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## THE COFFIN OF PRINCE MIN-KHAF

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With Plates xxi-xxiv

THE red granite coffin of Prince Min-khaf now in the Cairo Museum was found during the clearing of the pit of his mastaba at Gîzah by the Service des Antiquités. Mr. Quibell in the *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 1903, p. 24, writes that the sarcophagus was brought to the Museum in 1902, and adds that "the right side, which had been broken and put together in ancient times, has been restored with the original fragments by M. Barsanti". Dr. Reisner has since established the fact that this coffin came from the northern pit of mastaba G 7430+7440 in the great eastern cemetery at Gîzah. This is the mastaba recorded by Lepsius under the number 61, but Lepsius only partially cleared the inner room of the elaborate chapel at the northern end of the mastaba. From the construction and the relation of the mastaba to the neighbouring tombs in the cemetery, Dr. Reisner dates the casing and the chapels to the reign of Chephren. The inscriptions of the chapel and of the southern niche give the titles of Min-khaf as: *sꜣ nꜣwt n htꜣf, rpꜣt htꜣty-ꜣ, tryty sꜣb tꜣty, . . . pr Dꜣwtꜣ, imꜣy rꜣ kt nbt nꜣwt, sꜣw nꜣn, rꜣ P nb, smꜣr wꜣty, hꜣry hb, hꜣry tp*. On the coffin Min-khaf is also called *sꜣ nꜣwt n htꜣf, imꜣy rꜣ kt nbt nꜣwt, hꜣry hb* and *smꜣr wꜣty*.

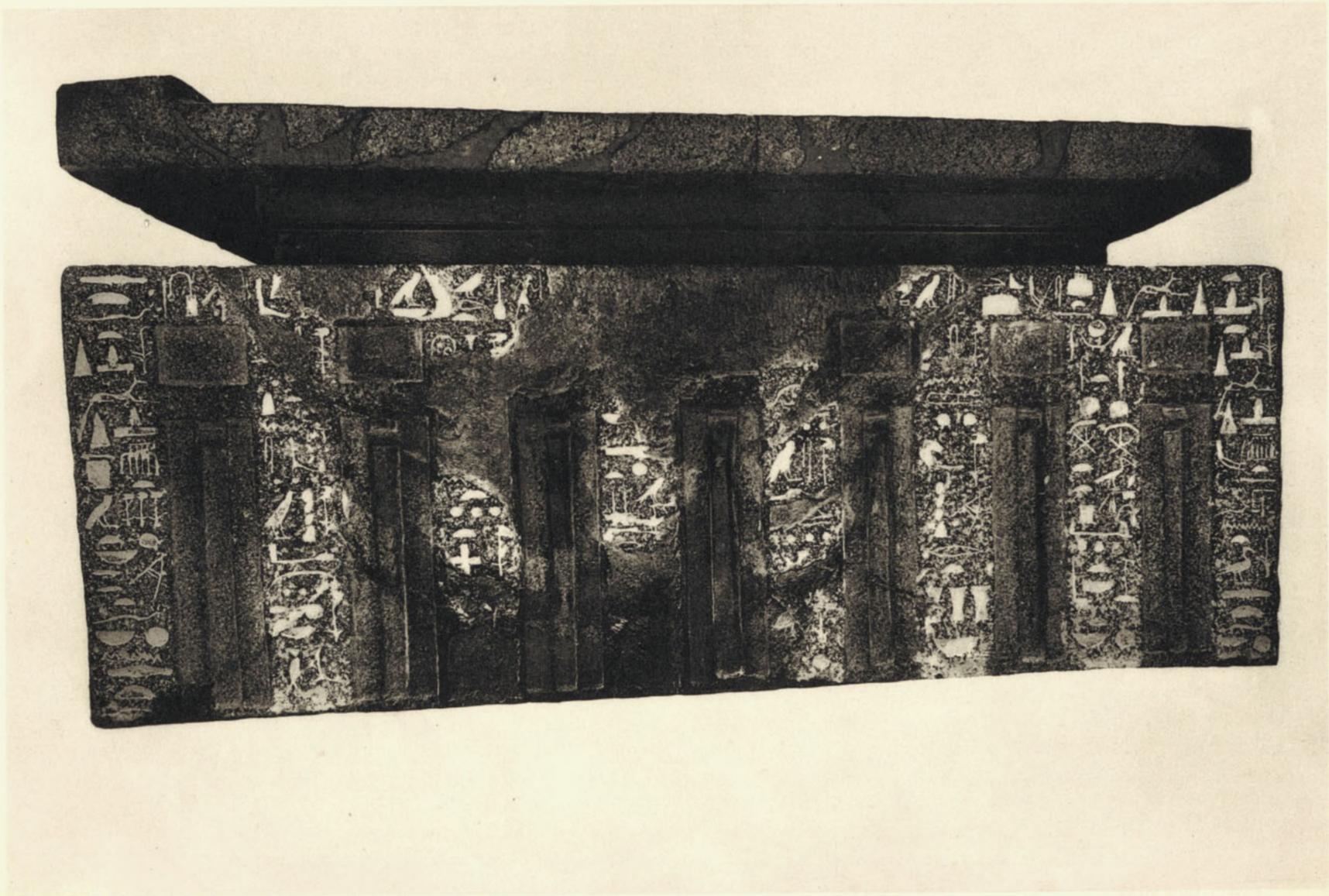
The box of the sarcophagus measures 2.08 m. in length by 1.11 m. in width, and 0.805 m. in height. It is panelled on the sides and ends, having seven "doors" alternating with eight vertically inscribed "panels" on the sides, and three "doors" separated by four vertically inscribed "panels" on each end. Above the panelling, at the top of the box, a horizontal line is inscribed on each side and both ends. The lid is uninscribed. It is of the usual form for coffins of this type, slightly vaulted, with end-bars. The end-bars are 8 cm. high, giving a total height for the coffin of 88.5 cm. The eastern side of the coffin has been broken in, evidently by thieves, and is in a very fragmentary state. I do not understand Mr. Quibell's reference to ancient mending. It seems to me that this would have been most extraordinary and difficult to find an explanation for. The rest of the coffin is in very good condition. The inscriptions are incised in the granite.

