

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

Band 67

Andrey O. Bolshakov

Studies on Old Kingdom Reliefs and Sculpture in the Hermitage



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Cover photo: Relief of $M_{rjj-r^c}(w) - \zeta_{nh}(w)$, Hermitage □ 18108 (details) Cat. no. 9

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In memory
of Nikolai Petrovich LIKHATCHEV
who collected the greater part
of Old Kingdom monuments
now in the Hermitage

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Introduction

The collection of Old Kingdom objects in the Hermitage is small and its origins is not closely related with the history of the museum. When in 1891 the first keeper of Egyptian monuments Wladimir Semenovitch GOLÉNISCHEFF published their catalogue, he could include only three Old Kingdom pieces into it – a fragment of a lintel and two offering stones¹, and this is not surprising in the light of the Hermitage's negligence of Egyptian monuments in the times that were most productive for the museums that were concerned with them. During the first its century and a half, the Hermitage remained a palace museum and its collections were formed not in compliance with scholarly or educational tasks but exclusively to the tastes of its owners, the tsars. These tastes did not touch upon the Ancient Orient in general and Egypt in particular and, thus, the Hermitage for a long time possessed only several Egyptian objects that were mainly gifts to the tsars². Collecting of Egyptian monuments started in Russia outside the Hermitage. In 1825 the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences acquired a collection of the Milanese amateur orientalist and numismatist Carlo Ottavio CASTIGLIONE³. Consisting of about one thousand objects, it became a kernel of the Egyptian Museum that was a part of the *Kunstkammer*, the first in Russia public museum established by Peter I. Enlarged by means of smaller purchases and gifts, its collection reached almost 2500 pieces by the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1862 and 1881 the collection was transferred to the Hermitage⁴, but it included

¹ GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 368–369 (Inv. no. 2471), 327 (Inv. no. 2261), 327–328 (Inv. no. 2263); our Cat. nos. 14, 17, 18.

² The appearance of the “Cabinet of Egyptian Sculpture” (now hall 129) is luckily saved on a water-colour of 1859 by K.A. UKHTOMSKY (see ВОРОНИХИНА, *Виды залов*, табл. 13) that represents only stone sarcophagi of the wife and son of Amasis (Inv. nos. □766, □767, Giza, LG 53 (PM III², 289; BUHL, *Sarcophagi*, 197; now also БОЛЬШАКОВ, в сб. *Уходя, оставит свет*)), statue of Mut-Sekhmet (Inv. no. □149, Karnak, precinct of Mut (МАТЬЕ, *Искусство Нового царства*, табл. 7-1; МАТЬЕ, ПАВЛОВ, *Памятники искусства*, рис. 43; ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 94–96, кат. № 102)), sculptural family group of a governor of Thebes *Jm-m-b(3)b* (Inv. no. □740, Dra Abu el-Naga A.8 (PM I², 450; МАТЬЕ, в сб. *Древний мир*, 144–154; ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 79–82, кат. № 76; LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Cat. no. 51)) and some smaller pieces.

³ On him see DAWSON, UPHILL, *Who Was Who*³, 86.

⁴ After the first transfer, Egyptian monuments were moved to a larger “Hall of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities” (now hall 109). In 1882 a famous literary critic W.W. STASOV described it as follows: “Three granite sarcophagi, two wooden coffins, seven statues and statuettes, collection of small figurines of gods and goddesses made of bronze, glazed clay and green faience, seventeen vases, twenty-nine grave stones (stelae), several scarabs and carved stones, four papyri and some decorative minor objects” (СТАСОВ, *ВЕ* 1882/2, 580, original in Russian). This description is by no means complete; already in 1865 D.V. GRIGOROVICH mentioned much more pieces, including a number of wooden coffins (ГРИГОРОВИЧ, *Прогулка*, 8). The “Hall of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities” as it looked between the transfers is represented on an illustration by

only the three aforementioned Old Kingdom objects. In 1920, after the death of Boris Aleksandrovich TURAEV, three more Old Kingdom items were bought with his collection – a badly damaged statue head, a fragment of a lintel and an offering stone ⁵, but six small monuments were of course not sufficient for illustrating a great period of the history of Egypt ⁶.

The man whose name is forever related with the Old Kingdom collection of the Hermitage was not an Egyptologist. Nikolai Petrovich LIKHACHEV (1862–1936, since 1925 a member of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, pl.I) was one of the greatest specialists in the world on European, Byzantine and Old Russian palaeography and epigraphy, diplomatics and sigillography, and an outstanding connoisseur of Russian icons. Besides his purely scholarly work, he was also a most original collector ⁷. Having set himself a task to collect samples of various ancient and medieval systems of script, during a couple of decades he amassed a collection that had no analogies in Europe or America. It included monuments and papyri of ancient Egypt, cuneiform texts, Greek, Roman, Coptic and Arabic inscriptions, medieval Greek, Latin, Jewish, Armenian, Abyssinian, Syrian manuscripts, seals, ancient and medieval coins, printed documents down to the years of the great French revolution, and materials illustrating the history of European paper; Far Eastern objects were not numerous ⁸.

LIKHACHEV did not know oriental languages, Egyptian in particular, but the Egyptian part of his collection was by no means amateurish. Thanks to a trained eye of an epigraphist, he managed to choose monuments and documents representing all main types and stages of Egyptian script and to avoid fakes that are usually present almost in every private collection. Some Egyptian objects were bought at European and Russian antiquarians, but the greatest part of acquisitions was made during LIKHACHEV's only trip to Egypt in 1908. No documents recording its details seem to exist, but he most probably never visited the sites to the south of Cairo – at least no mentions of his purchases in Middle or Upper Egypt are known.

LIKHACHEV's collection was kept in his St.Petersburg house bought and furnished especially for this purpose, and although not open for general public, it was accessible for scholars. In 1914 LIKHACHEV retired from the position of the Associate Director

E.A.SMIRNOVA-IVANOVA to a story by A.P.IVANOV "Stereoscope" made much later from memory (ИВАНОВ, *Стереоскоп*, 31).

⁵ Our Cat.nos. 2, 12, 22.

⁶ In 1925 a wooden statue was acquired that was published as an Old Kingdom monument reworked in modern time (□3617 (ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, кат.№ 3)); however it is an obvious fake that will not be referred to further in this book.

⁷ On LIKHACHEV's life, research and collecting see КЛИМАНОВ, в кат. *Из коллекций Лихачева*; idem., в сб. *Репрессированная наука*.

⁸ For a general description see *Музей палеографии*, 2–7.

of the Public Library ⁹ that he had occupied for twelve years and surrendered himself to his old dream – the conversion of the collection into a real museum. All the plans were ruined by the revolutions of 1917. In 1918, in order to keep the collection safe, LIKHACHEV donated it to the Petrograd Archaeological Institute (at that time an independent establishment, later a subdivision of the university) where it became a Cabinet of Palaeography and himself got a job as its keeper. However, preparation to the opening of the museum could start only in 1924, when numerous objects, especially cuneiform tablets and leather book-covers, had already been much damaged as a result of the lack of heating in winter and high moisture in summer. In 1925 the Cabinet of Palaeography was at last transformed into the Museum of Palaeography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and LIKHACHEV was appointed its director ¹⁰.

Thus, the destiny of the collection was happy enough, which cannot be said about that of the collector himself. The freedom of the Academy of Sciences that had remained more or less independent from the state ideology during the first decade of the Soviet power came to an end in 1929. The Academy had to do away with “pure science” and “neutrality”, and a number of scientists and scholars were arrested for others’ edification. LIKHACHEV was one of those imprisoned in the beginning of 1930; in summer 1931 he was brought in an absurd verdict of guilty as being one of the leaders of a certain mythical “National Union of Struggle for the Revival of Free Russia” and was condemned to five years of exile in Astrakhan. The sentence was disproportionately light and not matching the gravity of the faked accusations, which may mean that a show trial was planned but cancelled for some reason ¹¹.

Meanwhile, in 1930 the Museum of Palaeography was converted into Museum (since 1931 Institute) of Books, Documents and Scripts (MBDS/IBDS) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. MBDS/IBDS was a unique institution that studied problems of book culture in the widest sense, as a universal phenomenon, but, on the other hand, its programme was very different from that developed for the Museum of Palaeography by its creator. Moreover, the collection was moved from LIKHACHEV’s house to the rooms allotted for MBDS/IBDS in the building of the library of the Academy of Sciences and lost its *genius loci* forever.

After two years of hunger and illness in exile LIKHACHEV received permission to come back to Leningrad for treatment, but there was no hope of returning to normal

⁹ At that time the main library of the country.

¹⁰ The exposition of the museum was arranged in several rooms of LIKHACHEV’s house and looked like a typical private collection of the time, see photographs in *Музей палеографии*, 3, 5. Nonetheless, it was open for public seven days a week and its director had to guide visitors without holidays and vacations. The museum was repeatedly mentioned as worthy visiting in guidebooks to the city.

¹¹ КЛИМАНОВ, в сб. *Репрессированная наука*, 434.

work for him; the only piece-work he could get for making his bread was writing index cards for the inventory of the collection of IBDS. Furthermore, all the movables from his house were misappropriated by IBDS, editions of his books printed at his own expenses and kept in his house were confiscated and sold out by the Academy ¹², and even unfinished manuscripts of his works were purloined by the new director of IBDS ¹³. He submitted numerous applications to recover at least some of his property – in vain. LIKHACHEV died on 14 April 1936 in poverty and indignity.

At the last stage of his life LIKHACHEV met a man predestined to become the key figure of the Russian Egyptology of the twentieth century – Yuri Yakovlevich PEREPEL'KIN (1903–1982) who was the head of the Department of Scripts ¹⁴ of IBDS ¹⁵. In the year of LIKHACHEV's death, PEREPEL'KIN was only thirty-three years old, but he had already made a serious work on the Egyptian part of the collection by that time. The results of that work were reflected in the respective part of a guidebook published in 1936 ¹⁶. It is a small brochure containing only brief entries on separate objects or their groups without photographs or transcriptions of texts; in some respects it is out of date (especially as concerns the datings of Old Kingdom and Late Period pieces), but it still keeps its importance not only as the sole description of IBDS, but as a basic study of the collection as well.

PEREPEL'KIN was an excellent keeper, careful and attentive, numerous documents kept in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences reflecting this aspect of his activities that may seem unexpected to those who knew him only as a purely academic scholar in his later years. He also made an invaluable contribution to the study of the history of the collection. On 28–29 May 1935, less than a year prior to the death of LIKHACHEV, he walked with him around the exposition writing down the latter's recollections on the circumstances of the acquisitions of objects. His memorandum ¹⁷ is an unedited record of that excursion as it follows both from the order of entries, not arranged thematically or chronologically but reflecting the disposition of objects in showcases ¹⁸, and from the handwriting, hurrying and uneven, very different from the usual PEREPEL'KIN calligraphy; objects are designated not only after the names of

¹² It was a hard blow for LIKHACHEV who hoped that selling them would give him modest means for the remaining years of life.

¹³ КЛИМАНОВ, в сб. *Репрессированная наука*, 434.

¹⁴ I.e., the keeper of antiquities.

¹⁵ Having been duty-bound, PEREPEL'KIN involuntarily was a person to control the degrading piece-work of LIKHACHEV in IBDS, which oppressed him much subsequently.

¹⁶ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*.

¹⁷ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS.

¹⁸ Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the appearance of the exhibition. According to recollections of Igor Mikhailovich DIAKONOV, the last person who saw it, it occupied a single room with showcases not only standing by the walls but also crowded in the centre, and the

the owners, but sometimes also after secondary personages ¹⁹, titles ²⁰ or some specific features, which complicates their identification or even makes it impossible ²¹.

LIKHATCHEV's recollections are not detailed, for at least thirty years with revolutions, imprisonment and exile had passed since the time of the formation of the collection; in some cases he vacillated between two variants of the provenance of the same monument, but nonetheless they are very important, as it will be demonstrated in the present book. Most of the Old Kingdom monuments were bought in 1908 in Cairo, at the "antiquarian ALI". The name ALI is so common that an identification of the man may seem to be a hopeless task at first glance, but, luckily, some information on him can be mined from various sources.

A certain ALI, an owner of an antiquities shop at Giza, was a permanent source of monuments for GOLÉNISCHEFF who mentioned him as a famous art dealer already in 1889 ²². The latest records of ALI in GOLÉNISCHEFF's papers are in the letters to Oskar Eduardovich VON LEMM and Boris Aleksandrovich TURAEV of 21 January/3 February 1911 ²³ where he called him "my old acquaintance", "Sheikh ALI", and "bedouin ALI" ²⁴. GOLÉNISCHEFF also gave his address, "Au Cheikh ALI, antiquaire (ou: dealer in antiquities) à Gizeh, près du Caire", and recommended to write to him in Arabic or English. It is more than probable that before his first travel to Egypt LIKHATCHEV consulted at GOLÉNISCHEFF, the universally recognized connoisseur of the antiquities market, and that the latter advised him to visit ALI in the same manner as later he would recommend his purveyor to VON LEMM and TURAEV. It is small wonder that LIKHATCHEV called ALI a Cairo antiquarian – his recollections were generalized and he did not feel it necessary to tell the difference between Cairo and Giza, which would be natural for an Egyptologist.

The identity of GOLÉNISCHEFF's and LIKHATCHEV's ALI is not a mere speculation and can be confirmed documentarily. In the aforesaid letter to TURAEV, GOLÉNISCHEFF informed him that a son of ALI, MOHAMMAD ALI, had an important hieratic stela worth acquiring ²⁵, and that, since MOHAMMAD ALI, according to his father, was a "very

jumps in the order of the monuments in PEREPEL'KIN's memorandum may correspond to transitions from one group to the other.

¹⁹ E.g. the relief of *Hw(j)-w(j)-[nfr]* (□18124 + □18126, our Cat.no.3) appears as "Khufuseneb" (ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111 rev.) after the name of the owner's son.

²⁰ E.g. "priest" (ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 113) can be only a relief with a representation of a *w^cb*-priest, Inv.no. □18118.

²¹ E.g. "demotic papyri mounted in glass" (ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 113, rev.) cannot be identified in default of information on the arrangement of the exhibition.

²² ГОЛЕНИЩЕВ, ЗВОИРАО V, 9 = *История приобретения*, 152.

²³ *История приобретения*, 198–199, 218.

²⁴ The latter is obviously an exaggeration.

²⁵ Now Hermitage □5630 (ТУРАЕВ, ЗКОИРАО 7, 1–8).

heavy drinker” dreaming only of “getting some hundred francs to drink them away immediately”, the price could be low. His address was “محمد على العربى تاجر انتيك بالجيزة”, MOHAMMAD ALI, le bédouin, marchand d’antiquités (dealer in antiquities) à Gizeh (près du Caire)”²⁶. Among the objects bought by LIKHACHEV at ALI is a relief of $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$ ²⁷, while the false door abutting on it²⁸ was acquired in 1911 at MOHAMMAD ALI²⁹. The monument has no doubt been divided between the father and the son. Most probably, they shared the same shop; to this testifies not only the dissipation of MOHAMMAD ALI who could hardly have a shop of his own, but also the fact that GOLÉNISCHEFF characterised the stela as having been “in possession of the son of ALI”³⁰ and not as seen in a shop of the son of ALI. TURAEV called the man at whom the hieratic stela was bought “the famous antiquities dealer ALI”³¹, which may be another attestation of the family business, but this evidence is of less importance, since the transaction was made on his behalf by GOLÉNISCHEFF and its details were of little interest for him.

A full name of ALI can be ascertained as well. In his report on the travel to Egypt in 1888–1889, GOLÉNISCHEFF stated that five statues of Khephren, Mycerinus, Neusera, Menkauhor and one more Old Kingdom ruler had been acquired for the Bulaq Museum in 1888 at ALI and another dealer, FARAG³². These statues from Mit Rahina are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and four of them³³ are said to have been bought in 1888 at ALI ABD EL-HAJ and FARAG ISMAIL³⁴ at Giza for £1000³⁵.

Thus, LIKHACHEV’s ALI was no doubt ALI ABD EL-HAJ, a remarkable figure in the antiquities trade of that time, as is clear from the fact that the finders of the royal

²⁶ *История приобретения*, 218.

²⁷ Now Hermitage □18123, our Cat.no.5.

²⁸ Now Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen, Æ.I.N.1437 + Æ.I.N.1445, published with our Cat. no.5.

²⁹ See our Cat.no.5, n.9.

³⁰ *История приобретения*, 218 (original in Russian: “Она составляет собственность сына Али...”).

³¹ ТУРАЕВ, *ЗКОИПАО* 7, 1 (original in Russian).

³² ГОЛЕНИЩЕВ, *ЗВОИПАО* 5, 9 = *История приобретения*, 152–153. According to GOLÉNISCHEFF, in order to dissemble the fact of a purchase of illegally procured monuments, Eugène GRÉBAUT, the then Director of the Antiquities Service (GOLÉNISCHEFF calls him Director of the Bulaq Museum), feigned that they were found by himself and that he knew an exact place of the discovery, although he had not excavated in the Memphite region in 1888.

³³ CG 39–42, BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, 37–39, Bl.10–11.

³⁴ The name is obviously misspelled as Ismain by BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, 36.

³⁵ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, 36. As contrary to GOLÉNISCHEFF, the fifth statue had been found with them but was bought at DINGLI (*ibid.*). DINGLI was a relatively famous dealer (e.g., the earliest Pharaonic gold coin that was also the first to appear at the market (now Hermitage, Numismatic Department, Inv.no.1417, BOLSHAKOV, *RdE* 43) was seen in his shop, CHASSINAT,

statues of Mit Rahina took the trouble of transporting them to his shop at the remote Giza. According to PEREPEL'KIN's memorandum, besides eight Old Kingdom monuments published in the present book, LIKHATCHEV bought at ALI also a number of later objects:

- ◆ Fragment of a lintel from the tomb of *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)* (reign of Senusert III ³⁶, Dahshur NSIII; Hermitage □18118)³⁷;
- ◆ Fragment of a lintel (Dyn.XII, Memphite region, Hermitage □18104)³⁸;
- ◆ Relief with a representation of a *w^cb*-priest (Dyn.XII, Hermitage □18118)³⁹;
- ◆ Lining block with a part of the scene representing Ramesses II in front of Ra-Horakhty (reign of Ramesses II, Hermitage □18120)⁴⁰;
- ◆ Lower half of a statue of High priest of Amun *P3-sr* (reign of Ramesses II, Hermitage □18111)⁴¹;
- ◆ Fragment of a relief of *Nbt-mn(w)* (Ramesside, Hermitage □18236)⁴²;
- ◆ Upper part of a monumental statue of a king (late Ramesside (?), Hermitage □18240)⁴³;
- ◆ Stela of *(J)s.t-jr-dj-s(.t)* (Dyn.XXVI, Abydos (?), Hermitage □18110)⁴⁴;
- ◆ Statue of *P(3)-dj-(j)s.t* (reign of Psammetichus I, Iseum – Behbeit el-Hagar, Hermitage □18112)⁴⁵;
- ◆ Lining block with an inscription of a ritual character (Late Period, Hermitage □18238)⁴⁶;

BIFAO 1, 79, n.1), but his name, like those of ALI ABD-EL HAJ and FARAG ISMAIL, is not included in DAWSON, UPHILL, *Who Was Who* ³.

³⁶ On the career of *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)* see FRANKE, in *MK Studies*.

³⁷ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111; DE MORGAN, *Dahchour I*, fig.24; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *ДАН* 1929, рис. на с.20; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 14, кат.№ XII/1; LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Cat.no.19.

³⁸ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 14, кат.№ XIV/1.

³⁹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 12, кат.№ X.

⁴⁰ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 14, кат.№ XII/2.

⁴¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 16, кат.№ XVII; ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 82–83, табл.II, кат.№ 77.

⁴² ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 16, кат.№ XVI.

⁴³ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 22, кат.№ XXV; ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 67, табл.I, кат.№ 63.

⁴⁴ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113 rev.; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 19, кат.№ XXII/2.

⁴⁵ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; TURAЕV, *ZAS* 48, 160; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 18, кат.№ XX; DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 31, 253; KEES, *Priestertum*, 279, 294–296; ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 106–107, табл.III, кат.№ 108.

⁴⁶ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 18, кат.№ XIX/1.

- ◆ Lining block with a fragment of chapter XLVII of the Book of the Dead (Late Period, Hermitage □18237)⁴⁷;
- ◆ Fragments of Coptic and Greek papyri, unidentifiable^{48, 49}

Several more objects that undeniably passed through the hands of ALI ABD-EL HAJ can be recognised in the Hermitage and in other museums as well:

- ◆ Old Kingdom statue bought by Wilhelm PELIZAEUS before 1913 (now RPM 1106)⁵⁰;
- ◆ Unusual New Kingdom stela of *Nšwj* with a figure of *tkmw* bought by GOLÉNISCHEFF on 20 January/2 February 1911 and presented to TURAEV⁵¹ (now Hermitage □2959)⁵²;
- ◆ High quality illuminated Coptic manuscript with figures of four saints on the cover bought by Charles L. FREER in 1910⁵³ (now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC);
- ◆ Unique illuminated Greek manuscript bought by GOLÉNISCHEFF in 1901⁵⁴ (now in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow)⁵⁵.

The selection of objects, some of them of great importance, from the whole Memphite region (Giza, Abusir (?), Central Saqqara, Saqqara South, Dahshur) as well as from more distant sites in Lower and Upper Egypt is a good illustration of an exceptional level of ALI's trade and of his fame among tomb robbers.

Several objects including two published here (Cat. nos. 8, 22) were bought by LIKHATCHEV in Cairo at an Italian antiquarian whose name he did not know or could not recollect; it remains obscure till now.

⁴⁷ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 18, кат.№ XIX/2.

⁴⁸ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 102 rev.

⁴⁹ Two more objects could have been bought at ALI ABD EL-HAJ, although LIKHATCHEV was not sure of it:

- ◆ Stela of *Hr(w)* (or *Hr(w)---*) with a demotic inscription (Roman period, Hermitage □18109), ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 113 rev.; ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 22, кат.№ XXIV/Ж;
- ◆ In a laconic form so characteristic of PEREPELKIN's memorandum he says that the "great priest" could have been bought at the "antiquarian ALI" or at an anonymous Italian antiquarian at Cairo, ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111 rev. At the moment I cannot identify the monument.

⁵⁰ MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim* IV, 1.

⁵¹ *История приобретения*, 219.

⁵² ТУРАЕВ, *ЗКОИРАО* 7, 9–10, табл.2.

⁵³ *История приобретения*, 199.

⁵⁴ BAUER, STRZYGOWSKI, *Weltchronik*, 1; БЕРЛЕВ, в кн. *История отечественного востоковедения*, 448–449.

⁵⁵ BAUER, STRZYGOWSKI, *Weltchronik*.

It is time, however, to return from this most appropriate but still protracted digression back to the history of IBDS. In 1935 the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was founded in Leningrad, and IBDS was transformed into its Section of Ancillary Historical Disciplines on the absurd plea of uselessness of two academic historical institutions in the same city. The collection became a burden to the Institute of History and in 1938 it was divided between several organisations. Antiquities and medieval Byzantine and Near Eastern objects were transferred to the Hermitage. As a result, an unusual museum and research centre were lost forever⁵⁶, but for the Hermitage its liquidation was a great stroke of luck, since LIKHACHEV's pieces filled numerous lacunae in its collections, Old Kingdom monuments having been one of the most important parts of the acquisition. Thanks to the transfer, the Hermitage for the first time could illustrate all of the main periods of Egyptian history in its galleries, but, strangely enough, Old Kingdom monuments were never studied; only two statues were included into a catalogue of sculpture, one with a wrong and the other with a questionable dating⁵⁷, and some pieces were reproduced without comments⁵⁸.

Therefore, the present writer was the first to turn to these monuments after PEREPELKIN who, for personal reasons, never touched on them after the closing of IBDS. I started working in the Hermitage in 1980 being his postgraduate student, and since my dissertation to be written was devoted to Old Kingdom ideology as reflected in tomb decoration, I immediately came to the idea of publishing the monuments of the epoch kept in the museum. The plan provoked no objections in the Hermitage, but there was some talk among Leningrad Egyptologists that the Egyptian part of the LIKHACHEV collection had been prepared for publication long ago by

⁵⁶ PEREPELKIN always stressed in our talks that the dismemberment of the collection greatly impaired its importance, but this obvious fact has been slurred over in published works for decades. E.g. M.L.SVOISKIY in a paper devoted to IBDS alleges that its very orientation to ancillary disciplines, such as epigraphy or diplomatics, predetermined its conversion into the respective section of the Institute of History (СВОЙСКИЙ, в сб. *Книгопечатание*, 131–132) and misses that the specificity of the research was shaped by the presence and the nature of the collection. In another paper he states in cold blood that “the collection of the former Museum of Palaeography that was out of place in the Institute of History was partitioned”, and in the next sentence enthusiastically exclaims: “Thanks to the works of N.P.LIKHACHEV priceless treasures of culture were saved for scholarship” (СВОЙСКИЙ, *ВИ* 1977/4, 214, original in Russian). A well-founded negative judgement of the partition was expressed only in publications of the last fifteen years and in the arrangement of a special exhibition *From the Collections of N.P.LIKHACHEV* (Russian Museum, St.Petersburg, 1993).

⁵⁷ ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 36–39, кат.№№ 1–2, our Cat.nos.1–2.

⁵⁸ ЛУРЬЕ, МАТЬЕ, *Путеводитель*, рис.[2]; МАТЬЕ, ПАВЛОВ, *Памятники искусства*, табл.11, 14; LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Cat.nos. 14–17; ФИНГАРЕТ, *Искусство древнего Египта*, рис. на с.23; ЛАНДА, ЛАПИС, *Путеводитель*, рис. на с.9, низ, верх.

PEREPELKIN⁵⁹. I asked him if my study would upset his plans and received permission to investigate and publish Old Kingdom objects without hesitation. Nonetheless, when writing my first paper on one of LIKHACHEV's monuments, I still felt uneasy, but when it was out a year after PEREPELKIN's death⁶⁰, it already came to light that no epigraphic study of the collection had been written by him⁶¹, which finally eased me of my doubts. Several monuments were published in the following years⁶², but then my work gradually stopped and only one paper reflects the progress made in the nineties when I already was a keeper of the collection⁶³. First of all, having been busy with other projects, I could not devote to the monuments as much time as they deserved. Second, I always wanted to turn the weakness of the Hermitage collection – the low number of objects – into a merit and to publish a catalogue with the comments more detailed than the editors of more extensive collections can manage, but it seemed to me that I have already discussed the most interesting pieces and I did not want to limit myself to nothing more than formal comments on the others. However some background work was going on⁶⁴ and finally it became clear that almost all the monuments were of importance in one respect or another. In the year 2001 I proceeded to write a catalogue. Its text was outlined in general in 2003, but the strict framework of catalogue entries started conflicting with the tasks of the research soon; moreover, several unpublished monuments of the owners of the Hermitage pieces have been found that were worth presenting with ours, which would be also unusual in a catalogue. The last incitement to the rejection of a classical form of a catalogue was a collapse of the computer with the final version of the book early in 2004, and instead of restoring the lost text I converted it into the present *Studies*, more voluminous and having a more flexible structure of descriptions and comments. Line drawings were made mainly in 2003–2004 by means of a method basically identical to the “digital epigraphy” of Peter DER MANUELIAN⁶⁵ but differing from it in technical details since it has been developed independently for different hard- and software.

⁵⁹ One must not be surprised by rumors being a source of information on PEREPELKIN's work – he was a legendary person and it seems that he enjoyed an atmosphere of mystery around himself; therefore very few knew about his affairs and nobody knew about them in full. It must be also considered that all his great works were published after decades-long delays (e.g. ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства* was finished in mid 50s, but appeared in print only in 1988) and it was impossible to foresee what treasure would appear from a drawer of his working desk next.

⁶⁰ БОЛЬШАКОВ, *СТЭ* 48.

⁶¹ PEREPELKIN with his memory infallible even in old age could write quickly and completing a large book in a month if all the spade-work had already been done was not impossible for him. Thus, I believe that the rumors about a study of LIKHACHEV's monuments were not a mere legend – it could have been ready in his head, but not committed to paper.

⁶² БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 23:1; idem., *СТЭ* 51; idem., *ЭВ* 24.

⁶³ BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 134.

⁶⁴ БОЛЬШАКОВ, *БК* 7; BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 188; idem., *GM* 193; БОГДАНОВ, БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ВЛП* 249.

⁶⁵ Described in MANUELIAN, *JARCE* 35, and exemplarily applied in MANUELIAN, *Slab Stelae*.



A problem of dating crucial for the studies of Old Kingdom monuments may be worth considering here in a word in order not to revert to it in comments on objects. Modern methods of dating go back to G.A.REISNER (mainly archaeology, architecture and typology of tombs) and even more to H.JUNKER (mainly epigraphy and decoration of tombs). There is no doubt that their methods developed in the first half of the twentieth century may and must be modified and corrected, but their kernels are more than rational and on no account must they be discarded. Unfortunately, principles completely destroying the long and well-founded tradition of dating gained wide popularity during the last decade and a half. The case in point is the approach put forward by Nadine CHERPION⁶⁶. I have already expounded my opinion on it as a faulty and dangerous way in Old Kingdom studies⁶⁷ (which is mainly a reproach not at her, but at careless admirers of the book by her) and I can hardly add anything to it. “One-dimensional, one-sided criteria are dangerous for dating purposes” and even “seemingly objective, because statistical”, methods of dating “clearly suffer from this drawback”⁶⁸. Therefore, datings based on CHERPION’s criteria are not discussed in the present book save and except the cases where it is absolutely necessary.

The largest and the most grounded list of dates of Old Kingdom tombs available nowadays has been composed by Y.HARPUR⁶⁹, and I refer primarily to it when a scrutiny of details is not necessary. HARPUR’s datings are dependable enough to make her list the main source of references, but in cases of need it is supplemented by the datings after MÁLEK⁷⁰, STRUDWICK⁷¹, KANAWATI⁷², BAER⁷³, BOLSHAKOV⁷⁴. These datings are alluded to as traditional; I admit that the word is too indefinite to be used as a term, but it must be borne in mind that it concerns no more than the datings independent of CHERPION’s conclusions.



The book includes 22 Old Kingdom monuments and monuments that can be dated to the period but may be somewhat later as well. They are ordered as three groups:

⁶⁶ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*. See reviews and papers with critical analysis: MÁLEK, *DE* 20; MARTIN-PARDEY, *OLZ* 86; KANAWATI, *JEA* 78; ROTH, *JNES* 53; SEIDLMAYER, in *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse*; BAUD, in *Critères de datation*.

⁶⁷ BOLSHAKOV, in *Mélanges Varga*, 77.

⁶⁸ FRANKE, *JEA* 89, 56–57.

⁶⁹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265–284.

⁷⁰ *PM III*².

⁷¹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*.

⁷² KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*.

⁷³ BAER, *Rank and Title*.

⁷⁴ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 50–85.

(1) sculpture, (2) reliefs and inscribed blocks, (3) offering stones and an ointment palette; within these groups, they are arranged in chronological order.

The following conventions have been adopted in the book.

Transliterations and translations:

- () weak consonants and words omitted in standard word combinations;
- [] reconstructed words and parts of words in lacunae;
- { } signs being an orthographic error;
- / / words absent in the original texts but added to translation for comprehensibility;
- ... passages omitted in text quotations;
- lacunae where no reconstruction can be provided.

Direction of reading ⁷⁵:

- ← → in horizontal lines;
- ↕ ↕ in vertical columns;
- └ in horizontal lines continued by vertical columns;
- └ in vertical columns continued by horizontal lines.


Orientation of representations:

- ◀ facing left;
- ▶ facing right.

References to monuments:

- < > information on position of tombs, datings, museum numbers, etc;
- [] numbers of monuments in lists.

Drawings:

-  Line drawings traced and computed by the author.



My teachers who encouraged the initial stages of this work are no more with us. Prof. Yuri Yakovlevich PEREPELKIN witnessed only my first steps, but I always felt his presence when writing the book that is a result of a tacit dialogue with him, and I hope that he would like the outcome... In the 80^s I used to come to the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Studies every Wednesday for talking with Prof. Oleg Dmitrievich BERLEV. In the reading room he always occupied a table by the window facing the Neva and a fortress on the other bank, and I could enjoy both discussing the widest range of scholarly problems and the magnificent view no other Egyptological institution in the world can offer. Some inscriptions on the monuments published here were considered

⁷⁵ Not direction of signs, cf. FISCHER, *Reversals*, 5–6.

during those happy hours of conversion of a disciple into a colleague of one of the most prominent Egyptologists of the century; when in the 90^s our meetings came to an end because of BERLEV's illness, the world around changed greatly for me.

It is also a duty and a pleasure to express my gratitude to a number of colleagues and friends of mine whose help was substantial for the completion of the book in its present shape. Dr. Eleni VASSILIKA, former Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Dr. Mogens JØRGENSEN, Curator of the Egyptian Department, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, and Dr. Mohamed SALEH, former Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, gave me permissions to publish monuments kept in their museums. Thanks to Dr. James P. ALLEN, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Dr. Stephen G. QUIRKE, former Assistant Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, I could work in the magazines in their charge on objects somehow related to those published in this book; the latter, now Curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London, was also so kind as to correct my English. With Dr. Ivan V. BOGDANOV, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, I could argue some Old Kingdom titles; writing a paper devoted to one of the Hermitage Old Kingdom monuments in co-authorship with him ⁷⁶ was an interesting experience as well; Dr. Andrey G. SOUSHCHEVSKI, Reader, Oriental Faculty, State University of St. Petersburg, read the manuscript and made numerous comments, some of which are incorporated into the final text; some subtle epigraphic details were discussed with Dr. Edward BROVARIKI, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Dr. Peter DER MANUELIAN, MELLON Research Fellow in Ancient Egyptian Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, supplied me with information on unpublished objects from REISNER's excavations; Dr. Ann Macy ROTH, Visiting Assistant Professor, Howard University, shared her knowledge of the history of archaeological activities at Giza with me and allowed me to reproduce line drawings of some reliefs in tombs G 2097 and G 2098 published by her; Dr. Julia HARVEY advised me on the chronology of Old Kingdom wooden sculpture; Gabriele PIEKE, M.A., Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin, Ägyptologisches Seminar, Universität Bonn, acquainted me with her unfinished dissertation on the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* and thereby helped to reconstruct the original position of a block of his son now in the Hermitage; Dr. Silke M. GRALLERT, Wissenschaftliche Assistentin in the same Seminar, persuaded me of the necessity of transforming the catalogue into "Studies" and took care to make my work in Bonn where a good deal of the book was written as comfortable as possible. And last but not least I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Ursula RÖBLER-KÖHLER, editor of *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, for accepting the book for the series.

⁷⁶ БОГДАНОВ, БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ВАН* 249.

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MONUMENTS

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1. Family Group of *ḥnh-wd.s*

Inv. no.: □18107.

DATE: Late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: Black (base and the back “wall”, wig, hair, eyebrows, eyelids, irises), white (garments, bangles, whites of the eyes), red (body of the man, pleats on the man’s kilt), yellow (body of the woman).

DIMENSIONS: Height 40 cm, width of the base 23 cm, depth of the base 29 cm.

CONDITION: Head and left shoulder of the female figure lost; minor dents; much of the pigments lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded, most probably from Saqqara.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Acquired by LIKHACHEV in Egyptian Museum, Cairo, as a doublet¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ФИНГАРЕТ, *Искусство древнего Египта*, рис. на с.23.

LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, pl.14.

Эрмитаж 2000, 248.

MORENO GARCÍA, in *Estudios López*.

BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 188.

RELATED MONUMENT: Statue Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907 (BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 188).

DESCRIPTION

The statue (pl. II–V) is a family group with a sitting male and a standing female figure. The man sits on a cubical block that is not separated from the back “wall” of the composition. He wears a short wrap-around kilt and a wig covering his ears and almost reaching his shoulders; natural locks are shown on the forehead as dropped from under the wig. His clenched right fist resting horizontally on his lap holds a kerchief rendered as a cylinder^a; the left hand is open. The wife of the owner stands on the left of him (on viewer’s right)^b embracing his shoulders with her right arm; her left arm is lowered. She wears a tightly fitting dress reaching mid-shin and two bangles on either ankle. The head and the left shoulder of the female figure are lost, but originally it was as high as that of the sitting man.

The quality of the work is not bad, but the master was rather inaccurate in some respects. The female figure is slanted outwards as if ready to fall, the neck of the man is too thick in profile, while the shape of the wig with

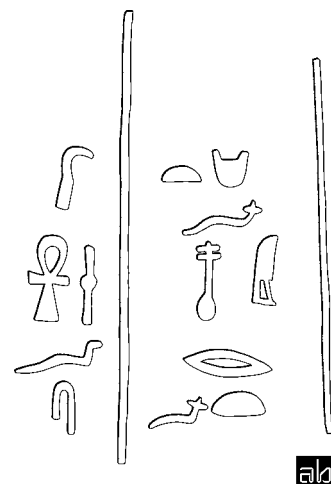


Fig. 1.1

Inscription on the family group of *ḥnh-wd.s*, Hermitage □18107

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111, rev.

a flattened rear part and the parting turning into a shallow depression at the crown is abnormal.

INSCRIPTION

On the upper surface of the base, in front of the feet of the woman, there are two columns of incised hieroglyphs (fig.1.1, pl.VI). Although the direction of script within the columns is from right to left (↵), the order of the columns is from left to right, thus corresponding to the arrangement of the figures:

Inscription 1 / 1

① *ḥk3 ʿnh-wd.s* ② *ḥm.t.f Jj-nfr.t.f* –

① Chief ^b *ʿnh-wd.s*, ② his wife *Jj-nfr.t.f* ^d.

ANOTHER STATUE OF *ʿNH-WD.S*

Another statue of *ʿnh-wd.s* is kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

INV. NO.: E.35.1907.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: Black (base and seat, wig, eyebrows, eyelids, irises), white (kilt, whites), red (body).

DIMENSIONS: Height 59 cm, width of the base 19 cm, depth of the base 33 cm.

CONDITION: Minor dents; much of the pigments lost.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara.

ACQUISITION HISTORY: Acquired in 1907 in Egypt, circumstances unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 188.

The statue (pl.VII) represents a man sitting on a square block without a back. He wears a short wrap-around kilt and a long wig reaching his shoulders. His clenched right fist holding a kerchief rendered as a cylinder ^a rests vertically on his lap, the left hand is open.

The face is plumper than that of the man in the Hermitage group, the eyes are smaller and the eyebrows are more curved. The neck is very thick *en face*, but it looks much more natural in profile. The torso is heavier and the legs are thicker than those of the Hermitage statue, with their bone structure represented less definitely.

INSCRIPTIONS

On the upper surface of the base, two similar inscriptions are incised on either side of the feet (↵, fig.1.2, pl.VIII):

Inscriptions 1 / 2, 1 / 3

ḥk3 ʿnh-wd.s –

Chief *ʿnh-wd.s*.

