AND THE MASTER OF THE KING’S LARGESS

By ALAN H. GARDINER

With Plates v, vi

The present article on the \( \text{/Header} \), var. \( \text{Footer} \), \textit{hut-\text{Footer}}\ is intended as the prelude to a longer study on the \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) to appear in \textit{JE Annual 24}, part 2. The \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) or ‘House of Life’ is well known as a place connected with the activities of the most learned scribes of Egypt, and the question arises whether the \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\), which our materials present as on the whole a much older designation, is identical with the \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) or to be distinguished from it. In order to differentiate between the two I render \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) as ‘Mansion of Life’. It must be acknowledged at the outset that one piece of evidence speaks in favour of identity. This is the Famine stela of Sehel (No. 31 of my article on \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) where King Djoser appeals to the learned Imhotep for information about the sources of the Nile, and the famous sage asks permission to be allowed to consult the ancient books in the ‘Mansion of Life’. However, the other evidence on which I have collected is so inimical to the notion of identity that some means must necessarily be found of explaining away this isolated instance. Was it a simple error on the part of the Ptolemaic authors of the Famine text, designed to give it a specious archaic colouring? If, on the contrary, the identification rests upon a true tradition, then I see no alternative to supposing that the term \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) in the earliest Dynastic times referred to two heterogeneous buildings.

I

The chief source for the \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) is the title \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\), also more shortly written \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\), of which according to Junker, \textit{Giza II}, 65 the Berlin Dictionary knows thirty examples, all of them of the Old Kingdom. My own collection consists of only twenty, but these seem a sufficient basis for inferences, unless Junker’s mention of a variant \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) applies to more than the one example in Borchardt, \textit{Grabd. d. K. Ne-user-re<}, 121, which Kees (\textit{Re-Heiligturn, III}, 26) had interpreted in that manner. Reference to Borchardt’s publication shows that the sign surrounding the \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) is as large as \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) and is completely destroyed on two sides. Since the owner of the tomb \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) Djdjem\text{"Gnome}k possesses (\textit{op. cit.}, 121) several other titles which are regular concomitants of the title in question, it is extremely unlikely that the reading \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) is correct. Again, much stress has been laid on a supposed variant \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) in Mar., \textit{Mast.}, p. 109 (B 16). Apart from the isolated character of this variant, I doubt its existence. Mariette quotes three (or four?) legends from the tomb. One gives the name clearly as \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) ‘Ankhyeres, a name found elsewhere. Another ends with \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\), where, if \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) is part of the preceding title, it is a part never found elsewhere, whereas \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) ‘controller of the palace’ belongs to the aforementioned regular concomitants of \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\). In the third legend the ending is \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\). Is it not possible that \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) Seshat-ankhyeres is the full name, and that \( \text{Footer} \textit{pr-\text{Footer}}\) ‘Ankhyeres are alternative abbreviations of it?\footnote{Another possible view would be that the names Seshat and ‘Ankhyeres are really distinct names. For two names for the same person immediately following one another see Junker, \textit{op. cit.}, 112–14. In that case,
I do not understand the formation, but if the final -š is the pronominal suffix, a suppressed element referring to a goddess might partly explain ḫw ḫ j. In any case, it would surely be rash to rest the identity of 𓊓𓊓 with 𓊓𓊓 on so hypothetical an association with the goddess of writing.