The east side (as it lay in the grave) of the coffin (Pl. xxi)<sup>1</sup> is badly broken, as has been stated above. Across the top of the panelling runs a horizontal inscription beginning at the right:

*dy nꜣwt htꜣp dy 'Inꜣw htꜣp hꜣnty tꜣ dꜣr kꜣsꜣ m imꜣnt iꜣw nꜣr wꜣt m nb [imꜣsh] . . .* (long break)  
*hꜣry-[h]b sꜣ [mꜣꜣt] nꜣr Mꜣw-hꜣf*

If a comparison be made between this inscription and that on the west side, which is completely preserved, it will be seen that the inscriptions appear to have been practically identical. But the east side of the coffin is not correctly repaired. The fragment with *iꜣw nꜣr wꜣt m nb i . . .* should be placed two panels to the right, immediately following the broken sign *imꜣnt*. With the present reparation there is not sufficient space between *m nb i . . .* and *hꜣry-[h]b* for either of the formulas *nb imꜣsh hr htꜣf* or *nb imꜣsh hr nꜣr rꜣ*. Both of these appear on the other side and there would be sufficient room for them here if the fragment were

<sup>1</sup> The excellent photographs of the coffin were supplied to me by the Cairo Museum, through the courtesy of Mr. Brunton.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. East side.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.  
South end.

shifted to the right. A much stronger proof, though, is that if the change were made the  of the vertical column below would fall, just where it seems best to fit, above  to complete the word for green eye-paint.

Beneath the horizontal line of inscription are eight vertical columns on the panels alternating with the seven false-doors. Cols. 1-3 and 8 are well preserved, the others more or less fragmentary. Cols. 1 and 8, on the end panels, repeat the *dy nsw-t htp* formula. The signs face to the right. Beginning on the right (north end):

Col. 1: *dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty t; dsr pr-t r hrw nf n s; nswt Mnw-hrf rc nb. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, offerings for the king's son Min-khaf every day.*

Col. 2: *m wpt rnpt tpy rnpt tpy*  *tpy*  *dhwtj wsg tr nb rnpt nt* (for *tr nb nt rnpt*) *rc nb. On New Year's day, the first of the year, the first of the month, the first of the half-month, the feast of Thoth, the Wag feast, every season of the year and every day.*

Col. 3: *h; sntr h; h;st mrht* (det. 3 jars) *nb[t]. 1000 frankincense, 1000 of every fine oil.*

Col. 4:  *h; w;dw h; m;sdmt [h;] t;rw bd. 1000 green eye-paint, 1000 black eye-paint, 1000 balls of natron.*

We should read *t;rw n bd* or *bd t;rw* [1000]. In vertical columns signs and even words are easily transposed; cf. *sty*, *hknw* and *sf; t* in col. 1 of Pl. xxiv, etc.

Col. 5:  *nb(?) h; mnht r(?) . . . . . 1000 clothing . . . . .*

Col. 6: *. . . . . nt h; t-imy-[t;]. . . . . 1000 t-imy-[t;]-bread.*

Col. 7:  *h; s(?) . . . . . f(?) h; t-nbs h; wch h; iht nb[t] bnr[t]. 1000 . . . . ., 1000 nbs-bread, 1000 wch-seeds, 1000 of every sweet thing.*

Col. 8: *dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty sh h;w m iht nb[t] mrrt-f rc nb n Mnw-hrf. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the shrine, thousands of every thing which he likes every day for Min-khaf.*

The south end of the coffin (Pl. xxii) has a horizontal line of inscription giving the titles and name of Min-khaf. The signs face to the right: *smr wty n it-f hry-sst; n it-f imy r; h;st nbt nswt Mnw-hrf. Sole companion of his father, privy counsellor of his father, overseer of all the works of the king, Min-khaf.*