The uncommon name and the title of *ḥnb-wd.s*², similar epigraphic features of the monuments³, as well as the almost exact coincidence of the dates of acquisition of the Hermitage and the Fitzwilliam statues prove that they represent the same man and must be considered together.

At this, the two statues seem to be carved by different masters of approximately the same skill, each of them having his worth and limitations. However, an exact congruence of the shapes of signs and their almost similar grouping prove that the inscriptions were made by the same hand. This may shed some light on the organisation of the workshop where these monuments were executed: it incorporated several sculptors who were not involved into making inscriptions and a master specialised in carving hieroglyphs.

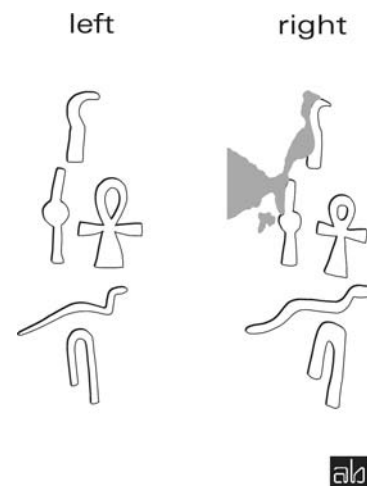


Fig.1.2
Inscriptions on the statue
of *ḥnb-wd.s*,
Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907

COMMENTARY

- ^a Although numerous interpretations of the “cylinders” have been offered, the problem is surely resolved now⁴. See, e.g., the sitting statues of *Kdfjj* (KHM ÄS 7443, Giza WF)⁵, *Jtf* (RPM 3265, Giza GIS)⁶, and of an anonymous man in a family group Louvre A 45 (provenance unrecorded)⁷ with two ends of the kerchief represented as lying on the lap.
- ^b This conforms to the rule according to which the most important figure in family groups occupies the dominant position on the viewer’s left⁸.
- ^c *Hk3.w* were chiefs of private and state household units, *n(j)w.wt* and *h(w).wt*, responsible for cattle and agricultural works⁹. *Hk3* is no doubt an abbreviated form

² See Commentaries c, d.

³ See below, Epigraphic Features.

⁴ See FISCHER, *MMJ* 10; HELCK, in *LA* V; FEHLIG, *SAK* 13.

⁵ JUNKER, *Giza* VI, Taf.7; JAROŠ-DECKERT, ROGGE, *CAA Wien* XV, 23–25.

⁶ MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim* IV, 155.

⁷ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 159.

⁸ SIMPSON, in *FsEggebrecht*.

⁹ Although the titles including the component *h3* are widely spread, they are studied still unsatisfactorily. PIACENTINI issued a detailed reference book on *h3.w n(j)w.wt* (PIACENTINI, *Amministratori di proprietà*), but it contains no discussion of their functions and role in social life and

of *ḥk3 n(j)w.t* or *ḥk3 ḥ(w).t*¹⁰. According to PEREPELKIN, the first option is much more probable: the bearers of higher titles, *ḥk3.w ḥ(w).wt*, not to mention *ḥk3.w ḥ(w).wt ʕ3.w* and *ḥk3.w n(j)-sw.t* engaged in the royal household, would spell their title in a full form¹¹. Moreover, the legends to the scene of punishment of seven *ḥk3.w ḥ(w).wt* in the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* <Saqqara TPC>¹² prove that these small officials who were often ruthlessly beaten, could simultaneously hold higher offices¹³; thus, the fact that *ḥnb-wd.s* could not boast of other titles, most probably means that he was the lowest of *ḥk3.w* – a *ḥk3 n(j)w.t*. This makes the case of *ḥnb-wd.s* unique: he was the only known *ḥk3* (= *ḥk3 n(j)w.t*) who could commission two statues of a rather high quality and, accordingly, a tomb, which, no matter how small it might be, was an expensive structure¹⁴.

^d The name *ḥnb-wd.s* is rare¹⁵; however, it is recorded on several monuments besides the Hermitage and the Fitzwilliam statues:

(1) Ointment tablet MMA 11.150.1A¹⁶ and offering table MMA 11.150.1B¹⁷ <provenance unknown, but most probably from the Saqqara – Abusir region¹⁸>. Three variants of spelling [a–c]. The owner is Overseer of the

offers almost no conclusions (see also *idem.*, in *SEAP* 13). The most important study of the title is in the book by PEREPELKIN on private Old Kingdom households (ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 129–131).

¹⁰ See references in JONES, *Index*, 662:2426.

¹¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 132.

¹² DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.36.

¹³ ♦ *Mrrj* – Carpenter of the King, Scribe;
 ♦ *Wḥmj* – Carpenter of the King, Scribe;
 ♦ *Gfḡf* – Scribe of the royal documents in the presence;
 ♦ *Nḏm-jb(j)* – Overseer of scribes of the land;
 ♦ *Ṣm3w* – Overseer of scribes of *mr.t*;
 ♦ *Jm-ṣttw* (?) – Judge and overseer of scribes.
 ♦ *Ṣpss-ptḥ* – Overseer of scribes of the land.

¹⁴ The present author has supposed elsewhere that some high quality tombs belonging to people of modest positions could have been commissioned by their superiors in reward for a good service (BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 270–271; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 210–211). This also may be the case of *ḥnb-wd.s*.

¹⁵ RANKE, *PN I*, 63:13.

¹⁶ FISCHER, *GM* 107, 70–71, fig.2.





¹⁷ Unpublished, cf. FISCHER, *GM* 107, 74, n.16. The present author had an opportunity to work on both monuments of this *ḥnb-wd.s* thanks to kindness of Dr. Dorothea ARNOLD and Dr. James P. ALLEN.

¹⁸ Seven depressions for ointments are placed along the lower edge of the slab with inscriptions above them; such an arrangement is characteristic of Saqqara and Abusir, while at Giza slabs with the depressions in the upper part are predominant (JUNKER, *Giza VII*, 187; VACHALA, *ZÄS*

house, Overseer of the new settlements, He belonging to the baby king ¹⁹.

- (2) False door Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Æ.I.N.942 ²⁰ <Saqqara, Dyn.VI>. The only title of the owner is Stonemason of the king.
- (3) Family group Louvre E.25368 ²¹ and offering stone Louvre E.25369 ²² <Giza (?), Dyn.V (?) ²³>. The owner is Archivist of the Great House, Archivist of the god's house (?), *Wḥ*-priest of the king, Prophet of Mycerinus, He belonging to the baby king.
- (4) Owner of FAKHRI's Tomb 1 ²⁴ <Giza EF, Dyn.V or later>. The only title of the owner is Inspector of *wḥ*-priests.
- (5) Representation in FAKHRI's Tomb 4 ²⁵ <Giza EF, Dyn.V or later>. The only title of the man is Juridical scribe.

None of these men may be identified with the owner of the Hermitage and the Fitzwilliam statues ²⁶.

The reading of the name is not without problems (fig.1.3). When PEREPEL'KIN worked on the statue in 1930^s, only the Copenhagen false door (2) had been published out of the above monuments and, having no comparative material, he interpreted the name as *Wḥ-ḥnb-wd.s*, which was the easiest reading with a direct order of signs. However, this understanding – either “The Living One has ordered himself” or “Life is ordered by himself/herself” – is at least questionable. Imprimis, it is based on a highly improbable supposition that *wd.s/f/.s* is abbreviated to *wd.s*; moreover, in the first case it remains obscure what is ordered by the Living One, and in the second case it is unclear who grants life and why this person is introduced in such an unnatural way. Secondly, now, when the monuments of other bearers of the name are published, it is obvious that the name, if written horizontally, always reveals another order of signs, with  preceding  (1a, 2–5), variant (1a) proving that  is a phonetic complement to . The order is the same also in vertical col-

108, Abb.1, 3–5, 8); for the list of (not numerous) exceptions see ROCHHOLZ, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, 170.

¹⁹ On the reading see Cat.no.17, Commentary f.

²⁰ PM III², 739; add JØRGENSEN, *Catalogue Egypt I*, 88–89; MANGADO ALONSO, BSEG 21.

²¹ PM III², 298; add ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no. 23.

²² PM III², 298; MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, Taf.31.

²³ Cf. “Dyn.V or VI” (PM III², 298) and “Mykérinos – Niouserrê” (ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 82).

²⁴ FAKHRI, *Sept tombeaux*, fig.1.

²⁵ FAKHRI, *Sept tombeaux*, fig.6.

²⁶ Cf. also                                      

umns (1b, 3), and only once 𓆎 is placed before 𓆏 (1c). On the Cambridge statue, the name is also spelled twice with 𓆏 before 𓆎 . Thus, the name on the Hermitage group should be considered a rare spelling variant of *ʿnh-wd.s*, “Alive is he whom she ordered”²⁷, where “she” is a goddess predicting a destiny of a child²⁸.

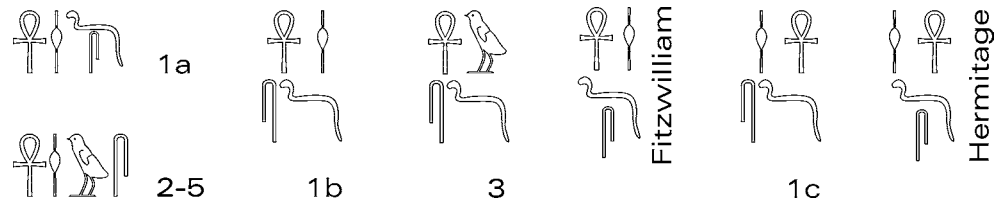
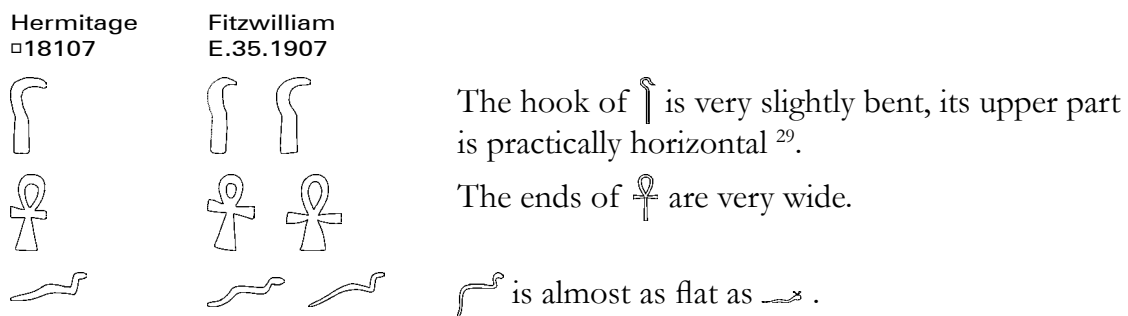


Fig. 1.3
Spelling variants of the name *ʿnh-wd.s*

^e Not registered by RANKE.

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES

Although the inscriptions on the statues of *ʿnh-wd.s* are very brief, they contain several signs having specific shapes similar on the both monuments:



DATING

In the description of the LIKHATCHEV collection, PEREPELKIN dated the Hermitage statue back to Dyn.IV³⁰, and he held this opinion for decades³¹. Thirty years later,

²⁷ RANKE, *PN* I, 63:13.

²⁸ *Wb.*I, 395:7-8.

²⁹ See a detailed discussion below, Dating: The Shape of the 𓆎 sign.

³⁰ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат.№ II.


³¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 132.

MATTHIEU subscribed to PEREPEL'KIN's opinion wholeheartedly and offered a number of extra dating criteria allegedly supporting his dating ³²:

- ◆ Natural locks on the forehead of *ḥnb-wd.s* are paralleled in male statuary only by the head of Mycerunus (JE 40705, now in the museum of Port Said)³³;
- ◆ Rather short dress of *Jj-nfr.t.f* has analogies in two triads of Mycerunus (JE 40678 ³⁴, MFA 09.200 ³⁵);
- ◆ Names including the elements *wd* and *jj* are characteristic of Dyn.IV: *Jj-nfr* ³⁶, *Jj-nfr.t* ³⁷, *K3(j)-wd-ḥnb(j)*³⁸.

With this dating, the Hermitage statue would be the earliest known family group ³⁹ which would attach special significance to it. However, one must admit that the above criteria are either equivocal or erroneous and serious arguments against such an early dating can be adduced.

The shape of the sign

Although PEREPEL'KIN never substantiated his dating in detail, he proceeded mainly from the shape of the  sign with a slightly bent hook that he considered to be archaic ⁴⁰. Most probably, his opinion was based on several inscriptions of Dyn.III – early Dyn.IV, such as those in the mastabas of *R^c(w)-hṯp(.w)* (Meidum 6, reign of Sneferu) ⁴¹ and *Mṯn* (Saqqara NSP, LS 6, reign of Cheops) ⁴². However, the problem is much more intricate ⁴³.

³² ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 37.

³³ VANDIER, *Manuel* III, pl.5-6-7; STADELMANN, in *Critères de datation*, Abb.15.

³⁴ *PM* III², 28; RUSSMANN, *Egyptian Sculpture*, no.7, fig. on p.25.

³⁵ *PM* III², 27.

³⁶ *PM* III², 894.

³⁷ *PM* III², 298–299; now also SCHÜRMANN, *Ii-nefret*.

³⁸ *PM* III², 894.

³⁹ ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 38.

⁴⁰ Personal communication, cf. also ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 132.

⁴¹ PETRIE W.M.F., *Medum*, pl.10.

⁴² *LD* II, Bl.3, 5–7.

⁴³ Hereafter we shall refer to the shapes of the sign represented in fig.1.4:

[A] Hermitage □18107;

[B–C] Fitzwilliam E.35.1907;

[1–2] *3ḥ.t(j)-ḥ3(.w)* (Saqqara NSP, Louvre B1, B2, late Dyn.III), ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 99;

[3] Statue of Djoser (JE 49889, reign of Djoser), WILDUNG, *Imhotep*, Taf.1;

[4] *Ḥṯ(j)-b3.w-ḫkr/Ḥṯs* (Saqqara NSP, A 2 = S 3073, Dyn.III), BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.10;

- [5–8] *Mtn* <Saqqara NSP, LS 6, reigns of Sneferu – Cheops>: [5–6] *LD II*, Bl.3, [7] *ibid.*, Bl.7, [8] *ibid.*, Bl.6;
- [9] *R^c(w)-hṭp(.w)* <Meidum 6, reign of Sneferu>, PETRIE W.M.F., *Medum*, pl.10;
- [10–13] *Mtn* <Saqqara NSP, LS 6, reigns of Sneferu – Cheops>: [10–11] *LD II*, Bl.5, [12] *ibid.*, Bl.7; [13] *ibid.*, Bl.3;
- [14] Offering table of *Jj-k3(j)* <CG 57043, Saqqara, Dyn.IV>, ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR III*, un-numbered plate;
- [15] Valley temple of Sneferu <Dahshur, reign of Sneferu>, FAKHRI, *Monuments of Sneferu II/1*, fig.24;
- [16] *3h.t(j)-hṭp(.w)* <Saqqara NSP, A 1 = S 3076 (?), early Dyn.IV>, *Toledo, Egypt I*, fig.8;
- [17] *K3(j)-w^cb(.w)* <G 7110+7120, reign of Cheops>, SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas III*, fig.11-*a*;
- [18–19] *K3(j)-mnj* <Giza CF, LG 96, first half of Dyn.V>, HASSAN, *Giza III*, fig.91;
- [20–21] *šps-ptḥ*, <Abusir, reigns of Neusera – Iseši>: [20] VERNER, *Abusir I/2*, pl.4; [21] *ibid.*, pl.3;
- [22] *Pth-hṭp(.w) II/Tjj* <Saqqara WSP, D 64, mid to late reign of Unis> – DAVIES Norman, *Ptahhetep I*, pl.16;
- [23] *3h.t(j)-mr.w-n(j)-sw.t* <G 2184, reigns of Unis – Teti>, WRZESINSKI, *Atlas III*, Taf.69;
- [24–25] *H3gj* <G 2352, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI>, SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas IV*, fig.45;
- [26] *D3d3(j)-m-ʿnh I* <Saqqara NSP, D 11, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI>, BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.52;
- [27] *N(j)-sw(.t)-nfr(.w)* <G 4970, reigns of Userkaf – Sahura>, JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.30;
- [28] *K3(j)-m-nfr.t* <Saqqara NSP, D 23, reigns of Iseši – Unis (?)> – SIMPSON, *Kayemnofret*, pl.F;
- [29] *Tjj* <Saqqara NSP, D 22, reign of Neusera or later> – WILD, *Ti II*, pl.112;
- [30] *Hṭp-k3(j)* <Saqqara NSP, S 3509, reigns of Unis – Teti>, MARTIN, *Hetepka*, pl.11;
- [31] *D^cw* <Deir el-Gebrawi 12, mid reign of Pepy II>, DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrāwi II*, pl.9;
- [32] False door fragment BM 1159 <provenance unknown, Dyn.VI>, *Hiero. Texts I²*, pl.35-3;
- [33] False door of *K3r* <BM 1342, provenance unknown, Dyn.VI>, *Hiero. Texts I²*, pl.32-1;
- [34–35] *Mḥw* <Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti>: [34] ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, Taf.44; [35] *ibid.*, Taf.85;
- [36] *Jntj* <Deshasha, reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II>, PETRIE W.M.F., *Deshasbeh*, pl.6;
- [37] *Ttj/K3(j)-ḥp* <el-Hawawish, early – mid reign of Pepy II>, KANAWATI, *el-Hawawish III*, fig.9;
- [38] *Jbj* <Deir el-Gebrawi 8, early reign of Pepy II>, DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrāwi I*, pl.5;
- [39] *D^cw* <Deir el-Gebrawi 12, mid reign of Pepy II>, DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrāwi II*, pl.5;
- [40] *T3wtj* <el-Qasr wa el-Saiyad T 73, early – mid reign of Pepy II>, SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Hamra Dom*, pl.19;
- [41] Stela of *Jdw I* <Dendera, reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II>, FISCHER, *Dendera*, fig.16;
- [42] Slab stela of *Jr-n-sn* <CG 1391, Saqqara, Dyn.IV>, BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.13;
- [43] *N(j)-hṭp-ḥnm(w)* <Giza, mid Dyn.V – Dyn.VI>, ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.8;
- [44] *ʿnh(j)-m-ʿhr(w)/Zzj* <Saqqara TPC, late reign of Teti – early reign of Pepy I>, BADAWY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig.35;
- [45] *Mḥw* <Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti>, ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, Taf.71;
- [46] *Jttj/šdw* <Deshasha, early reign of Pepy II>, PETRIE W.M.F., *Deshasbeh*, pl.19;
- [47] *Mḥw* <Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti>, ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, pl.64;
- [48] *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jbj* <Saqqara TPC, reign of Pepy I>, JAMES, *Khentika*, pl.9;
- [49] *Jbj* <Deir el-Gebrawi 8, early reign of Pepy II>, DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrāwi I*, pl.7;
- [50] *D^cw* <Deir el-Gebrawi 12, mid reign of Pepy II> – DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrāwi II*, pl.6;

Old Kingdom monuments reveal a great variety of the shapes of this hieroglyph forming five groups with rather indistinct borders: ① signs with a slightly bent upper part, ② signs with a more curved, sometimes horizontal upper part, ③ numerous transitory forms with a more pronounced hook (the upper part slightly bent downwards), ④ signs comparable with the classical Middle Kingdom form having a definite hook, ⑤ signs with a very small degenerated upper part (fig.1.4).

The forms of the first group are characteristic of Dyn.IV⁴⁴ and, quite the reverse, those of the fourth and the fifth groups are absent at that time, but in general the shape of the sign is not a reliable dating criterion. The forms belonging to different groups may be synchronous and coexist on the same monument (sometimes even in the same inscription). The most striking and at the same time the earliest example are the inscriptions on the entrance thicknesses of *3b.t(j)-ʿ3(.w)*, one of the first chapels with high-quality reliefs, where the carefully carved signs of the first group (1) are used side by side with those belonging to the second group (2)⁴⁵. The same phenomenon may be observed in the celebrated autobiography of *Mtn*, cf. [5–8] and [10–13]⁴⁶. In

-
- [51] *N(j)-ʿnb-pjpi/Sbk-htp(.w)/Hpi-km* (Meir A 1, early reign of Pepy II), BLACKMAN, *Meir* V, pl.8;
 - [52] *K3(j)-hj.f* (G 2136, mid reign of Pepy II), JUNKER, *Giza* VI, Abb.46;
 - [53] Slab of *Mn-ʿnb-pjpi* (BM 1262, Dendera, Dyn.VI), *Hiero. Texts* I², pl.37-2;
 - [54] Stela of *Hm(w)-wr(.w)* (Louvre C 198, Abydos, late First Intermediate Period) – ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 203;
 - [55] Stela of *Snnj* (RSM 1910.96, Dendera, First Intermediate Period), FISCHER, *Dendera*, fig.43;
 - [56] Statue of *Jnb* (Munich ÄS 6797, provenance unknown, late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period), SCHOSKE, WILDUNG, *Ägyptische Kunst München*, Abb. an S.28 (Nr.17);
 - [57] Offering-table of *Hpi* (CG 57015, Saqqara, First Intermediate Period), ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR* III, unnumbered plate.

⁴⁴ Their revival in late Dyn.VI (31–33) is rather a result of simplification than that of archaisation characteristic of the period; the same simplification engendered the fifth group in the First Intermediate Period (56–57).

⁴⁵ It even seems that the different forms were used intentionally in *3b.t(j)-ʿ3(w)*: either thickness of the entrance to the chapel bears two titles spelled with the *hḳ3* sign – *hḳ3 n(j)-sw.t* and *hḳ3 b(w).t-ʿ3* – and in both cases a very slightly bent form is used in the first title and a form with a much more curved hook in the second title: [1] and [2] (north thickness) and ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 102–103 (south thickness). Such a consistency of the compiler of the inscriptions allows us to suppose that in the first title *hḳ3* represents not a *hḳ3.t* scepter, but a throwstick to which it bears a striking similarity, see fig.1.5 (personal communication of Dr. Andrey G.SOUSCHEVSKI). However, it is next to impossible to postulate an existence of a new title of unknown meaning basing on a single monument (unfortunately, the tomb of *Pb(j)-r-nfr*, another early *hḳ3 n(j)-sw.t*, is out of reach for epigraphic study owing to inadequate publications; see also n.47).

⁴⁶ Selected references; the signs belonging both to the first and the second group are much more numerous in the chapel of *Mtn* who had many titles including the element *hḳ3*.

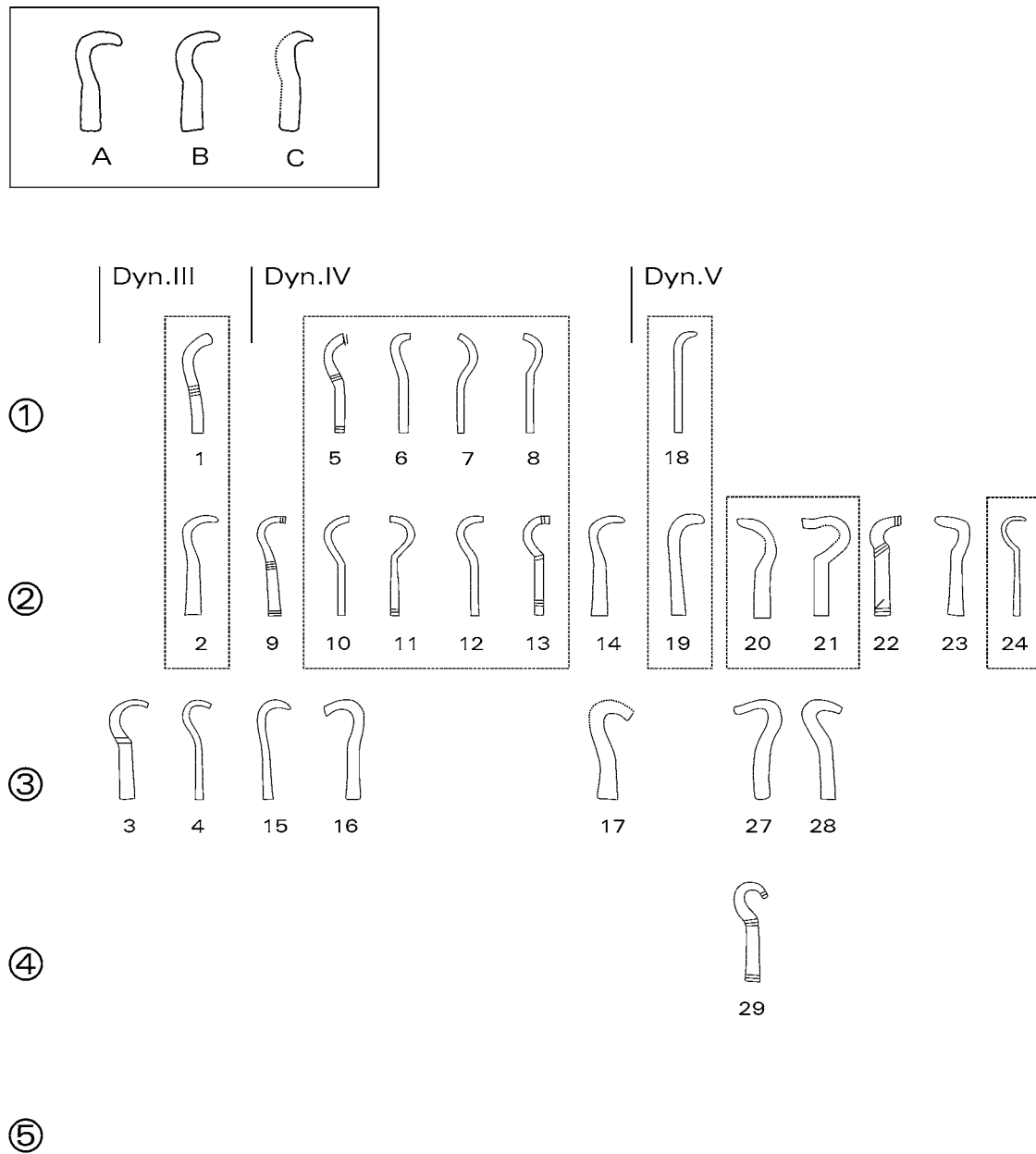
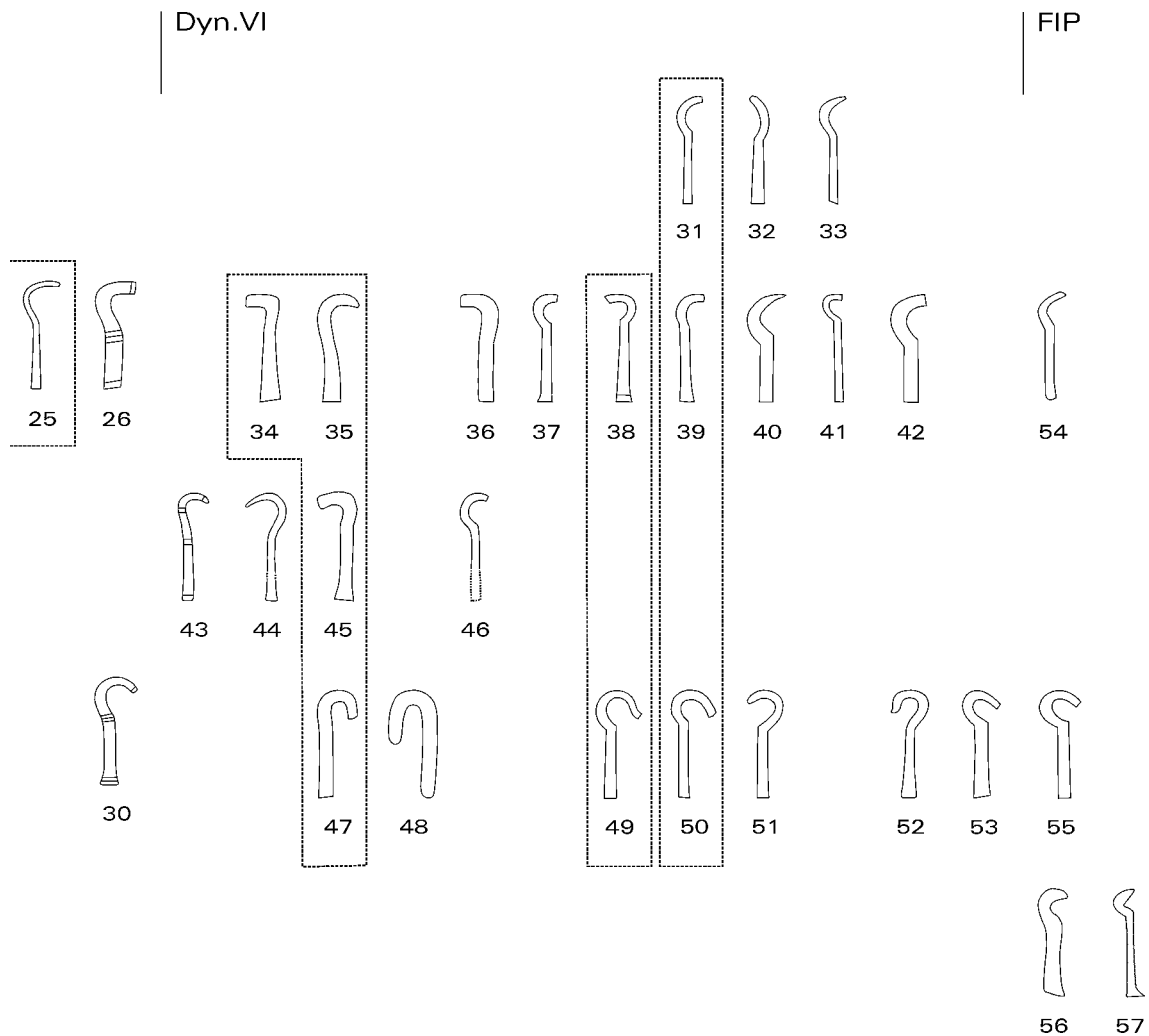


Fig.1.4
Shapes of the *hḳ3* sign in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period

the later periods cf. [18] and [19] (first and second groups), [38] and [49] (second and fourth groups), [34, 35, 45, 47] (second and third groups) and [31, 39, 50] (first, second and fourth groups).

The quality of carving does not influence the shape of the sign either: for instance, in the chapel of *3ḥ.t(j)-3(.w)* the bend is very slight (1), while in *3ḥ.t(j)-ḥtp(.w)* it is close to the norm of the Middle Kingdom (16), although the quality of the reliefs in both tombs is the highest for their time ⁴⁷.



⁴⁷ It is very probable that the hieroglyphs reflected various forms of the real *ḥk3.t* scepters (see fig.1.6). The hooks of the scepter discovered in the predynastic Abydos tomb U-j, of several scepters from the Meidum Mastaba 17, and of those represented on the ivory handle of a predynastic knife in the Metropolitan Museum of Art are as different as the shapes of the signs. It is also of interest that the shapes of the hieroglyphs and of the scepters are not synchronous – it seems that various *ḥk3.t* scepters coexisted in the Old Kingdom, which made it possible to use various forms of the hieroglyph.

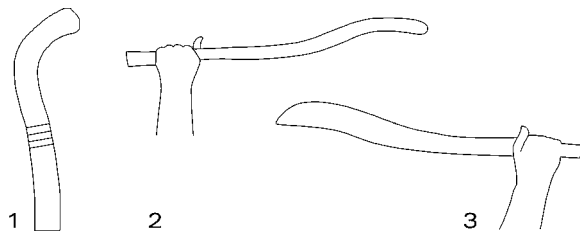


Fig. 1.5

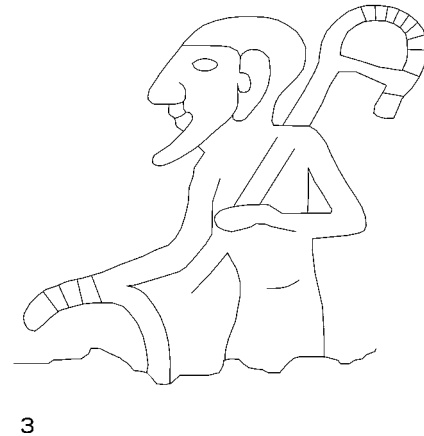
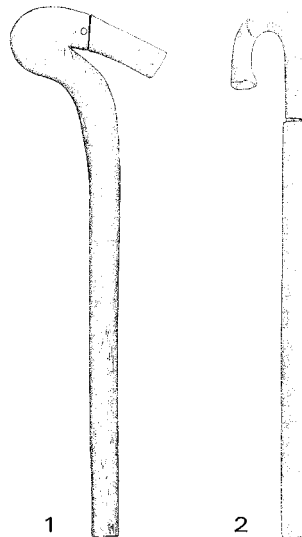
Hieroglyph *ḥkꜣ* and throwsticks.


1. *ḥt.t(j)-ḥ(w)* (after ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 99); 2. *Kꜣr* (after SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas II*, fig. 18); 3. *Nfr-jr.t-n.f* (after WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1)

Fig. 1.6

Various shapes of the *ḥkꜣ.t* sceptre

1. Abydos, tomb U-j (after DREYER, *Umm el-Qaab I*, Abb. 85); 2. Meidum, mastaba 17 (after PETRIE W.M.F., et al., *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, pl. 11-8); 3. Carving on a handle of a predynastic knife (after HAYES, *Scepter I*, fig. 21)



The form used by the carver of *ḥnb-wd.s* belongs to the second group that existed through the whole of the Old Kingdom, and although some of the analogies are very early (the closest are [2, 9, 14]), others are dated to Dyn. V–VI (the closest are [23, 26, 35, 42]). Thus, the shape of  is of no importance for the dating of the statues of *ḥnb-wd.s*.

The coiffure of *ḥnb-wd.s*, Hermitage □18017

MATTHIEU was in the right when stating that the locks of natural hair on the forehead of *ḥnb-wd.s* are unique in private male sculpture. More than three decades that passed after this asseveration has been voiced made a great amount of Old Kingdom statuary available for an adequate study, but this feature still remains exceptional. As for the comparison with the alabaster head of Mycerinus JE 40705 as a ground for dating, it is evidently weak for two reasons. First, a juxtaposition of the royal and the private Old Kingdom iconography is misleading in general, especially if we try to compare the statues unique each in its category. Second, the treatment of the locks is quite different. In the case of Mycerinus they are rendered in high relief and are shown not only on the forehead, but also on the temples, where they look like longer strands. The treatment of the locks of *ḥnb-wd.s* is much more conventional, the relief is lower and the temple locks are absent.

Interestingly, a female statue Louvre A.109 (Saqqara) has a wig and forelocks very similar to those of the Hermitage *ḥnb-wd.s*⁴⁸. Stylistically this uninscribed statue no doubt dates back to Dyn.IV⁴⁹, but the solid build of the woman has nothing in common with the delicate stature of *ḥnb-wd.s* and especially with a slim figure of his wife. More distant, but also rather close to *ḥnb-wd.s* are the wig and forelocks of the wife of *Jb.t-nb(w)* (G 1206) as represented in the family group PAHMA 6.19775⁵⁰ that is hardly earlier than middle Dyn.V⁵¹. Although a comparison of male and female statuary is highly insecure, this may be a good illustration of uselessness of forelocks as a dating criterion.

The dress of *Jj-nfr.t.f*

This argument is so weak that it hardly deserves a special discussion. Dress may be indeed rather short in Dyn.IV (e.g., *Jj-nfr.t* (Louvre E.6854, Giza (?))⁵², *Kjtsn* (CG 48, Saqqara NSP, B 9)⁵³), but also in Dyn. V (e.g., the wife of *M3-nfr* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Saqqara NSP, D 37)⁵⁴; *N(j)-k3(.w)-nb.tj* (CG 82, Giza)⁵⁵) and later (a good example is a wooden statue of the second style CG 139⁵⁶).

Elements *wd* and *jj* in the names

The absurdity of this “criterion” is obvious. Two of the three bearers of the names cited by MATTHIEU actually lived much later than Dyn.IV:

- ◆ *K3(.j)-wd-ḥnb(.j)* (Dahshur ESPS) – Dyn.V, reign of Neusera (?)⁵⁷.
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t* (BLmK H.532, Giza) – Dyn.V, reigns of Neusera – Isesi⁵⁸.

Wd occurs rather rarely in Old Kingdom names besides *ḥnb-wd.s*, all the bearers of this name being hardly earlier than Dyn.V⁵⁹. *Jj* is a much more common component

⁴⁸ VANDIER, *Manuel III*, pl.15-5; ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no.47.

⁴⁹ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 173 (“Sans doute VI^e dynastie” on p.171 is a misprint).

⁵⁰ REISNER, *RecPast* 4, fig. on p.138; LUTZ, *Statues*, pl.34, 35-a.

⁵¹ *PM III*², 58.

⁵² ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no.28.

⁵³ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.12.

⁵⁴ *PM III*², 457; now also ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 133. The dating offered by ZIEGLER is based mainly on stylistic features, but it is no doubt more realistic than late Dyn.VI in *PM III*², 456.

⁵⁵ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.19.

⁵⁶ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.31.

⁵⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 279:616.

⁵⁸ BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 115, 21–25 (as contrary to HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:17, Merenra – early Pepy II).

⁵⁹ See Commentary d.

and it is sufficient to cite only some later occurrences to demonstrate that it is not characteristic of exclusively Dyn.IV:

- ◆ *Jj-df3* <Saqqara ESP, C 11 = LS 22>⁶⁰ – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura ⁶¹.
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj* <G 6020>⁶² – reigns of Neferirkara ⁶³ – Neusera ⁶⁴.
- ◆ *Jjj* <LS 20 = C 26>⁶⁵ – reign of Isesi ⁶⁶.
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t* <Saqqara UPC>⁶⁷ – reign of Unis ⁶⁸ or later ⁶⁹.
- ◆ *Jj-k3.w(j)*, representation on a relief from the causeway of Unis ⁷⁰ – reign of Unis.
- ◆ *Jj-šm3*, statue of a baker <RPM 2142, from the mastaba of *Špss-ptḥ*, Giza WF> ⁷¹ – late Dyn.V ⁷² – early Dyn.VI ⁷³.
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj.t* <Giza SF> – Dyn.V–VI ⁷⁴;
- ◆ *Jj-nj* (?) <Giza D.42> – Dyn.V–VI ⁷⁵;
- ◆ *Jj-nj* (?) <Giza D.205> – Dyn.V–VI ⁷⁶;
- ◆ *Jj-df3* <G 1313> – late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI ⁷⁷;
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj* <JE 91917, Saqqara NSP>⁷⁸ – late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI ⁷⁹.

⁶⁰ PM III², 759.

⁶¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:347.

⁶² WEEKS, *Giza Mastabas V*, 31–57.

⁶³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:14.

⁶⁴ PM III², 170.

⁶⁵ PM III², 565.

⁶⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:344.

⁶⁷ PM III², 616.

⁶⁸ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:345.

⁶⁹ PM III², 616.

⁷⁰ PM III², 419.

⁷¹ PM III², 151; now also MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim I*, 120.

⁷² PM III², 151.

⁷³ MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim I*, 119.

⁷⁴ PM III², 295.

⁷⁵ PM III², 112.

⁷⁶ PM III², 116.

⁷⁷ PM III², 61.