If we examine with care the examples of 𓊓𓊓 we shall find that a considerable number place that title at or near the conclusion of the series dealt with by Blackman in his important article (JE A 5, 148 ff.) on 𓊓𓊓 ‘the House of the Morning’.¹ The inscriptions usually begin with 𓊓𓊓 ‘Unique friend’, and continue with such titles as 𓊓𓊓 ‘Chief Nekhebite’, 𓊓𓊓 ‘Controller of the Palace’ and 𓊓𓊓 ‘Master of the secrets of the House of the Morning’. Examples where 𓊓𓊓 is added to these or to some of them are Leps., Dkm., n, 36, c; 86, b; Mar., Mast., D 2, D 21, D 47, D 49; Steindorff, Grab d. Ti, 26; Junker, Giza 11, Fig. 18 opp. p. 150; Selim Hassan, Excavations 1930–1931, pp. 110, 190; Cairo 55 = Borchardt, Statuen, p. 49; Cairo 171 = op. cit., p. 121; also the case discussed above from the pyramid of King Neweserrê. Now Blackman has shown that the ‘House of the Morning’ was the place where the king’s toilet was performed, and several of the associated epithets prove that they form a factually related series arranged with some regard for a consecutive order of events. There are definite grounds for thinking that the ‘Chief Nekhebite’ had duties connected with the royal crowns (Blackman, op. cit., 149, n. 2), and so too had the ḫw ‘Keeper of the royal diadem’ (Wb., n, 256, 17)² which, as Blackman has seen (op. cit., 152), belongs to the series and is at least twice (Leps., Dkm., n, 36, c; Mar., Mast., D 49) in close conjunction with 𓊓𓊓.³ Another unique epithet that points in the same direction is between (<=>) 𓊓𓊓 and 𓊓 ‘beautifying Horus’, i.e. the king, which occurs in the tomb of Debehni (Leps., Dkm., n, 37, a).

Blackman seems to me to have overstressed the religious aspect of the House of the Morning. The temples undoubtedly possessed a chamber of that name which was the counterpart of our modern vestry, and which was used when the king himself, instead of a priest as his usual deputy, participated in the religious services. But a close scrutiny of the aforesaid series of titles makes it certain that they refer merely to the court ceremonial. The significant title 𓊓𓊓 ‘Controller of the Palace’ is nearly always a constituent. Now as Blackman has not failed to point out (op. cit., 160 ff.), the natural sequel to the matutinal toilet is breakfast. He does not put it exactly in those words, nor has he connected the title 𓊓𓊓 with the king’s repasts. This is the further step that I desire to take, and the corollary to be added is that the 𓊓 was that part of the palace where the Pharaoh lived and had his being; here, in particular, he must have partaken of his meals, attended no doubt by his queen and family and not impossibly by other members of his household.

However, there would be the difficulty that the feminine Seshat is a very inappropriate name for a man, unless indeed it were itself a shortening for some such name as Hetep-seshat.

¹ In Blackman’s detailed enumeration he sometimes stops short before our title, which he renders ‘Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life’, is reached; cf. however his Nos. 3 (β, γ), 6 (α, β), 7, 8, 11.

² The stela Brit. Mus. 101 recently re-edited in JEA 21, 1 ff., is interesting as combining this with other epithets connected with the king’s toilet, see op. cit. 4, n. 2.

³ The latter instance gives 𓊓 for ḫ j, which we know to be the true reading from later variants. While Sethe’s view that ḫ in the Old Kingdom determines the pictographic character of the sign it follows is in the main undoubtedly correct, such exceptions as this urge caution. So too in a single instance of the early Fifth Dynasty we find 𓊓 (Junker, op. cit., 147), though we know from the plural 𓊓𓊓 (e.g. Mar., Mast., D 23, p. 248) and from the isolated singular 𓊓 (op. cit., D 49, p. 312) that ḫ j should be read. The note on the reading Wb., n, 139, 1, should be reconsidered accordingly.
The space at my disposal makes it impossible to set forth at length the different series of titles among which 梭 occurs, but any one who will take the trouble to look up the references above given will see that this title usually occurs after those relating to the king’s toilet, and not seldom immediately or shortly before the personal name.\(^1\) This position seems to me highly significant. The toilet necessarily precedes the meal, and when the meal is over little remains to be said.