Beneath this line are four vertical columns of inscription on the panels which alternate with the three false-doors. The signs face to the right. Beginning on the right (east end):

Col. 1: *ic h; h;w-t t; n cbw. The wash basin, a thousand offering tables of pure bread.*

Col. 2: *h; c;st nb[t] h; cw n kbhw. A thousand of all kinds of stone vessels, a thousand basins for libation.*

Col. 3: *h; sn; n bw h; nbs h; t; nb rc nb. A thousand pure sn;-cakes (compare  on the slab-stela of the princess from G 4140), a thousand nbs-fruit (bread made of ?), a thousand of all kinds of bread, every day.*

Col. 4: *h; iht nb[t] bnr[t] h; rnput nbt h; h;hkt n s; nswt Mnw-hrf. A thousand of all sweet things, a thousand of all kinds of green plants, a thousand offerings for the son of the king Min-khaf.*

The west side of the coffin (Pl. xxiii), again, has a horizontal line of inscription at the top and eight vertical columns on the panels that frame the seven false-doors. The inscriptions in this case begin on the left (north end), and the signs in the vertical columns also face to the left. The horizontal line contains a *dy nswt htp* formula and the name and titles of the prince, and seems to give a complete version of the broken inscription on the east side. A small piece of the upper left corner of the coffin is broken away.

*dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty t; dsr krs m imnt i;w nfr wrt m nb im;h; hr ntr c; nb im;h; hr it-f*

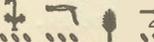
*sz nsw-t n ht-f smsw hry hb sz md:t ntr Mnw-hcf. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, burial in the west, a very good old age as lord of honour before the Great God, lord of honour before his father, the eldest son of the king of his body, the lector-priest and scribe of the book of the God, Min-khaf.*

On the other side of the coffin is written , but the space in front of *ntr* is broken and there is room for the  sign. It is again preceded by *hry-hb*. The title  occurs several times (Mariette, *Mastabas*, C. 18; *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, Pl. xiii; *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts*, No. 1941), and twice it is preceded by *hry-hb*.

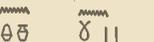
The eight vertical columns read as follows (1. to 1.):

Col. 1: *dy nswt htp dy Inpw htp hnty tz dsr w:ht nf dbht n sz nswt Mnw-hcf rc nb. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, may there be established for him food supplies, for the son of the king Min-khaf every day.*

Col. 2: Seven granaries, each preceded by , contain respectively the groups

: *hry it smcwy hry it mhy hry bat hry swt hry bs: hry bnr hry dwdw(?)*.  
1000 Upper Egyptian grain, 1000 Lower Egyptian grain, 1000 barley, 1000 wheat, 1000 bs'-fruit, 1000 dates,<sup>1</sup> and 1000 dwdw-grain(?).<sup>2</sup>

The sarcophagus of Queen Meresankh II (see Dunham, *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, December 1927) from Mastaba G 7410+7420, adjoining the tomb of Min-khaf on the north, is also inscribed with a list of granaries. The east and west faces of the box are inscribed with a "palace façade" flanked by vertical columns giving the name and titles of the queen. The south end has a horizontal line of inscription with the titles and name of Meresankh, and below this seven granaries in a horizontal row with a thousand-sign beneath each. The granaries are inscribed, reading from the right: 1, ; 2, ; 3, ; 4, ; 5, ; 6, ; 7, . On the north end is again a horizontal line giving titles and name, while

beneath is written (from right to left): . The flat lid

of the coffin is inscribed with a large figure of Anubis with a *dy nswt htp* formula and again the titles of the queen. This is, as far as I know, the only other stone sarcophagus of the Fourth Dynasty which is inscribed with a list of offerings. A number of others have the *dy nswt htp* formula in addition to the titles and name of the owner.

Col. 3: *hry r: hry trp hry st hry smn hry mnwt. 1000 r:-geese, 1000 trp-geese, 1000 st-geese, 1000 smn-geese (or ducks), 1000 doves.*

Col. 4: *hry sbt hry w:ht(?) hry str hry nhbt* (det. lotus-flower and boat).

This is a rare occurrence of a list of boats. The representation on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh is rather different (see Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926). There the ship-yard itself is shown, and beneath, workmen with tools. The names of the boats given in the Ka-m-ankh scene are all different from these above. In fact the Min-khaf names seem to be new, with the exception of *sbt*. The kind of boat which the latter represents is not known. *nhbt* seems to be the word for lotus flower and seems a very suitable name for a light reed boat.

Col. 5: *hry sbw hry ht:w rc nb. A thousand provisions, a thousand of ht:w-bread, every day.*

<sup>1</sup> The word for dates is very difficult to make out. There appears to be another sign under the . It looks like , but this should not be beneath the other sign. It may simply be a scratch.

<sup>2</sup> The word  occurs on the tablet of Nofer (Weill, *La II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, Pl. iv) and on the sarcophagus of Meresankh II.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. West side.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.  
North end. :

Col. 6: *ḥꜣ šnś ḥꜣ psn ḥꜣ kmḥw ḥꜣ t-t-wy*. A thousand šnś-cakes, a thousand of psn-bread, a thousand of kmḥw-bread, a thousand of the two breads (?).