⁷⁸ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, pl.33-84.

⁷⁹ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, 34 (as contrary to an excessively late dating in PM III², 505).

- ◆ *Jj-mrjj* <G 3098> – Dyn.VI ⁸⁰;
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj I* <Giza GIS> – Dyn.VI ⁸¹;
- ◆ *Jj.t(j)(?)* <Giza WF> – Dyn.VI ⁸²;
- ◆ *Jj-n-br(w)* <Saqqara UPC>⁸³ – late Old Kingdom ⁸⁴;
- ◆ *Jjj* <Saqqara UPC>⁸⁵ – late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period ⁸⁶;

Thus, not a single criterion offered in favour of an early dating is reliable and the statues may be dated only on the strength of their stylistic features.

Stylistic features

The Hermitage group no doubt belongs to the second style of the Old Kingdom and bears its main characteristics ⁸⁷, such as the oversized eyes and lips and the narrow waist and the upper body of *ḥb-wd.s*; with that, his shoulders are wide and the muscles of arms and legs are not degraded. The elongated slim figure of *Jj-nfr.t.f* fits the norms of the second style even to a greater degree. The Cambridge statue, however, is executed according to the traditions of the first half of the Old Kingdom – the eyes and the mouth are not exaggerated and the body is robust.

Therefore, *ḥb-wd.s* should be dated to the initial stage of the second style, when in the same workshop one master kept working traditionally and his fellow already preferred a new manner, but still mixed it with time-honoured features (of course, both statues may be works of the same sculptor who was interested in stylistic experiments, but this does not change their date). One of the earliest manifestations of the second style in sculpture is a group of statues of *Mtj* ⁸⁸ whose tomb dates to the reigns of Unis ⁸⁹ – Teti ⁹⁰ (but

⁸⁰ PM III², 99.

⁸¹ PM III², 218.

⁸² PM III², 120.

⁸³ PM III², 630.

⁸⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:346.

⁸⁵ PM III², 625.

⁸⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:343 (as contrary to an earlier dating in PM III², 625).

⁸⁷ See RUSSMANN, *MDAIK* 51, 269–270.

⁸⁸ PM III², 647–648.

⁸⁹ KAPLONY, *Metbethi*, 7; RUSSMANN, *MDAIK* 51, 274–276.

⁹⁰ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 83:203B; PM III², 646.

hardly to that of Pepi I ⁹¹). Thus, the statues of ꜥnh-wd.s cannot be earlier than the end of Dyn.V or later than the beginning of Dyn.VI.

⁹¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:426. This dating might be possible if KAPLONY's supposition that the fragments of mural paintings of *Mtꜥjj* (Louvre E.25507–25549) (ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 123–151) came from his burial chamber, thus being an analogy to that of *K3(j)-m-ꜥnh* (KAPLONY, *Or* 39, 266). However, such a feature as an ideographic spelling of the name of Anubis (ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 137, 140) contradicts this theory.

2. Head of a Statue

INV. NO.: □5368.

DATE: Old Kingdom – Middle Kingdom.

MATERIAL: Wood.

PIGMENTS: Traces of black (wig) and brown (face).

DIMENSIONS: 20 cm high.

CONDITION: The greater part of plaster coating and paint is lost; the tip of the nose and some locks are missing; numerous cracks.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Acquired by TURAEV, circumstances unknown¹.

1920 – Acquired by the Hermitage with the collection of TURAEV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, кат.№ 2, рис.12.

DESCRIPTION

Head of a male statue (pl.IX–X). The face is elongated, with a long straight nose, rounded cheeks, eyes with their outer edges lowered and small mouth. The heavy echelon-curl wig with rectangular locks covering the ears^a is relatively short and very wide as compared to the size of the face that seems small as a result^b. The curls on the crown of the head are represented not as concentric circles but as a checkwork (pl.IX-2).

COMMENTARY

^a Type W.1 after HARVEY².

^b MATTHIEU supposed³ that “short curled wigs” have been characteristic of Dyn.V–VI and found analogies to the “elongated oval face with big plump lips” in the sculpture of Dyn.VI⁴, which made her date the head to Dyn.VI. Unfortunately, most examples cited by her have very little similarity to the Hermitage head, its mouth being rather small and lips thin⁵, and only one of her analogies deserves such a name – CG 220 (Akhmim, reign of Pepy II)⁶. However, the type of the wig, the only iconographic feature of the head that can be considered, is not a dating criterion at all, for the type W.1 was in use in wooden sculpture from the reign of Sneferu down to the end of the Old Kingdom⁷ and then to the Middle

¹ Since it is not published or mentioned in the list of objects bought by TURAEV during his only trip to Egypt in 1909, it came to the collection by other means.

² HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 11. For the terminology see *ibid.*, 9.

³ ЛАПИС, МАТЬЕ, *Древнеегипетская скульптура*, 38–39.

⁴ E.g., Louvre N.2298 (*Enc.Louvre*, pl.16; VANDIER, *Manuel III*, pl.17-1; ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 164–167, Cat.no.45; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 390–391, Cat.no. B10).

⁵ Although they could be thicker before the destruction of the plaster coating.

⁶ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.45; KANAWATI, *El-Hawawish VII*, pl.18-*b*; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 418–419, Cat.no. B24. At this, almost all the “analogies” listed by MATTHIEU are stone statues that cannot be compared to the wooden ones directly.

⁷ HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 11.

Kingdom and even later, while the head is damaged too much for a careful stylistic analysis.

Thus, minor details must be considered. The most important among them is the excessive width of the wig creating the effect of a small face. A statue of a striding man in the British Museum (EA 55261, provenance unknown)⁸ has a wig producing the same effect more than any other piece of Old Kingdom statuary, but the analogy is not close enough since the wig reveals earlobes and, thus, belongs to HARVEY's type W.1b⁹. There are no better Old Kingdom parallels as far as the present author knows¹⁰, and the only close analogy is the Middle Kingdom statue Louvre E.6207c¹¹. The width of its wig is greater than its height and some other features are also surprisingly close to those of the Hermitage head. In either case locks more or less carefully carved on the outer surface of the wigs are absent on the sides of the lappets touching the face. This characteristic is relatively rare in both wooden¹² and stone sculpture¹³, and its combination with the wideness of the wig must be meaningful. However, the similarity is even more

⁸ ROSS, *Art of Egypt*, pl. on p.111-2; STEAD, *Egyptian Life*, 47, no.63; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 408–409, Cat.no. B19.

⁹ HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 12.

¹⁰ Dr. Julia HARVEY, the best connoisseur of wooden sculpture, regards the following statues as more or less analogues to the Hermitage head (private communication):

- ◆ CG 155 (Saqqara, reign of Unis) (BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.35; DRIOTON, *Art égyptien*, fig.26; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 384–385, Cat.no. B7);
- ◆ PAHMA 6-22886 (Naga ed-Deir N 3777, late Old Kingdom) (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 324–325, Cat.no. A106);
- ◆ CG 370 (Saqqara [?], reign of Pepy II) (BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.59; POSENER et al., *Dictionnaire*, fig. p.273; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 428–429, Cat.no. B29);
- ◆ MFA 12.1234 (Naga ed-Deir N 12, late Old Kingdom) (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 326–327, Cat.no. A107).

However, most of them lack the effect of a large wig and a small face in the same measure as the Hermitage statue makes.

¹¹ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 186–188, Cat.no.52.

¹² E.g., Louvre E.5342 (ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 192–194, Cat.no.54; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 576–577, Cat.no.D9); RPM 1106 (MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim IV*, 1–6; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 396–397, Cat.no. B13); RPM 1244 (MARTIN-PARDEY, *CAA Hildesheim IV*, 7–10; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 432–433, Cat.no. B31); unknown whereabouts (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 538–539, Cat.no. C8). Also with other wig types: W.1b – e.g., RISDMA 25.031 (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 406–407, Cat.no. B18); W.5 – e.g. MRAH E.4905 (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 410–411, Cat.no. B20); Louvre E.10357 (ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 195–197, Cat.no.55; HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 478–479, Cat.no.B54); AMSM 1996.136 (HARVEY, *Wooden Statues*, 572–573, Cat.no. D7).

¹³ E.g., the famous statue of *Tj* (CG 20; Saqqara NSP, D 22) (BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, Bl.5; STEINDORFF, *Tj*, Taf.1, 142, 143; *PM III*², 477–478).

striking. The Hermitage head has a very straight nose and an unusually big distance between it and the upper lip that are characteristic of the Louvre statue as well. As a similar feature the stucco coating must be mentioned, although it is a widespread technology.

VANDIER has dated the Louvre statue back to the Old Kingdom¹⁴, but ZIEGLER is no doubt in the right when relating it stylistically to Middle Kingdom statuary of Siut¹⁵. The closest analogies to it are three statues of *Nḥtj* (Siut 7), Louvre E.12028¹⁶, JE 36283¹⁷, JE 36282^{18 19} with very wide wigs (especially the latter) creating the illusion of a small face. DELANGE dates *Nḥtj* to early Dyn.XII²⁰, but this is hardly possible since his name is never followed by the epithet *m3^c-ḥrw*, “true of voice” that appeared in early Dyn.XI²¹ and became obligatory in the beginning of the Middle Kingdom²². Thus, the most probable date of the statues of *Nḥtj* and, perhaps, also of Louvre E.6207c is Dyn.X. Wigs of some figures of soldiers belonging to two wooden groups from the Siut tomb of *Msh.t(j)* (CG 257, 258; Dyn.X)²³ are also unusually wide, resembling those of the above statues. The statue of the nomarch *Df3.j-ḥ(ḥ)p(j) I* (Siut 1, reign of Senusert I, Louvre E.26915)²⁴ also has a wide wig (however, of type W.1b, with earlobes revealed), although an exceptional quality of work saves it of an impression of a diminished face.

DATING AND PROVENANCE

Thus, the closest analogies to the Hermitage head are from the First Intermediate Period Siut, and these may be also its date and provenance. However, nothing contradicts an earlier or a later date, from the Old (probably late) to the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁴ VANDIER, *Manuel* III, 90, n.4.

¹⁵ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 188.

¹⁶ CHASSINAT, PALANQUE, *Assiout*, pl.12-2; CAPART, *JEA* 6, pl.24 (bottom, left); VANDIER, *Manuel* III, pl.53-5; DELANGE, *Catalogue des statues*, 158–159.

¹⁷ CHASSINAT, PALANQUE, *Assiout*, pl.5; CAPART, *JEA* 6, pl.24 (top, left).

¹⁸ CHASSINAT, PALANQUE, *Assiout*, pl.11-1 (right).

¹⁹ Numbers of the Cairo statues of *Nḥtj* after HARVEY, *GM* 116.

²⁰ DELANGE, *Catalogue des statues*, 151, 154, 158.

²¹ SCHENKEL, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 76.

²² Cf. DOXEY, *Non-royal Epithets*, 92: “Its use was well established by Dynasty 12”. Not numerous Old Kingdom occurrences are studied in detail by ANTHERS, *JNES* 13.

²³ Repeatedly reproduced, but never properly published, see *PM* IV, 264 and add, e.g., RIESTERER, *Ausgewählte Kostbarkeiten*, Taf.19; DONADONI, *Ägyptisches Museum*, Abb. an S.56–57. Probably the best reproductions are TIRADRITTI, *Treasures*, 108–111.

²⁴ VANDIER, *CRAIBL* 1971; idem., *RdL* 22, fig.19–20; DELANGE, *Catalogue des statues*, 76–77.

3. Relief of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*

INV. NOS.:

- 18126 (hereafter blocks I–III),
- 18124 (hereafter block IV).

DATE: Late Dyn.V; perhaps the reigns of Iseki – Unis.

MATERIAL: Limestone, limestone plaster.

PIGMENTS: Slight traces of red pigment on the body of the owner.

DIMENSIONS:

- I: 39 cm long, 35 cm high, 10 cm thick;
- II: 92 cm long, 39 cm high, 10 cm thick;
- III: 65 cm long, 42 cm high, 10 cm thick;
- IV: 72 cm long, 34 cm high, 10 cm thick.

CONDITION: Plaster is partly lost; especially large losses are along the edges of the blocks and in the right part of blocks I–III.

PROVENANCE: Giza, mastaba G 2098.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

- 1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.
- 1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.
- 1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 13, кат.№№ III (blocks I–III), VIII (block IV).

МАТЬЕ, ПАВЛОВ, *Памятники искусства*, табл. 14 (block IV).

LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, pl.16 (block IV).

ЛАНДА, ЛАПИС, *Путеводитель*, рис. на стр.9, верх (block IV).

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ВК* 7, 91–96, рис. на стр.90, 94.

БОГДАНОВ, БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ВДИ* 249, 12–32.

RELATED MONUMENT: mastaba G 2098.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Four blocks fitting one another with representations and inscriptions carved in low relief (fig.3.1, pl.XI–XII-1). Strange as it may be, neither LIKHATCHEV who bought them simultaneously at the same dealer, nor the authors of the later publications noticed that all the blocks adjoin one another, thus forming a single composition, and both in the Museum of Palaeography – Museum/Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts, and in the Hermitage three blocks with the figure of the tomb owner (blocks I–III) and the fourth with the bringing of an oryx (block IV) were regarded as different monuments and got different inventory numbers.

Since the quality of limestone is poor, an untraditional technique of relief was used. The surface of the stone was covered with a 3–5 mm thick layer of slightly pinkish plaster, and representations and inscriptions were carved in it before final consolidation, which caused a very specific smearing of the outlines. It is also possible that when the relief was executed, the surface of the plaster was pressed with a kind of a darby to avoid peeling, which conducted to extra deformation of the outlines ² and to the flattening of the volumes. Since the outlines are much less smeared on the block IV than in the right half of the blocks I–III, it is reasonable to suggest that the wall had been plastered from left to right. This technique is extremely rare; it seems that

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.

² See below, Epigraphic Features.

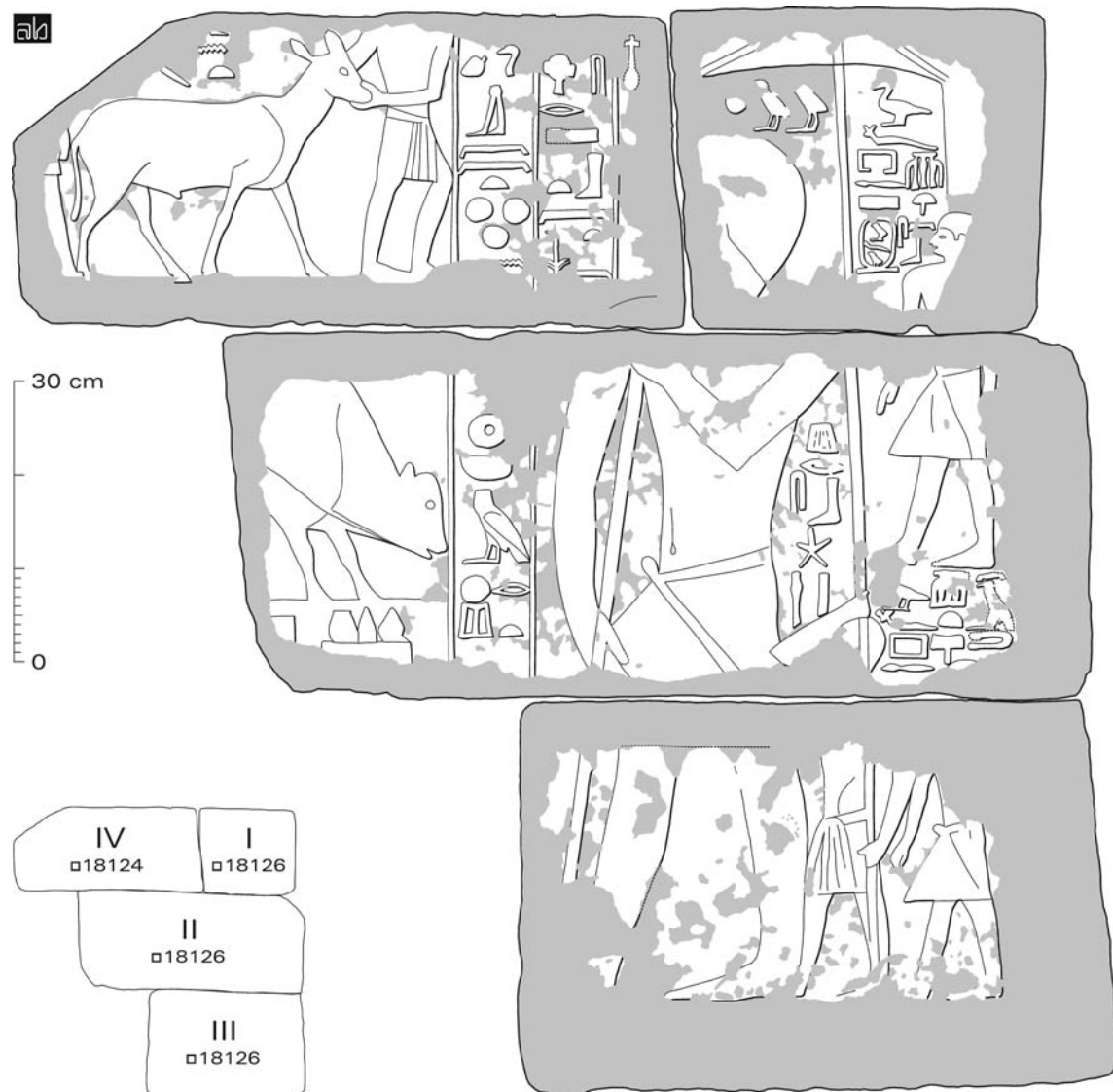


Fig.3.1

Relief of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*, Hermitage 18126, 18124



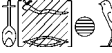
besides the Hermitage blocks there are no Old Kingdom reliefs of this type in the museums of the world³.

PROVENANCE

The provenance of the relief can be reconstructed with certainty. It comes from the Giza tomb G 2098, the largest but one mastaba in the group of burial places of the *hnt(j).w-š* attendants at the north of the West Field of Cheops (fig.3.2, pl.XII-2). Its

³ See also n.15.

chapel is a large recess in the west wall of a north – south corridor formed by the body of G 2098 and the adjoining G 2099 ⁴. A table scene accompanied with the scenes of butchery and bringing offerings is placed on the west wall of the chapel between two false doors ⁵. The decoration of the north wall is badly damaged and fragmented, but a palanquin scene with related topics can be reconstructed on it ⁶. Three registers of representations of bringing offerings and cattle are intact on the left half of the south wall ⁷ (pl.XIII-1), while a pillar in the centre of the chapel bears figures of the tomb owner standing ⁸. The southern false door is lost; according to ROTH it could have been stolen in antiquity, which would be especially possible were it made of valuable granite ⁹ (this supposition agrees well with the preference given by the Old Kingdom Egyptians to the southern false door as compared to the northern one). It might have happened that during the theft the lining blocks were removed from the right half of the south wall, although a modern robbery seems to be more probable; in any case, they disappeared before REISNER's excavations of 1939 ¹⁰. It is easy to demonstrate that the lost blocks are those kept in the Hermitage:

- ◆ Vertical sizes of the blocks at Giza and in St.Petersburg are the same and the Hermitage relief ideally fits the empty space on the south wall.
- ◆ The front half of an ox in the second register of the Hermitage relief (block II) and the back part in the second register *in situ* fit one another and form a single figure.
- ◆ The front leg of a striding man is present by the left edge of the block IV. Although the plastering by the right edge of the adjoining block at Giza is lost, the space in the lacuna is sufficient for a figure of a man bringing a gazelle that is represented to the left.
- ◆ The column of hieroglyphs on the blocks IV and II continues along the right edge of the lower right block at Giza, while the basket in the lower left part of the block II is that placed on the head of the first woman in the procession of the estates in the lower register *in situ*.
- ◆ The hieroglyphs  above the head of the main figure on the Hermitage relief are a part of the name of the owner of G 2098,  or , *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* ¹¹.

⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.132, 134.

⁵ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.102-a, 105–106, 107-a, fig.192–193.

⁶ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.102-b, 103, 104-a, fig.191; ROTH, in *For His Ka*, 228–229, fig.16.1.

⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.107-b, 108-a, fig.194.

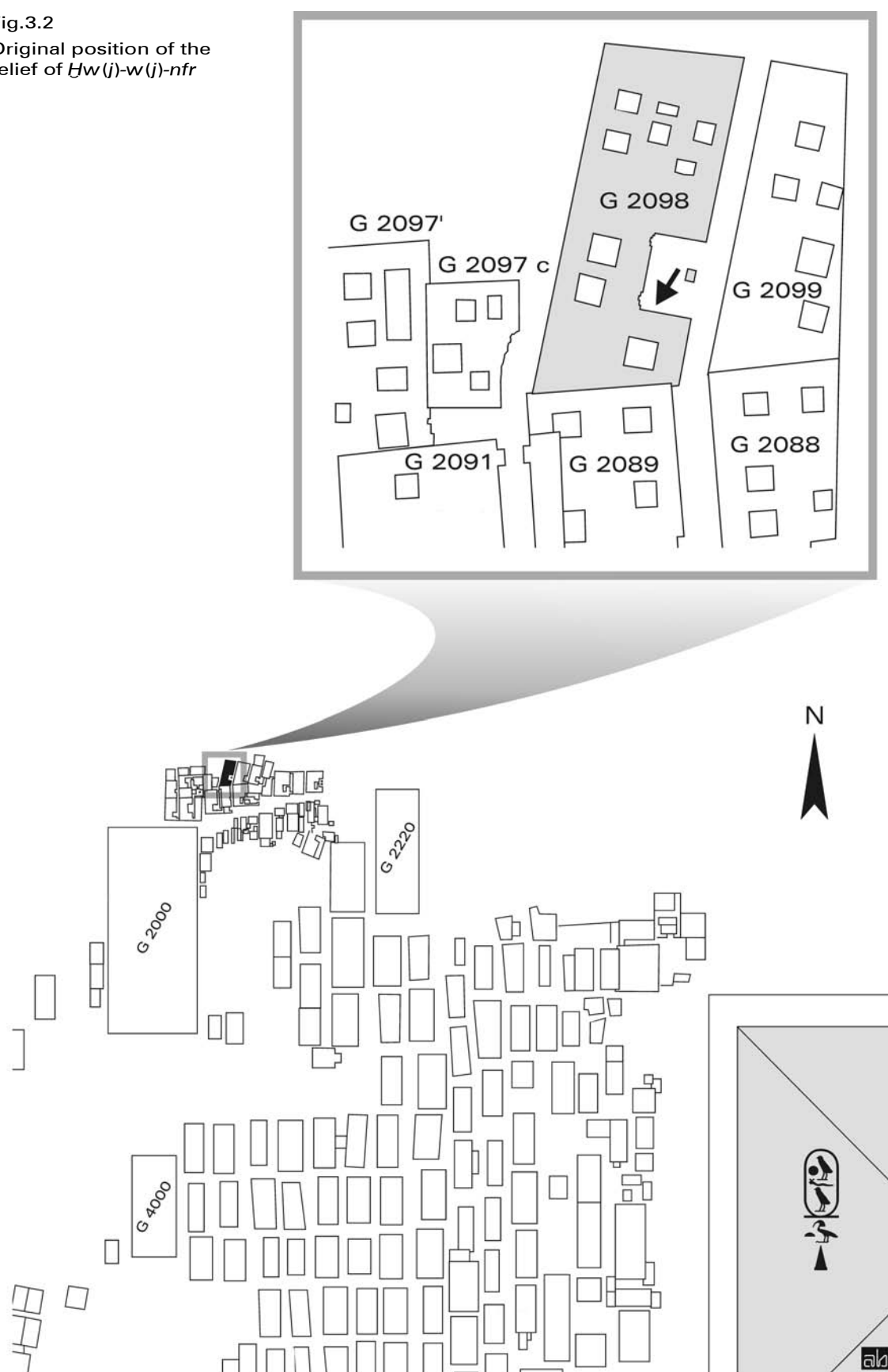
⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.109, fig.196–197.

⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 37.

¹⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.104-b.

¹¹ See Commentary i.

Fig.3.2
Original position of the
relief of $\text{Hw}(j)\text{-w}(j)\text{-nfr}$





- ◆ The names of the two sons of the owner of G 2098, *Hw(j).f-w(j)-snb(.w)* and *Nḥtj*, are recorded also on the Hermitage relief¹².
- ◆ The technique of carving in the non-solidified plaster is the same as concerns the Hermitage relief and the tomb G 2098¹³ (cf. pl.XI, XII-1 and XIII-2). It is characteristic of the cult chambers of the tombs at the cemetery of the *ḥnt(j).w-š*

¹² See Commentaries m, o.

¹³ Cf. ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 145, 148.



Fig.3.3

Reconstruction of the south wall of the chapel of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*

attendants (G 2086, G 2088, G 2091, G 2092–2093, G 2240 ¹⁴) and is used elsewhere only sporadically ¹⁵.

¹⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 20.

¹⁵ E.g., in the rock tomb of *H^c(j).f-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)* (G 7948 = LG 75) (personal communication of Dr. Mikhail A.CHEGODAIEV) and on the north wall of the chapel of *H^cj.f-hw(j).f-w(j) II* (G 7150) (SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* III, 24).

It is possible that the appearance of the Hermitage relief at the market in the beginning of the century was indirectly related with the dig of BALLARD¹⁶. Montague BALLARD, M.P., excavated at the West Field in 1901–1902 by authority of the Service des antiquités, and his work resulted in a discovery of at least ten statues and, above all, of an excellent slab stela of *Nfr.t-j3b.t* (G 1225, Louvre E.15591)¹⁷. The results of that season of purely amateurish treasure hunting¹⁸ impelled the Service des antiquités to grant concessions for excavating Giza to a number of foreign institutions in 1902¹⁹, which was a beginning of one of the greatest archaeological campaigns in the history of Egyptology. According to REISNER, at the cluster of the mastabas of *hnt(j).w-š* BALLARD cleaned only a chapel and a serdab of *K3pj* (G 2091)²⁰, but besides it “there are large depressions in the serdab areas of several of the tombs (G 2093, G 2098, and G 2233); it may be that these are signs of BALLARD’s passage”²¹. BALLARD’s excavations at the otherwise untouched territory could have demonstrated its riches to local tomb robbers, and the Hermitage blocks could have been removed from G 2098 hot on his heels.

REPRESENTATIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The Hermitage relief is a part of a mural composition representing the tomb owner (◄) observing the bringing of cattle and the procession of estates personified as male and female figures (fig.3.3)^a.

The greater part of blocks I–III is occupied by the figure of the tomb owner standing under a sunshade^b; he leans on a staff with its knob tucked under his armpit, his front arm is curved round the staff and his hand holds its shaft, the other hand rests on the knob; both his feet are flat on the ground^c. He wears a short starched trapezoidal kilt and, probably, a broad collar (the surface is smoothed down too much here for a dependable reconstruction). In front of him there are two vertical columns of hieroglyphs (↕); the first column continues on the lower block at Giza; the inscription terminates with a horizontal line with the name of the depicted man (→):

¹⁶ Unfortunately, very little is known about the personality of BALLARD who is not even mentioned in DAWSON, UPHILL, *Who Was Who*³, and about his excavations; see, e.g., SETTGAST, *JPK* 15, 183.

¹⁷ *PM* III², 59; now also ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 187–189, Cat.no.29; MANUELIAN, *Slab Stelae*, 58–62, pl.11–12.

¹⁸ “Search for serdabs” according to REISNER (REISNER MSS, chapter L, 142).

¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* I, i; REISNER, *HGN* I, 22–23.

²⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 97.

²¹ Personal communication of Dr. Ann Macy ROTH, Howard University.

Inscription 3/1 ²²

- ① [m33] --- jnn.t (m) njw.wt n[.(w)t pr d.t] r^c nb m hr(j)t-
hrw (j)m(j)[-r(3)] š.wj [pr-^c3]
 ② --- hr(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t
 ③ Hw(j).w(j)-nfr—
 ① [Seeing] ^d --- ^e brought by the estates of [the person-
al house] ^f every day as a daily offering. Over[seer]
of the two lakes [of the Great House] ^g,
 ② --- Secretary of the king ^h,
 ③ Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr ⁱ.

Behind the tomb owner stands a servant (◄) holding a sunshade above his master; he wears a breech-cloth with suspending strips; above him there is a column of hieroglyphs (↓➡):

Inscription 3/2

hr(j)-sb3 hrp(?) i3(.t)(?) —

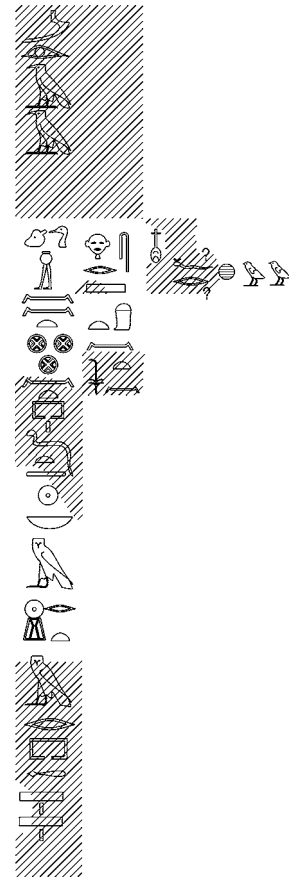
Sunshade bearer ⁱ, Director (?) of the crew (?) ^k.

The space behind these two figures is divided into two registers, the pole of the sunshade looking like a separation line between the second register and the representation of the tomb owner. In the lower register there is a representation of a striding son of the owner (◄) with lowered arms and wearing a short starched trapezoidal kilt; he is somewhat taller than the shoulders of the preceding servant. Three vertical columns of hieroglyphs are placed above his head (↓➡):

Inscription 3/3

- ① 33.f hnt(j)-š
 ② pr-^c3
 ③ Nht[tj] —
 ① His son, Attendant
 ② of the Great House ^l
 ③ Nht[tj] ^m.

A similar figure of another son (◄) occupies the second register; three horizontal lines of hieroglyphs fill the space above his head and in front of his face (➡):



²² The underlined part is *in situ* at Giza.

Inscription 3/4

- ① *ꜥꜣ.f*
 ② *hnt(j)-ꜥ pr-ꜥꜣ*
 ③ *(H)w(j).f-w(j)-snb(.w) –*
 ① His son,
 ② Attendant of the Great House ⁿ
 ③ *(H)w(j).f-w(j)-snb(.w)^o.*

The composition in front of the tomb owner consists of three registers (blocks II and IV). A procession of estates is represented in the lower register (mainly on the blocks *in situ*); only a basket on the head of the first (female) figure and the front part of a chest on the head of the second (male) figure are present on the Hermitage relief (block II). The second and the third registers are devoted to representations of bringing cattle. The front half of a hornless ox with its head lowered and its forelegs dug in the ground is depicted on block II. In the third register (block IV) a servant wearing a breech-cloth with suspending strips brings an oryx whose snout he grasps with his hands; there is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs above the back of the ungulate (←):

Inscription 3/5

[j]n(j).t [rn] mꜣ[-hꜣ] –

Bringing [young] or[yx].

A leg of another man is preserved by the left edge of the block IV; it belongs to the representation of a servant bringing a gazelle that remains *in situ* at Giza.

COMMENTARY

- ^a The tradition of representing estates as alternating male and female figures existed till the end of Dyn.V; afterwards only women were depicted ²³. Numerous containers including banana-shaped baskets replaced the earlier standard bucket-shaped baskets in Dyn.V ²⁴.
- ^b This type of sunshade was in use starting from Dyn.V. According to FISCHER ²⁵, the shape of the construction with five ends (including the carrying pole) slightly reminiscent of a star engendered the term for this portable awning – *sbꜣ*, “star”.
- ^c This is a rare variant of representations of a man leaning on a staff characteristic of the outdoor scenes (type C after HARPUR ²⁶). HARPUR registers only five



²³ JAQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 26–28.

²⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 82–83.

²⁵ FISCHER, *MMJ* 6; FISCHER, in *LA V*.

²⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 127–128.

cases (four of them dated to Dyn.V–VI and one to mid Dyn.IV) ²⁷; three more such figures in the tombs of the cemetery of *hnt(j).w-š* must be added to her list: G 2091 (twice) ²⁸ and G 2098 (the Hermitage relief).

- ^d The seeing formula entitles the whole mural composition in front of the figure of the tomb owner and, at the same time, guarantees that the latter is able to see and, thus, to make real all the things and events depicted ²⁹.
- ^e The beginning of the first column cannot be reconstructed with any degree of certainty. The contents of Inscription 3/1 and its place within the mural composition prove that this is a seeing formula, but the size of the lacuna is too large to conjecture on the word following *m33*, the more so as there are no analogies in the cluster of tombs of the palace attendants. However, the preserved determinatives *š* mean that it was a name of an offering.
- ^f The lacuna is large enough for the reconstructed , but a shorter variant  with wider spaced signs is also possible. For *d.t* as a term designating private property and about *pr d.t* in particular see a book by PEREPELKIN based on Old Kingdom monuments ³⁰ and a study by BERLEV continuing it as concerns Middle Kingdom materials ³¹.
- ^g The interpretation of the lower part of column 1 is based on the reconstruction of the determinative *š* after either of the *š* hieroglyphs ³². ROTH did not reconstruct the determinatives, but the space between the two *š* signs would be too large without them. In the case of the spelling without the determinatives, there would be enough space for another short title in the very end of the column where plaster is completely lost (of the whole titulary of *Hw(j).w(j)-nfr hrp š* would fit best), but due to the reconstruction of the determinatives this option must be discarded.

The title *(j)m(j)-r3 š.wj pr-š* ³³ emerges not earlier than mid Dyn.V ³⁴ and is common in late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI ³⁵. The term *š* engendered numerous incompatible

²⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 326, Tbl.6.4.

²⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.43-*b*, 44–45, fig.160-*b*; pl.56–57, fig.167.

²⁹ On the ideology of the seeing formula see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 143–146; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 49–54.

³⁰ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Частная собственность*; PEREPELKIN, *Privateigentum*.

³¹ БЕРЛЕВ, *Трудовое население*, 172–262.

³² Cf. the spelling on the pillar, ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, fig.196.

³³ JONES, *Index*, 244–246:892.

³⁴ False door of *Jzj-šnb(.w)* (BM 1383; Saqqara), *Hiero.Texts I*, pl.19; for dating see BAUD, *BIFAO* 96, 45.

³⁵ The latest known is *P3-n* (Saqqara, TPC; First Intermediate Period), FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC I*, 200.

translations: “weaving shop”, “stone-working/quarry”, “estate”, “canal”, “lake/pool”. According to the newest study by BOGDANOV, the latter interpretation is preferable³⁶ and the title could be combined with *(j)m(j)-r3 hnt(j).w-š pr-ḥ3*³⁷, *š* having the same meaning in both cases.

^h The title³⁸ is not recorded elsewhere in G 2098; cf. also related titles of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr hr(j)-sšt3 n nb.f*, Secretary of his lord³⁹, and *hr(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t m hnw št3.w pr-ḥ3*, Secretary of the king in the secret interior of the palace⁴⁰. The title *hr(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t* was normally borne by the officials whose position was much higher than that of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*⁴¹ and, thus, it is possible that *hr(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t* on the Hermitage relief is an abbreviated form of *hr(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t m hnw št3.w pr-ḥ3* or that *m hnw št3.w pr-ḥ3* was written on the lost block above blocks I and IV⁴².

ⁱ Not registered by RANKE. The reading of the name presents no difficulty in general owing to its repeated undamaged occurrences in the chapel, but the reconstruction of details is intricate enough. The sign *nfr* cannot belong to a hypothetical completely destroyed third column of Inscription 3/1, since there is no space for it in front of the face of the tomb owner; moreover, none of the extant titles of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* includes *nfr*. Thus, *nfr* must be a component of the owner's name spelled horizontally. This understanding, natural as it is, causes two difficulties: first, there is an excessively large space between *nfr* and the hieroglyphs on the block I; second, *nfr* is arranged higher than the rest of the name:

³⁶ БОГДАНОВ MSS, Chapter 1.1.

³⁷ The earliest cases besides our *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* are:

- ◆ *3h.t(j)-mr.wt-n(j)-sw.t* (G 2184) (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, Taf.69; *McM*, 86), reigns of Unis – Teti (HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:8);
- ◆ *Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)* (G 2240) (ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 162–166), mid reign of Unis – early Dyn.VI (see Cat.no.5, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza);
- ◆ *D3d3(j)-m-ḥb* (Giza D.20) (ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 253–257, Cat.no.46; LD II, Bl.152-b = *Aeg.Inschr.* I, 27, Nr.1138; KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Recueil des inscriptions*, 35; KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, 23–24, pl.23), late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI (ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 253);
- ◆ *N(j)-htp-ptb* (G 2430 = LG 25) (LD II, Bl.71–72; LD Erg. Bl.9–10-ab; *Urke*.I, 187–188; BADAWY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, 1–10), reign of Teti (HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:111).

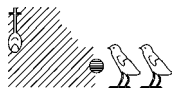
³⁸ JONES, *Index*, 629:2304; RYDSTRÖM, *DE* 28, 89–94.

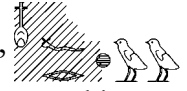
³⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.196; JONES, *Index*, 628:2298.


⁴⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.192; JONES, *Index*, 630:2309 (unattested besides G 2098).




⁴¹ At Giza: *Dbh-n(j)* (LG 90) (HASSAN, *Giza* IV, fig.123); *Rḥ(w)-wr(.w)* (CF) (HASSAN, *Giza* I, 19, 34); *Sšm(j)-nfr(.w)* III (G 5170) (JUNKER, *Giza* III, 204; BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Seschemnofer* III., Farbtaf.5, Beilage 3); *Sšm(j)-nfr(.w)* IV (LG 53) (LD II, Bl.79; JUNKER, *Giza* XI, Abb.70); *Nfr/Jdw* I (G 5550) (JUNKER, *Giza* VIII, Abb.32, 34).

⁴² For a more detailed discussion see БОГДАНОВ, БОЛЬШАКОВ, *BdIII* 249, 28–29.



. The first problem can be resolved if supposing that the hieroglyph *nfr* has originally been accompanied by phonetic complements, , although such a spelling is not used elsewhere in the chapel; the second incongruity remains inexplicable, which is to be expected if taking into account the degree of destruction of the Hermitage relief.

j Although representations of the tomb owner under a sunshade are relatively common, the title ⁴³ is recorded only three times besides the Hermitage relief ⁴⁴ and only once it is preserved completely ⁴⁵. In another case ⁴⁶ it is badly damaged and reconstructed by FISCHER ⁴⁷, while in the third case only traces of the star sign were reproduced in the old publication ⁴⁸, and even they are absent in the new one ⁴⁹. Thus, the Hermitage relief is the fourth – and the second complete – record of this rare title. Cf. also a rebus spelling of the title *(j)m(j)-r3 hr(j)-sb3 nb* on the false door Cleveland 1964.91 as  ⁵⁰.

k The reconstruction is highly tentative; it is even impossible to say definitely whether this is a title or a name. The shapes of both signs are very simplified: the first looks like a vertical stroke slightly widening in the lower part of its upper half, the second is a vertical stroke with no internal or external details: . They are interpreted here as a title only because the author cannot propose a more or less passable reading as a name (the only rationale of the first sign may be  ⁵¹, but the second hieroglyph remains incomprehensible with this interpretation –  is next to impossible in the Old Kingdom ⁵²). However, it may be preferable to see here a name. The legends to representations of minor personages in Old Kingdom tombs may consist of a title without any name, for not the individuality of a man but only his functions and ability to work were of importance for the owner, all

⁴³ JONES, *Index*, 786–787:2868; VASILJEVIĆ, *Untersuchungen*, 80:4.2.1.19.