I am not sure whether the title 梭 ‘Administrator of Praising-Horus-at-the-front-of-heaven’, which occurs almost immediately after 梭 in the tomb of Debehni (Leps., Dkm., n, 37, a) and shortly before it in that of Wepemnofret (Selim Hassan, op. cit., Fig. 219, opp. p. 190) may likewise have reference to the royal meal. At all events it belongs to the same series of titles, and to the latter part of it (see Mar., Mast., D 2, p. 176; D 47, p. 307; D 49, p. 312), and Sethe (in Garstang, Mahásna and Bêt Khaláj, 21) has shown that 梭 was a royal vineyard.\(^2\) Hence the administrator of that vineyard may also have had the privilege of bringing its produce direct to the king’s table. In more than one early inscription (Louvre B 1 and 2; Berlin 1141, 1142; see Weill, IHe. et IIIe. dyn. ég., Pls. vi, vii) the title 梭, i.e. 梭 ‘controller of the two seats’, though not, I think, actually in the above-quoted series of titles, occurs in close connexion with 梭, and the unique variant 梭 ‘controller of the two seats in the Mansion of Life’ (Leps., Dkm., n, 81) encourages us to believe that this office was connected with the throne upon which Pharaoh sat whilst eating. Since even an absolute monarch would be unlikely to occupy two chairs simultaneously, perhaps here the reference is to the respective seats of king and queen, who will have taken their meals together like any other man and wife of exalted birth; however, the usual reference of dual designs to Upper and Lower Egypt counsels caution.

Another title found in company with 梭 (Junker, op. cit., 159; Selim Hassan, op. cit., 111) or else with 梭 (Leps., Dkm., n, 81) is 梭 ‘Controller of the black wine-jar’, which, if my translation is correct, tells its own tale.\(^3\)

The above combinations would, however, lack their indispensable foundation unless it could be shown that the title 梭 was closely bound up with the notion of feasting and with the supplies for feasting. Maspero (Études ég., n, 207–9) defined the function of the 梭 with rough accuracy as that of a ‘maître d’hôtel’, but in my opinion he went astray in envisaging 梭 as ‘la chapelle du temple local qui contenait les statues du double d’un Pharaon’. The besetting sin of Egyptologists, or to speak more charitably, the inevitable result of the nature of their material, is to attribute religious or funerary import to contexts which have no need of it. It must never be forgotten that the outstanding characteristic of Egyptian ritual and belief was to set the life of the gods and the dead on precisely the same footing as the life of the living. Hence what we find enacted in religious and funerary scenes is extremely likely to have had its counterpart in any wealthy household, and particularly in that of the Pharaoh. Now Junker (op. cit., 64–6) has shown with admirable clarity that Fourth Dynasty funerary repasts involved the co-operation of three officiants: (1) the 梭 or ‘butler’, who evidently derived his role from the service of the living, (2) the 梭 who

\(^1\) The order may be disturbed by such factors as the division of the titles into columns, compare (e.g.) Leps., Dkm., n, 36, c with op. cit., n, 37, a, and no one who knows the habits of Egyptian tomb-designers would expect a rigid invariability in this respect.

\(^2\) So too, before Sethe, Maspero, Études ég., n, 267–9.

\(^3\) Junker (op. cit., 161–2) discusses this title at length. On the ground of 梭 梭, with which it is frequently associated, he connects the title with the cult of Hathor. But even if this conjecture holds, it need not necessarily waft us from the scene of the royal banquet, where Hathor, as the goddess of wine and music, had, as the story of Sinuhe shows, her own appropriate part to play.
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wtY or ‘embalmer’, who equally clearly was of funerary origin, and (3) the ḫrī wdb. In his sensible discussion of the ḫrī, Junker weighs the possibility that the funerary function of that personage may have had nothing to do with his earthly duties. I doubt if he would have been so cautious had he realized the continuity of the series of titles studied above.