Col. 7: *ḥꜣ ḥꜣ ḥꜣ ḥꜣ nbś ḥꜣ šft ḥꜣ tꜣ nḥrw*. A thousand of wine, a thousand of nbś-fruit, a thousand šft-cakes, and a thousand of nḥrw-bread (cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, B. 16).

Col. 8: *dy nśwt ḥtp dy 'Inpw ḥtp ḥnty šḥ wḥt nf nn n Mnw-ḥcf rc nb śnm(?) ḥm kꜣ*. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the shrine, may there be established for him these, for Min-khaf every day, the offering(?) of the ḥm kꜣ priest.

The north end of the sarcophagus (Pl. xxiv) has a horizontal line of inscription at the top: *dy nśwt ḥtp dy 'Inpw ḥtp ḥnty tꜣ dꜣr prt r ḥrw nf n wpt rnpt tpy rnpt tpy*  *tpy*  *wꜣg ḏḥwtꜣ tr nb nt rnpt Mnw-ḥcf*. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, offerings for him on New Year's day, the first of the year, the first of the month, the first of the half-month, the Wag festival, the Thoth festival, every season of the year, Min-khaf.

Beneath are four vertical columns of inscription on the panels alternating with the three false doors as on the south end. Beginning from the left:

Col. 1: *ḥꜣ šty ḥb ḥꜣ ḥknw ḥꜣ šft*. A thousand of festival perfume, a thousand ḥknw-oil, a thousand šft-oil.

Col. 2: *ḥꜣ wnḥw ḥꜣ idmy ḥꜣ śsr ḥꜣ mꜣ cꜣ(?)*. A thousand wnḥw-strips, a thousand idmy-linen, four hand-breadths wide, a thousand śsr-linen, four hand-breadths wide, and a thousand mꜣ cꜣ(?) -linen, four hand-breadths wide. It has been suggested elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the sign  represents the width of the linen. It is quite possible that the number 4 has become here simply a conventionalized sign for linen. Four hand-breadths may have been a standard width that was much used, although this is not indicated by the linen lists, where every possible variation in width is shown. The occurrence here of *wnḥw* with the other linens is unusual. It is never found in the linen list proper (the compartment list). On the tablet of Prince Duwa-n-ra, from the Western Cemetery at Gīzah (G 5110), it is written beside the sign , which probably stands for *idmy*, and it appears on the south wall of the tomb of Prince Seshat-hetep at Gīzah (Lepsius 36 = G 5150), again with *idmy*. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, when the linen list is found very rarely on the walls of offering chapels, *wnḥw* generally appears alone in the large offering lists.     is a very curious writing. It appears in the position that the  linen usually occupies at the end of the linen list. I can suggest no explanation of the word unless it means "true c-linen".

Col. 3: *ḥꜣ mšhtyw(?) ḥꜣ cꜣt ḥꜣ mibt ḥꜣ tꜣ ḥꜣ mnḥ*. The first word seems to be the same as *mšhtyw*, a kind of hook used to open the mouth of the dead. *cꜣt* is a word which means adze, and is not supposed to be found until the Middle Kingdom. However, it appears in the list of tools on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-m-anḥ and on the slab shown on Plate xciii of Mogensén, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*. The other words are more common: *mibt*, usually spelt , meaning axe; *tꜣ*, saw; and *mnḥ*, chisel. Lists of tools are rare in the Old Kingdom. The scene in the burial chamber of Ka-m-anḥ (Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926) gives a list of tools in addition to the only other list of boats which I have been able to find and a late example of the linen list. The tools are not only named but craftsmen are shown working with them. The list consists of *cꜣt*, *mibt* (written ) , *mnḥ*, *tꜣ*, , . The last two are missing from the Min-khaf list. The broken slab, mentioned above, in the Copenhagen Museum gives another list of tools, this time in the compartment

<sup>1</sup> See Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, 31 ff., and my article, *The Old Kingdom Linen List*.

form in which the offerings are represented on the niches of the early Old Kingdom. The first three words in the register are determined by vessels of different kinds (although the spelling of the third, , apparently determined by a bowl, suggests analogies with the words  and  (M.K.). The fourth word is 'nt, then *mnht*, , , . The last three are difficult to make out in the photograph.

The boat-building scene in the tomb of Ti (Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 119) shows *mnht* as a long-handled axe with which men are smoothing the log of a tree. The *mnh* chisel is also being used in this scene, as well as the adze, although the latter's name is not given. I have not been able to find the names of any of the other tools in scenes of craft-work. In the Giza tombs of the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties actual copper tools and models of tools are found.

Col. 4: *hꜣ bꜣ šmꜣ hꜣ nꜣrt hꜣ ḥšdꜣ hꜣ mꜣst* (det. garment with vertical lines).