⁴⁴ FISCHER, *MMJ* 6.

⁴⁵ HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.240.

⁴⁶ DAVIES Norman, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* I, pl.8–9.

⁴⁷ FISCHER, *JARCE* 13, fig.2.

⁴⁸ PETRIE W.M.F., *Deshasbeh*, pl.24.

⁴⁹ KANAWATI, McFARLANE, *Deshasha*, pl.44.

⁵⁰ ANDREU, in *Études Lauer* I, 24, 27, 28, 30; FISCHER, in *Études Lauer* I, fig.5; BERMAN, BOHAČ, *Cleveland Catalogue*, Cat.no.72.

⁵¹ Cf. the name *Shm* (JUNKER, *Giza* VII, Abb.88) and numerous Old Kingdom names with the *shm* component (RANKE, *PN* I, 319; *PN* II, 317).

⁵² Another option may be *wḏ mdw*, Giver of orders (JONES, *Index*, 407:1498) (conjecture of Dr. Andrey G. SOUSHCHEVSKI), but it is less probable than *hrp jz(.t)* due to the type of the garment of the man (see below).

the more so that the latter did not know all the underlings of his extensive household. The personage represented on the Hermitage relief was a sunshade bearer, that is a man close enough to the owner to be recognized as a selfhood. Thus, it is difficult to imagine that he deserved the record of two titles (one of them rare ⁵³) but not of his name ⁵⁴.

The reconstructed title *brp jz(.t)*, “Director of the crew”, is well attested ⁵⁵. The clothing of the man represented on the Hermitage relief – a breech-cloth with suspending strips – is characteristic of the members of the ship crews ⁵⁶, which may be an argument for interpreting the two last signs of Inscription 3/2 as *brp jz(.t)* and not as a name.

- ¹ Titles including the element *bnt(j)-š* have been much discussed ⁵⁷. This translation offered by ROTH ⁵⁸ seems preferable since it is as vague as the title itself. The title ⁵⁹ was often inherited by sons from their fathers ⁶⁰; however, *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* had no titles including the component *bnt(j)-š*. The earliest known monument of a *bnt(j)-š* is the statue of *Nfr-hjj*, <BM 24714, Saqqara, Dyn.IV (?)> ⁶¹, the latest bearer of the title is *Jp* <el-Saff, Dyn.XI> ⁶². The word *š* is spelled with the determinative 𓂏; this spelling variant is quite possible in general, but absent elsewhere in the inscriptions of G 2098.
- ^m The name is half lost and the remaining hieroglyphs are much smeared and deformed. However, the presence of an undamaged name of the son of the tomb owner *in situ* at Giza ⁶³ makes the reconstruction undeniable. The initial *n* is so smeared that it may be mistaken for a separation line between the registers, which,

⁵³ See Commentary j.

⁵⁴ On the problem of the individualization of the pictures of dependent people see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 270–273; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 210–213.

⁵⁵ JONES, *Index*, 700:2559. On the functions of the crews and their administrators see ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 165–198.

⁵⁶ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Хозяйства*, 167, 170.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Archives*, 577–581; STADELMANN, in *Bulletin du centenaire*; ANDRASSY, in *Äg. Tempel*; BAUD, *BIFAO* 96, and especially БОГДАНОВ Mss. BERLEV’s interpretation of *bnt(j)-š* as “gardener” based mainly on a single and much later representation in the Theban tomb of *D3gj* (HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, Cat.no.7, Comm. *b*; discussed in more detail in БЕРАЛЕВ, ХОДЖАШ, *Скульптура*, кат.№ 10, комм. *б*) can hardly be accepted.

⁵⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI.

⁵⁹ JONES, *Index*, 692–693:2532.

⁶⁰ BAUD, *BIFAO* 96, 48.

⁶¹ *PM III*², 728.

⁶² FISCHER, *El Saff*, 21.














⁶³ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.191.

however, cannot be regarded as an alternative interpretation since the “line” does not extend leftwards. The name that may be foreign ⁶⁴ is not attested elsewhere.

- ⁿ The determinative 𓂀 to the word 𓂏 is translocated rightwards due to the lack of space and is placed under *t* merging with it.
- ^o The name is rare ⁶⁵ and characteristic of Giza ⁶⁶. The son of the tomb owner bearing this name is represented also on the north wall of the chapel ⁶⁷. It is difficult to say if there is an initial 𓂀 in the cartouche. A kind of protuberance can be seen between 𓂀 and the cartouche, but its shape is too irregular for its definite interpretation as a hieroglyph. On the north wall, this part of the name is damaged, but there is also very little space for 𓂀 there. Could a rare anomalous spelling of the cartouche of Khufu without 𓂀 be used in the tomb ⁶⁸? The records of the sons of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* are not known elsewhere besides his tomb. The only other *Hw(j)-f-w(j)-snb(.w)* bearing the title *bnt(j)-s* is *Hw(j)-f-w(j)-snb(.w) II* <Giza WF>, a son of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)-snb(.w) I* <Giza WF> who lived in the second half of Dyn.VI ⁶⁹.

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES

Specific shapes of the hieroglyphs are not numerous and are explained mainly by deformation of the wet plaster.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
|  |  | The sign <i>n</i> is shaped as  in the expression <i>njw.wt n[.(w)t]</i> in Inscription 3/1 and in the word <i>[j]n(j).t</i> in Inscription 3/5 ⁷⁰ and as  elsewhere. This interchange is characteristic of the tomb G 2098 in general; cf. also the hieroglyph <i>n</i> on the northern false door: originally it had a simplified shape, then a sculptor started carving waves in its right half, but for some reason did not finish his work ⁷¹ . |
|  |  | |
|  |  | |
|  |  | |
|  |  | |
-  The closed outline of 𓂀 is caused by smearing that badly deformed Inscription 3/3 in general; in Inscription 3/4 the shape of the sign is normal.

⁶⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 40.

⁶⁵ RANKE, *PN* I, 268:10.

⁶⁶ *PM* III², 372.

⁶⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.191.


⁶⁸ Cf., e.g., JUNKER, *Giza* VI, Abb.104.

⁶⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 117–126.


⁷⁰ Cf. ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.107-b, 194.

⁷¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.192.




The shape of  executed in wet plaster is smeared beyond recognition.



The interpretation of the very simplified sign as  is tentative and based mainly on a contextual conjecture.



The interpretation of the very simplified sign as  is tentative and based mainly on a contextual conjecture.

DATING

The tomb of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* is dated by virtue of numerous criteria to late Dyn.V, most probably to the reigns of Isesi – Unis⁷². All the features of the Hermitage relief are in accord with this dating⁷³.

⁷² ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 145.

⁷³ See Commentaries a–c, g.

4. Relief of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$

Inv. nos.:

- 18729 (hereafter fragment I-A),
- 18234 (hereafter fragment I-B),
- 18730 (hereafter block II),
- 18231 (hereafter fragment III-A),
- 18232 (hereafter fragment III-B).

DATE: Late Dyn.V, reigns of Iseki – Unis.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: Traces of red on the shoulder of the owner (fragment III-B).

DIMENSIONS:

- I-A: 35 cm long, 15 cm high, 5–6 cm thick,
- I-B: 23,5 cm long, 9 cm high, 5–11 cm thick,
- II: 56 cm long, 38,5 cm high, 5–6 cm thick,
- III-A: 34 cm long, 23 cm high, 6–7 cm thick,
- III-B: 21 cm long, 19 cm high, 4,5–5,5 cm thick.

CONDITION: Edges are broken off; surface is weathered (fragments I-B and III-A), badly damaged (block II) or completely lost (fragment I-A).

PROVENANCE: Tomb of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $Nfr-rs.s$ (Giza CF).

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

- 1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат. № 8 (fragment I-A and block II), 9 (fragments III-A and III-B) (the two latter erroneously supposed to be from the same tomb as our Cat.no.5).

Fragment I-B is unpublished.

RELATED MONUMENT: Tomb of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $Nfr-rs.s$ (Giza CF).

DESCRIPTION

One complete and two fragmented limestone lining blocks joining one another (fig.4.1, pl.XIV). Blocks II–III bear an upper part of a representation of a male figure (►) in low relief wearing a long wig covering the ear and reaching the shoulders, a short artificial beard and a broad collar; the front hand is to the breast, the back arm, lost below elbow, is stretched forward, which is a posture of a man sitting at a table of food. Above the head (blocks I–II) there are four vertical columns of hieroglyphs (↕) in low relief; the inscription terminates with an extra column placed in front of the face of the man (block II).

PEREPELKIIN wrote about two slabs of an anonymous Overseer of singing (no doubt fragment I-A and block II, for this title starts on the former and ends on the latter) ² and two slabs of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ that he supposed to have come from the same tomb as the large relief of another $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$, our Cat.no.5 (fragments III-A bearing the name and III-B joining it) ³, but he did not notice that they all form a single monument:

- ◆ The upper part of the head on the block II and the lower part of the head on the fragment III-A exactly fit one another;

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.

² ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат.№ 8.

³ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат.№ 9.

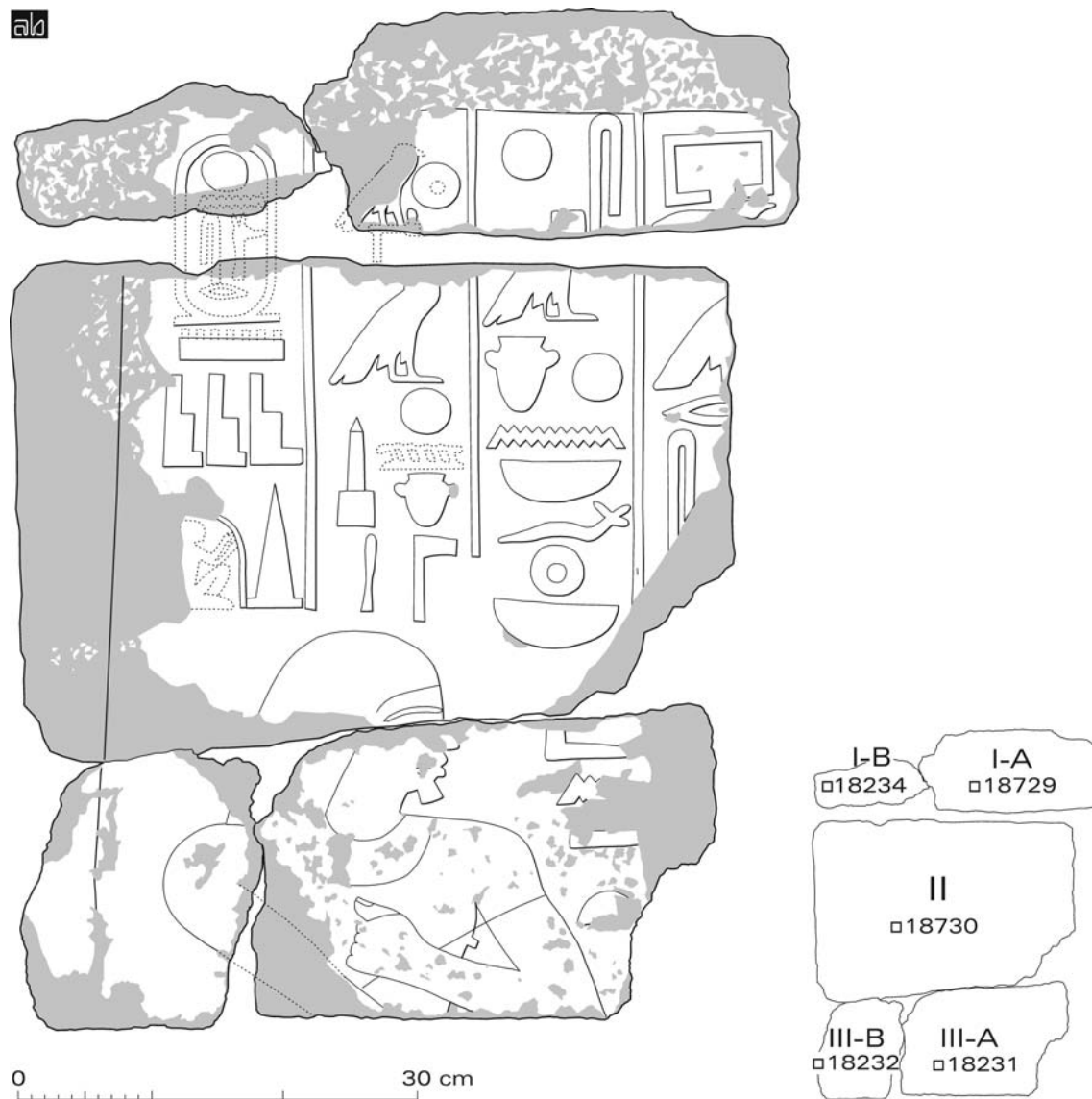


Fig.4.1

Relief of *N(j)-mꜣ.t-rꜥ(w)*, Hermitage 18729, 18234, 18730, 18231, 18232

- ◆ The shoulder on the fragment III-B joins the figure on the fragment III-A and, thus, they belong to the same block (III);
- ◆ The vertical separation line along the left edge of the block II (nowadays completely destroyed and visible only on an old photograph) continues on the fragment III-B.

Neither these details nor even PEREPEL'KIN's observations were considered in the course of the inventory of the LIKHATCHEV collection after its transfer to the Hermitage, and all the stones got individual inventory numbers, while the representation on the fragment III-B (rotated 90° clockwise) was misinterpreted as a human head in spite of its asymmetric shape and red colouring.

The fact that the fragment I-B belongs to the same monument has never been noticed, although it causes little doubt:

- ◆ The line separating columns 3 and 4 of the inscription on the block II continues also on the fragment I-B;
- ◆ A slight trace of a horizontal lower edge of a cartouche is visible above the mn sign in the column 4 on the block II, and the space between it and the upper part of a cartouche on the fragment I-B is enough for reconstructing the name of Neusera that is a part of a title of the owner.
- ◆ Fragments I-A (as it is represented on an old photograph – nowadays a projection in its left part is lost) and I-B fit one another and, thus, they belong to the same block.

The representation and the inscription on the block II are badly damaged by salting and are almost completely lost; conservation could only stop the process of degradation of the surface but not save the outlines of the hieroglyphs. The surface of the fragment I-A is completely destroyed, no traces of the hieroglyphs being visible ⁴. Luckily an old amateur photograph made in a magazine before the destruction of the fragment I-A and the block II and documenting their original view (pl.XV) allows us to recognize, although not without trouble, all the signs; the line drawing published here (fig.4.1) is based mainly on that photograph as concerns block II and entirely as regards fragment I-A.

PROVENANCE

The Hermitage blocks came from the mastaba of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ at the Central Field of Giza (fig.4.2), by the north-east corner of the “pyramid town” of the queen $Hnt(j)-k\mathfrak{Z}.w.s I$ ⁵:

- ◆ Although the name of the owner is damaged, its reading as $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-[r]^c(w)$ is beyond question ⁶;
- ◆ All the titles preserved on the Hermitage blocks are not very common, but two of them are present in the Giza tomb ⁷, one is recorded in a slightly different spelling ⁸ and only one is absent but has a parallel there ⁹.

⁴ The destruction can be dated to 1940^s–70^s but before 1978 when the author saw fragment I-A and block II in their present condition for the first time.

⁵ HASSAN, *Giza II*, 202–225.

⁶ See Commentary f.

⁷ See Commentaries a, d.

⁸ See Commentary c.

⁹ See Commentary b.

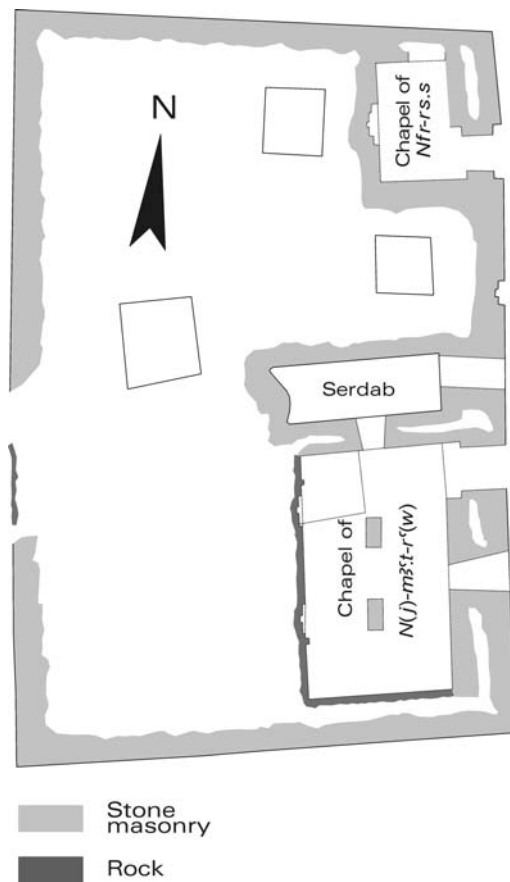


Fig.4.2.
Plan of the tomb of $N(j)-m\bar{s}^c.t-r^c(w)$
(redrawn after HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.224)

The combination of the name and the set of relatively uncommon titles is enough for attributing the relief to the tomb; however, establishing its exact position within the cult chambers is a more complicated task.

The mastaba of $N(j)-m\bar{s}^c.t-r^c(w)$ discovered in 1907 in the course of excavations of the count GALARZA¹⁰ has two chapels, one of them originally richly decorated¹¹, but much damaged by the time of HASSAN's excavation in the season of 1930–1931 (fig.4.2). The northern chapel was constructed by $N(j)-m\bar{s}^c.t-r^c(w)$ for his sister¹² $Nfr-rs.s$ ¹³ who, being a Female overseer of amusements, Female overseer of all royal amusements, She who gladdens the heart of the king of Lower Egypt in all his places, etc., was his close colleague¹⁴. Her small chapel is not decorated except for the entrance and the false door, and, thus, the Hermitage relief had to come from the southern chapel built for the cult of $N(j)-m\bar{s}^c.t-r^c(w)$. The chapel is said to be partly cut in the rock (west and south walls) and partly built of blocks of

local stone (east and north walls)¹⁵, the two latter, thus, seeming to be the most prob-

¹⁰ On GALARZA's excavations see KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 120–121. Unfortunately, he still remains a mysterious figure and no information on him is included into DAWSON, UPHILL, *Who Was Who*³.

¹¹ SPALINGER, *Feast Lists*, 112.

¹² He is designated as her *sn d.t*, “own brother”. HASSAN (*Giza II*, 206) interpreted *sn d.t* as “tomb-partner”; JUNKER (*Giza III*, 7) in the same manner named *Nfr-rs.s* “Grabgenossin” and identified her as a wife of $N(j)-m\bar{s}^c.t-r^c(w)$; the traditional misinterpretation of the terms connected with *d.t* (on them see ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Частная собственность*; PEREPOLKIN, *Privateigentum* 1986; БЕРЛЕВ, *Трудовое население*, 172–262) prevented even modern researchers (DRENKHAIHN, *SAK* 4, 61; HICKMANN, in *LÄ IV*, 232) from understanding the relations of the two persons.

¹³ So already GRDSELOFF, *ASAE* 42, 47, n.1, as contrary to *Nfr-rs.s*, HASSAN, *Giza II*, 204; JUNKER, *Giza III*, 6–7; DRENKHAIHN, *SAK* 4, 60; KANAWATI, *Administration*, 30.

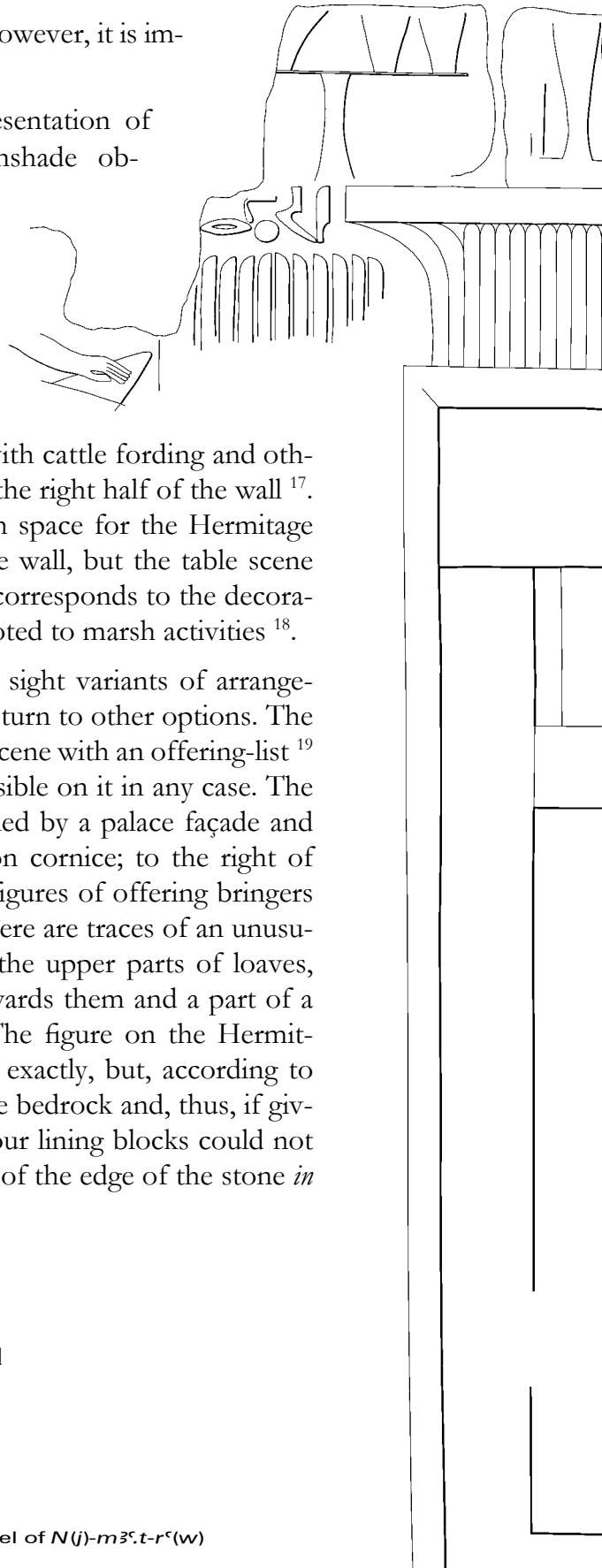
¹⁴ On the occupations of *Nfr-rs.s* see DRENKHAIHN, *SAK* 4, 61–63.

¹⁵ HASSAN, *Giza II*, 202.

able original place of the relief. However, it is impossible:

- ◆ The east wall bears a representation of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ under a sunshade observing field and marsh works and a palanquin scene¹⁶ and has no free space for another figure of the owner.
- ◆ The north wall is badly destroyed; preserved are only the lowest register with cattle fording and other marsh scenes above it on the right half of the wall¹⁷. Theoretically there is enough space for the Hermitage blocks on the left half of the wall, but the table scene represented on them hardly corresponds to the decorative program of the wall devoted to marsh activities¹⁸.

Thus, the most probable at first sight variants of arrangement are exhausted and we must turn to other options. The south wall is occupied by a table scene with an offering-list¹⁹ and another table scene is impossible on it in any case. The west wall of the chapel is occupied by a palace façade and two false doors under a common cornice; to the right of them there are partly destroyed figures of offering bringers in four registers and to the left there are traces of an unusually highly placed table scene – the upper parts of loaves, an arm and a hand stretched towards them and a part of a trapezoidal kilt²⁰ (fig.4.3, 4.4). The figure on the Hermitage relief fits this representation exactly, but, according to HASSAN, the west wall is cut in the bedrock and, thus, if giving credence to his description, our lining blocks could not come from it; moreover, the line of the edge of the stone *in*



¹⁶ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.240.

¹⁷ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.236.

¹⁸ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, tbl

¹⁹ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.239.

²⁰ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.237.

Fig.4.3

Left part of the west wall of the chapel of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$
(after HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.237)

situ passess on his drawing over the place where the block II must be placed. However, both HASSAN's description and line drawing are inexact:

- ◆ Although the whole west wall is said to be cut in a rock, the drawing shows separate lining blocks with representations over the false door (fig.4.3), thus demonstrating that the upper part of the wall is masonry blocks. Unfortunately, the only photograph published by HASSAN is not clear either ²¹, but it seems that there is space for masonry above the rock forming the greater part of the west wall.
- ◆ The shapes of the blocks look quite unrealistic on HASSAN's line drawing. The right, upper and left edges of the one over the left edge of the false door cornice are traced, but its bottom is not separated from the cornice and the surface of the wall to the left of the latter (fig.4.3). It is obvious that the drawing is inaccurate and the outlines of the blocks must be different.

An examination of the tomb made by the author in 2000 entirely confirmed this supposition:

- ◆ Only the lower two thirds of the wall are cut in the rock, while the upper third, including the greater part of the false doors cornice is built of stone blocks and lined.
- ◆ The left part of the west wall is masoned from the floor to the ceiling, the fragment of the table scene being carved on a lining block (see fig.4.4).

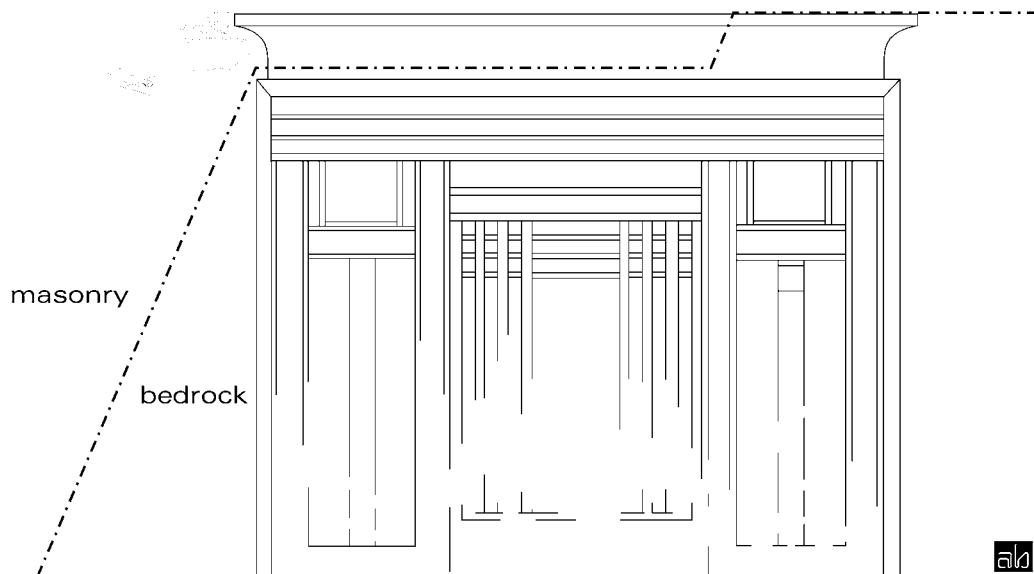


Fig.4.4

Construction of the west wall of the chapel of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$
(based on HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.237, separation line is drawn by eye)

²¹ HASSAN, *Giza II*, pl.77.

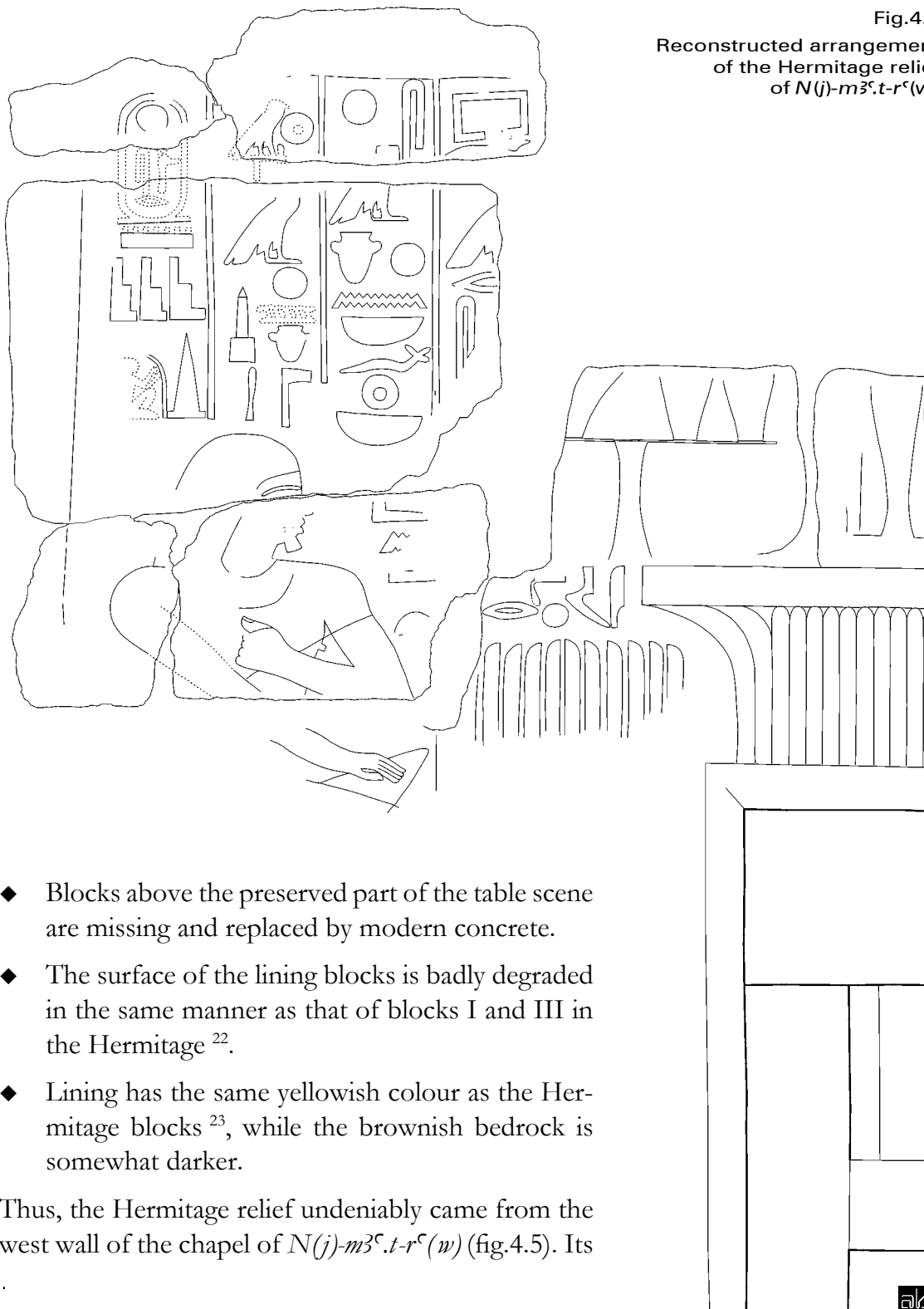


Fig.4.5

Reconstructed arrangement
of the Hermitage relief
of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$

- ◆ Blocks above the preserved part of the table scene are missing and replaced by modern concrete.
- ◆ The surface of the lining blocks is badly degraded in the same manner as that of blocks I and III in the Hermitage ²².
- ◆ Lining has the same yellowish colour as the Hermitage blocks ²³, while the brownish bedrock is somewhat darker.

Thus, the Hermitage relief undeniably came from the west wall of the chapel of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (fig.4.5). Its

²² The bedrock is more solid than the lining and representations carved in it are better preserved.

²³ The exterior surface of the fragment I-A and the block II is darkened due to impregnation in the course of conservation, but the back surface is lighter.


despoliation may be a sequel of the excavations of GALARZA in 1907. Most probably the blocks were removed by local residents immediately after the end of the work, which is in accord with their acquisition at ALI ABD EL-HAJ in 1908.

INSCRIPTION

- ① $(j)m(j)-r(3) [h]s[.t] pr^c 3$
 ② $shmb-jb n nb.f r^c nb$
 ③ $hm-ntr R^c(w) m šsp-jb-r^c(w)$
 ④ $w^c b Mn-(j)s.wt-[N(j)-wst]-r^c(w)$
 ⑤ $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-[r]^c(w) -$

- ① Overseer of sin[ging] of the Great House^a,
 ② One who delights the heart of his lord every day^b,
 ③ Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight of Ra”^c,
 ④ $w^c b$ -priest of the pyramid “Firm are the Places of [Neuser]ra”^{d e},
 ⑤ $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-[r]^c(w)$ ^{f, g}

COMMENTARY

- ^a The last signs of the title²⁴ are lost, but its reconstruction is unquestionable thanks to its repeated occurrences in the mastaba of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ ²⁵. The title of which only parts of two signs and one complete hieroglyph  are preserved on the Hermitage relief was recognized already by PEREPELKIN²⁶ who, perhaps, proceeded from a purely formal feature: $(j)m(j)-r(3) hs.t$ is the most common of the titles with s being the last sign in the square after $(j)m(j)-r(3)$. Theoretically PEREPELKIN could know the titulary of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ after a paper by KAMAL²⁷, but he obviously overlooked it, for otherwise he would regard all the five or at least four stones as forming a whole.
- ^b The title²⁸ is not recorded in the tomb of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$; however his chapel is too much destroyed to believe that we know the complete set of his titles. The title is close to $(j)m(j)-r(3) shmb-jb nb nfr m hnw št3.w pr^c 3$, Overseer of all goodly

²⁴ JONES, *Index*, 182:689.


²⁵ HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.232, 236, 237, 239 (partly destroyed), 240.

²⁶ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат.№ 8.

²⁷ KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 120–121.

²⁸ JONES, *Index*, 972:3588.

entertainment in the secret apartments of the Great House ²⁹ that is present in the tomb ³⁰.

^c The title ³¹ is present also in the tomb, spelled in an abbreviated form, without the preface m and with a single sign of the sun,  ³².

^d The title ³³ is recorded also in the tomb ³⁴. The shapes of the signs are reconstructed after that record.

^e Thus, the set of the titles of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ is as follows ³⁵:

- ◆ $(j)m(j)-r(3) \mathfrak{h}s.t \text{ pr } ^c\mathfrak{Z}$, Overseer of singing of the Great House – {G}, {H};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{h}r\mathfrak{p} \text{ tjs } \mathfrak{b}j.t(j)$, Director of the tjs of the king of Lower Egypt – {G};
- ◆ $(j)m(j)-r(3) \mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{b}-j\mathfrak{b} \text{ nb } \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{r} \text{ m } \mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{w} \text{ š}t\mathfrak{Z}.w \text{ pr } ^c\mathfrak{Z}$, Overseer of all goodly entertainment in the secret apartments of the Great House – {G};
- ◆ $[(j)m(j)-r(3) \mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{b}-j\mathfrak{b}] \text{ nb } \text{ m } \mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{w} (j)s.wt \text{ pr } ^c\mathfrak{Z}$ – [Overseer of] all [entertainment] in the interior places of the Great House – {G};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{b}-j\mathfrak{b} \text{ n } \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{b}.f \text{ r}^c \text{ nb}$, One who delights the heart of his lord every day – {H};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{s}t\mathfrak{p}-\mathfrak{Z}^c \mathfrak{h}r(j)-t\mathfrak{p} (j)s.t \text{ n}(j)-sw(.t)$, Bodyguard under the throne of the king ³⁶ – {G};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{h}r(j) \mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{š}t\mathfrak{Z}$, Secretary – {G};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{s}m\mathfrak{r} \text{ pr}$, Companion of the house – {G};
- ◆ $(j)m(j)-j\mathfrak{b} \text{ n } \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{b}.f \text{ r}^c \text{ nb}$, Favourite of his lord every day – {G};
- ◆ $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{m}-\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{r} \text{ R}^c(w) \text{ m } \mathfrak{š}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{p}(w)-j\mathfrak{b}-r^c(w)$, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight of Ra” – {G}, {H};
- ◆ $w^c\mathfrak{b} \text{ Mn-}(j)s.wt-N(j)-w\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{r}-r^c(w)$, $w^c\mathfrak{b}$ -priest of the pyramid “Firm are the Places of Neusera” – {G}, {H};
- ◆ $w^c\mathfrak{b} \text{ n}(j)-sw.t$, $w^c\mathfrak{b}$ -priest of the king – {G};
- ◆ $w^c\mathfrak{b} \text{ mw.t } \text{ n}(j)-sw.t$, $w^c\mathfrak{b}$ -priest of the king’s mother – {G}.

²⁹ JONES, *Index*, 233:860.

³⁰ HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.231.

³¹ JONES, *Index*, 538:2006.



³² HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.237. On the abbreviation of the titles constructed after the pattern “such and such priest of Ra in such and such Solar temple” see Cat.no.20, Commentary e.

³³ JONES, *Index*, 372:1376.

³⁴ HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.237.

³⁵ {G} = Giza, {H} = Hermitage.

³⁶ So JONES, *Index*, 984:3635; cf. KUHLMANN, *Thron*, 103–104; GOELET, *JARCE* 23, 93.

- ^f The name of the owner is much damaged: ; however, , $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ ³⁷ is the only possible reading.
- ^g The arrangement of the name of the tomb owner over the table is abnormal and hardly explicable with information available. The problem is complicated by the presence of a horizontal line $jm\mathfrak{Z}b(.w)$ $[b]r$ --- on the adjoining block to the right (fig.4.5). However, it is possible to reconstruct $n\mathfrak{Z}r^c\mathfrak{Z}$, although closely packed, between it and the name.

DATING

All those who wrote on the tomb of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ dated it to the second half of Dyn.V; however, there are two tendencies as concerns a more exact dating. CHERPION dates it to the reign of Neusera³⁸ due to the titles Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight of Ra” and $w^c b$ -priest of the pyramid “Firm are the Places of Neusera”. BAUD’s dating is almost similar³⁹, while BAER did not preclude a possibility of a somewhat later date⁴⁰. On the contrary, MÁLEK prefers to date the tomb to the late Dyn.V⁴¹, and HARPUR narrows the dating to the reign of Unis⁴². Since Osiris is repeatedly mentioned in the chapel of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, in that of his sister and on the false door of his wife on the façade of the mastaba⁴³, the tomb cannot be earlier than Isesi⁴⁴, the reigns of Isesi – Unis being the most probable dating.

³⁷ RANKE, *PN* I, 172:16; *PM* III², 373, 963:1168. The name is much more characteristic of Giza than of Saqqara.

³⁸ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 228, 234.

³⁹ BAUD, *BIFAO* 96, 44 (“Niuserre environ”).

⁴⁰ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 86:227.

⁴¹ *PM* III², 282.

⁴² HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:110 (on p.193 she says the reign of Isesi, but in the light of numerous references to the reign of Unis it must be a slip of the pen).

⁴³ HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.228, 230, 237.