In the tombs the ḫrī is usually shown (see op. cit.) facing the deceased noble with right arm stretched out to the level of the face (Pl. vi, 1). This is the gesture of ‘calling’ or of ‘address’, and since the verb ḫn wdb may mean ‘to change’—the primary sense in Coptic, see Crum, Dict., s.v. ḫn wdb—no less than ‘to turn’, I thought for a moment that ḫrī might signify the servant who changed the various courses constituting the menu. That was doubtless the function indicated by the aforesaid gesture, though in the funerary application the ḫrī apparently did not actually mention the items themselves, but recited the appropriate formulae punning upon their names as set forth in the *Pyramid Texts*. However, Junker observes that the legend accompanying this gesture is ḫn wdb or ḫn wdb or ḫn wdb (op. cit., 65; also the detailed specification, 62-3); the words ḫn wdb are conspicuous by their absence. The conclusion to be drawn is that though the gesture ḫn wdb represents the ḫrī changing the courses and acting, in Maspero’s words, as the maître d’hôtel, nevertheless this is not the exact function expressed in the name ḫrī. As regards the reading of that title, the interpretation of ḫrī as ḫrī has already been justified (above p. 84, n. 3). The element ḫ is undoubtedly to be read wdb. Not only is wdb a technical term in connexion with offerings, but also the pun in the Ramessum dramatic papyrus 125 (Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 227) is conclusive. There, as the officiant named ḫrī comes into play, the words ḫ wdb are spoken, being supposed to be addressed by Horus to Seth. We are not concerned with the meaning of that utterance; its only interest to us here is that it proves the reading ḫrī wdb. That Sethe’s attempt to interpret the title ḫrī as ‘with turned face’ was a mistake is proved by the reading of the first element as ḫrī. To take wdb in this title as the word for ‘shore’, which is the view adopted by Wb., i, 409, 4 and hesitatingly also by Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 22, is in the last degree improbable, since wdb ‘shore’ refers to a tract of sand rather than to cultivated fields, and if, as seems likely from the fact that the ḫrī appears to have superintended the official ‘counting of the cattle’, he was concerned not merely with the royal banquets, but with the supplies for the same, a sand-bank surely is a very unlikely source for the best vegetables. For these reasons I am strongly of opinion that Junker, op. cit., 65 is right in taking wdb in our title as the infinitive or as a nomen actionis from ḫn wdb in connexion with offerings—he renders ‘zuwenden’ or ‘Zuwendung’—and this suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the single sign ḫ occurs at least twice as an abbreviation for that verb, see ḫ ḫ Pyr., 115, c; Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, Pl. 30 (see below).

Fortunately we are not without evidence to show what the verb wdb means in its technical funerary sense. There are two scenes (Pls. v; vi, 2) where this verb is written above an officiant at a funerary banquet. The Sixth Dynasty representation from the tomb of Kagemni (Pl. v) is more eloquent and lavish of detail than such scenes are wont to be. To the left (op. cit., Pl. 27) sits the great man before a table of offerings over which, as is seen from the identical set of scenes on the opposite wall (Pls. 16–19), was once inscribed the complete menu, i.e. the now stereotyped longer list of offerings. Before him to the right (Pl. 29) a

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1 Kees formerly read the word as sḥt ‘fields’, see Bissing-Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum*, 21.


3 The passages quoted by Kees, op. cit., 21 show at least that the ‘scribes of the house of the ḫrī wdb’ (see below) were often simultaneously ‘scribes of the fields’.
FROM THE TOMB OF KAGEMNI