*bꜣ šmꜣ* occurs the most frequently of all these garments. It appears alone in the compartment lists of Rahotep and Methen, and with other garments in the lists of Seshat-sekhentyuw (G. Street, 2100), G 4260 (Junker, II, n.), Junker's slab-stela of unknown provenance, Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240), the tablet from G 2352, and is probably to be restored in the list from the Covington tomb<sup>2</sup> and on the Copenhagen slab (Mogensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. xciii). In the chapel of Khufuw-khaf the label  appears over a garment carried by two men (Fig. 1). The *nꜣrt* garment appears on the tablet of Sneferuw-seneb and is perhaps to be restored in the case of  on the slab-stela from Junker, II n. *ḥšdꜣ* is to be found in the Covington Tomb list, on the tablet of Sneferuw-seneb, and in the lists of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep. *mꜣst* is next to *bꜣ šmꜣ* the most common. It is found on the slab-stela of Seshat-sekhentyuw, Junker, II n., the slab-stela of unknown provenance, Hathor-Nefer-hetep, Kha-bauw-sokar, Mogensen, Pl. xciii, Sneferuw-seneb, the list in the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh, the tablet from G 2352, and over a garment carried by two men on the east wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf, .

There are several other words not included in the Min-khaf list which appear elsewhere:  on the Hathor-nefer-hetep list. A word which seems to be  on the Sneferuw-seneb tablet is perhaps the same. The signs for the *t* and the *wꜣ* are carefully made, but do not resemble very closely any other examples of these signs, which I think they must be meant for. A word  is on the Copenhagen tablet and the Sneferuw-seneb list. The  of the Copenhagen tablet is determined by a wolf  in the Covington Tomb list. Finally there is a word  on the Sneferuw-seneb tablet. The tomb of Hesy-rē<sup>c</sup> (Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. xx) seems to show the earliest of these lists of garments, but the representation is broken and obscure. Two of these garments, from their names, seem to be made from animal skins, *bꜣ šmꜣ* a panther skin and *wꜣš* a wolf skin.

In the Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep compartment lists (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Pls. i and ii) the squares containing the names of these garments are headed by a horizontal register containing the word . This word is usually translated "apron", but I believe that it may be applied to garments of an apron- or mantle-like shape of varying lengths. Junker (*Giza*, I, 188) has already suggested this possibility. It seems to me that there is a great similarity between the representations of these garments such as appear on the walls of the tombs of Khufuw-khaf (G 7130+7140), Merytyetes (G 7650), Nesuwt-pw-neter (Porter and Moss, *Memphis*, 61), Lepsius G 20 (Ergänzungsband, Pl. viii), and the garment worn by figures in the reliefs, usually shown as a long robe, passing diagonally across

<sup>1</sup> The determinative has a saw edge.

<sup>2</sup> This list is preserved in a tracing in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, made by Mr. N. de G. Davies in one of the tombs excavated by Dow Covington on the ridge south of the Third Pyramid of Giza (see *Ann. Serv.*, VI, 193. No mention of any inscribed chamber is given).

the upper part of the body and fastened on one shoulder with ties, the other shoulder being left bare. There are a number of variations in this garment, differences of length and material, the elaboration of the fastening, and the manner in which one of the arms is covered or left bare, which might correspond with the different names in the lists. The word *ms̄t* would suggest that it was a knee-length skirt or apron, and one of the other names may refer to the long skirt which reached well down the leg and is shown often in the reliefs. There are great difficulties in the way of properly understanding the representation of Old Kingdom costume. Conventions in drawing and the caprice of the artist, combined with the paucity of material for comparison in the case of some of the more unusual examples, make the interpretation of the material somewhat tentative. For example the length of the garments shown in the Khufuw-khaf, Merytyetes, Nesuwt-pw-neter and LG 20 scenes of the presentation of the *ic̄* garments for inspection is not to be trusted without reservations. On

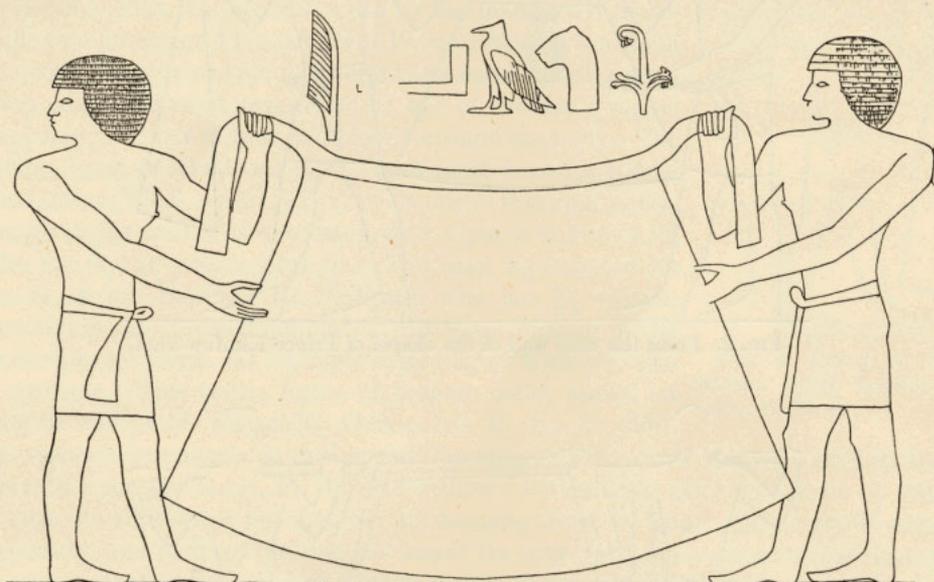


FIG. 1. From the east wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf.