⁴⁴ EATON-KRAUSS, *VA* 3; HELCK, *MDAIK* 47, 164; BOLSHAKOV, *CdE* 67; idem., in *Mélanges Varga*. Cf. GRIFFITHS, *Origins* 1966, 67–68; GRIFFITHS, *Origins* 1980, 113–114.

5. Relief of *N(j)-m3̣.t-ṛ(w)*

Inv.no.: □18123.

DATE: middle to late reign of Unis.

MATERIAL: Nummulitic limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 175 cm high, 146 cm wide, 9 cm. thick.

CONDITION: Surface is much weathered; numerous dents, lost fragments; edges of some blocks are eroded.

PROVENANCE: Giza, mastaba G 2097 ¹.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ².

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Aca-

demy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad. 1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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МАТЬЕ, ПАВЛОВ, *Памятники искусства*, табл.11.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 23:1.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *БК* 7, 91–96, рис. на с.91, 95.


RELATED MONUMENTS:

Mastaba G 2097.

Lower part of the false door Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N.1437 (MOGENSEN, *Glyptothèque*, Cat.no.A 659; KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Recueil des inscriptions*, 34; idem. *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, Cat. no.15, pl.22 <with a wrong Inv.no.>).

False door panel Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N.1445 (KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, Cat.no.19).

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The relief (fig.5.1, pl.XVI) is carved on a number of fossiliferous limestone blocks. Representations and inscriptions are much weathered; however, the quality of the work was relatively high. Both the right and the left edges of the relief are straight. There is a blank margin along the right edge being a border of the mural composition and an empty space under the lower register of representations. Along the left edge there is a vertical inscription terminating with an upper part of a small representation of the tomb owner. The orientation of the inscription, its contents and the fact that the figure of the tomb owner being a determinative to his name is placed on a projection of the lower left part of the respective block below the level of representations to the right  (pl.XVIII-1) prove that the inscription no doubt belongs to a false door and occupies its outer right jamb. This interpretation offered twenty years ago ³ can be confirmed now thanks to the publication of a group of tombs of the *hnt(j).w-š* attendants in the northern part of the West Field at Giza and excavated by REISNER in 1936–1939 ⁴.

¹ Published in ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 127–134, pl.84–97, 184–189.

² ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Мss, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.

³ БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 23:1, 3.

⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI.

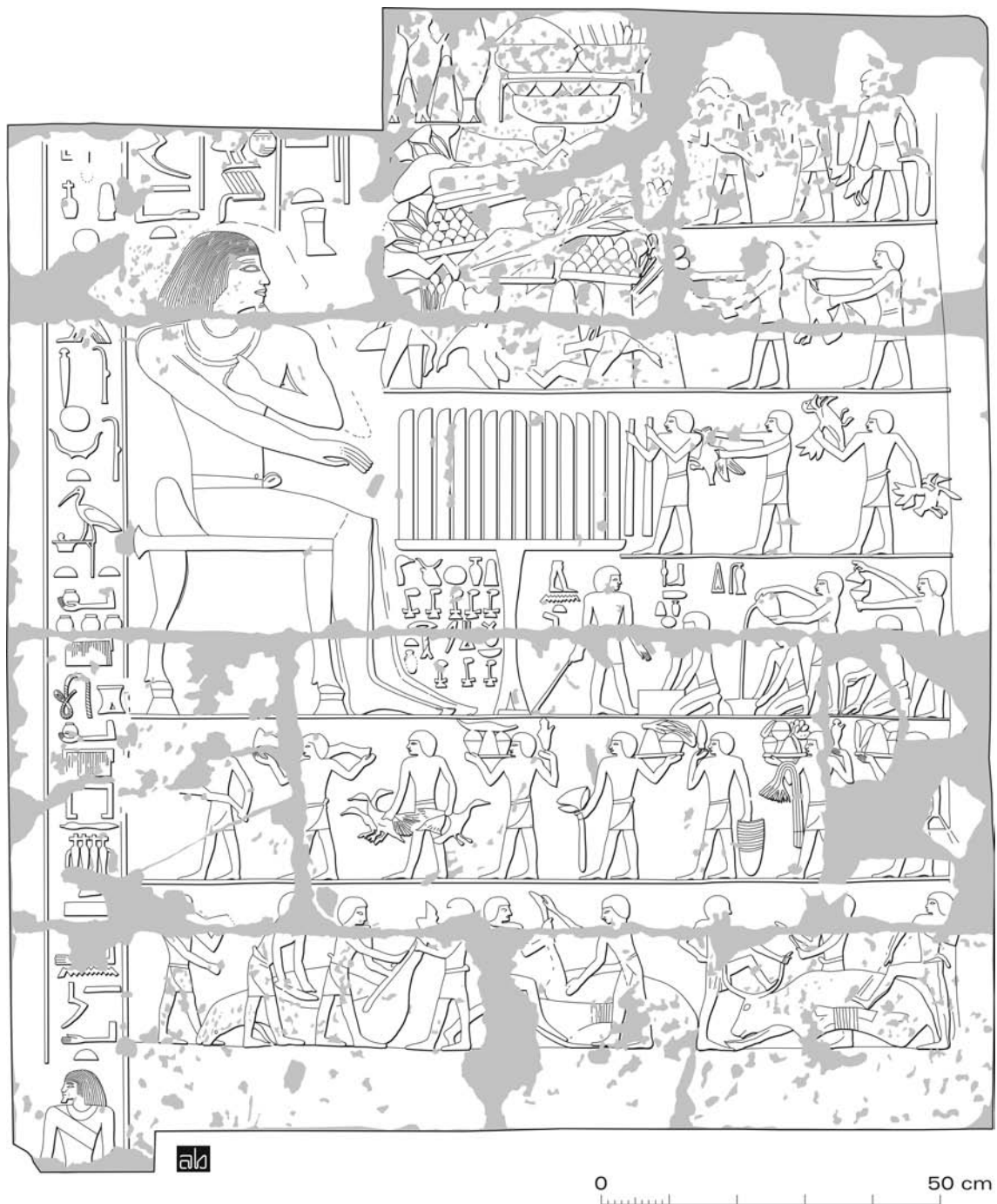


Fig.5.1
Relief of $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, Hermitage □18123

PROVENANCE

The Hermitage relief undeniably came from the mastaba G 2097:

- ◆ The name of the owner is recorded twice on the St.Petersburg monument, and although in the both cases it is damaged, it can be read only as $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$,

which is also the name of the owner of G 2097 ⁵.

- ◆ Two titles of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ recorded on the Hermitage relief are also those of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ of G 2097 ⁶.
- ◆ The style of representations is the same on the St.Petersburg blocks and at Giza.
- ◆ The quality of limestone is the same. The lining of G 2097 is made of “nummulitic limestone with a very high proportion of nummulits, and the resulting speckled appearance makes the decoration very difficult to see and photograph” ⁷; the same is true as concerns the Hermitage blocks, and, when working in the tomb in the year 2000, the present author could make sure that the structure of the stone with densely packed nummulits and its effect on our perception of representations are utterly analogous.

The position of the Hermitage relief within the tomb can be established exactly. The superstructure (the latest building stage) consists of a courtyard (that could actually be a covered pillared hall) and a chapel of REISNER’s type 5d. The greater part of the chapel is a recess in the west wall, while its southern part is a dead-end corridor. The west wall of the recess is occupied by a palace facade, its north and south walls as well as the east wall of the chapel, including the corridor, and the south wall of the latter are decorated, and although the murals are much damaged, there is no space for the Hermitage relief on them. The courtyard/pillared hall is not decorated and it is hardly possible to speculate on a presence of a false door on one of its walls. However, there is no information on the west wall of the corridor in the field documentation and, as ROTH states, “the excavation photographs seem almost intentionally to have avoided recording it” ⁸, which means that it completely lost its decoration before 1930^s. “Clearance by the EAO between 1990 and 1994 revealed a single course of masonry, with a 70-cm-wide emplacement for a false door adjacent to the south wall. There was a small offering platform in front of this false door” ⁹. In 2000 the present author made measurements of the west wall of the corridor. The width of its part to the right of the false door emplacement is 146 cm, which exactly corresponds to the width of the Hermitage relief that no doubt is from here (pl.XIX-1) ¹⁰.

Luckily, the greater part of the false door of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ can also be identified.

⁵ See Commentaries q, u.

⁶ See Commentary v.

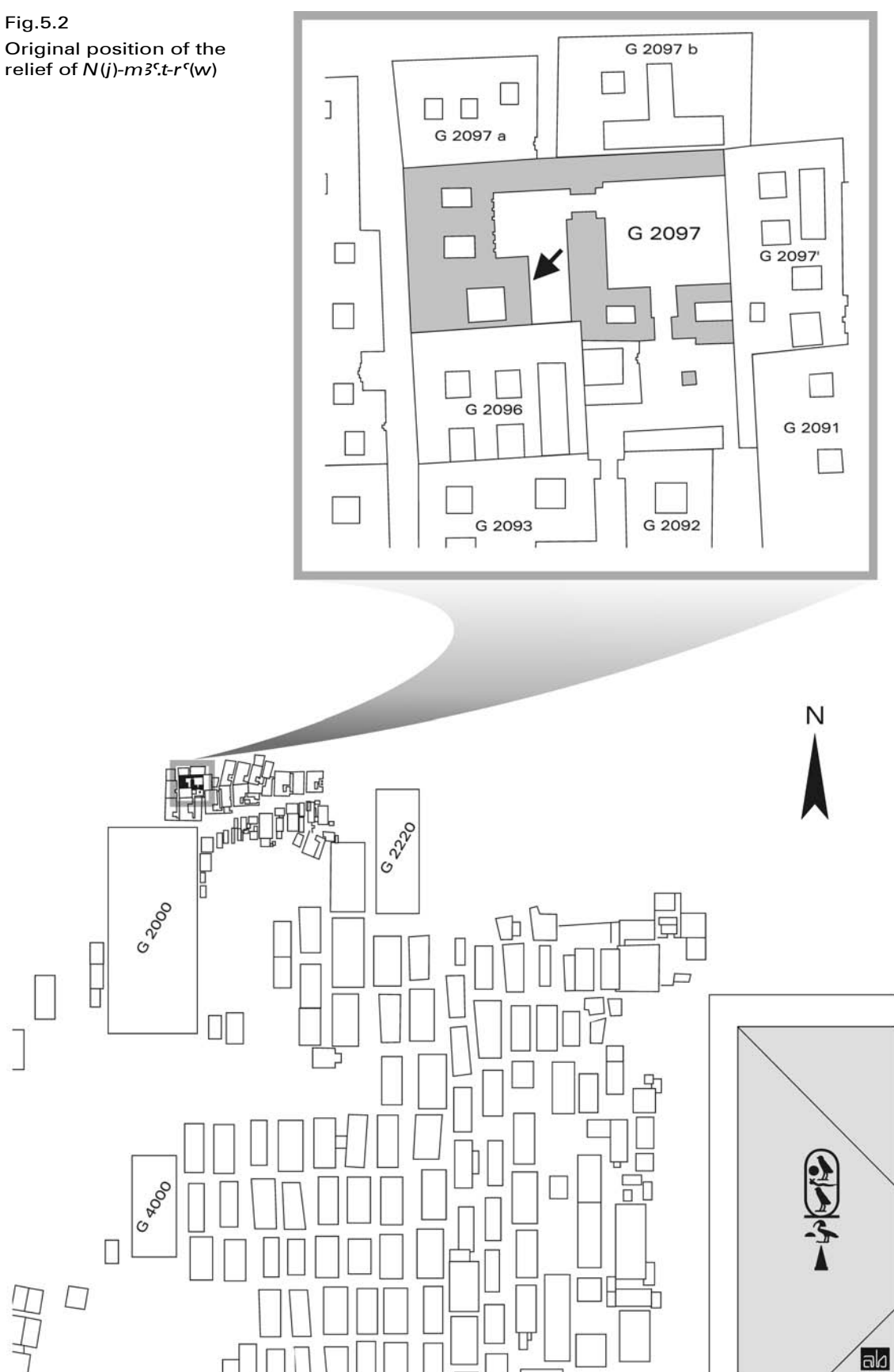
⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 130.

⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 129.

⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 129.

¹⁰ This confirms ROTH’s conclusion (*Giza Mastabas* VI, 116) that the false door of a certain $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)/Twt$ found usurped in G 2092a could not be from the chapel of G 2097.

Fig.5.2
Original position of the
relief of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$



FALSE DOOR OF $N(J)-M\beta^c.T-R^c(W)$ **PRESENT LOCATION:**

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1437 (lower part of the false door);

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1445 (panel of the false door).

MATERIAL: Nummulitic limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS:

Æ.I.N.1437: 150 cm high, 59 cm wide, 6–7 cm thick.

Æ.I.N.1445: 40 cm high, 58 cm wide, 5 cm thick ¹¹.

CONDITION:

Æ.I.N.1437: Lower left and upper right corners and upper part of the left edge are lost; surface is weathered; numerous dents; edges are eroded; representations in the lower part are intentionally badly damaged.

Æ.I.N. 1445: Left edge is knocked off; surface is weathered; numerous dents; edges are eroded; representation is intentionally badly damaged.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1911 – Purchased for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at the antiquities dealer MOHAMMAD ALI at Giza ¹².

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Æ.I.N.1437:

MOGENSEN, *Glyptothèque*, Cat.no. A 659;
KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Recueil des inscriptions*, 34;
KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*,
Cat.no.15, pl.22 (with a wrong Inv.no.);

Æ.I.N.1445:

KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*,
Cat.no.19.

The two blocks (pl.XX–XXI) belong to the same false door (fig.5.3), although this has never been noticed:

- ◆ The name of the owner, $[N(j)]-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$, and his title $\text{ꜥꜥ} pr \text{ꜥ}$ are present both on the panel and on the lower part of the false door.
- ◆ Both blocks are hewn of nummulitic limestone (the quality of the stone used for the panel is somewhat inferior to that of the lower part of the false door ¹³).
- ◆ The panel is only 1 cm narrower than the lower part of the false door.
- ◆ The figures of the owner are intentionally damaged in the same manner both on the panel and on the lower part of the false door.
- ◆ Both blocks were purchased simultaneously at the same dealer.

The false door originally adjoined the Hermitage relief, a number of facts testifying to this assumption:

- ◆ The width of the Copenhagen false door is 58–59 cm and, thus, it could stand on the emplacement *in situ*, the space of 35 cm to the left of it being enough for an outer jamb carved in the lining blocks (20 cm on the Hermitage relief) and, probably, for a blank border (6–7 cm along the right edge of the Hermitage relief) (pl.XIX-2).
- ◆ If the heads of the determinatives on the jambs and in the niche of the false door are placed at the same level with that of the figure on the jamb being a part of the

¹¹ All the measurements according to a personal communication of Dr. Mogens JØRGENSEN, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek; those published by KOEFOED-PETERSEN (*Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, 25) are inexact.

¹² Personal communication of Dr. Mogens JØRGENSEN; see also Introduction to the present book.

¹³ Personal communication of Dr. Mogens JØRGENSEN.

Hermitage relief, the reconstructed feet of the latter are at the level of the baseline of the former, while the upper edge of the false door panel is at the level of the upper left block of the relief; at this, the lost upper lintel would fit into the empty space in the upper left corner of the relief (fig.5.4).

- ◆ All the titles of the Copenhagen $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w) - hr(j)-s\beta^c.t\beta, z\beta^c.pr^c\beta, hnt(j)-\beta^c.pr^c\beta$ – occur also in the mastaba G 2097; at this, $z\beta^c.pr^c\beta$ and $hnt(j)-\beta^c.pr^c\beta$ that usually follow one another in the tomb and, thus, form a kind of a combined title, are recorded in the same order also on the false door ¹⁴.
- ◆ The selection of the thousands of offerings on the false door panel is the same as on the Hermitage relief ¹⁵.
- ◆ Although the hieroglyphs in G 2097 and on the monuments in the two museums have no definite epigraphic particularities, their shapes are very similar in general.
- ◆ The lower part of the false door is made of the same nummulitic limestone as the Hermitage relief and the lining blocks in G 2097.
- ◆ MOHAMMAD ALI, the seller of the false door, must be a son of ALI ABD EL-HAJ, at whom the Hermitage relief was acquired three years before ¹⁶.
- ◆ Although KOEFOED-PETERSEN for a reason unknown suggested (with a question mark) that the false door has come from Saqqara ¹⁷, its provenance is unrecorded in the documentation of the Glyptotek ¹⁸, and, thus, the only fact disagreeing with the above reconstruction of the provenance of the Copenhagen false door appears non-existent.

Thus, the false door of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ consisted of a monolithic lower part, a panel and a missing upper lintel having been separate slabs, and the outer lintels carved in the adjoining lining blocks.

It is possible that the appearance of the reliefs of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ at the market in the beginning of the century was indirectly related with the excavations of BALLARD in 1901–1902 ¹⁹, the more so that he seems to have dug the serdab of the neighbouring mastaba G 2098 ²⁰. BALLARD's excavations at the otherwise untouched territory could demonstrate its availability to local tomb robbers, and the St.Petersburg and Copenhagen blocks could have been removed from G 2097 hot on his heels. Another

¹⁴ See Commentaries f, l.

¹⁵ See Commentary w.

¹⁶ See Introduction.

¹⁷ KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, 23.

¹⁸ Personal communication of Dr. Mogens JØRGENSEN.

¹⁹ See Cat.no.3, Provenance.

²⁰ Personal communication of Dr. Ann Macy ROTH, Howard University.

option is related with American excavations around the southern false door of G 2000 in 1905. Until 1912, there was a huge drift of sand against the northern false door of G 2000 that would have screened the area from view, and some of REISNER's men could take the opportunity to do a little digging of their own there ²¹.

REPRESENTATIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

All the representations and inscriptions on the false door and on the wall to the right of it are carved in a low relief.

False door (Copenhagen and St.Petersburg)

The panel of the false door bears a traditional table scene. The tomb owner (►) is represented as sitting on a chair with bull legs resting on the supports shaped as inverted truncated cones or pyramids ^a and with a small papyrus umbel decorating its rear part ^b; a pillow is shown but not the back of the chair it covers ^c. The clenched fist of the man's front arm is to his breast, the back hand is stretched towards a one-legged table loaded with halves of loaves standing front of him ^d. He wears a short wrap-around kilt, a long wig reaching his shoulders and covering his ears, a short artificial beard, a broad collar, and a panther skin ^e. Above his head there is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs (◄):

Inscription 5/1

ꜣꜣ [pr] ꜣ [N(j)]-m β^c .t-r c (w)–

Scribe of the Great [House] ^f [N(j)]-m β^c .t-r c (w) ^g.

To the right of the table and under it there are two lines of hieroglyphs (◄):

Inscription 5/2

① $\beta^c t(3), \beta^c \beta(n)k.t, \beta^c pzn,$

② $\beta^c k3, \beta^c 3pd, \beta^c 3z, \beta^c mn\beta.t, \beta^c mr\beta.t$ –

① Thousand of bread, thousand of /vessels of/ beer, thousand of pzn -loaves,

② thousand of cattle, thousand of fowl, thousand of alabaster vessels, thousand of cloth, thousand of /vessels of/ unguent.

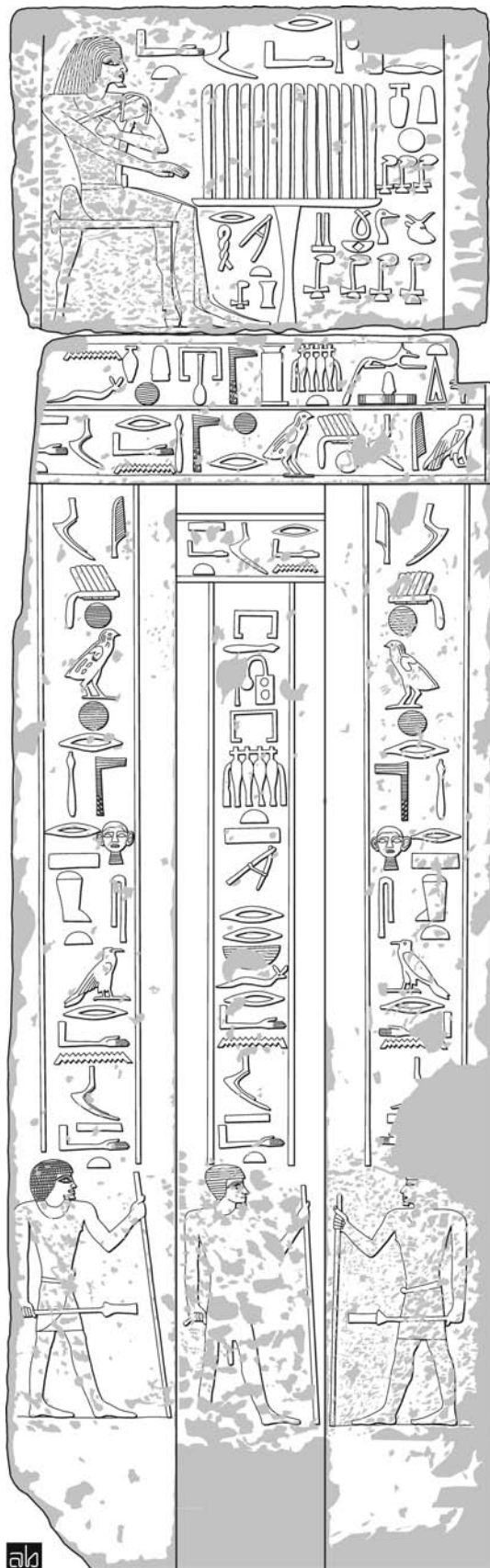
On the lower lintel there are two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs (◄) separated by a line; although the left edge and the upper right corner of the lintel are missing, no signs are lost in the upper line and all the signs can be read in the lower line:

Inscription 5/3

① $\beta^c tp dj n(j)-sw.t (\beta^c tp dj) Jnpw \beta^c nt(j) \beta^c h ntr pr.t-brw n.f$

② $m j m\beta^c h.w hr ntr ꜣ N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w) –$

²¹ Personal communication of Dr. Ann Macy ROTH.



50 cm

0

① Offering given by the king, (offering given) by Anubis Who presides over the divine booth^h – the invocation-of-ferings for himⁱ

② as one Revered^j with the Elder God^k – $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

On the drum there is a single line of hieroglyphs (◀) bordered by lines on top and below.

Inscription 5/4

$N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

In the niche of the false door there is a vertical column of hieroglyphs (◀) bordered by lines at either side:

Inscription 5/5

$\bar{z}^c pr^c \bar{z} bnt(j)-\bar{z} pr^c (\bar{z}) mrr(.w)$
 $nb.f N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ –

Scribe of the Great House,
 Attendant of the (Great) House^l Beloved of his lord^m,
 $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a standing man (▶) wearing a short wrap-around kilt, a skin of a panther and a short wig covering his ears; in his front hand he

Fig.5.3

False door of $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$,
 Copenhagen Æ.I.N.1437,
 Æ.I.N.1445

has a staff and he holds a fold of the panther skin in his back hand. Although the representation is intentionally badly damaged, some traces of an artificial beard and of a broad collar are still visible.

On the left inner jamb there is a vertical column of hieroglyphs (\blacktriangledown) bordered by lines at either side:

Inscription 5/6

$jm\mathfrak{Z}b.w \text{ } hr \text{ } n\bar{t}r \text{ } ^c\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } hr(j)-s\bar{s}t\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w) -$

Revered with the Elder God, Secretary ⁿ $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a standing man (\blacktriangleright) wearing a short wrap-around kilt and a short wig covering his ears; there is a broad collar on his neck and a short artificial beard on his chin; he holds a staff in his front hand and a hrp -button in his back hand. The figure is intentionally damaged, although not as badly as that in the niche.

On the right inner jamb there is a vertical column of hieroglyphs (\blacktriangledown) bordered by lines at either side:

Inscription 5/7 °

$jm\mathfrak{Z}b.w \text{ } hr \text{ } n\bar{t}r \text{ } ^c\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } hr(j)-s\bar{s}t\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c[.t]-r^c(w) -$

Revered with the Elder God, Secretary $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c[.t]-r^c(w)$.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a standing man (\blacktriangleleft) wearing a short wrap-around kilt and a short artificial beard; he holds a staff in his front hand and a hrp -button in his back hand. Although the figure is intentionally badly damaged, some traces of a broad collar are visible; the shape of the wig cannot be reconstructed.

On the right outer jamb there is a vertical column of hieroglyphs (\blacktriangledown) bordered by lines at either side:

Inscription 5/8

$pr.t-brw \text{ } m \text{ } tp(j) \text{ } rnp.t \text{ } wp(.t) \text{ } rnp.t \text{ } dhw.tj.t \text{ } w\mathfrak{Z}g \text{ } hnt(j)-\bar{s} \text{ } pr \text{ } ^c\mathfrak{Z} \text{ } N(j)-m^c\mathfrak{Z}.t-[r^c(w)] -$

Invocation-offerings ^p in the festival of the first day of the year, (in) the new year festival, (in) the festival of Thoth, (in) the $w\mathfrak{Z}g$ -festival (for) the Attendant of the Great House $N(j)-m^c\mathfrak{Z}.t-[r^c(w)]^q$.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a standing man (\blacktriangleleft) of which only the upper half is preserved; he wears a long wig reaching his shoulders and covering his ears, a short artificial beard, a broad collar and a sash of a lector priest across his shoulders ^r; his both arms are lowered.

Wall to the right of the false door (St.Petersburg)

On the left part of the wall the tomb owner (►) is represented as sitting on a chair with bull legs on the supports shaped as truncated cones or pyramids standing on their wider bases^s; the rear part of the chair is decorated with a small papyrus umbel; a pillow is shown but not the back of the chair it covers. The clenched fist of his front arm is to his breast, the back hand is stretched towards a one-legged table loaded with halves of loaves standing front of him. He wears a short wrap-around kilt, a long wig reaching his shoulders and covering his ears, a short artificial beard, and a broad collar. The face and the wig are well modelled, the features are lively thanks to a delicate play of light and shadows (pl.XVII); the body is treated much more summarily, the collar is only slightly and inaccurately traced. Above the table there is a heap of food and vessels. The table scene is very similar to that on the false door panel, differing from it only by the absence of a panther skin and another shape of the supports of the chair's legs.

To the right of the representation of the tomb owner there is an erased outline of an analogous figure that is still visible in front of the face (pl.XVII), the front shoulder and elbow and either shin and foot (pl.XVI). Since the distance between the upper parts of the original and the final representation is about 5 cm and that between their lower parts is less than 1 cm, the figure was altered because initially it was depicted as slanting forward by mistake. Analogous traces are visible by either leg of the chair; the back shoulder is also slightly corrected.

Above the head of the tomb owner there are lower parts of three vertical lines of hieroglyphs (◄↓):

Inscription 5/9

- ① $[brji]-s\mathfrak{Z}t\mathfrak{Z} [pr^c\mathfrak{Z}]$
- ② $jm\mathfrak{Z}h.w$
- ③ $[N(j)]-m^c\mathfrak{Z}.t-[r^c(w)]-$
- ① [Secre]tary [of the Great House]^t,
- ② Revered
- ③ $[N(j)]-m^c\mathfrak{Z}.t-[r^c(w)]^{u\vee}$.

Between the legs of the tomb owner and the leg of the table there are two lines of hieroglyphs (◄←):


Inscription 5/10

- ① $h\mathfrak{Z} t(\mathfrak{Z}), h\mathfrak{Z} h(n)k.t, h\mathfrak{Z} pzn, h\mathfrak{Z} k\mathfrak{Z}, h\mathfrak{Z} \mathfrak{Z}pd,$
- ② $h\mathfrak{Z} \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{Z}, h\mathfrak{Z} mn\mathfrak{Z}.t, h\mathfrak{Z} mr\mathfrak{Z}.t -$
- ① Thousand of bread, thousand of /vessels of/ beer, thousand of pzn -loaves, thousand of cattle, thousand of fowl,
- ② thousand of alabaster vessels, thousand of cloth, thousand of /vessels of/ unguent^w.

There are two registers of representations under the figure of the owner and four registers in front of it.

The lower register is occupied with three scenes of butchery. On the right there is an ox lying with its both hinder legs and a foreleg tied together; a man tightens the rope, his front foot treading on the bound legs of the animal (pl.XVIII-3) ^x. The other foreleg, the one to be cut off, is free, and the ox tries to push off the ground with it, but a man to the left treads upon its head, holds its horns and tries to turn it over on its back ^y. The third man sharpens a flint knife ^z. The central scene represents two men cutting off a foreleg of an oryx ^{aa}. One of them stands on a horn of the animal with his front foot and pulls its foreleg with his hands; the other man pushes a hoof with one hand and touches the joint of the leg and the body with the other hand; however, there is no knife in his hand ^{bb}. The left scene is that of dismembering of a carcass of an oryx. The man on the right hugs its hind leg with his arm and holds it with the other hand, the man to the left of him touches the leg with his both hands ^{cc}, while their mate opens the thorax of the animal with a knife; the fourth man holds a cut-off foreleg on his shoulder.


The second register is devoted to a procession of eight offering bringers. The first man carries a leg of an offering animal in his hands; the second man delivers a leg on his shoulders. The third man holds three birds by the wings in his front hand and another bird in his back hand. The fourth man bears a tray with a conical bread baked in a *bd3*-form, two bowls of fruits (?) and a cucumber ^{dd} on his front shoulder and a tall vessel with a spout in the other hand. The fifth man has a bunch of papyrus sprouts ^{ee} in his front hand and a tray with a conical bread, a bowl of fruits (?) and lettuce on his back shoulder. The sixth man brings a beer vessel and a piece of meet on the ribs. Papyrus flowers with long stems hang over the elbow of the seventh man ^{ff} who also carries a tall vessel with a spout and a tray with a conical bread and a *kemhw* loaf, a bowl of fruits (?), and spring onions. The tray of the eighth man is loaded with loaves and a gammon and he has a rectangular cage or box with a rope handle in his back hand.

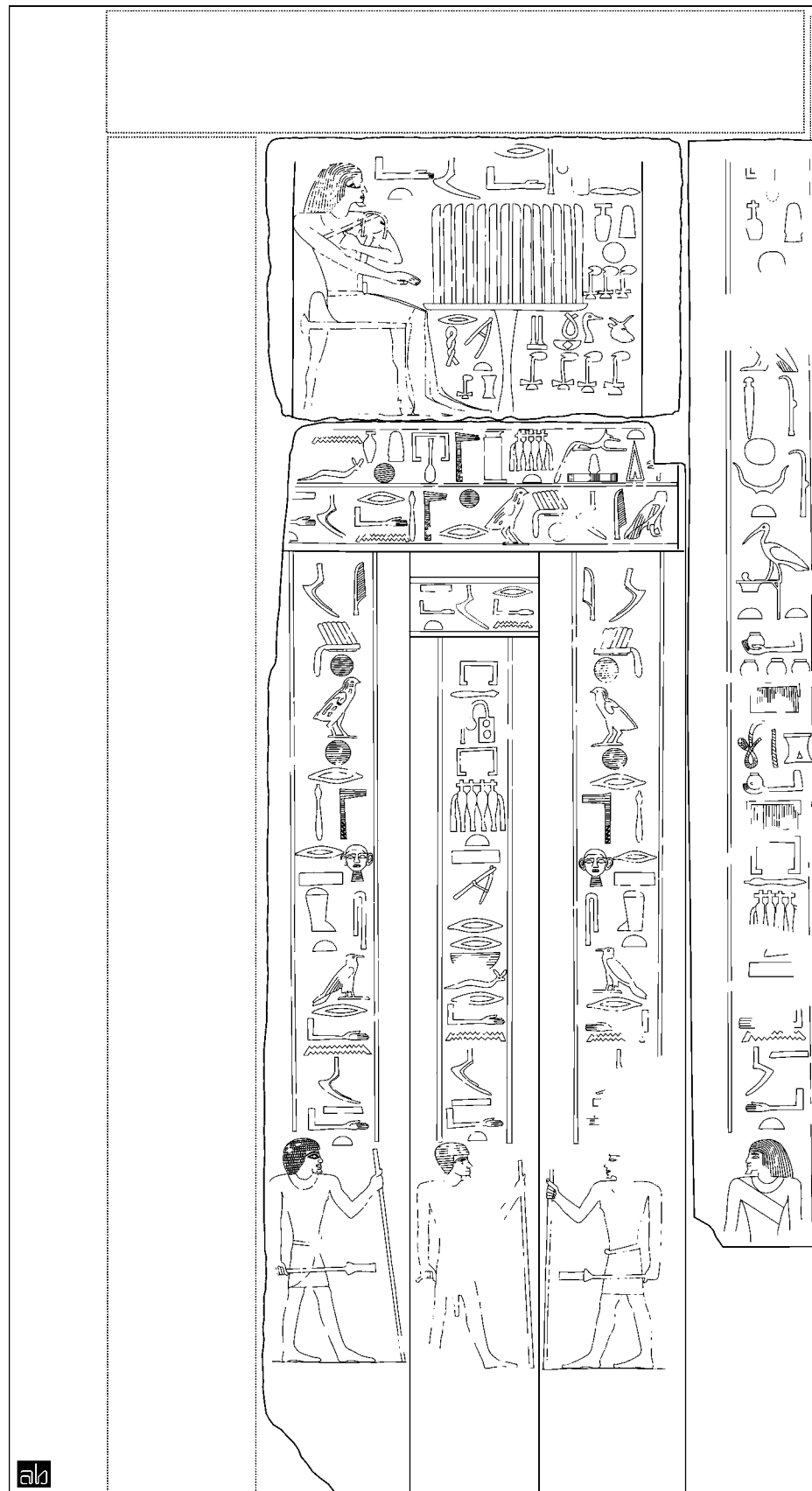
The third register contains representations of a priestly service (pl.XVIII-2). The left-most man standing with his back turned towards the tomb owner brushes steps away with a reed besom and, thus, performs the rite of cleaning the footprints terminating the service ^{gg}; to the left of his shoulder there is a legend ():

Inscription 5/11

jn(j).t rd-

Cleaning the footprints (lit.: removing the foot).

The second kneeling priest ^{hh} puts his hands down into a box standing in front of him ⁱⁱ; above his head there is a legend ():



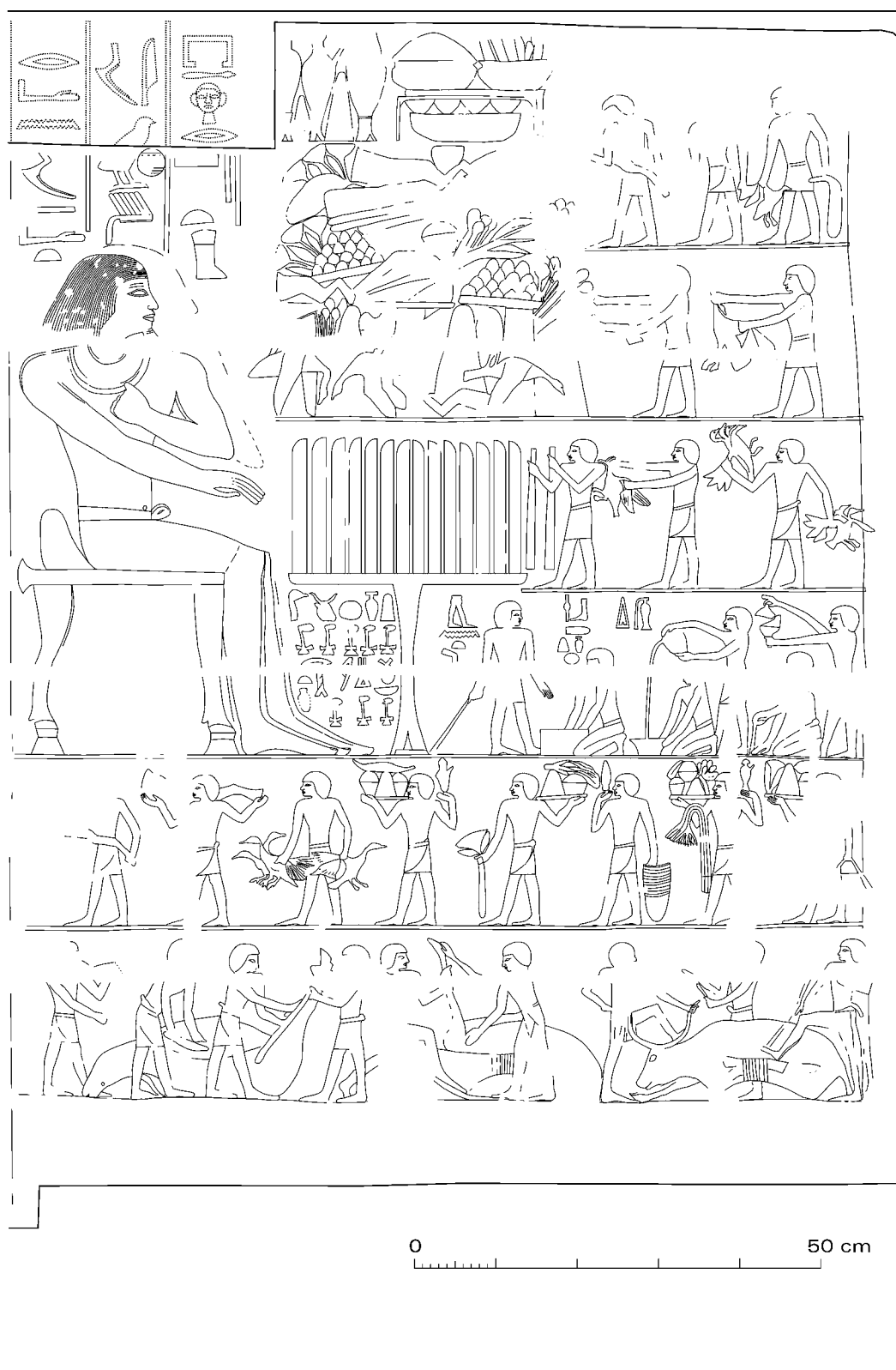


Fig.5.4
Reconstruction of the west wall of the corridor
of *N(j)-m3̣ˁ.t-ṛˁ(w)*, G 2097

Inscription 5/12

wdb <(j)b.(w)t>-

Reversion offering ^{jj}.

The third man kneels in front of a basin that he touches with his hands, while the fourth priest standing behind him pours water into it over his head ^{kk} out of an egg-shaped vessel ^{ll}; by the vessel there is a legend (→):

Inscription 5/13

(r)dj(.t) kbh(.w) -

Giving cool water ^{mm}.

The kneeling fifth priest leans on his one hand, while in the other hand he holds a rounded object (?) connected with the ground by a vertical line. This posture has no exact analogies in representations of the offering rites ⁿⁿ.

The sixth priest holds a burner with a piece of incense of irregular shape over the head of the previous man ^{oo pp}.

There are three figures of men in the fourth register. The first man holds two long bands of folded linen in his hands ^{qq}; the second man breaks the neck of a bird ^{rr}, while the third man holds four birds by the wings in either hand.

In the fifth register there are representations of two men, each killing a bird.