FUNERARY RITES FROM TWO FIFTH DYNASTY TOMBS

1. From the tomb of Hetpseshet, Junker, *Giza II*, p. 187, Fig. 33
2. From the tomb of Ra'wer, Leps. *Dkm. II*, 84
priest pours water from a tall jar over the hands of a kneeling man, and the logic of the situation demands that the latter should be either Kagemni himself, or a ka-priest impersonating him.¹ For this is the rite of 𓊂𓊆‘water-pouring’ with which every feast began, and it cannot be doubted that the hands therein to be washed were those of the beneficiary himself, not of those attending upon him. The subsequent events follow in cinematographic fashion. Two ‘lector-priests’ (𓊂𓊆𓊆𓊅), or it may be the same one performing his function in alternative manners, recite the appropriate spells or read them from an extended papyrus-roll. The three kneeling figures shown in the attitude 𓊂𓊆𓊆𓊅 are probably echoing those spells to a breast-thumping accompaniment. The earlier counterparts to this scene, of which Pl. vi, 1 gives an example, attribute these ceremonial acts to the 𓊂𓊆𓊅‘hrl wdb’ and to the 𓊂𓊆𓊅‘embralmer’ respectively. Further to the right in the tomb of Kagemni (op. cit., Pl. 29, cf. 19) is the lector-priest again, his feet turned in the opposite direction and trailing behind him the long brush known from later texts to have been made of the hdn-plant. This, as indicated by the legend 𓊂𓊆𓊆𓊅‘Recitation. Removing the foot’, is the well-known rite performed when the ceremonies connected with the daily ritual of the dead or of the gods were brought to a close, when in fact the officiating priest left the cult-chamber.² Thus far the scenes in the tomb of Kagemni are in no way abnormal; the foot-removing priest is seen again, e.g. in the tomb of Ptahhotpe (Paget-Pirie, Pl. 38) and elsewhere (for references see Klebs, Reliefs d. alten Reiches, p. 188, n. 4; d. mithl. Reiches, p. 107). What is, however, entirely abnormal in Kagemni is that the figure of the departing lector-priest is followed by other figures enacting the hand-washing and the reciting of the spells all over again, only with some variation of the details (op. cit., Pls. 30, 31, cf. too 19; redrawn thence by Miss Broome, Pl. v). How is this repetition to be explained? Hardly as a renewal of the rites before Kagemni later on the same day. The words 𓊂𓊆𓊅‘wdb iht’ over the first kneeling man give the clue, and the same expression 𓊂𓊆𓊅 is found in the much earlier representation of the foot-removing priest shown in Pl. vi, 2. In the last-named scene the priest in question even turns his face away from the owner of the tomb, thus giving all his attention to the man kneeling in front of him, hands stretched out over a small table ready to receive the purifying flow of water. From various Old Kingdom texts it has been conjectured that 𓊂𓊅‘diversion of the food-offerings’ from one beneficiary to another.³ We know from many sources that food-offerings laid before the gods in their temples were subsequently taken thence and used for the benefit of the dead. Surely the scene in the tomb of Kagemni must indicate that the funerary gifts laid before him—in part, no doubt, as a 𓊂𓊆𓊅 from the king—were afterwards transferred to others who thus virtually became guests of his. We now understand how in the underground chamber of this same tomb the last item in the great offering-list is labelled 𓊂𓊆𓊅‘An offering which the king gives. Diversion of the food-offerings’⁴ and why elsewhere (e.g. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, i, Pl. 18) the final items should be just those same items of hand-washing, censing, and fumigation which opened the entire ritual. The explanation evidently is that when the food-gifts from the royal

¹ The latter alternative seems proved by Paget-Pirie, Tomb of Ptahhetep, 38, where the kneeling figure receives a proper name of his own. It is significant, however, that in Middle-Kingdom tombs the priest simply pours the water over an altar, no second officiant being present, see Newberry, Beni Hasan, 1, Pl. 18; Davies, Antefoker, Pl. 28. Since the tomb-owner was dead and buried far away underground, in the funerary rite the hand-washing had either to take the semblance of a mere libation, or else to be performed upon a deputizing ka-priest. On the other hand, in the depiction of this act the tomb-owner might well have been sometimes intended.

² See Excursus II in Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, 93-4.

³ Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 125.

palace had been placed before a favoured courtier, whether alive or dead, what remained over was carried to some other recipient, on this occasion probably a dead relative. That this explanation is correct seems indicated by the title of a spell in the *Libro dei funerali* (ed. Schiaparelli, ii, p. 173) which occurs after the conclusion of the great list of offerings and reads $\text{[spell]}$ ‘Removing the foot in order to divert the food-offerings’ or, as we might paraphrase, ‘returning from the cult-chamber in order to carry the offerings elsewhere’.