the east wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 1) three identical "aprons" are held shoulder-high by three pairs of offering bearers. They are much too small to serve as skirts for the large figure of the owner, towards whom they are being carried, and yet almost too large to serve as mantles for the little figures themselves. Then if we are to interpret *ic̄ ms̄t* as a knee-length skirt and *ic̄* and *ic̄ b̄ šm̄* as long robes we are faced by the identical drawing of all three. On the west wall the garment being carried is shorter (Fig. 2) and seems to represent a skirt, though it is again too small for the figure of Khufuw-khaf and out of proportion for the small figures. The elaborate ornamental tie resembles those on the girdles of the skirts of the gods in the Sahurē' reliefs (see for example Borchardt, *Sahura*, II, Pl. 19), but there is also a certain resemblance to the tie on the long robe of Akhet-ara to be mentioned below. The figures in the LG 20 scene and in the Nesuwt-pw-neter chapel carry long garments like those on the east wall of the Khufuw-khaf chapel. The Merytyetes representation (Fig. 3) is curious, as two figures there carry one of the garments stretched out on a pole held shoulder-high. This would seem to indicate either great length, or great weight (as would be the case if the garment were made of fur), or even an attempt to keep the garment from being crushed (if it were stiff linen). In one case (L., D., II, Pl. 4, reproduced

in Fig. 4) the garment is not spread out to its full width but held forward in one hand by an attendant. The garment is long, reaching to the ground, and has two ties at each upper corner which are somewhat suggestive of the more elaborate tie of the garment of Akhet-ara. Above is written  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ , so that there seems to be no doubt that this is a folded representation of the garment usually stretched to its full width. In the offering lists themselves the

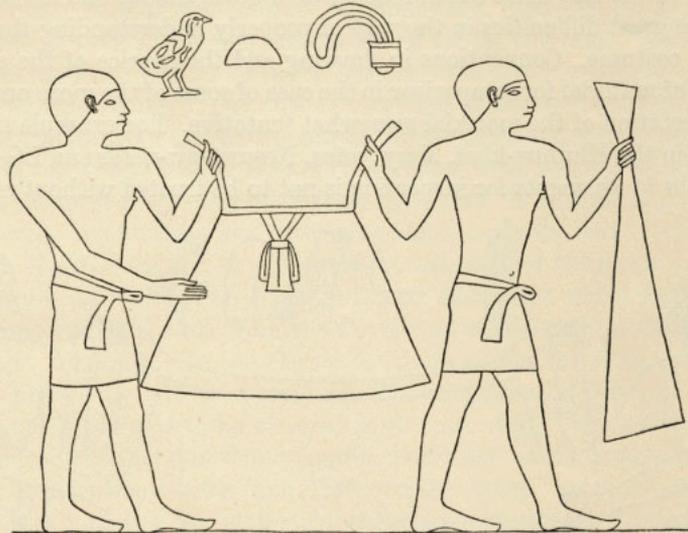


FIG. 2. From the west wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf.

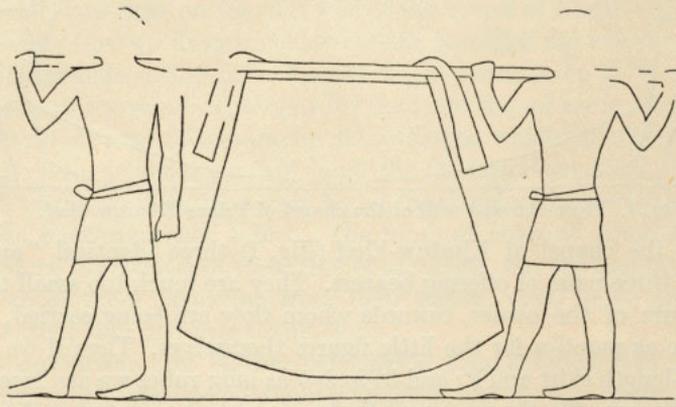


FIG. 3. From the north wall of the chapel of Merytyetes.

garment is sometimes represented as spread out with a tie hanging down from each of the two upper corners (Junker, II, n., Sneferuw-seneb, etc), or else as if folded over with the ties tied (?) on one side (Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep, etc.). The sign  $\text{𓄏}$  occurs in two well-known Old Kingdom titles,  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  and  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ . In the case of the Sahurē relief (*Sahura*, II, Pl. 12) the word occurs alone  $\text{𓄏}$  as the title of an officer of the ship's crew. The hieroglyph  $\text{𓄏}$  is in this case painted yellow. In the title  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  in the chapel of Kanof (G 2150) the garment is shown with vertical lines suggesting pleating. The determinative of *ms̄t* on the Min-khaf coffin seems to show these lines.