The sixth register bears three figures of men. The first man carries a foreleg of an animal; the second figure is too much damaged to be reconstructed; the third man holds a bird in his front hand and a long sack in his back hand.

COMMENTARY

^a Criterion 13 of CHERPION ²². According to CHERPION, this feature was in use down to the reign of Neusera; however, two tombs she dates to Dyn.IV cannot be earlier than Dyn.VI ²³ and, thus, this dating criterion is rather shaky.

²² CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 36–37, 160–161.

²³ *Hw(j).f-w(j)-snb(.w) II* (Giza WF), PM III², 153; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:186; dwarf *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* (Giza WF). JUNKER, the excavator of the tomb of *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb*, dated it to the late Old Kingdom (JUNKER, *Giza V*, 3–6) and for a long time his opinion was shared in general by the overwhelming majority, e.g., VANDIER, *Manuel III*, 137; TERRACE, FISCHER, *Treasures*, 68 – both Dyn.VI; BAINES, MÁLEK, *Atlas*, 163; PM III², 101 – both middle Dyn.VI or later; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:212 – mid reign of Pepy II to Dyn.VIII; DONADONI, *Ägyptisches Museum*, 44 – Dyn.VI; FISCHER, *BiOr* 47, 90–91, n.1 – Dyn.VI, but hardly later than the reign of Pepy I. However, there is a tendency towards an earlier dating that is rather strong nowadays: SMITH, *HESPOK*, 57; PIRELLI, in: TIRADRITTI, *Treasures*, 74 – both late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI; RUSSMANN, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 39–41, 214–215 – early to middle Dyn.V; BOTHMER, according to ALDRED,

- ^b According to CHERPION ²⁴ the size of the umbel can be used as a dating criterion, but it is very inexact.
- ^c Criterion 6 of CHERPION ²⁵. According to her, it appears under Snefru, remains rare prior to Isesi, and is predominant under Unis and later. However, it cannot be earlier than the beginning of Dyn.V ²⁶.
- ^d The halves of loaves are depicted in the most “classical” Old Kingdom manner, Criterion 17 of CHERPION ²⁷. According to CHERPION, this feature was in use till the reign of Isesi; however, a number of tombs she dates to Dyn.IV – V are not earlier than Dyn.VI ²⁸ and, thus, this is not a very reliable dating criterion.
- ^e Many details of the panther skin are lost due to the vandalism of the false door; however, its front edge, a band along the upper edge ²⁹, and ties on a shoulder (one of them, seemingly, with a semi-elliptical finial ³⁰) are still visible; an outline of a paw on a shoulder is recognisable, but not the claws; the tail is not depicted. Tomb owners wearing a panther skin are represented in the cluster of $\text{hnt}(j).w\text{-}\mathfrak{s}$ only in Rdj $\langle G 2086 \rangle$ ³¹, $Z3(j).jb(j)$ $\langle G 2092+2093 \rangle$ ³², $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ $\langle G 2097 \rangle$ ³³, $Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr$ $\langle G 2098 \rangle$ ³⁴, and $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ $\langle G 2240 \rangle$ ³⁵; at this, this detail never occurs on the false door panels or in the depictions of a sitting man. Unfortunately, the figure of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ in a skin on the east wall

Egyptian Art, 77 – late Dyn.IV – early Dyn.V (however, cf. a more careful opinion: “although traditionally attributed to Dynasty VI, the question whether this statue dates from Dynasty IV deserves serious consideration”, BOTHMER, *Expedition* 24/2, 36 = idem., *Egyptian Art*, 387–388); SALEH, SOUROUZIAN, *Offizieller Katalog*, Kat.Nr.39 – Dyn.IV – early Dyn.V; ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR* III, 29 – Dyn.IV. CHERPION’s dating to the reign of Djedefra (CHERPION, *BIFAO* 84; idem., *Mastabas et hypogées*, 89) is extremist even against this background. The present author follows JUNKER’s tradition for the reasons stated in BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 139, 10, n.1, 20, n.18; idem., *Man and his Double*, 61–63.

²⁴ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 32–33.

²⁵ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 30, 151–154.

²⁶ BOLSHAKOV, in *Mélanges Varga*, 72–74.

²⁷ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 47, 166–167.

²⁸ $Hnm(w)-h\text{tp}(w)$ II $\langle Giza, WF \rangle$, *PM* III², 105; $Mr(j)-w(j)-k3(j)$ $\langle Giza, WF \rangle$, *PM* III², 118; $Shm\text{-}\mathfrak{c}nb\text{-}pt\text{h}/Shm\text{-}pt\text{h}$ $\langle Giza, CF \rangle$, *PM* III², 272; $\mathfrak{S}ps\text{-}k3.f\text{-}\mathfrak{c}nb(w)$ $\langle Giza, CF \rangle$, *PM* III², 272; $D3g$ $\langle Giza, CF \rangle$, *PM* III², 271.

²⁹ STAEHELIN, *Tracht*, 53.

³⁰ STAEHELIN, *Tracht*, 57–60.

³¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.18-b, 143.

³² ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.68-c, 173-a.

³³ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.97-a, 189.

³⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.198.

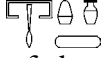
³⁵ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.126-b, 206.

of his chapel is too damaged to be compared with that on the Copenhagen false door; the closest parallel to the latter as concerns the treatment of the ties is that in *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr* (G 2098) ³⁶.

^f In G 2097, *3̣ pr 3̣*³⁷ is always (twice) followed by *hnt(j)-3̣ pr 3̣*³⁸, and ROTH supposes that they form an inseparable unit ³⁹. Her observation is correct in general ⁴⁰, but the present case demonstrates that the rule was not universal.

^g The name is relatively common in the Old Kingdom ⁴¹ and is much more characteristic of Giza than of Saqqara.

^h *Hnt(j) 3̣b ntr* was used as a epithet of Anubis during the whole Old Kingdom starting from Dyn.IV ⁴².

ⁱ  is read as a nomen in this book as contrary to the tradition of interpretation of the offering formula ⁴³. This may be incorrect in some cases, but the Old Kingdom offering formula is still not studied properly (the book by LAPP ⁴⁴ rather confused the problems than resolved them) and it may be reasonable to avoid deepening into grammar prior to the appearance of a new work devoted mainly to the principles and patterns of the functioning of the formula, especially in the time of its formation and rapid development in Dyn.IV. Moreover, the problem of the offering formula is more ideological than philological, and the ideology of the formula forces us to give preference to nominal forms. Any Egyptian tomb and temple inscription of formulaic character is intended for creating and eternal reproduction of a certain reality. The offering formula must secure absolute, permanent and everlasting supplying of the Double of a tomb owner with food, beverages and other goods. Thus, optative verbal forms are out of place in the offering formula, at least at the early stage of its development: requests may be fulfilled or not, which is intolerable in such an important sphere as securing the next life, and only a definite statement of an accomplished fact of offering is a guarantee of its endless repetition. By the way, this is why it is wrong to call components of the offering formula requests (*Bitten*, etc.).

³⁶ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.198.

³⁷ JONES, *Index*, 847:3096.

³⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.93-a, 187, 94-a, 188.

³⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 133, n.105.

⁴⁰ Cf. Commentary l.

⁴¹ RANKE, *PN* I, 172:16; *PM* III², 373, 963:1168.

⁴² BARTA, *Opferformel*, 8.

⁴³ This passage would be traditionally read as *pr(j.tw) hrw n.f*, “may be brought an offering for him” (e.g., FRANKE, *JE* 89, 47–48).

⁴⁴ LAPP, *Opferformel*.

- j According to BERLEV⁴⁵, $jm\mathfrak{z}h.w$ is “Possessor of spinal cord”, i.e., a deceased who has spinal marrow and, thus, retains some vital force. This interesting interpretation is not indubitable since $jm\mathfrak{z}h$ is not a common designation of a part of a body and its several records in Coffin Texts⁴⁶ are not very convincing. JANSEN-WINKELN relates $jm\mathfrak{z}h.w$ with $m\mathfrak{z}h$, “sheaf”⁴⁷, thus understanding $jm\mathfrak{z}h.w$ as describing the body of the deceased as bound, i.e., integral, imperishable. Neither theory discards the traditional “revered”, “honoured”, etc., for they exist in different dimensions, those of interpretations and conventions of translation respectively.
- k According to BERLEV’s “theory of the Two Suns”, $ntr \mathfrak{z}$ traditionally translated as “Great God”, actually is the “Elder God”, Sun, as opposed to his son, $ntr nfr$, the “Younger God”, i.e., the king⁴⁸.
- l One might regard this spelling of the title⁴⁹ as corrupted, with \mathfrak{z} omitted, but \mathfrak{z} and $hnt(j)-\mathfrak{z}$ share the group $pr-\mathfrak{z}$ in the same manner also in the intrusive inscription of $Mrjj-ntr-j\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}j$ on the palace façade of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ ⁵⁰, which supports ROTH’s idea on the inseparability of these titles of the latter⁵¹.
- m The epithet⁵², although much destroyed, is recorded also in the tomb of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ ⁵³.
- n The title⁵⁴ is not recorded in the tomb of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.
- o Identical to Inscription 5/6.
- p When it was still not known that the Hermitage relief and the Ny Carlsberg false door fit one another and the original height of the wall could not be reconstructed,

⁴⁵ HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, Cat.no.1, Commentary e; БЕРЛЕВ, ХОДЖАШ, *Скульптура*, кат.№ 3, комм. к.

⁴⁶ CT V, 258f; VI, 122b, 122d, 126h.

⁴⁷ JANSEN-WINKELN, BSEG 20.

⁴⁸ БЕРЛЕВ, *Трудовое население*, 12, примеч.2; BERLEV, RdE 24, 12, n.2; idem., in *Studies Polotsky*, 362–365; HODJASH, BERLEV, AoF 3, 11–12; idem., *Reliefs and Stelae*, Cat.no.4, Commentary c, and now especially BERLEV, in *Discovering Egypt*. On the relations of the Sun and the king as a father and a son in the Amarna period see also ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Кэ́е и Семнех-ке-ре*, 258–271. On the association of $ntr \mathfrak{z}$ with Osiris see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 184–185; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 105–106. The epithet $jm\mathfrak{z}h.w hr ntr \mathfrak{z}$ means that the Sun god gives a deceased an ability to see and, thus, to use the offerings brought by the living ones (БЕРЛЕВ, ХОДЖАШ, *Скульптура*, кат.№ 3, комм. к).

⁴⁹ JONES, *Index*, 692–693:2532. See also Cat.no.3, Commentary l.

⁵⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.91, 186.




⁵¹ See, however, Commentary f.

⁵² JONES, *Index*, 444:1659.

⁵³ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.97-a, 189.

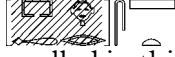

⁵⁴ JONES, *Index*, 609:2233.


the present author supposed that the column started with $h\bar{t}p\ dj\ n(j)-sw.t$ and, probably, $h\bar{t}p\ dj$ + god's name ⁵⁵.

^q The name that is of importance for the identification of the owners of the St.Petersburg relief and the Copenhagen false door was correctly read already by PEREPELKIN ⁵⁶. Although the first sign is lost and the second is damaged () , the reading of the latter as  causes no doubts, and the name can be only  ⁵⁷.

^r This feature is not characteristic of the cluster of the tombs of $hn(j).w-\mathfrak{Z}$ and is attested there besides $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ only in $Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr$ <G 2098> ⁵⁸.

^s In contrast to those on the false door. According to CHERPION ⁵⁹ this feature cannot be used as a dating criterion.

^t  is a spelling variant of  ⁶⁰. The title is once more spelled in this form in G 2097 ⁶¹. $Pr\ \mathfrak{Z}$ is reconstructed (as contrary to Inscriptions 5/6 and 5/7) because it exactly fills the lacuna in the upper part of the column.

^u The first three signs are lost, but  fit the lacuna exactly.

^v Thus, the set of the titles of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ is as follows ⁶²:

- ◆ $(j)r(j)\ b(j)\ n(j)-sw.t$, He belonging to the baby king ⁶³ – [G];
- ◆ $\mathfrak{Z}\bar{s}\ pr\ \mathfrak{Z}$, Scribe of the Great House – [G], [NCG];
- ◆ $hnt(j)-\mathfrak{Z}\ pr\ \mathfrak{Z}$, Attendant of the Great House – [G], [H], [NCG];
- ◆ $hr(j)\ s\bar{s}t\mathfrak{Z}$, Secretary – [NCG];
- ◆ $hr(j)\ s\bar{s}t\mathfrak{Z}\ pr\ \mathfrak{Z}$, Secretary of the Great House – [G], [H];
- ◆ $mrr(.w)\ nb.f$, Beloved of his lord – [NCG].

^w The selection of the thousands is identical to that on the false door panel, Inscription 5/2.

^x This is the only man in the register wearing not a kilt but a breech-cloth. Perhaps this must stress that he is not a butcher but a herdsman who has brought the ox; cf., e.g., in $Nfr-ms\bar{d}r-hw(j).f-w(j)$ <G 2240> ⁶⁴, $\mathfrak{Z}nb(.j)-m^c-hr(w)/Z\bar{z}j$ <Saqqara TPC> ⁶⁵.

⁵⁵ БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 23:1, 3, 5.

⁵⁶ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 11, кат.№ IV.

⁵⁷ Cf. other names built after the pattern “ $N(j) + m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t$ + name of a god” in RANKE, *PN* I, 172.

⁵⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.105-b, 109-b, 193, 196, 197.

⁵⁹ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 40.

⁶⁰ JONES, *Index*, 619:2271.

⁶¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.188.

⁶² [G] = Giza, [H] = Hermitage, [NCG] = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

⁶³ See Cat.no.17, Commentary f.

⁶⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.207.

⁶⁵ BADAUWY, *Nybetep-Ptah*, fig.47; KANAWATI, HASSAN, *Teti Cemetery* II, pl.49 (the man unfastening the legs of a killed ox).

Among hundreds of scenes of butchery there is only one exact analogy to this episode (overturning of an ox with a free foreleg) that is not a copy of $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$ ⁶⁶, three more distant analogies, and two copies from the Hermitage relief:

- ◆ $Sndm-jb(j)/Mhj$ (G 2378, reign of Unis)⁶⁷. This is the closest analogy to $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$ and the only one at Giza. Three men are represented in the same postures, an ox also lies on its belly with its three legs bound and one free (fig.5.5).

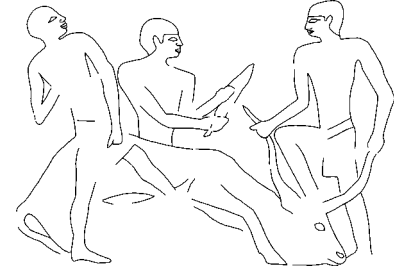


Fig.5.5

Overturning of an ox, representation in the mastaba of $Sndm-jb(j)/Mhj$ (after BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, fig.113)

- Mhw (Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti)⁶⁸. A moment immediately preceding that shown in $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$ is represented. An ox with its hindlegs bound falls down on its bent forelegs; one of the butchers says: “Make it fall down!”.
- $W^c(j).t(j).t-h(w).t-hr(w)$, in the mastaba of $Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj$ (Saqqara TPC, reign of Teti)⁶⁹. The very moment of overturning an ox is depicted; the posture of the ox is very expressive, a man keeps fast its bent free foreleg. Unfortunately, the lower part of the scene is lost and some details remain uncertain.
- $^c nb(j)-m^c-hr(w)/Zzj$ (Saqqara TPC, late reign of Teti – early reign of Pepy I)⁷⁰. A simplified version of the scene in $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$: an ox lies on its belly with its three legs bound, but a free foreleg is omitted (fig.5.6).
- $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ (G 2240, reign of Unis)⁷¹. The scene is a very exact copy of that on the Hermitage relief⁷².

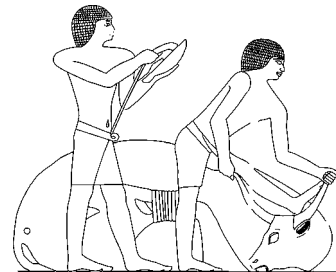


Fig.5.6

Overturning of an ox, representation in the mastaba of $^c nb(j)-m^c-hr(w)/Zzj$ (after BADAWEY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig.47)

⁶⁶ For them see below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$.

⁶⁷ LD II, Bl.73; BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, pl.114-b, fig.112–113.

⁶⁸ ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, Taf.49.

⁶⁹ WRESZINSKI, *Atlas III*, Taf.93.

⁷⁰ BADAWEY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig.47; KANAWATI, HASSAN, *Teti Cemetery II*, pl.49.

⁷¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.127-ab, 207.

⁷² See below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m^3t-r^c(w)$.

- $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ (G 5470 = LG 32, reign of Unis)⁷³. The scene is a copy of that on the Hermitage relief^{74,75}.

Thus, the whole sequence of actions foregoing the severing itself is shown in the tombs of the second half of Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI with a great minuteness⁷⁶. The following episodes can be present:

- ◆ Catching an ox: e.g., $Ntr-wsr(.w)$ (Saqqara NSP, D 1 = S 901, reigns of Neusera – Menkauhor)⁷⁷, $\mathfrak{C}nb(.j)-m^c-hr(w)/Z\mathfrak{z}j$ (Saqqara TPC, late reign of Teti – early reign of Pepy I)⁷⁸.
- ◆ Fettering legs of an ox and throwing it down: e.g. $Htp-k3(.j)$ (Saqqara NSP, S 3509, reigns of Unis – Teti)⁷⁹, Mhw (Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti)⁸⁰, $N(j)-h\mathfrak{t}p-ptb$ (G 2430 = LG 25, reign of Teti)⁸¹.
- ◆ An ox with its three legs bound falls down: Mhw (Saqqara UPC, decorated under Teti)⁸².
- ◆ Overturning an ox lying on its belly with its three legs bound: $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and the above parallels to it and copies of it.
- ◆ An ox overturned on its back ready for dismembering – e.g., $Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)/Mrj$ (Saqqara TPC, reign of Teti)⁸³.

^z See flint flakes flying off the knife: $Jj-mrjj$ (G 6020 = LG 16)⁸⁴, $Htp-k3(.j)$ (Saqqara NSP, S 3509)⁸⁵, $R^c(w)-m-k3(.j)$ (Saqqara NSP, D 3 = S 903)⁸⁶. MARTIN interprets them as sparks indicating that the knife is made of metal⁸⁷, but this is hardly

⁷³ LD II, Bl.84; JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.46.

⁷⁴ See below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

⁷⁵ The process of overturning is represented also in $\mathfrak{T}w/K3(.j)-n(j)-sw.t$ (G 2001, Dyn.VI) (SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* IV, pl.21-*ab*, fig.19), but since all four legs of the bull are shown as bound together, the scene is not an analogy to $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

⁷⁶ Cf. EGGBRECHT, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 188–189, 217–218.

⁷⁷ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, 21.

⁷⁸ BADAWY, *Nybetep-Ptah*, fig.35–36; KANAWATI, HASSAN, *Teti Cemetery* II, pl.43-*bc*.

⁷⁹ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, pl.13.

⁸⁰ ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, Taf.94, 104–5.

⁸¹ LD II, Bl.71-*b*; BADAWY, *Nybetep-Ptah*, fig.7.

⁸² ALTENMÜLLER, *Mehu*, Taf.49.

⁸³ DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.54, 109.

⁸⁴ LD II, 52; SMITH, *HESPOK*, fig.99 (already absent in WEEKS, *Giza Mastabas* V, fig.35).

⁸⁵ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, pl.14 (twice).

⁸⁶ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, 12, n.2.

⁸⁷ MARTIN, *Hetepka*, 12.

possible: the knife is sharpened with the end of a tool and not with its long side, as it would be natural were it a hone; thus, it must be a pressure flaking tool, probably made of bone.

^{aa} This scene shows a ritual severing of a leg performed on a living and conscious animal ⁸⁸. For a modern interpretation of that practice see an ingenious paper by GORDON and SCHWABE ⁸⁹.

^{bb} It may be completely destroyed by weathering, but another interpretation is possible as well. In a number of scenes not the process of cutting off a leg was represented but its result – the moment when a man holds an already amputated stump, e.g., *Šhm-k3(j)* (Saqqara WSP) ⁹⁰, *Rdj* (G 2086) ⁹¹, *N(j)-k3.w-jẓẓj* (Saqqara TPC) ⁹², *J3zn* (G 2196) ⁹³, *Mr(j)-w(j)-k3(j)* (Giza WF) ⁹⁴ (fig.5.7-1). It is probable that also in the cases when the cut itself is not depicted but the man has no knife in his hand the sense may be the same, cf. e.g. *Špss-k3.f-ṛnh(.w)* (Giza CF) ⁹⁵, *Jrrw* (Giza CF) ⁹⁶, the later case being a close analogy to *N(j)-m3̣.t-ṛ(w)* (fig.5.7-2).

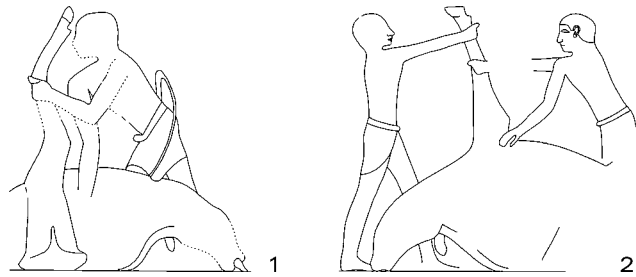


Fig.5.7

1. Man holding an amputated leg of an ox, representation in the mastaba of *Mr(j)-w(j)-k3(j)* (after JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb.33);
2. Men holding an allegedly amputated leg of an ox, representation in the tomb of *Jrrw* (after HASSAN, *Giza III*, fig.57)

^{cc} The action represented is most probably the skinning of a leg. Although usually it happened after the whole carcass had already been flayed (e.g. *Šhm-k3(j)* (Saqqara WSP) ⁹⁷, *Pth-htp(.w) I* (Saqqara WSP, D 62) ⁹⁸), some scenes show the removing

⁸⁸ JUNKER, *Giza III*, 229–231.

⁸⁹ GORDON, SCHWABE, in *Abstracts 7th ICE*; idem., in *Proceedings 7th ICE*.

⁹⁰ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl.7.

⁹¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, fig.141.

⁹² KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery VI*, pl.60.

⁹³ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas IV*, fig.32.

⁹⁴ JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb.33.

⁹⁵ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.27.

⁹⁶ HASSAN, *Giza III*, fig.57.

⁹⁷ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl.7.

⁹⁸ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl.11.

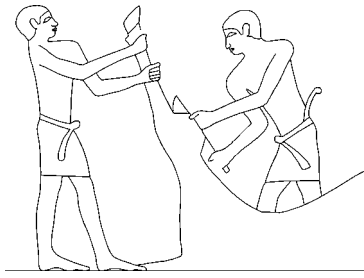


Fig.5.8
Skinning the hindleg
of an ox, representation
in the tomb of *Nḥt-k3(j)*
(after HASSAN, *Giza VII*, fig.19)

of skin from the hindleg at an earlier stage of the dismemberment: in *Nḥt-k3(j)* (Giza CF), a butcher obviously starts tearing the skin off the hindleg while his companion severs a foreleg and the thorax is still not opened ⁹⁹ (fig.5.8); the same may be depicted also in *Jj-mrjj(j)* (G 6020 = LG 16) where a man is ready to cut the skin along the leg ¹⁰⁰, although the place that is of interest for us is damaged ¹⁰¹; cf. also an analogous detail shown at a later stage of gutting in *Nṯr-wsr(.w)* (Saqqara NSP, D 1 = S 901) ¹⁰².

- dd Cf. representations with preserved colouring ¹⁰³.
- ee Edibility of young sprouts of papyrus was a reason of their permanent presence among food offerings ¹⁰⁴.
- ff This feature that is present also on the south wall of the chapel recess of *N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)* ¹⁰⁵ does not occur elsewhere in the cluster of the tombs of *ḥnt(j).w-š* ¹⁰⁶. The meaning is discussed by JUNKER ¹⁰⁷.
- gg Scene 17 of the priestly service after JUNKER ¹⁰⁸. According to GARDINER, the ritual terminated priestly services in temples and tombs and was performed to make the sacred places “less accessible to evil spirits” ¹⁰⁹. JUNKER agreed with the kernel of GARDINER’s idea, but supposed that the rite could be as well performed at the beginning of the service to purify the offering place ¹¹⁰, which is impossible due to the positioning of *jn(j).t rd* in the very end of offering lists, as it has been noticed already by GARDINER. LAPP in his study of the offering formula and offering rituals ¹¹¹ preferred not to touch upon the meaning of *jn(j).t rd* at all. The

⁹⁹ HASSAN, *Giza VII*, fig.19.

¹⁰⁰ WEEKS, *Giza Mastabas V*, fig.35.

¹⁰¹ Reconstruction in *LD II*, Bl.52 is fictive.

¹⁰² MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl.7.

¹⁰³ *LD II*, Bl.67-b, 110.

¹⁰⁴ For details see JUNKER, *Giza VII*, 176.

¹⁰⁵ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.187.

¹⁰⁶ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ JUNKER, *Giza IV*, 78–79.


¹⁰⁸ JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.10.

¹⁰⁹ DAVIES Nina, GARDINER, *Amenembet*, 93–94.

¹¹⁰ JUNKER, *Giza III*, 110–111.

¹¹¹ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 176–177.

present author accepts the traditional understanding going back to GARDINER in general ¹¹², but prefers to make stress not on the protection or the purity of the cult place, but to its nature as a point of contiguity of the human world and the world of the $k\beta$, the Doubleworld. Since the tomb belongs to both worlds that must not be mixed together, when leaving it, people must remove the traces of their presence, the most obvious and profane of which are their footprints. The ritual was accompanied by recitations as it follows from the legend to the scene in the tomb of $K\beta(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)/Mmj$ (Saqqara TPC): $\underline{dd} \underline{mdw} \underline{jn(j).t} \underline{rd}$, “Recitation /and/ cleaning the footprints” ¹¹³. A qualitatively different interpretation of $\underline{jn(j).t} \underline{rd}$ with \underline{rd} understood as “Weihwasser” offered by ALTENMÜLLER ¹¹⁴ is fantastic and can be easily disproven ¹¹⁵.

- hh The posture of this priest, as well as that of the rest – on both knees – is characteristic of the second half of the Old Kingdom; in the earlier period they were depicted on one knee ¹¹⁶.
- ii Modified scene 6 of the priestly service after JUNKER ¹¹⁷. The box is shaped as  in detailed representations (cf. the respective hieroglyph in Inscription 5/8). Perhaps samples of offerings and/or their models were brought to the tomb in such boxes ¹¹⁸; probably numerous boxes were used in the cult, although only one was depicted ¹¹⁹. The hands of the priest were usually shown as lying on a lid of a closed box; however, on our relief the lid is absent and the hands are deep into the box, which, probably, must represent the next action – taking the offerings out. LAPP understands the rectangular object in front of the priest not as a box but as a table ¹²⁰. This interpretation may be valid in some cases and impossible in others due to the shape of the object that sometimes has a vaulted lid characteristic of Egyptian chests of various sizes and functions ^{121 122}.
- jj Abbreviation of a more common $\underline{wdb}-(j)b.(w)t$, $\underline{wdb} \underline{h\dot{t}p-n\dot{t}r}$, etc. ¹²³. However, since \underline{wdb} does not require the determinatives $\begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \\ \Theta \\ \text{on } \text{on} \end{smallmatrix}$, these signs may be an ideographic

¹¹² BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 280; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 223.

¹¹³ BISSING, *Gem-ni-kai* II, Taf.30.

¹¹⁴ ALTENMÜLLER, *JEA* 57.

¹¹⁵ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 280, n.17; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 223, примеч.1.

¹¹⁶ JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 215.

¹¹⁷ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.10.

¹¹⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* III, 108–109.

¹¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, 24.

¹²⁰ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 174–175.

¹²¹ E.g., JAMES, *Khentika*, pl.14; WORSHAM, *JARCE* 16, pl.1-*b*; KANAWATI, *El-Hawawish* I, fig.17.

¹²² See also below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$.

¹²³ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 179.

spelling of *(j)h.(w)t*. The legend is the same in the mastaba of *R^c(w)-wr(.w) II* <G 5470> ¹²⁴ who copied some scenes of *N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)* ¹²⁵. On the reversion offering see a paper by GARDINER that still keeps its importance ¹²⁶.

- kk Scene 4 of the priestly service after JUNKER ¹²⁷ that, most probably, must be understood as a rite of purification by water with natron ¹²⁸. According to LAPP this is a purification of an offering table ¹²⁹. Indeed, the object in which water is poured on our relief and in numerous cases elsewhere may be easily mistaken for a stone libation basin, but in a number of cases the priest holds it in his hands (e.g., *K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)/Mmj* <Saqqara TPC> ¹³⁰), sometimes in one hand (e.g., *K3r* <G 7101> ¹³¹) and, thus, it must be a light copper or pottery vessel.
- ll Either a tall *h3*-vessel with a spout or a wide-shouldered *nms.t*-jug without a spout were used for libations. The vessel on the Hermitage relief looks like a mixture of both – it is short and wide, but water flows not out of its neck, as it would in the case of *nms.t*, so that there is an illusion that it pours out of its side. Perhaps this apprehension is a result of the weathering of the relief that made the spout invisible and merging with water. At least on the copy of the relief ¹³² in the chapel of *Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)* <G 2240> ¹³³ the vessel has a spout and a definitely shaped neck (perhaps also a lid) and it looks like a shortened *h3*. The line drawing of the copy in the chapel of *K3(j)-m^cnh* <G 4561> published by JUNKER is not very exact and the spout and water are merged on it ¹³⁴; KANAWATI reproduces a vessel of approximately the same shape as in *Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)*, with water separated from a spout by a stroke ¹³⁵, but his drawings are not reliable ¹³⁶, and photographs are so poor that no details can be seen on them ¹³⁷. On the other hand, on the

¹²⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.46.

¹²⁵ See below, Copies of the Reliefs of *N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)*.

¹²⁶ GARDINER, *JEA* 24, 86–88.

¹²⁷ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.10.

¹²⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* III, 104, 107, 108.

¹²⁹ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 169.

¹³⁰ BISSING, *Gem-ni-kai* II, Taf.30.

¹³¹ SMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig.25.

¹³² See below, Copies of the Relief of *N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)*.

¹³³ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.207.

¹³⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.7.

¹³⁵ KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.29.

¹³⁶ JÁNOSI, *OLZ* 98, 42–44.

¹³⁷ KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.5.

copy in $R^c(w)-wr(.w)$ II <G 5470>¹³⁸ the neck and the spout are absent and the vessel is very similar to that of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$.

^{mm} An element of the ritual $\mathfrak{z}3t mw$, “pouring water”¹³⁹.

ⁿⁿ Thanks to the copies of the Hermitage relief¹⁴⁰ the figure may be identified – although not without reserve – as a modified scene 8 of the priestly service after JUNKER¹⁴¹ that normally represents a kneeling priest touching the flour in front of him with the fingertips of both his hands¹⁴². May this identification be correct or not, the meaning of the object in a hand of the priest remains obscure.

^{oo} Scene 9 of the priestly service after JUNKER¹⁴³. Incense shown in a burner is not a rarity (see fig.5.9 for some examples discussed below), although representations do not usually reproduce this feature, which is only to be expected, for very little incense is necessary for producing much fragrant smoke, e.g., in Jdw <G 7102>¹⁴⁴ [1], and $Sbm-k3(j)$ <G1029>¹⁴⁵ [2]; nonetheless, an unusual shape of the object depicted in the burner in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ deserves some discussion. True incense, i.e., frankincense, a hardened gum-resinous exudate of the species of *Boswellia*, has a form of large tear-shaped globules¹⁴⁶. Its burning is represented, e.g., in the mastaba of $\check{S}psr-r^c(w)$ <Saqqara NSP, LS 16 = S 902>¹⁴⁷ [3] where separate grains are carefully treated; cf. also less common representations in $D3tj$ <G 2337-X>¹⁴⁸ [4] and $K3r$ <G 7101>¹⁴⁹ [5]. In a more generalized form it may be depicted as a rounded mass over the edge of a censer (like in representations of baskets with grain, fruits, etc.), e.g., in $\check{S}psr-r^c(w)$ <Saqqara NSP, LS 16 = S 902>¹⁵⁰ [6] and $K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)$ <Saqqara TPC, LS 10>¹⁵¹ [7]. A cheaper kind of incense in irregular larger pieces that is also commonly designated as frankincense may be an exudate

¹³⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.46.

¹³⁹ See LAPP, *Opferformel*, 172–173.

¹⁴⁰ See below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$.

¹⁴¹ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.10.

¹⁴² JUNKER, *Giza* III, 109.

¹⁴³ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.10.

¹⁴⁴ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig.39.

¹⁴⁵ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* IV, fig.3.

¹⁴⁶ LUCAS, *Materials*, 91; SERPICO, WHITE, in *Eg.Materials*, 438–439.

¹⁴⁷ LD II, Bl.64-bis-a.

¹⁴⁸ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* IV, fig.41.

¹⁴⁹ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig.22.

¹⁵⁰ LD II, Bl.64-bis-b.

¹⁵¹ BISSING, *Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf.28.

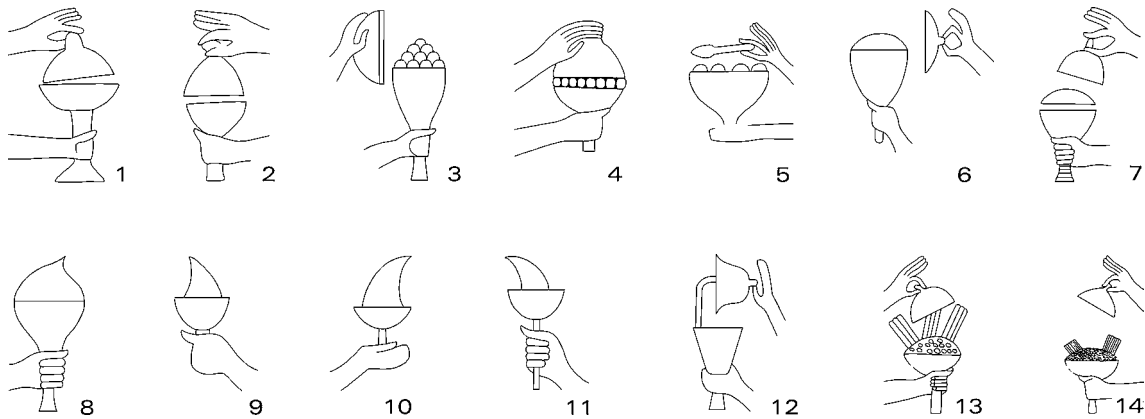



Fig.5.9

Old Kingdom representations of incense in a burner

1. *Jdw* <G 7102>; 2. *Šhm-k3(j)* <G1029>; 3. *Špss-rʿ(w)* <Saqqara NSP, LS 16 = S 902>; 4. *Ḍ3tj* <G 2337-X>; 5. *K3r* <G 7101>; 6. *Špss-rʿ(w)* <Saqqara NSP, LS 16 = S 902>; 7. *K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)* <Saqqara TPC, LS 10>; 8–9. *N(j)-ḥtp-ptḥ* <G 2430 = LG 25>; 10. *Ḥw(j)-w(j)-wr* <Giza CF, LG 95>; 11. *Ḍ3tj* <G 5370 = LG 31>; 12. *Pr(j)-sn* <Giza WF, LG 20>; 13–14. *Nṯr-wsr(.w)* <Saqqara NSP D1>

of another resinous plant, e.g., of the Mediterranean *Ladanum*, that is reported to be shaped as cakes after collecting. When burning, both kinds of incense soften but do not melt¹⁵² and, accordingly, do not change their shape; thus, Egyptian representations sometimes showing a mass protruding from a censer and treated as a triangle must be understood as those of a piece of incense of the second kind, e.g., in *N(j)-ḥtp-ptḥ* <G 2430 = LG 25>¹⁵³ [9]. In the course of stylisation this triangle elongates and even slightly bends, e.g., in *Ḥw(j)-w(j)-wr* <Giza CF, LG 95>¹⁵⁴ [10] and *Ḍ3tj* <G 5370 = LG 31>¹⁵⁵ [11], thus becoming similar to the conventional representation of an ascending smoke in the censer hieroglyph . In the chapel of *Pr(j)-sn* <Giza WF, LG 20>¹⁵⁶ a wisp of smoke is depicted as a bent line between the lower and the upper cups of the burner, while the incense is not shown at all [12]. Two representations in *Nṯr-wsr(.w)* <Saqqara NSP D 1>¹⁵⁷, with a kind of rays radiating from the burner [13] – [14] confirm that the Egyptians could depict smoke, light or even smell (?) in this manner. Thus, there are two types of representations of burners, one with one or another kind of incense and the other with rising smoke; at this, to show both the incense and the smoke, the former could be shaped as the latter [10] – [11]. Of special interest is a representation in

¹⁵² *H3C* XXIII, 883.

¹⁵³ BADAWY, *Nybetep-Ptah*, fig.10.

¹⁵⁴ *LD* II, Bl.44-*b*.

¹⁵⁵ *LD* II, Bl.104-*c*.

¹⁵⁶ *LD* II, Bl 83-*b*.

¹⁵⁷ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl.21, 23.

$N(j)-h\bar{t}p-pt\bar{h}$ (G 2430 = LG 25)¹⁵⁸ [8], where a summarily treated heap of incense granules has a curved projection, no doubt smoke, at the top. The Hermitage relief shows incense of the second kind as it is, without any stylisation, which is very unusual; none of the copyists of the scene reproduced this detail.¹⁵⁹

- ^{pp} The totality of the scenes of priestly service in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ has no analogies apart from the copies from them ¹⁶⁰. Representations in $Hmnw$ (Giza CF, Dyn.VI)¹⁶¹, $Dw\mathfrak{z}w-w\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{s}(.w)$ (Giza CF, Dyn.V)¹⁶², $Jj-nfr.t$ (Giza MPC (?), BLmK H.532, Dyn.V, reigns of Neusera – Isesi)¹⁶³, and $K\mathfrak{z}(j)-dw\mathfrak{z}(w)$ (Giza CF, second half of Dyn.V)¹⁶⁴ differ from $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ by the arrangement of the censuring priest before the libating ones, in the three latter tombs there is also a figure of an invoking man in the end of the composition.
- ^{qq} Scene 12 of the priestly service after JUNKER ¹⁶⁵. In a paragraph devoted to this scene, LAPP ¹⁶⁶ cites JUNKER's description of the burial of $Jdw II$ at Giza ¹⁶⁷, thus, probably, supposing that the two long rolled cloths found in the coffin by the feet of the deceased are identical to those of the representations. However, this suggestion is wrong: a modern research of the cloths proved that the two rolls were made of eleven or twelve pieces of different quality ¹⁶⁸.
- ^{rr} The neck of the bird had to be broken and its head torn off ¹⁶⁹; see representations of a goose and its separated head lying side by side among other food offerings by the table of the tomb owner, e.g., $Pth-h\bar{t}p(w)II/Tfj$ (Saqqara WSP, D 64)¹⁷⁰, $Nw-n\bar{t}r$ (Giza GIS)¹⁷¹; cf. also the spellings of $h\bar{n}k.t$, “ $h\bar{n}k.t$ -offering” with a determinative of a bird with its head separated ¹⁷², e.g. $Jrj.s$ (Saqqara TPC)¹⁷³.