It is, however, chiefly in connexion with temple-offerings that the verb $\text{[verb]}$ occurs in this technical sense. The king was here always the theoretical donor, and his gift to the gods was as much an ‘offering which the king gives’ as any presentation of food to a living courtier or dead relative or favourite. The much-quoted examples of $\text{[verb]}$ and its derivative substantive $\text{[substantive]}$ in the Old Kingdom inscriptions (*Urk.*, i, 37, 119; more obscurely *op. cit.*, 26; also *Pyr.*, 115) have all to do with ‘temples’ or ‘divine offerings’ and refer to food-offerings secondarily passed on to a funerary cult. A piece of evidence not hitherto quoted in this connexion is in a tomb published by Selim Hassan (*Excavations 1930-1931*, Fig. 282); here beside a woman bringing various offerings on her head and a goose under her arm stand the words $\text{[spell]}$ ‘They bring’ naturally to the deceased—‘the reversion of divine offerings’. The rest of the legend is too fragmentary to be utilized.

We have found the act of ‘diverting the food-offerings’ linked to the departure of the officiating priest from a funerary feast. It is evident, however, that the same act is equally much connected with the presentation before the new recipient. Hence we shall not be surprised to find also a spell entitled $\text{[spell]}$ ‘Spell for entering in order to make the diversion of food-offerings’, see Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, p. 122 = Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, II, p. 277; cf. also Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I*, n, PL 35. The text in the tomb of Rekhmire deserves closer attention than I can here devote to it, but it contains the appeal to the deceased ‘Wash thyself and sit down to food; place (or are placed) thy hands upon it; the divine offerings are transferred’. Further, it is clear from the same text and from the gesture in the scene from Abydos that the $\text{[word]}$ can, after all, be equated with the $\text{[word]}$; only evidently it is not the name of any single act, but covers an extended process involving the whole ceremonial of offering before two separate recipients.

We have wandered far from the title $\text{[title]}$ and the Mansion of Life, but applying to the title what we have learnt in the course of our investigations we may conclude that its bearer was the official presiding over the king’s table, who saw to its supplies and who catered for the wants of his guests. The title itself strictly refers only to the last-named function and may be appropriately rendered as ‘Master of the (king’s) Largess’. Since the royal gifts extended not only to the courtiers and the officials of his entourage, but also to the gods and to the dead, it is clear that the chief holder of the title, qualified as ‘in the Mansion of Life’ or once, according to Junker (*op. cit.*, 66) as $\text{[word]}$ ‘the King’s Master of Largess’ must have been at the head of a large organization. He is often said to be $\text{[word]}$ ‘giver of orders to the Masters of Largesses’ and his department, the $\text{[word]}$ ‘the House of the Master(s?) of Largess(es?)’, had its scribes and their overseers and instructors. For such further ramifications see Junker, *op. cit.*, 161; Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.* 22, 102–6; *id.*, *Personnel du dieu Min*, 81–5. We can sum up the result of our inquiry by saying that the king’s Master of Largess,

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1 See the passages quoted Junker, *op. cit.*, 71.
3 Here *Sinuhe*, B 297–9 and *P. Boulaq 18* throw light on the procedure.
4 Note the plural ‘Largesses’ suggesting that the gifts were many and dispersed in many directions.
5 It seems likely, as Gauthier suggests, that in later times $\text{[word]}$ was misinterpreted as containing a reference
the official who presided over the royal meals in the king's 'Mansion of Life', his living- or dining-room, was also the official in charge of the \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \), the gifts given by the king.\textsuperscript{1} It will be seen how different this conclusion is from Kees's conception of a 'Domänenverwalter' who carried on his avocation in the 'Gelehrtenschule' known as the 'House of Life'.\textsuperscript{2} Nor have I found much evidence which could justify Pirenne's definition of the \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) as the official 'qui dirigerà, sous les dynasties memphites, les bureaux de l'impôt',\textsuperscript{3} though no doubt the king's kitchen was supplied largely from forced contributions from which, as at Coptos, a temple might be dispensed by royal decree.