There are two main types of the long garment as it is worn by figures in the reliefs. In

both the robe is long, reaching down almost to the ankles, and it is tied on either the right or the left shoulder by the ends of a strip which is shown bordering the top edge of the garment and which passes diagonally across the upper part of the body. This border is shown plainly in the garments carried by the Khufuw-khaf attendants. But in the case of one of these types of dress both arms are left free by the garment, whereas in the other the material is folded over one of the arms and covers it to the wrist while the other shoulder and arm are left bare. There are several clear examples of the first arrangement. The huntsman on the east wall of the chapel of Ptahhotep (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, Pl. xviii) wears a brilliantly striped garment of this sort which in his kneeling position does not quite reach to the knees. In another representation the figure is standing and the garment is again short. It is possible that the garment worn by the man in the hieroglyphic sign for *srw* on Plate xxviii of Petrie's *Medum* is a cloak of this sort. It is striped similarly and has a band running along the top edge with what appears to be one of the ties hanging down behind. It is wrapped completely around the body. The standing figure of Akhet-aca on the door-jamb from his chapel in the Louvre (Weill, *op. cit.*, Pl. vi) wears one of these garments, although in his case it is decorated with a panel in front held at the top by an ornamental tie. The man represented on Plate 11 of von Bissing's *Re Heiligtum* who has  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  written above him is also dressed similarly. His robe is longer in the back than in the front. At least one seated figure is shown with this costume. This is the figure of Seshem-nofer, seated on the south wall of his chapel (G 4940 = LG 45, L., D., 29b).

There seems to be an error in the Lepsius' drawing of the figure of Methen seated in the tablet of his false door (L., D., II, Pl. 3). He is shown with a long skirt with a tie at the waist, but with the ribbons of his shoulder tie hanging down in front. These would seem to be unnecessary, and perhaps the diagonal line of the upper part of the garment has disappeared. This may be true of the figure of Methen seated on the south wall of his chapel (L., D., II, 6).

The second type of garment is almost entirely confined to the seated figures of the early offering niches. In several cases it is represented as being made of panther skin (the tablet of Rahotep (*Medum*, Pl. xiii), the niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep, the slab stela of Wep-mnofret (Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Aegypter*, 194) and Nefert-iabtyt (Schaefer, *Von aegyptischer Kunst*, Pl. 10), and the standing figure of Atet (*Medum*, Pl. xviii)). The ties at the shoulder are generally formed by simple strips as in the case of the garments represented in the offering lists and the Khufuw-khaf scene, but in the case of Nefermarcat (*Medum*, Pl. xx) there appear semi-elliptical ornaments which hang down apparently from knots on each shoulder. The representation of Atet on the niche of her husband Nefermarcat is the only standing figure I have been able to find wearing this garment.<sup>1</sup> The upper part of the figure is damaged, but it seems from the traces of ties on her shoulder and the bent position of her arm that her right arm is covered as it is in the seated figures.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless the figure on Pl. xxviii of *Hemamieh* is wearing a similar dress. It is made of panther skin, and seems to leave both arms uncovered. In the old drawings of Villiers Stuart in *Egypt After the War*, 406, 410, the seated figure of the man in the tablet of the niche of the tomb of Afa is shown in a garment with panther spots.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 96 of Klebs, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, Fig. 76, is pictured a relief in Leipzig which shows a female attendant holding out an apron-like garment with panther spots to her mistress.

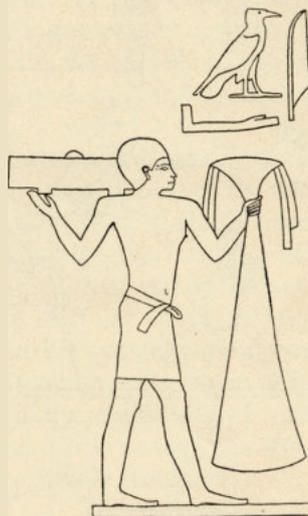


FIG. 4. Detail of chapel of Methen (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 4).

The representation of the panther spots and the similarity of the ties make it seem quite possible to me that this second type of garment is the *bꜣ šmꜣ* of the offering lists and the *īꜣ bꜣ šmꜣ* of the Khufuw-khaf representation. The appearance of the semi-elliptical ornaments on the shoulders of Nefermarat brings up one other interesting point. In one of the