¹⁵⁸ BADAWY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig.9.

¹⁵⁹ On various positions of hands while censuring see BADAWY, *Iteti*, 8, fig.14.

¹⁶⁰ See below, Copies of the Reliefs of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

¹⁶¹ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.196.

¹⁶² HASSAN, *Giza IX*, fig.23.

¹⁶³ WIEDEMANN, PÖRTNER, *Altentümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, Taf.3; SCHÜRMANN, *Ii-nefret*, Abb.20.

¹⁶⁴ HASSAN, *Giza VI/3*, fig.81.

¹⁶⁵ JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.10.

¹⁶⁶ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 171.

¹⁶⁷ JUNKER, *Giza VIII*, 107.

¹⁶⁸ JANSSEN, in *Idu II*, 48.

¹⁶⁹ JUNKER, *Giza II*, 151–152.

¹⁷⁰ PAGET, PIRIE, *Ptah-hetep*, pl.38 (twice).

¹⁷¹ JUNKER, *Vorbericht Gizeh VI*, Taf.6-b; idem., *Giza X*, Taf.18-b, Abb.44.

¹⁷² *Wb.III*, 118.

¹⁷³ KANAWATI et al., *Excavations at Saqqara I*, pl.34, 36.

DECORATIVE PROGRAM OF THE CHAPEL OF *N(J)-M3̣T-Ṛ(W)*

Now, when the decoration of the chapel of G 2097 can be considered as a whole together with the St.Petersburg relief and the Copenhagen false door, its structure appears to be more logical and explicable than before.

- ◆ The west wall of the recess occupied by the palace façade ¹⁷⁴ is opposed to the entrance to the chapel, thus forming its main axis.
- ◆ The kernel of the decoration of the south wall of the recess ¹⁷⁵ is festive, which is traditional for the arrangement of these scenes at Giza ¹⁷⁶: the owner facing eastwards listens to music and singing (register 2) while playing *sn.t*-game (register 3); the topics of everyday contents placed there are scribes at work (register 4), offering-bringers approaching to the owner (register 5), making bed (register 6) and offering bringers heading eastwards (register 1). The unusual orientation of the latter can be easily explained now by the fact that the procession is continued in the second register on the west wall of the corridor (Hermitage relief) and moves towards a figure of the owner by the false door and towards the false door itself ¹⁷⁷.
- ◆ The west wall of the corridor (fig.5.4) bears a false door and a set of ritual scenes, and, thus, the corridor proves to be the main cult place of the tomb.
- ◆ The south wall of the corridor ¹⁷⁸ continues the festive topics of the south wall of the recess: the tomb owner facing eastwards sits at the table with an offering-list above and listens to singers and watches dances (register 2); thus, the two walls form a whole, their decoration being much richer than it is characteristic of the narrow south walls of the traditional north – south Giza chapels; at the same time, the table scene on the south wall of the corridor mirrors the same scene on its west wall, thus making the false door an axis of the cult space in spite of its arrangement close to the corner. It is strange, however, that a group of offering bearers (register 1) moves not to the false door but to the left,

¹⁷⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.90, 91, 186.

¹⁷⁵ KENDALL, *Senet*, 12–13; PUSCH, *Senet-Brettspiel*, Taf. 8–9; ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.92, 93-a, 187.

¹⁷⁶ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 64–66, Tbl.1.

¹⁷⁷ It would be even more consistent to place the offering bringers in the lower register on the west wall, but it is occupied by the scenes of butchery that usually tended to be arranged at the bottom of the decorated surface.

¹⁷⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.93-b, 94-ab, 188.

towards an insignificant corner; although they may be supposed to approach the figure of $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ on the east wall from behind, this is the most illogical feature of the pictorial decoration of the chapel.

- ◆ At the right of the east wall the tomb owner is represented as standing, observing outdoor scenes: the life of the desert, hunting, bringing in cattle and fowl, agricultural works and fighting boatmen ¹⁷⁹. The most striking feature of this wall is a great amount of representations of copulating animals, the motif that dominates its decoration and cannot be found elsewhere on such a scale. However, their arrangement on the east wall with its tendency to bear scenes of daily life is most natural.
- ◆ The arrangement of the picture of the tomb owner spearing and other marsh scenes except for fowling on the north wall of the recess ¹⁸⁰ is unusual. ROTH supposes ¹⁸¹ that this may be a counterpart to the scene of fowling (but not spearing) on the east wall of the tomb of the assumed father of $N(j)-m\bar{z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ $Z\bar{z}(j)-jb(j)$ <G 2092+2093> forming a complex with that of the son ¹⁸². Her argumentation is convincing, but, on the other hand, such an apprehension of the space of the two tombs as a whole seems problematic due to the complexity of their structure, which makes desirable an easier interpretation: the east wall would be the most appropriate location for spearing, but it was reserved for an extensive suite of animal life and fertility and the north wall remained the only free place for the scene in question. This understanding is confirmed by the presence of the scene of the boatmen jousting on the north part of the east wall. The arrangement of spearing on the north wall, although rare, is nonetheless possible at Giza: $K\bar{z}(j)-dw\bar{z}$ <Giza CF> ¹⁸³, $K\bar{z}(j)-m^c nb$ <G 4561> ¹⁸⁴, and, probably, $J\bar{z}zn$ <G 2196> ¹⁸⁵. Either interpretation has its merits and demerits and it is difficult to give preference to one of them at the moment.

¹⁷⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.95–97, 189.

¹⁸⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.87, 88-*ab*, 89, 185.

¹⁸¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 46.

¹⁸² ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.73-*ab*, 74-*a*, 181.

¹⁸³ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/3, pl.41, fig.80.

¹⁸⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.8; KANWATI, *Giza* I, pl.31.

¹⁸⁵ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* IV, pl.44-*a*, fig.30.

COPIES OF THE RELIEFS OF $N(J)-M\beta^c.T-R^c(W)$

The Hermitage relief as well as the decoration of the tomb of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ in general are very interesting as concerns copying of both minor details and scenes ¹⁸⁶. As noticed by ROTH ¹⁸⁷, several rare motifs in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ are inspired by the prototypes in the Saqqara tomb of $Pth-htp(.w) II/\underline{T}fj$ (Saqqara WSP, D 64): an ox attacked by a lion ¹⁸⁸, copulating lions ¹⁸⁹, spanking ¹⁹⁰. This is a remarkable fact: $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ was an official of a middle level, while $Pth-htp(.w) II/\underline{T}fj$ belonged to a high-ranking family (his father and grandfather were viziers and, probably, he also rose to the same position by the end of his life ¹⁹¹); thus, the fact that an artist of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ could acquaint himself with the chapel of $Pth-htp(.w) II/\underline{T}fj$ who could be still alive at that time ¹⁹², may testify for an existence of some contacts between these people from different strata of the officialdom. Unfortunately, all the above scenes are damaged too badly in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ to judge the degree of dependence of his artist on that of $Pth-htp(.w) II/\underline{T}fj$.

As it has already been noticed ¹⁹³, the scene of turning over an ox with three bound and one free leg (pl.XVIII-3) has an exact analogy only in the mastaba of $Sndm-jb(.j)/Mhj$ (G 2378) ¹⁹⁴. Since the two tombs are practically synchronous within the margins of error ¹⁹⁵, it is impossible to decide which of the two representations was a source for the other if basing only on chronology. However, it is logical enough to suppose that a vizier and king's architect $Sndm-jb(.j)/Mhj$ who had all necessary resources in his hands would not borrow from a tomb of an insignificant official, and, thus, we may assume that the scene in $Sndm-jb(.j)/Mhj$ influenced $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$; this suppo-

¹⁸⁶ On the word copy as applied to ancient Egyptian art see JUNKER, *Giza* III, 71–76; MANUELIAN, *SAK* 10; idem., *Living in the Past*, 388. Cf. also some new examples of copies in FREED, *AeS* 2000, 212.

¹⁸⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 46.

¹⁸⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.189 – cf. PAGET, PIRIE, *Ptah-betep*, pl.32; DAVIES Norman, *Ptahbetep* I, pl.21–22.

¹⁸⁹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.97-*b* – cf. PAGET, PIRIE, *Ptah-betep*, pl.32; DAVIES Norman, *Ptahbetep* I, pl.21–22.

¹⁹⁰ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.185 – cf. PAGET, PIRIE, *Ptah-betep*, pl.31.

¹⁹¹ HASSAN, *Saqqara* II, 67.

¹⁹² See below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza.

¹⁹³ Commentary x.

¹⁹⁴ LD II, Bl.73; BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas* VII, pl.114-*b*, fig.112–113.

¹⁹⁵ See below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza, and compare with BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas* VII, 29–30.

sition may be supported to a certain extent by the fact that the cues of the butchers that are present in $Sndm-jb(j)/Mbj$ are omitted in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$. At this, the artist of the latter was not inclined to a slavish imitation: although in either tomb the severing of a foreleg of an oryx and the dismembering of another oryx are shown besides the turning over of an ox, the details of these representations are not interdependent. The scenes in $Sndm-jb(j)/Mbj$ are both unfinished and badly destroyed which hampers a comparative study, but it seems that the artist of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ tried to simplify them; at least, he omitted such an unusual and, probably, complicated detail as the head of a man in the third group turned round.

However, the loans *from* the decoration of the tomb of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ are of much more interest.

Scenes on the Hermitage relief were almost completely and very accurately reproduced in the neighbouring and approximately synchronous mastaba of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ (G 2240)¹⁹⁶; moreover, this is one of the exactest Old Kingdom copies we know¹⁹⁷. The dependence of the artist of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ on that of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ is obvious; however, we can hardly suppose that the same artist decorated both chapels, for stylistic differences are also indubitable (e.g., some figures in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ are treated livelier but more schematically).

Both the structure and the details of the representations on the west wall of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ follow the prototype of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ (fig.5.10). In the lower register, there are three scenes of butchery; of special interest is the right group depicting the turning over of an ox (cf. fig.5.1., pl.XVIII-3). As in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$, three men work on the ox, their postures being very close to the original, although the figure of the man holding the horns is less expressive; as in the original, the ox pushes off the ground with its free leg that is also stretched forward and not bent, as contrary to the image in $Sndm-jb(j)/Mbj$ ¹⁹⁸. Rather similar is also the scene of severing a foreleg of an oryx where the right man has no knife in his hand just as in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$; the main difference is the presence of a figure of a man holding a foreleg on his shoulder placed to the right of this group in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$. The scene of the dissection of a carcass is akin to that in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ as well, although it is too badly damaged to compare minor features; the figure of a man with a foreleg on his shoulder is absent in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ or, more exactly, it is moved to the right of the second scene.

¹⁹⁶ On the date of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ see below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza.

¹⁹⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, pl.127-*ab*, 207.

¹⁹⁸ ROTH (*Giza Mastabas VI*, 165) saw there “the foreleg of an earlier victim lying in the foreground”; her conjecture was possible due to a poor preservation of the relief, but it must be renounced now in the light of the evidence of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$.



Fig.5.10

Chapel of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$, west wall (after ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, fig.207)

The procession of offering bringers is omitted in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ and, thus, his second register corresponds to the third one of the prototype and is occupied with the priestly service that is almost literally replicated (cf. fig.5.1, pl.XVIII-2). The man with a broom who looks forward in $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$ looks back here and has a sash of a lector priest across his shoulders. The hands of the second man that are in the box of offerings in $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$ lie on its lid in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$. The scene of libation is almost identical; the difference is in the shape of the vessel that has a slightly elongated neck as contrary to the neckless vessel in $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$. The unique figure that is placed fifth in $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$ is absent, which may signify that its meaning was obscure for the copyist. The figures of the men with a censer are rather similar, but a piece of incense is not shown in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$. Legends are also slightly different: there are no legends $jn(j).t rd$ and $(r)dj(.t) kbh(.w)$ in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$, while $wdb(j)h(.w)t$ is spelled completely, as $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$; $k3p sntr$ is written in front of the scene of censuring, $sntr$ being spelled with a rare determinative of a burner 𓏏 preceding a common determinative 𓏏 (if only it is not a determinative to $k3p$).

There are four standing male figures in the third register in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ as contrary to three figures in the corresponding fourth register of $N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)$. The

first man also brings linen; other figures are too much destroyed to speculate on their actions, but the general similarity of the compositions allows us to suppose that bringing and offering birds was depicted like in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

Theoretically it may be supposed that that not $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ was a model for $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ but *vice versa*; however this possibility is vanishingly small. The composition of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ is larger, with an extra register of offering-bringers and an extra figure of a priest, while the position of the mastaba of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ at the edge of the cluster testifies rather for its later than an earlier date.

$Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$ was a colleague of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and their tombs are placed close to one another, which makes copying from one chapel to the other more or less explicable; however, the scenes of the butchery and the priestly service were copied for the second time for $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ (G 5470 = LG 32)¹⁹⁹ who could be their younger contemporary or lived soon after them²⁰⁰, but had different titles and a tomb placed at some distance, at the cemetery *en echelon* (fig.5.11, 5.12, cf. fig.5.1, pl.XVIII-2, 3).

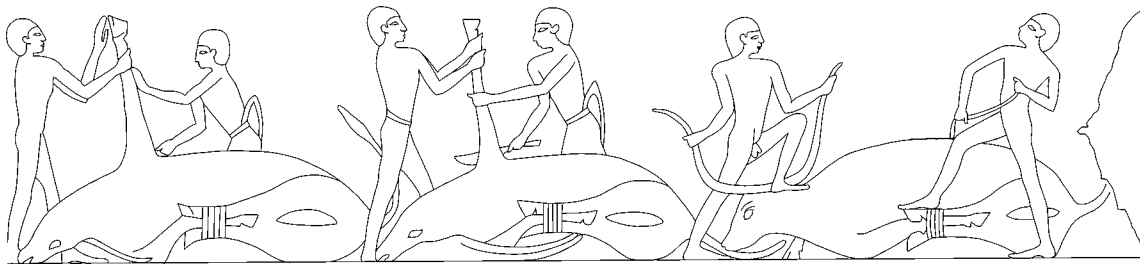


Fig.5.11

Butchery, representation in the mastaba of $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ (after JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.46)

The degree of coincidence is smaller in $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ than in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$, but the rare scene of overturning an ox with a free foreleg is present also in his chapel and differs mainly by another position of the leg of the animal and by the absence of the man sharpening a knife. Cutting off a foreleg of an oryx is treated similarly, but the left man does not tread on its horn (unlike in both $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$) and a knife is shown in a hand of the other. The scene of dismembering a carcass is replaced with another scene of severing a foreleg. Some butchers are naked in $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ in contrast to $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$. The figure of a man carrying a leg on his shoulders is absent.

The artist of $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ had not enough space for an exact reproduction of the scenes of the priestly service and he divided them among two registers. The first four figures and two legends to them are almost identical to those in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$; how-

¹⁹⁹ LD II, Bl.84; JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.46.

²⁰⁰ On the date of $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ see below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza.

ever, the legend $jn(j).t rd$ is absent and the position of the hands of the third priest touching a basin is slightly different. The Hermitage relief may give us some grounds for the reconstruction of the posture of the second priest. A draughtsman of LEPSIUS reproduced his hands as placed into the box (fig.5.13-1); JUNKER saw them already damaged and, basing on numerous analogies, reconstructed them as resting on the lid (fig.5.12). A comparison with $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ may be an extra (although not conclusive) argument for the rightness of LEPSIUS.

The fifth man, that is, the first in the upper register, kneels with his arms stretched forward. This figure recalls the fifth priest of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$, but the analogy is not complete. Unfortunately, the

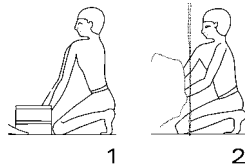


Fig.5.13
Representations
of priests
in the mastaba
of $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$
(after LEPSIUS,
LD II, Bl.84).

1. Second priest;
2. Fifth priest

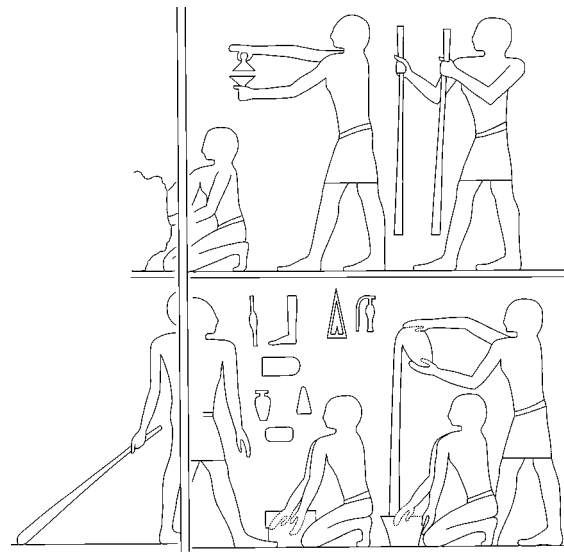


Fig.5.12
Priestly service,
representation in the mastaba of $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$
(after JUNKER, Giza III, Abb.46)

forearms are destroyed, and the copies of LEPSIUS and JUNKER disagree with one another. LEPSIUS (fig.5.13-2) shows the arms as almost parallel, while JUNKER obviously misunderstands the position of the front arm (fig.5.12). However, in any case the man could not touch the ground; it is also impossible to conjecture²⁰¹ that he held two round vessels, for his hands were placed much lower than they would be in that common scene.

The sixth man censens; the upper cup of his burner is slightly above the lower one, incense is not depicted. The last figure, that of a man with two bands of linen, corresponds to the first figure in the fourth register of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

The artist of $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$ was evidently inspired by the murals of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and not by those of $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$. This can be proven by the similarly abbreviated legend $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$ (instead of $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$ in $Nfr-msdr-hw(j).f-w(j)$), and the lack of a legend to the scene of censuring.

Even twofold copying is an unusual phenomenon, thus, the more interesting is the fact that the priestly service of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ was reproduced for the third time in

²⁰¹ JUNKER, Giza III, 228.

the much later tomb of $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$ <G 4561> ²⁰². Since they are placed not on the west but on the south wall in $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$, an artist had to mirror them in compliance with the rules of orientation of the murals; except for this, the reproduction is even more exact than that in $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$, although small distinctions are more numerous (fig.5.14, cf. fig.5.1, pl.XVIII-2).

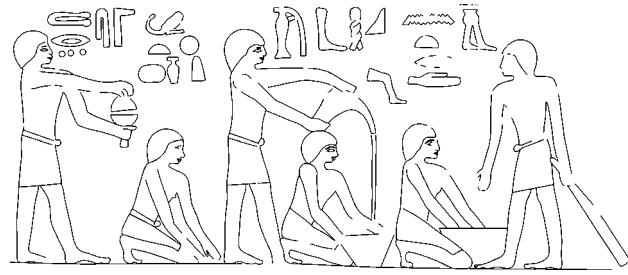


Fig.5.14
Priestly service,
representation in the mastaba of $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$
(after KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.29)

The broom of the first priest is somewhat shorter, the vessel of the libating man has a long spout, the censer of the sixth man is only ajar like in $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$, the postures of the second and the fourth priests are the same as in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$, and the hands of the second are definitely in the box and not on its lid. Unfortunately, the posture of the fifth priest is of little help for the interpretation of the respective representations in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$. He is depicted with his hands touching the ground, which had to represent the display of offerings unloaded from a box (scene 8 of the priestly service after JUNKER ²⁰³); this interpretation is accepted by LAPP ²⁰⁴. Legends are also somewhat different: $wdb <(j)\bar{b}(.w)t>$ is absent; $\Delta \bar{b}$, $(r)dj(.t) \bar{k}bb(.w)$ is replaced with the unusual phonetically spelled $\Delta \bar{b}$, $\bar{k}bb(.w)$; displaying offerings is labelled with $p\bar{b}(.wj) (j)\bar{b}(.w)t$, “end of the offering” and censuring with $sntr$, “incense”.

As contrary to $R^c(w)-wr(.w) II$, $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$ did not reproduce the scenes of butchery of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and his artist did not go beyond showing two traditional groups of men severing a foreleg of an ox and an oryx ²⁰⁵; representations of butchery in his burial chamber are not loaned either ²⁰⁶. However, priestly service is not the only topic copied by $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$ from $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$. The figures of the tomb owner playing $sn.t$ -game are so similar on the south wall of the recess in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ ²⁰⁷ and on the west wall of a corridor in $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$ ²⁰⁸ that the dependence of the latter on the former is indubitable (cf. figs.5.15 and 5.16):

²⁰² JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.7; KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.29. On the date of $K3(j)-m-^c n\bar{b}$ see below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza.

²⁰³ JUNKER, *Giza* III, 109, Abb.10.

²⁰⁴ LAPP, *Opferformel*, 176.

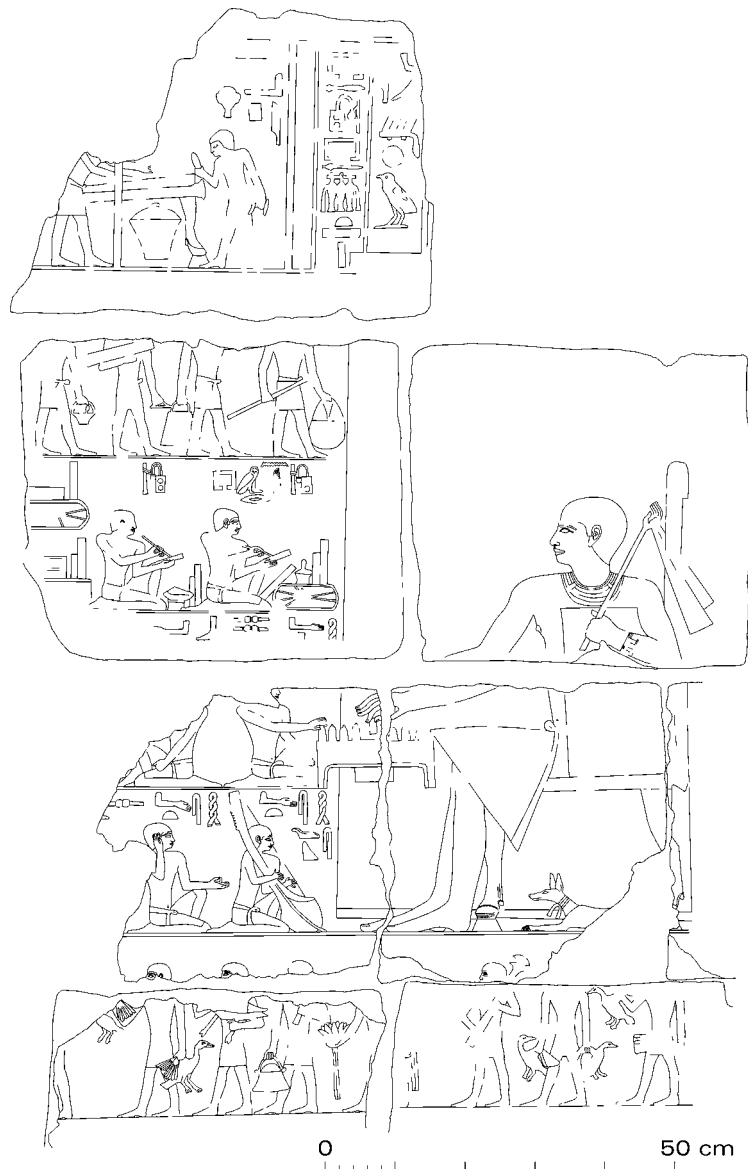
²⁰⁵ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.7; KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.29.

²⁰⁶ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Taf.17.

²⁰⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.186.

²⁰⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.9; KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.32.


Fig.5.15
Representations
on the south wall
of the recess
of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$
(after ROTH,
Giza Mastabas VI,
pl.186)



$N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$

Tomb owner playing *sm.t*. He sits in an armchair with a high back and sides, and bull legs on the supports shaped as truncated cones or pyramids standing on their wider bases. Hanging mat at the background (badly damaged but still visible).

$K3(j)-m^c n h^{209}$

Tomb owner playing *sm.t*. He sits in an armchair with high back and sides *decorated with a row of the signs* , and bull legs on the supports shaped as truncated cones or pyramids standing on their wider bases ²¹⁰. Hanging mat at the background.

²⁰⁹ Details absent in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ are italicised; details that could be present on the lost parts of the relief of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ are underlined.

²¹⁰ The shape of the supports uncharacteristic of Dyn.VI indicates that it was loaned from an earlier model.

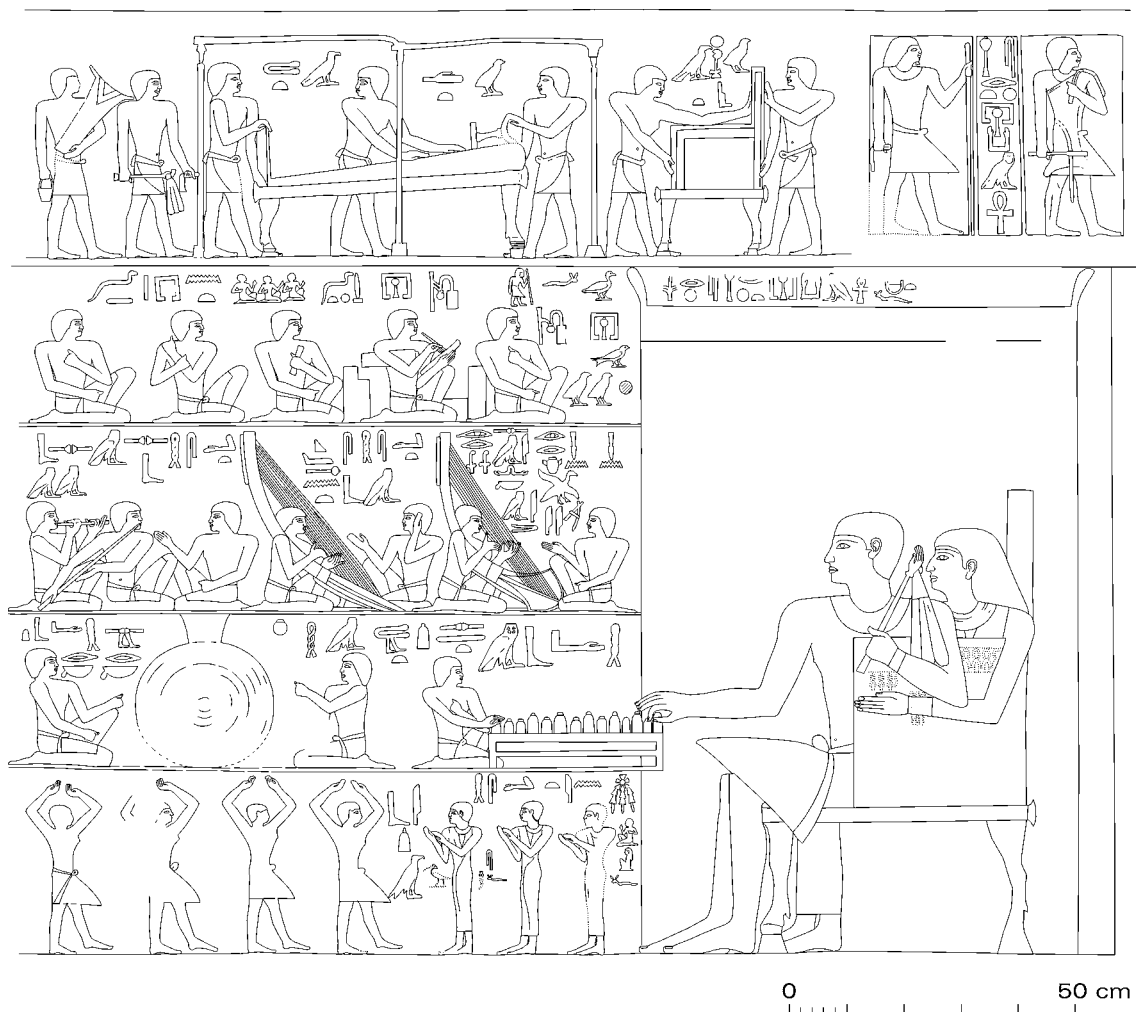


Fig.5.16
Representations on the west wall of the corridor of $K3(j)-m-\bar{h}$
(after JUNKER, *Giza IV*, Abb.9)

Starched short trapezoidal kilt with a strip along its vertical edge; no wig, broad collar, bracelet on the wrist of the back arm; brachiomorphic “flail” with two ends in the back hand.

Dog under an armchair.

Starched short trapezoidal kilt with a strip along its vertical edge; no wig, broad collar, bracelet on the wrist of the back arm ²¹¹; brachiomorphic “flail” with *three ends* in the back hand.

Wife sits side by side with the tomb owner.

²¹¹ The presence of only one bracelet must be a loaned detail.

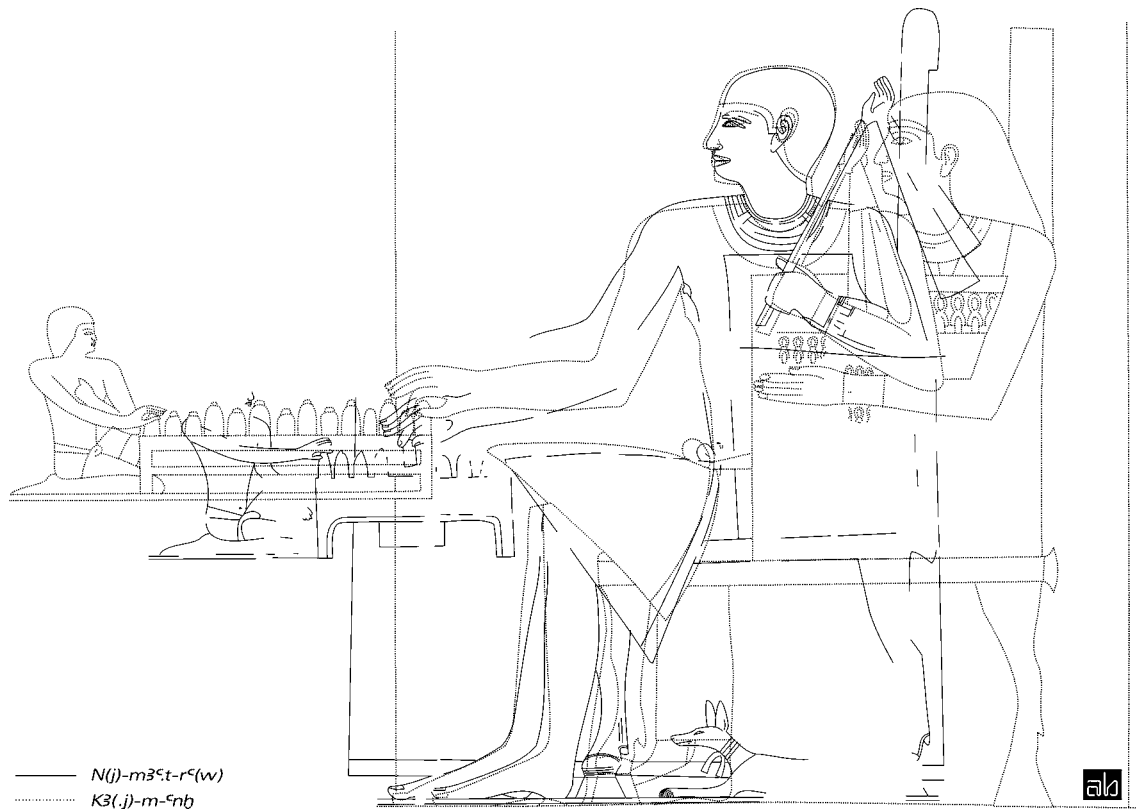


Fig.5.17

Figures of the tomb owners on the south wall of the recess of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ and on the west wall of the corridor of $K3(j)-m-^c nb$

Thus, the only serious deviation of $K3(j)-m-^c nb$ from $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ is the figure of his wife and the absence of the dog. Even proportions of the figures of the tomb owner are similar (fig.5.17).

Besides this central scene, a number of topics are also similar on these walls:

$N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$

$K3(j)-m-^c nb$

Register 1 (under the figure of the tomb owner). Procession of offering-bringers moving leftwards.

Register 2. Harpist with a legend “Singing /and/ playing”; singer with a legend “Singing”; flutist (destroyed) with a partly destroyed legend “Playing [flute]”.

*Representations of the concert are placed in **Register 3**. Two groups of a harpist and a singer and a group of a singer, a flutist and a clarinetist. The figure of the first harpist is very similar to that in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$, including the type of the harp. Legend to the first group: “Be in time! Grant (my) wish, o (my) dear, don’t hurry, / don’t/ complain. Do it!”; legend*

Thus, both the set of topics and most of their details are so similar in the two tombs, that there can be no doubt that the mural in $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ was inspired by the composition in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ ²¹⁷. At this, the artist of $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ did not reproduce the model slavishly – quite the contrary, he was rather inventive, especially as concerns the legends and the words of the represented people.

Some details are very close also in the scene of spearing on the north walls of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (unfortunately, with its upper half lost)²¹⁸ and $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ ²¹⁹.

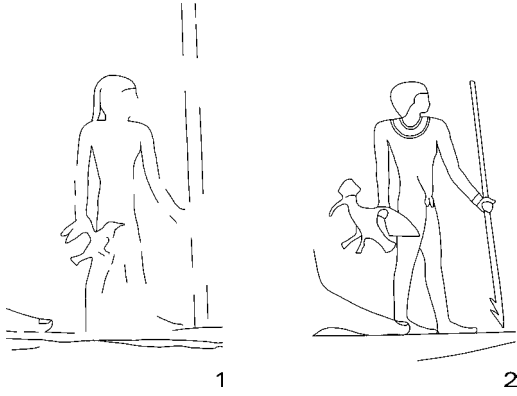


Fig.5.18

Representations of a son of the tomb owner in the scene of spearing:

1. in the mastaba of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (after ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.185);
2. in the mastaba of $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ (after JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.8)

The son of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ is represented as a standing naked child holding a bird in his back hand and clinging with his front hand to what looks like his father's staff. The son of $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ is also a naked child with a bird positioned differently and holding vertically a harpoon of his own (fig.5.18). The latter difference deserves some discussion. $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ was no doubt shown in the process of spearing, already holding fishes on the points of his harpoon, since a *Wasserberg* is depicted in front of him²²⁰, and, thus, the presence of a staff is a very strange detail that has already astonished ROTH²²¹. However, most probably this

is not a staff at all. In several scenes of spearing, the tomb owner clutches a stem of papyrus with the front hand while brandishing a forked fishing harpoon with the other²²², and it seems that this may be also the case in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, the “staff” actually being a slightly bent stem. All of the just listed scenes differ from that in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ in two respects: first, they show the very beginning of spearing when the

²¹⁷ Their similarity was noticed by PUSCH (*Senet-Brettspiel*, 29–31), but he did not infer that one of them has been copied from the other.

²¹⁸ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.185.

²¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.8; KANAWATI, *Giza* I, pl.31.

²²⁰ On the *Wasserberg* see JUNKER, *Giza* IV, 28–32.

²²¹ “The staff with which Nimaatre is (rather incongruously) equipped”, ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 130.

²²² $Nb(w.j)-m-3b.t(j)$ (Giza CF) (LD II, Bl.12-b; HASSAN, *Giza* IV, fig.77); $H^c(j).f-bw(j).f-w(j)II$ (G 7150) (SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* III, fig.47); $(J)t(w).sn$ (Giza CF) (HASSAN, *Giza* V, fig.123); $Hw(j)-w(j)-wr$ (Giza CF) (LD II, Bl.43-a; HASSAN, *Giza* V, fig.104); $Dw3(j)-k3(j)$ (Giza CF) (HASSAN, *Giza* VI/3, fig.80); $J3zn$ (G 2196) (SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* IV, fig.30; on the specific shape of the spear see *ibid.*, 20).

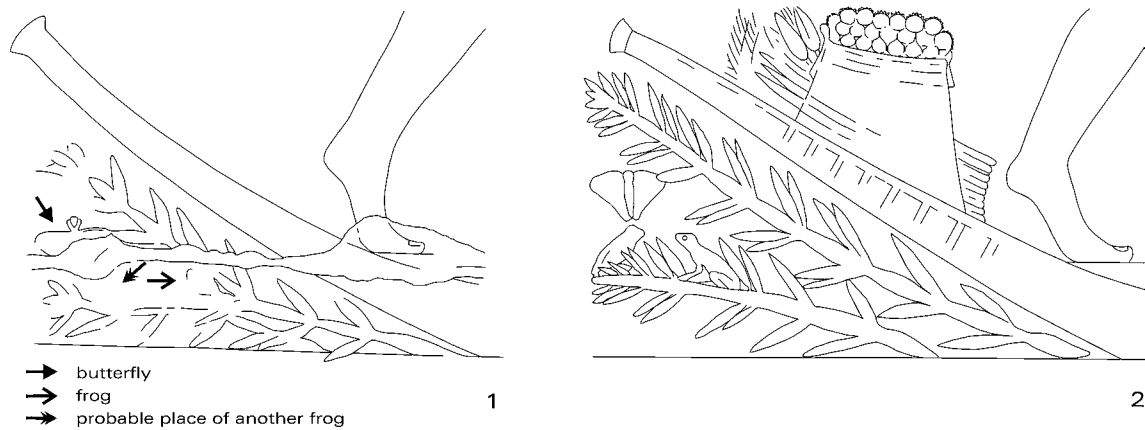


Fig.5.19

Representations of marsh plants and their inhabitants in the scene of spearing

1. In the mastaba of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (after ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, pl.185);2. In the mastaba of $K3(j)-m̄.c.nḥ$ (after JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Abb.8)

harpoon is only being raised and, accordingly, the *Wasserberg* is always absent in them; second, the figure of the tomb owner is placed at the background of papyrus thicket, while in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ the thicket is depicted only in front of the skiff. It seems that the artist of $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ made an attempt to combine the features of the both types of the scenes of spearing, which, if it was actually the case, was an interesting innovation. However, it was not accepted by $K3(j)-m̄.c.nḥ$ – probably because a single stem of papyrus behind the skiff looked too artificial.

The hydrophytes that are traditionally represented under the stern of the skiff are inhabited by two frogs and a butterfly in $K3(j)-m̄.c.nḥ$ and by the similarly arranged frog and butterfly in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (fig.5.19); since the place occupied by the second frog in $K3(j)-m̄.c.nḥ$ is destroyed in $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$, it is very possible that an analogous frog is lost there. Although representations of marsh plants with frogs are not rare, especially in the late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI ²²³, the combination of a frog and a butterfly (however, with a different arrangement) appears only in the mastaba of $K3(j)-gm̄(.w)-n(j)/Mmj$ (Saqqara TPC) ^{224, 225} which makes us interpret the picture in $K3(j)-m̄.c.nḥ$ as inspired by $N(j)-m\bar{3}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

²²³ $N(j)-c.nḥ-hnm(w)$ and $Hnm(w)-hnp(.w)$ (Saqqara UPC) (MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nianchebnum*, Taf.74); $\bar{S}ps-r^c(w)$ (Saqqara NSP, LS 16 = S 902) (LD II, Bl.60); $Nfr-jr.t-n.f$ (Saqqara ESP, D 55, MRAH E.2465) (WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, fig.1); $Jj-nfr.t$ (Saqqara UPC) (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl.37); $Mrrj$ (Saqqara TPC) (DAVIES W.V. et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl.5); $Wr-nw$ (Saqqara TPC) (DAVIES W.V. et al., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl.25-a).