II

Four times in the Pyramid Texts the Mansion of Life is named in connexion with the obscure goddess \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) Mafdet (\( \text{Wb.}, \text{ii}, 29, 6 \)) who is said to dwell there; the epithets in question are \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{440}, \text{c} \); \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{677}, \text{d} \); \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{672}, \text{b} \); \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{672}, \text{b} \); cf. also at Edfu, Leps., \textit{Dkm.}, \text{iv}, \text{46}, \text{a}, \text{26} \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{672}, \text{b} \). In all these passages this cat-like goddess is represented as killing a snake with her paw, and the context is a spell for protection against serpents. In the Pyramid Texts the spell is of course applied to the protection of the dead king, but it seems very likely that this application is secondary and that the original intention of the spell was to benefit the living Pharaoh. If so, \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) may here once again designate nothing more than the living-rooms of the royal palace, and the goddess will represent either a real or imaginary creature kept for the purpose of hunting venomous snakes. One thinks of the mongoose, of which, as Dr. Fraser of the Natural History Museum tells me, many mummified specimens are found in that Museum mixed up with the mummified cats. It is a serious difficulty that Mafdet as depicted on a very ancient monument (Petrie, \textit{Royal Tombs}, \text{r}, \text{Pl. 7, 4} recognized as part of \textit{op. cit.}, \text{ii}, \text{Pl. 7}, \text{10}^\text{4} by Sethe in Borchartt, \textit{Sahuret}, \text{ii, 78}) looks more like a cat (so Schäfer) or panther (so Sethe) than a mongoose; and, as Faulkner suggests, does not a mongoose kill rather with its mouth than with its claws? On the other hand, the equally early representation (\textit{op. cit.}, \text{ii}, \text{Pl. 7, 7}; \textit{cf.} \textit{Palermo Stone}, \text{rt.}, \text{3, 18}) of the animal running up a \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \)-sign is passably like a mongoose.\textsuperscript{5} Miss Broome and Miss Calverley tell me, however, that their cat at to the land-designation \( \text{idb} \). We must bear in mind that in the Middle Kingdom the officer connected with the Royal Table was known as \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \frac{\text{g}}{\text{m}} \) \( \text{Pyr.}, \text{1019} \) as containing the \textit{w} of the \( \text{sfm} \) form before nominal subject is very improbable. I should now describe the form \( \text{rdw} \) rather as a perfective passive participle than as a relative form. The original sense of the expression, as I now see it, is to be sought in the words of the \textit{hri \text{wdb} as he stands before the recipient of the royal gift, alive or dead; what he says is 'An offering given by the King', a virtual predicate to the present he brings with him.}

\textsuperscript{2} Kees, \textit{Kulturgeschichte}, \text{22, 190-1.}
\textsuperscript{3} Pirenne, \textit{Histoire des institutions}, \text{i, 122, 162, n. 5.}
\textsuperscript{4} Note the interesting fact that here Mafdet is pictorially represented as 'lady of the Mansion of Life'.
\textsuperscript{5} In particular, the legs are not those of either a cat or a panther.
Abydos killed several horned vipers by first pouncing upon them with her claws and then biting them. In face of this evidence it seems to me preferable to suppose that Mafdet was really a cat-goddess.

For my remaining examples of I am dependent on Gauthier, Dict. géogr., iv, 55, since it has been impossible for me to search through the vast body of Graeco-Roman texts where the expression might conceivably be found. In Chassinat, Edfou, ii, 92, 98 among other epithets of Horus he is called ‘he of Behdet dwelling in the Mansion of Life’, and similarly at Denderah (Mar., Dend., i, 26) Hathor is named . One may well ask whether these phrases mean more than ‘in his (or her) own home’. Of Hathor it is said ‘she makes great the Mansion of Life’ (Dümmichen, Tempelinschr., ii, 18, 8), which I am tempted to interpret as meaning that she increases the importance of the temple where she is at home.