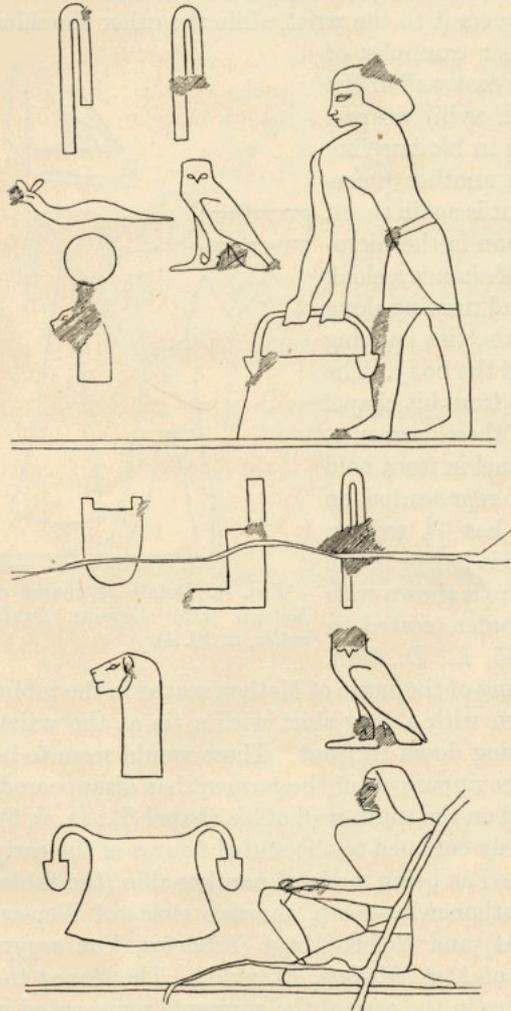


FIG. 5. Relief from Sun Temple at Abu Ghuráb (after von Bissing, *Re Heiligtum*, II, Pl. 12).

scenes from the Sun Temple of Neuserre at Abu Ghuráb (Fig. 5, reproducing a detail of Pl. 12 of the *Re Heiligtum*) the *sem*-priest is shown taking off the *bꜣ* garment. Here and in the scene below, where it is laid out in front of the squatting figure of the *sem*-priest, it is shown with a form similar to the "apron"-like *īꜣ* garments, and it is ornamented with the curious ornaments shown on the shoulders of Nefermarat. The exact nature of these objects is difficult to determine. In the upper scene they are at the ends of a strip by which the man is lifting the garment, and seem to attach the strip to the upper corners of the garment. But in the lower scene they hang down at the end of the two strips that usually appear at the corners of this garment. A still more curious fact is that throughout the rest of the Abu Ghuráb reliefs where the *sem*-priest is represented, although he is wearing the ornaments, they hang down from the knot by which an ordinary panther skin is fastened. This panther skin is entirely different from the other garment we have been discussing. It is drawn with the outline of an animal skin and has the claws and tail, sometimes the head, of the animal. None of the representations of the long panther-skin garment show the claws and tail. The standing figure of Nefermarat wears the ordinary panther skin held up by the knot with the pendant ornaments (*Medum*, Pl. xxiii). The standing figure of Iye-nefer (*Ann. Serv.*, III, Pls. i and ii) in one case wears the whole skin spread out across

the front of his body with the head at the top. It is held up by the clearest representation I have been able to find of the knot and shoulder ornaments. In another representation he wears two panther skins (probably the artist meant to show one in the front and one at the back) which overlap, the legs of the skins crossing one another with the claws of the leg of one skin reaching the right shoulder and the claws of the other the left. Again the shoulder ornaments seem to hold the skins up in some way. This clear representation of the two skins must account for the curious appearance of two tails on the panther skin worn by the goddess Seshat on Plate i of *Sahura*, II, and in a number of other examples where there seems to be only one skin. In every other case where the semi-elliptical ornaments are

shown they are worn with the usual type of panther skin. The goddess Seshat and the *sem*-priest wear them in the Sahurêr reliefs, they appear on figures of Mereruka in his tomb at Saqqârah, and at Beni Ḥasan in the Middle Kingdom (see *Beni Ḥasan*, iv, Pl. xiv). The seated figure wearing the ordinary panther skin usually worn over another garment seems to me to be a later type of representation than the seated figure wearing the long panther garment, although a few examples of the latter appear after the later type has become established as the ordinary representation. Can the artist who drew the Abu Ghurâb scene have confused the earlier garment with the usual panther skin of the *sem*-priest? Apparently the word *b* was applied to both garments. It is just possible that in the chapel of Hesy-rêr the differentiation was meant to be shown, as on the right are animal skins and on the left what seem to be the *ir* garments.

The inscriptions of the sarcophagus of Min-khaf thus present strong analogies with the offering lists of the early Old Kingdom, particularly with the compartment lists of the false doors such as those of Rahotep and Kha-bauw-sokar, and the slab-stelae of the Western Cemetery at Gîzah. Two important features of these lists are missing—the furniture and the various kinds of stone vessels common in the compartment lists. The use of the word *wnḥw* in the linen list seems on the other hand to anticipate in at least one detail the large offering lists of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, where the full linen list generally disappears and *wnḥw* appears alone. It has been noted that the only contemporaneous stone coffin which has offering lists is that of Queen Meresankh II. These lists in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty anticipate the elaborate painted inscriptions and offerings of the wooden and stone coffins of the late Old Kingdom, the Intermediate Period, and the Middle Kingdom.