Thus, with the sole exception of the passage from the Famine Stela, there seems no valid reason for identifying the ‘Mansion of Life’ with the ‘House of Life’, i.e. the workshop of the . Sufficient evidence has been produced to make it highly likely that, except in the one instance just mentioned, the was just that place where a Pharaoh or a god lived. It is not impossible, however, that the notion of ‘Life’ contained in this compound term was more materially conceived than it would be with ourselves; it may well have been consciously associated with the thought of ‘victuals’.

Note

The evidence as to the exact nature of the action often seen in representations of funerary rites, where a standing man pours out water, is somewhat conflicting. Most often he stands behind a man kneeling with his hands outstretched before him. In Leps., Dkm., ii, 84, and also in op. cit., Ergänzungsbd., Pl. 31, the kneeling man has his hands in a bowl , and the water is being poured over them. In Davies, Ptahhetep, ii, Pl. 31, the water is falling directly on to the kneeling man’s hands. Similarly in the sign Pyr., § 1011, a, N-text, first occurrence; and so in the scene described on pp. 86-7 above. Such examples indicate that hand-washing is the action performed. But in the sign as given in two cases in Leps., Dkm., ii, 38, and twice in Pyr., § 1981, a, the water falls in front of the kneeling man’s hands; similarly in Paget-Pirie, Ptahhetep, Pl. 9, where the water falls on an object —. In El Bersheh, i, Pl. 11, however, the water is poured (stf) on to the ground before the deceased’s feet, and in Junker, Giza II, Abb. 29, a similar act is being performed. As Dr. Gardiner has noted (p. 87, n. 1), sometimes the water is merely poured over a table (?), no second officiant being present; in Gem-ni-kai, ii, Pl. 19, and in the sign Pyr., § 1011, a, P-text, as in the same sign, Gem-ni-kai, ii, Pl. 30, the water falls on to an object of obscure nature. In El Bersheh, i, Pls. 32, 34 show scenes similar to those in Gem-ni-kai, ii, Pls. 19, 30: at the back a kneeling man, with hands placed over a small table with single tall foot, has water poured (stf) on to them by a standing man; in front of this scene is a kneeling man holding a bowl into which water is poured in the usual way, the action being described as (in Kagemni); in front of this again is a kneeling man, with no water-pourer standing behind him, his hands resting on an object.

In Pyr., § 16, a-d, is the spell to be recited during the rite stf (written with a pot pouring water on to an object —, but unfortunately little is to be gleaned from this as to the nature of the rite. ‘O Osiris, take thou away all those whom K. hates,’ and who have spoken evilly against his name.

1 Or ‘thou hast taken away’, or ‘I take away for thee’.
2 Or ‘who hate K.’.
O Thoth, carry off him who has injured Osiris; fetch him who has spoken evilly against the name of K. Put thou him\(^2\) into thy hand (\textit{four times}); let not thyself be separated from him!\(^3\) Beware! be not separated from him!’ If this is a rite of washing the King’s hands the spell perhaps identifies the King’s slanderers with the water poured over (and into) his hands.

B. G.

\(^1\) So Sethe in \textit{ZÄS} 54, 31. Sethe does not, however, refer to this passage in his discussion of \textit{síw} in \textit{Übers. u. Komm. z. d. . . . Pyramididentexten}, to § 611, \textit{a-b}. However, to take \textit{síw} here as ‘him’ would be difficult, since there is no possible antecedent.

\(^2\) Or ‘I put him for thee’.

\(^3\) Similarly of Seth, \textit{Pyr.}, § 642, \textit{b}; \textit{cf.} § 43, \textit{a}. 