²²⁴ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.53; WRZESINSKI, *Atlas* III, Taf.92-a.

²²⁵ Cf. also combinations of frogs with a butterfly and a dragonfly ($N(j)-k3.w-jzj$ (Saqqara TPC, reign of Teti), KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* VI, pl.50), with a grasshopper ($\bar{S}m(j)-nfr(.w)$ IV (Giza GIS, LG 53, reigns of Unis – Teti), JUNKER, *Giza* IX, Abb.60; $Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/$

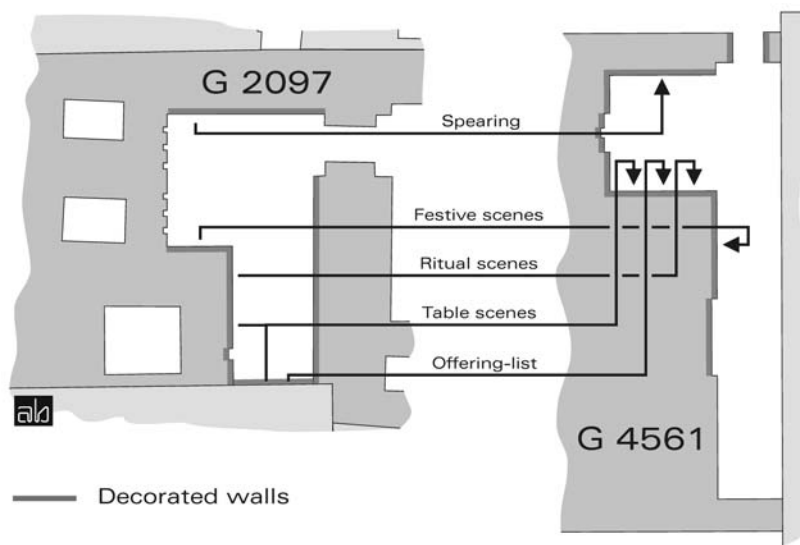


Fig.5.20
Arrangement of similar scenes
in the chapels of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ and $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$

However, much more important is the fact that both the architecture and the decorative program of the chapel of $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ were greatly influenced by $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ in general. This is not obvious *prima facie*, for the arrangement of the murals is different, but as soon as one considers the circumstances

that forced $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ to modify the prototype, the picture becomes quite logical.

The two chapels belong to a highly infrequent type 5d after REISNER “with alcove in west wall of corridor at north end”²²⁶ (other chapels of this type are G 1208N²²⁷ and G 1103²²⁸). In the light of an apparent interest of $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ in G 2097, this cannot be a mere coincidence. The recess in the chapel of $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ is somewhat smaller than in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, but the corridor is twice longer; at this, the southern part of its west wall and the whole south and east walls are not decorated. Most probably this implies that the initial plans of $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ were more ambitious than his means would allow to realize and that he had to retrench the decorative program, thus diverging from the model of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ (fig.5.20):

- ◆ The scene of spearing fish is arranged in $K3(j)-m^c n\mathfrak{h}$ at the same place as in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ – on the north wall. Since such an arrangement is rather unusual²²⁹, this may be considered a loan from $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, the more so as the east wall that is much more appropriate for the outdoor scenes remained undecorated.

Mrj (Saqqara TPC, reign of Teti), DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.18, 127–128; *Hẓjj* (Saqqara TPC, late reign of Teti), KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery V*, pl.54), and with a dragonfly and a grasshopper (*K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)/Mmj* (Saqqara TPC, reign of Teti), BISSING, *Gem-ni-kai I*, Taf.4).

²²⁶ REISNER, *HGN I*, 260.

²²⁷ REISNER, *HGN I*, fig.159.

²²⁸ Unpublished on paper; however, see www.gizapyramids.org/full/EG000502.jpg.

²²⁹ See above, Decorative Program of the Chapel of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$.

- ◆ A table scene in conjunction with an offering-list is placed in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ on the south wall of the corridor. Since this wall remained undecorated in $K3(j)-m^c.nh$, this main topic of any chapel had to be moved to the most prestigious place on the south wall of the recess, close to the main false door. This transfer was especially natural because in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ the south walls of the corridor and of the recess conceptually form a whole ²³⁰.
- ◆ Festive scenes arranged in $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ on the south wall of the recess could not be located at the same place in $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ since it was allotted for the table scene and ritual scenes. As a result, they had to be moved to the northern part of the west wall of the corridor.
- ◆ Another table scene of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ was on the west wall of the corridor together with priestly service, butchery and offering-bringers (the Hermitage relief). In $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ this location was occupied by festive scenes and, thus, the second table scene was cancelled and other topics were transferred to the south wall of the recess.

Thus, the reversed disposition of the ritual and festive scenes in $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ in comparison with $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ can be easily explained as a result of an attempt to borrow all the important scenes and at the same time to arrange them on a smaller surface. It may be asserted that although the two chapels seem different, the intention of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ was to copy the whole prototype, from architecture to murals, which is a good illustration of the principles of Egyptian “copying”.²³¹

The threefold copying of the reliefs of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$ is unique, but it is in accord with the general tendencies of development of Giza tombs and the peculiarity of work of their artists. At Saqqara, with tombs scattered over a great territory, the influence of older patterns was not strongly pronounced, while in the compact Giza necropolis where later mastabas used to cluster by the great structures of the ancestry, an artist could much more easily take their decoration as a model for his own work. This engendered not only reproductions of separate scenes, but also the well-known phenomenon of general archaisation of murals, epigraphy and of tombs on the whole.

²³⁰ See above, Decorative Program of the Chapel of $N(j)-m\beta^c.t-r^c(w)$.

²³¹ The author cannot resist the temptation of surmising that the decoration of the burial chamber of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ including numerous scenes characteristic of chapels is a result of an analogous process: $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ could not decorate his chapel at the scale that had been contemplated at the moment of its construction, and the arrangement of representations in the substructure could be an attempt to compensate for the insufficiency of reliefs in the substructure by means of much cheaper paintings. Of course, this assumption cannot be proven and, in any case, the instance is much more complicated, including a serious ideological background; however the way for such a radical turn had already been paved by the previous development of decorated burial chambers (see below, Dating and Some Problems of Chronology of Giza), and the financial affairs of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ could well be an incentive to the innovation.

However, all this adds nothing to understanding why the very tomb of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, interesting but not outstanding, was chosen as a model, for this most probably must be explained by his personal affairs that are hidden from us and that can be only speculated about. The original superstructure of G 2097 is among the smallest in the cluster of $\mathfrak{hnt}(j).w-\mathfrak{X}$ ²³², but it was much extended at the later construction stages, and its chapel is one of the largest²³³, as well as the amount of mural decoration, while the quality of the reliefs is the highest in the cluster²³⁴. According to ROTH²³⁵, the size of the mastaba corresponds to the modest position of an ordinary palace attendant held by $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, while the largeness of the chapel and murals that is discordant to it can be explained by the wealth that he inherited from his presumptive father $Z\mathfrak{Z}(j)-jb(j)$ who was Overseer of palace attendants and whose tomb G 2092+2093 is one of the biggest in the cluster. If $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ really was a man rich for his social group in spite of his status, he could become an admired and exemplary figure for his colleagues. This is a satisfactory explanation for the copy of $Nfr-msdr-\mathfrak{hw}(j).f-w(j)$ and, with some reserve, for that of $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ who was not a palace attendant, but the intricate case of the much later $K\mathfrak{Z}(j)-m^c-n\mathfrak{h}$ remains perplexing.

DATING AND SOME PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY OF GIZA

In the early 1980s the present author dated the Hermitage relief of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ to the reigns of Neusera – Isesi²³⁶. Now, when the materials of the whole tomb of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ are available, its date can be defined more accurately.

Basing on numerous criteria, ROTH established the *terminus ante quem non* in the middle of the reign of Isesi, but preferred to date the tomb to the reign of Unis²³⁷. The preference is based principally on the dating of the tomb of $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)II/\mathfrak{T}fj$ (Saqqara WSP, D 64) that was a source of some motifs for $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$. The dating of $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)II/\mathfrak{T}fj$ in its turn depends on the whole history of the late Dyn.V vizirate, for both his father $\mathfrak{Z}b.t(j)-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)$ (Saqqara WSP, D 64) and grandfather $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)I$ (Saqqara WSP, D 62) were viziers. The order and even the number of the viziers of Isesi and Unis are very unlike in different chronological schemes²³⁸, but, luckily, they agree in placing $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)I$ into the late reign of Isesi and $\mathfrak{Z}b.t(j)-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)$ into the early years of Unis, which means that $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)II/\mathfrak{T}fj$ must be dated to the middle or late

²³² ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.12.

²³³ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, fig.16.

²³⁴ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 54.

²³⁵ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 55.

²³⁶ БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 23:1, 9–10.

²³⁷ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas* VI, 129–130.

²³⁸ Cf., e.g., KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 13, 16–17 and STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 301.

reign of Unis²³⁹. Thus, the dating put forward by ROTH must be accepted in general and specified: middle to late reign of Unis.

The St.Petersburg relief and the Copenhagen false door do not contribute to the dating of the mastaba of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, for their features are less definite than the totality of the dating criteria offered by the whole decoration of the chapel²⁴⁰. On the other hand, the newly identified copies of the scenes in $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$ are of use for establishing chronological links between several Giza tombs.

The dating of the mastaba of $Nfr-ms\mathfrak{d}r-\mathfrak{h}w(j),f-w(j)$ (G 2240) is one of the least trustworthy in the cluster of $\mathfrak{h}nt(j).w-\mathfrak{Z}$ due to its independent position at the edge of the group. According to ROTH, “the chapel can be dated by CHERPION’s criteria only to the range of reigns from Sahure to Isesi. It seems likely, however, that it is slightly later, dating to the reign of Unis, since its offering formula alludes to Osiris, and the formula itself is so similar to example in 2098... G 2240 is most probably contemporary with 2098”²⁴¹. The fact that $Nfr-ms\mathfrak{d}r-\mathfrak{h}w(j),f-w(j)$ reproduced the Hermitage relief in detail, although with some omissions, proves that the decoration of his chapel is slightly later than that of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$, i.e., that it is not earlier than the middle of the reign of Unis and can be as late as the beginning of Dyn.VI.

The mastaba of $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ (G 5470 = LG 32) is dated to late Dyn.V²⁴² or to the reigns of Unis – Teti²⁴³. The general structure of its decoration does not contradict this date²⁴⁴, while the copies of the scenes on the Hermitage relief made for $R^c(w)-wr(.w)II$ confirm the date in the later part of the period.

The mastaba of $K3(j)-m^c\mathfrak{h}b$ (G 4561) was dated by its discoverer JUNKER to the developed Dyn.VI²⁴⁵, which means that at least a century separates this copy from the original decoration of the chapel of $N(j)-m\mathfrak{Z}^c.t-r^c(w)$. In absence of any information on the personal affairs of the owners of the two tombs it is useless to speculate on the reason of the choice made by $K3(j)-m^c\mathfrak{h}b$, but the very fact of copying testifies for an existence of an intensive and, unfortunately, almost completely hidden from us intellectual life of the necropolis even in the time of the beginning decay; however, this is

²³⁹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 88, 301; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:400. Datings moving $Pth-\mathfrak{h}tp(.w)II/I\mathfrak{f}j$ to the reign of Isesi (*PM III*², 600; CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 234) are less reliable.

²⁴⁰ See Commentaries a, c, d, gg. The St.Petersburg and Copenhagen monuments confirm that Osiris was not mentioned in the tomb, but, as any *argumentum ex silentio*, this fact is also not decisive.

²⁴¹ ROTH, *Giza Mastabas VI*, 163.

²⁴² JUNKER, *Giza III*, 15; *PM III*², 162.

²⁴³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:153.

²⁴⁴ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, Tbl.1.

²⁴⁵ JUNKER, *Giza IV*, 1–4.

small wonder, for searching for prototypes in the past is especially natural in the periods of degradation.

JUNKER's opinion caused no doubts for decades, and the authors of the seminal outlines of chronology of Old Kingdom tombs never hesitated when placing *K3(j)-m-^cnb* in Dyn.VI ²⁴⁶; the present author regarded its mural paintings as a summit of development of decorated burial chambers that has not become standard only due to the impoverishment of tombs ²⁴⁷. The tendency of development, thus, was described as follows ²⁴⁸:

- [1] Complete prohibition of representations in burial chambers till the reign of Unis;
- [2] Representations of inanimate objects (offering-lists, offerings, burial goods) starting from the reign of Unis; the earliest offering list is in *Sndm-jb(j)/Jntj* <G 2370 = LG 27, shaft B, main burial chamber, late reign of Isesi ²⁴⁹>²⁵⁰; the earliest pictures are probably those in *N(j)-^cnb-b3* <Saqqara UPC, reign of Unis ²⁵¹>²⁵²;
- [3] Representations of human beings that are somehow made less noticeable: table scene without a figure of the tomb owner in *^cnb(j)-m-^chr(w)/Zzj* <Saqqara TPC, late reign of Teti – early reign of Pepy I ²⁵³> ²⁵⁴, miniature table scene in *Hnm.t* and *Mrw* <Sheikh Said 18, Dyn.VI ²⁵⁵> ²⁵⁶;
- [4] Representations of some human beings in *K3(j)-hr-ptb/Ftk-t(j)* <G 5560, reigns of Teti – Merenra ²⁵⁷> ²⁵⁸, *R^c(w)-wr(.w) III* <Giza CF, LG 94, reigns of Unis – Teti ²⁵⁹> ²⁶⁰;

²⁴⁶ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 141:520; PM III², 131; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:255; LAPP, *Typologie*, 30.

²⁴⁷ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 119–120.

²⁴⁸ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 119.

²⁴⁹ BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, 23–24; attempts to date it either to the middle of the reign of Isesi (KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 13; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:219) or to the early years of Unis (STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 133) are hardly satisfactory for the reasons adduced by BROVARSKI.

²⁵⁰ BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, pl.53-*ab*, fig.71.

²⁵¹ KANAWATI, *Administration*, 12–13; idem., *Governmental Reforms*, 16.

²⁵² HASSAN, *Saqqara III*, pl.26-*b* – 29.

²⁵³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 273:374.

²⁵⁴ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.6 = BADAWY, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, pl.80 = KANAWATI, HASSAN, *Teti Cemetery II*, pl.28-*a*, 28-*b*.

²⁵⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 280:637.

²⁵⁶ DAVIES Norman, *Sheikh Said*, pl.26.

²⁵⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:279.

²⁵⁸ JUNKER, *Giza VIII*, Taf.21, Abb.56.

²⁵⁹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:154.

²⁶⁰ HASSAN, *Giza V*, 296–297.

[5] Reproduction of the chapel decoration in $K3(j)-m^c.nh$.

Decorated burial chambers with representations of inanimate objects that appeared at the stage [2] kept coexisting with those with representations of living beings, especially at Saqqara South.

Two parallel lines of development of decorated burial chambers were traced also by LAPP²⁶¹ who, however, rather awry called them *Saqqaratyp* (representations of inanimate objects) and *Gizatyp* (representations of living beings)²⁶².

In 1987 KANAWATI suggested²⁶³ that the burial chamber of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ with its suite of murals characteristic of chapels was not a result of development of decorated burial chambers but rather its starting point and dated it to the reign of Isesi. His idea contradicting everything we know about the logic of the development of decorated burial chambers was in a passing manner mentioned by the present author as impossible²⁶⁴. In response to this remark KANAWATI recently cited a number of arguments allegedly supporting the early date of the mastaba of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ ²⁶⁵; however, they sound very naïve and are not at all reliable²⁶⁶; at this, he completely ignored the book by LAPP²⁶⁷ whose understanding of the two lines of development of decorated burial chambers is in many respects close to mine (or, rather, *vice versa*).

The discovery of the tomb of $Hnt(j)-k3(j)$ at Balat with scenes of daily life in its burial chamber²⁶⁸ being the closest parallel to the decorative program of $K3(j)-m^c.nh$ and definitely dated to the reign of Pepy II²⁶⁹ is a crushing argument against KANAWATI's theory; however it helps to reinforce the point to list here decorated burial chambers dating to the end of the Old Kingdom²⁷⁰ and to the later time that were not men-

²⁶¹ LAPP, *Typologie*, 1–31.

²⁶² This terminology is misleading since although most of the earliest burial chambers with representations of people are really placed at Giza, the tomb of $^c.nh(j)-m^c.br(w)/Zzj$ that obviously started this line of development is at Saqqara and belongs, according to LAPP (*Typologie*, 2), to the *Gizatyp*.

²⁶³ KANAWATI, *Tomb and its Significance*, 137; repeated without changes fourteen years later in idem., *Tomb and Beyond*, 112–114.

²⁶⁴ BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 139, 17; idem., *Man and his Double*, 120, n.14.

²⁶⁵ KANAWATI, *Giza* I, 15–18.

²⁶⁶ See a review by JÁNOSI, *OLZ* 98, 41–42.

²⁶⁷ KANAWATI never properly uses German literature.

²⁶⁸ CASTEL et al., *Balat* V, 119–135, fig.75–89.

²⁶⁹ CASTEL et al., *Balat* V, 271–275. The dating is unquestionable because it is based not only on the features of the tomb itself, but also on the materials of excavations of the city of ‘Ayn Asil and on the record of the name of $Hnt(j)-k3(j)$ in a decree of Pepy II, PANTALACCI, *BIFAO* 85, pl.40.

²⁷⁰ Later than the reign of Pepy I.

tioned in *Man and his Double* ²⁷¹ owing either to their inaccessibility by the moment of publication or to their date being too late for the subject of the book – their chronology is more than significant ²⁷².

Decorated burial chambers without representations of living beings

- ◆ *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w)/Jwfrj* <Giza CF, Dyn.VI ²⁷³> ²⁷⁴.
- ◆ *Jzj* <Edfu, reign of Teti> ²⁷⁵.
- ◆ *Nbw/Nbj* <Saqqara NWMI, reign of Merenra or later ²⁷⁶> ²⁷⁷.
- ◆ *J3rtj* <Saqqara NWMI, reign of Merenra or later ²⁷⁸> ²⁷⁹.
- ◆ *Jdw I* <Dendera, reign of Pepy II ²⁸⁰> ²⁸¹.
- ◆ *Jštj/Ttj* <Saqqara WSP, reign of Pepy II or later ²⁸²> ²⁸³.
- ◆ *Z.t-n.t-pjbj* <Mendes – Tel el-Ruba'a, late Dyn.VI ²⁸⁴> ²⁸⁵.
- ◆ Anonymous <Dara, late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period> ²⁸⁶.
- ◆ *Jdj* <Dara, <tomb P, shaft C, late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period> ²⁸⁷.
- ◆ *Hw(j)-n-hr(w)* <Heliopolis, late Old Kingdom ²⁸⁸> ²⁸⁹.

²⁷¹ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 113–117.

²⁷² This is especially appropriate because LAPP's list is also incomplete.

²⁷³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:237.

²⁷⁴ HASSAN, *Giza* VII, fig.53, pl.32.

²⁷⁵ MICHAŁOWSKI ET AL., *Edfou 1939*, 47, fig.32.

²⁷⁶ *PM III*², 673.

²⁷⁷ MASPERO, in *MMAF I/2*, 199–200.

²⁷⁸ *PM III*², 674.

²⁷⁹ MASPERO, in *MMAF I/2*, 200–201.

²⁸⁰ FISHER, *Dendera*, 93–94.

²⁸¹ PETRIE W.M.F., *Dendereh. Extra Plates*, pl.5-a.

²⁸² *PM III*², 609.

²⁸³ DRIOTON, LAUER, *ASAE* 55, pl.17–19.

²⁸⁴ SOGHOR, *JARCE* 6, 26.

²⁸⁵ SOGHOR, *JARCE* 6, pl.17–30.

²⁸⁶ KAMAL, *ASAE* 12, 133–134.

²⁸⁷ WEILL, *CdE* 24, 40–42; idem., *Dara*, 99–107, pl.57, 62, 69.

²⁸⁸ MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 32.

²⁸⁹ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 209–211.

- ◆ *Mrw* ⟨Heliopolis, late Old Kingdom ²⁹⁰⟩ ²⁹¹.
- ◆ *Sbkj* ⟨Heliopolis, late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period ²⁹²⟩ ²⁹³.
- ◆ *Sbkj/Bjj* ⟨Heliopolis, First Intermediate Period ²⁹⁴⟩ ²⁹⁵.
- ◆ *Mn-ᵑnb-pjppj/Mnj* ⟨Dendera, Herakleopolitan Period ²⁹⁶⟩ ²⁹⁷.

Decorated burial chambers with representations of living beings

- ◆ *K3-jrr* ⟨Saqqara UPC, reign of Pepy I (?) ²⁹⁸⟩. Butchery, offering bearers, burial goods, offering-lists ²⁹⁹.
- ◆ *Hnt(j)-k3(j)* ⟨Balat, mastaba III, main burial chamber, reign of Pepy II ³⁰⁰⟩. Numerous representations of the tomb owner and his family, priestly service, offering bringers, field works, ships, sailing to the West, hippopotamus hunt ³⁰¹.
- ◆ *Jmpj* ⟨Mit Rahina – Kom el-Fakhry, Herakleopolitan Period ³⁰²⟩. Tomb owner sitting, offering-bringers, burial goods ³⁰³.
- ◆ Another *Jmpj* ⟨Mit Rahina – Kom el-Fakhry, Herakleopolitan Period⟩. Tomb owner, offering-bringers, burial goods, offering-list ³⁰⁴.
- ◆ Anonymous ⟨Mit Rahina – Kom el-Fakhry, Herakleopolitan Period⟩. Tomb owner ³⁰⁵.
- ◆ Anonymous ⟨Mit Rahina – Kom el-Fakhry, Herakleopolitan Period⟩. Offering bringers, working people, burial goods ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷.

²⁹⁰ MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 34.

²⁹¹ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 195–198.

²⁹² MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 34.

²⁹³ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 198–204.

²⁹⁴ MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 35.

²⁹⁵ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 204–208.

²⁹⁶ FISCHER, *Dendera*, 85–91, 170–174.

²⁹⁷ PETRIE W.M.F., *Denderah*, pl.3.

²⁹⁸ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:520.

²⁹⁹ Unpublished; see DAOUD, *ASAE* 75, 102.

³⁰⁰ See n.269.

³⁰¹ See n.268.

³⁰² For dating of the Mit Rahina tombs see LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, 30.

³⁰³ LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, 28, pl.2-*b*.

³⁰⁴ LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, 28.

³⁰⁵ LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, 28.

³⁰⁶ LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, pl.3-*bcd*.

³⁰⁷ Although no human figures preserved in another anonymous tomb at Mit Rahina – Kom el-Fakhry, the degree of destruction of its murals including some architectural motifs (LILYQUIST, *JARCE* 11, pl.2-*c*, 3-*a*) allows us to suppose that they could have been present originally.

- ◆ *Jp* <el-Saff, Dyn.XI ³⁰⁸>. Table scene (wife of the tomb owner), butchery, priestly service, offering-list; wife of the tomb owner standing, burial goods ³⁰⁹.
- ◆ *Sbk-htp(.w)* <Kom Ombo, late Dyn.XI ³¹⁰>. Several representations of the tomb owner sitting, once with his wife, offering-bringers, driving cattle; tables with vessels and food, carcasses of cattle ³¹¹.

Thus, the history of burial chambers without representations of living beings started at the end of the reign of Isesi in the Giza tomb of *Sndm-jb(j)/Jntj* ³¹² and continued at least till the Herakleopolitan Period, while the tradition of representing people that began with a table scene without a tomb owner in *ᵛnh(j)-m-ᵛhr(w)/Zzj* under Teti lived into the Middle Kingdom. These two lines are parallel and independent and it is impossible to regard one of them as a result of development of the other. Decorative programs of *K3(j)-m-ᵛnh* and *Hnt(j)-k3(j)* stand at the summit of the second tradition and by no means can they be early. The reign of Pepy II, the date of *Hnt(j)-k3(j)* may be also that of *K3(j)-m-ᵛnh*, although his tomb may be somewhat earlier.

³⁰⁸ FISCHER, *El Saff*, 29–32.

³⁰⁹ FISCHER, *El Saff*, pl.7.

³¹⁰ WENIG, *FoB* 10, 86.

³¹¹ WENIG, *FoB* 10, Taf.IV, V, Farbt. VI, Taf.12-2, 13, 14, 15, Abb.6.

³¹² This is another good reason for avoiding the terms *Saqqaratyp* and *Gizatyp*.

6. Relief Fragment of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)*

INV. NO.: □18233.

DATE: Reign of Pepy I, probably the second decade.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 81 cm long, 44 cm high, 7 cm thick.

CONDITION: Rejoined from two fragments; upper left corner is lost, lower right corner is badly damaged; surface is much weathered.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara TPC.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHACHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 12, кат. № V/3.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *СГЭ* 48.


RELATED MONUMENTS:

Mastaba at Saqqara TPC (unpublished).

Reliefs from the same tomb, BM 1319, 1330, 1341, 1342 (*Hiero.Texts* I, pl.34–37; *Hiero.Texts* I², pl.32–34);

Another tomb of the same man at Edfu (DARESSY, *ASAE* 17) with a biographic inscription JE 43370–43371 (*Urk.*I, 253–255; EL-KHADRAGY, *SAK* 30).

DESCRIPTION

Rectangular lining block from a cult chamber of a tomb (fig.6.1, pl.XXII–XXIII) with the lower parts of four vertical columns of hieroglyphs carved in low relief (↙↓) and occupying the greater part of the surface (Inscription 6/1); below them there is an upper part of a head (down to eyebrow) of a large representation of the tomb owner (►). To the right there is a part of an incised offering-list (three differently preserved registers); in the middle register each entry is placed in three vertically arranged cells, the first for the name of the dish (↓►), the second for the number of portions, and the third for a schematic representation of a kneeling man holding the corresponding item in his hands; in the lower register there are no vertical partitions. Lower parts of analogous kneeling figures belonging to the upper register are preserved above the middle register. Under the list there is a hieroglyph *n* being a sole remnant of Inscription 6/2. Along the left edge of the block there is a carelessly scratched decorative border  meaning that the block was the left most on a wall.

INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription 6/1

- ① --- *smr w^c.t(j) hr(j)-b(3)b(.t) zš md3.t nfr*
- ② --- [*(j)m(j)-r(3) gs-pr m3^c n(j) mrw.t*]
- ③ --- [*n(j) (j)s.t-jb nb.f jm3b.w*]
- ④ --- *Mrjj-[r^c(w)]-nfr(.w) –*

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.

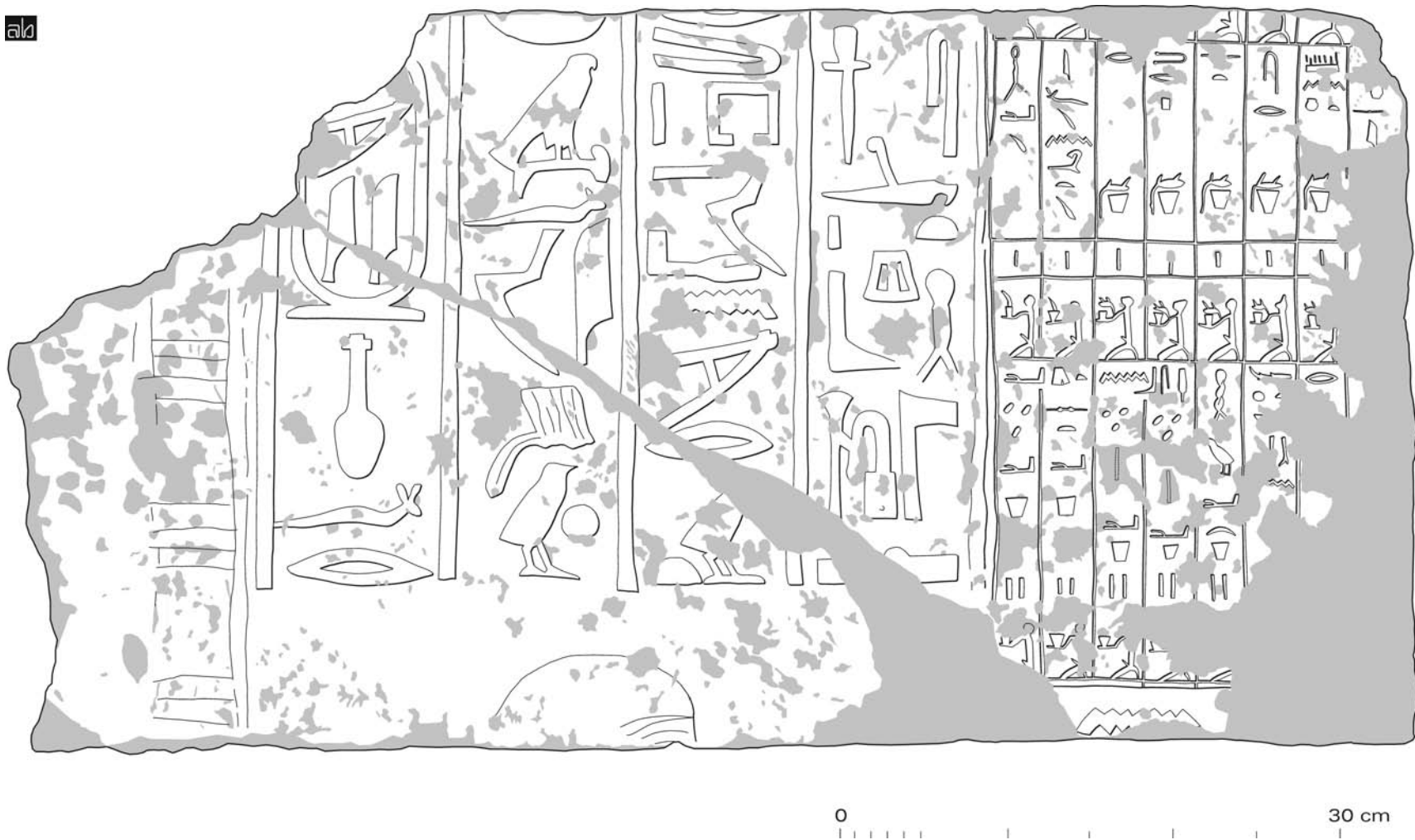


Fig. 6.1
Relief of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)*, Hermitage 18233

- ① --- Sole companion,^a Lector priest^b, Scribe of the god's book^c,
 ② --- True [over]seer of the troop-house^d, Possessor of love^e,
 ③ --- [Favourite] of his lord^f, Revered^g
 ④ --- *Mrjj-[r^c(w)]-nfr(w)*^h.

Inscription 6/2

--- *n* ---

Offering-list

Middle register

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ① <i>ḥ^c(w) 1</i> | Piece of meat – 1 ⁱ |
| ② <i>j(w)ḥ n ḥ3.t 1</i> | Meat of the forepart – 1 ^k |
| ③ <i>r(3) 1</i> | Greylag goose – 1 ^l |
| ④ <i>ṭrp 1</i> | White-fronted goose – 1 ^m |
| ⑤ <i>ṣ(3).t 1</i> | Pintail duck – 1 ⁿ |
| ⑥ <i>sr 1</i> | Green-winged teal – 1 ^o |
| ⑦ <i>mnw.t 1</i> | Turtle dove – 1 ^p |
| ⑧ <i>[t(3)] ṣj[f] 1</i> | <i>ṣjf</i> -bread – 1 ^q |

Lower register

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ① <i>ḡ(w)t jt^c 2</i> | Roasted barley – 2 bowls ^r |
| ② <i>ḡ(w)t ṣw.t^c 2</i> | Roasted emmer – 2 bowls ^s |
| ③ <i>nbs^c 2</i> | Jujuba fruits – 2 bowls ^t |
| ④ <i>t(3) nbs^c 2</i> | Jujuba bread – 2 bowls ^u |
| ⑤ <i>w3ḥ(^c) 2</i> | Groundnuts – 2 (bowls) ^v |
| ⑥ <i>(j)ḥ.t nb(.t) bnr[.t] [1]</i> | Every sweet thing – [1] ^w |
| ⑦ <i>r[ṇp.t nb.t] [1]</i> | Every] f[resh offering – 1] ^x |
| ⑧ --- | --- ^y |

COMMENTARY





- ^a The title² corresponds to rank rather than to real administrative duties.
^b The title³ of a ritualistic nature often related to *ṣṣ md3.t nṯr*, Scribe of the god's book, that is listed after it on the Hermitage block.
^c The title⁴ is related to the above *ḥr(j)-ḥb(.t)*, Lector priest⁵.

² JONES, *Index*, 892:3268; *ÄgWb* I, 1131–1141:28128.

³ JONES, *Index*, 781:2848; *ÄgWb* I, 1006–1012:25182.

⁴ JONES, *Index*, 857–858:3132; *ÄgWb* I, 1225–1226:30144.

⁵ HELCK, *Beamtentiteln*, 31.

- ^d A relatively common title *(j)m(j)-r(3)gs-pr*, Overseer of the troop-house ⁶ is very rarely used with an epithet “true” ⁷.
- ^e An epithet that is often used in association with titles ⁸; here it most probably forms a unit with the preceding *[(j)m(j)]-r(3)gs-pr m3^c*, True [over]seer of the troop-house.
- ^f An epithet that is often used in association with titles ⁹. Theoretically *[mrjj] nb.f* – “Beloved of his lord” ¹⁰, *jrr wd.t/mrr.t/h3z.t nb.f* – “He who does what his lord commands/loves/favours” ¹¹, etc., can be reconstructed here, but on one of the blocks of the same *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* in the British Museum ¹² the owner is designated as *n(j) (j)s.t-jb nb.f*.
- ^g See Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ^h The name is extremely rare ¹³; besides our *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* it was borne by the owner of the mastaba G 7101 ¹⁴.
- ⁱ On Old Kingdom offering-lists see studies by JUNKER ¹⁵, HASSAN ¹⁶ and BARTA ¹⁷.
- ^j Perhaps, a piece of a forepart of an animal with a heart in it ¹⁸. This and the next item are accompanied by a kneeling figure holding a ▽-shaped offering table or vessel with a meat hieroglyph  over it: . In terms of Egyptian script in a narrow sense this figure is not a determinative, for the name of the piece of meat is accompanied by a traditional determinative . Placed after the notation of the number of portions, this figure is rather a graphic illustration of the process of offering as a whole, an ideogram standing at the border between the world of hieroglyphs proper and the world of representations and, thus, demonstrating their inseparability.
- ^k The determinative  is placed both after *jmf* and *h3.t*, the latter being redundant. However, the compiler of the offering list of *Mrjj-[r^c(w)]-nfr(.w)* was inclined to using superfluous determinatives, cf. Commentaries t, u.

⁶ JONES, *Index*, 269–270:969; *ÄgWb* I, 126–127:2340 (“Vorstehrer der Verwaltungseinheit”).

⁷ JONES, *Index*, 270:973; *ÄgWb* I, 127:47783.

⁸ JONES, *Index*, 471:1753.

⁹ JONES, *Index*, 474–475:1765.

¹⁰ JONES, *Index*, 438–439:1623.

¹¹ JONES, *Index*, 338:1248, 338–339:1250, 341:1265.

¹² See below, Other Monuments of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)*, 1.

¹³ RANKE, *PN* I, 161:2.



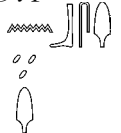
¹⁴ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig.18, 20, 21, 26–28, 32.

¹⁵ JUNKER, *Giza* II, 69–96.

¹⁶ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2.

¹⁷ BARTA, *Opferliste*, 5–90; BARTA, in *LA* IV, 568–589.

¹⁸ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 361.

- ^l *Anser anser*, the only goose completely domesticated in ancient Egypt ¹⁹. This and the next four items are accompanied by a kneeling figure holding a ▽-shaped offering table or vessel with a hieroglyph of a trussed bird over it: .
- ^m *Anser albifrons* ²⁰. The spelling is characteristic of Dyn.VI ²¹.
- ⁿ *Anas acuta* ²².
- ^o *Anas crecca* ²³. The spelling is characteristic of Dyn.VI ²⁴.
- ^p *Streptopelia turtur* ²⁵. The spelling is characteristic of Dyn.VI ²⁶.
- ^q The spelling is characteristic of Dyn.VI ²⁷. The accompanying kneeling figure is lost.
- ^r Interpretation of ^c*g.(w)t z.t* and ^c*g.(w)t jt* by HASSAN ²⁸ that is generally accepted now ²⁹. This and the next two items are accompanied by a kneeling figure holding a ▽-shaped form, in these cases no doubt a vessel, most probably without a representation of a food item over it, although the surface is damaged too much to be sure.
- ^s *B3b3.t*-fruits normally placed after ^c*g(w).t z.t* are omitted.
- ^t *Zizyphus spina Christi* ³⁰. The spelling of *nbs* and *t3 nbs* with the *nbs* element belonging to both cells is characteristic of Dyn.VI ³¹. Although the surface of the block is damaged here, the sign  is still visible; of the next sign only a deeply incised vertical stroke remains. This could be only a tree hieroglyph and, thus, the item was abnormally spelled with two similar determinatives: .

¹⁹ HOULIHAN, *Birds*, 54–56; BOESSNECK, *Tierwelt*, 88–90, 101; *GHwb*, 455; *ÄgWb* I, 696–698:17430.

²⁰ HOULIHAN, *Birds*, 57–59; BOESSNECK, *Tierwelt*, 101–102; *GHwb*, 959; *ÄgWb* I, 1452–1455:38168.

²¹ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 369.

²² HOULIHAN, *Birds*, 71–73; BOESSNECK, *Tierwelt*, 103; *GHwb*, 648; *ÄgWb* I, 1030–1033:25473.

²³ HOULIHAN, *Birds*, 151; HANNIG identifies it as “Graugans”, *Anser anser rubrirostris* (*GHwb*, 728; *ÄgWb* I, 1170–1172:28942), while *Anas crecca* is *s* according to him (*GHwb*, 647; *ÄgWb* I, 1027–1029:25420).

²⁴ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 373.

²⁵ HOULIHAN, *Birds*, 103–106; BOESSNECK, *Tierwelt*, 104.

²⁶ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 375.



²⁷ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 377.

²⁸ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 416.

²⁹ *ÄgWb* I, 292–297:6162, 46163.

³⁰ KEIMER, *Gartenpflanzen* I, 64–70; GERMER, *Flora*, 114–115.

³¹ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/2, 423.

- ^u The surface of the block is badly damaged here, but the sign  is visible and there is enough space for  in the subsequent lacuna. Only a deeply incised vertical stroke remains of the next sign. This could be only a tree hieroglyph and, thus,

the item was abnormally spelled with two similar determinatives:






























Jujuba


bread could be used not only as food, but also as a medicine ³².




- ^v Earth almond, *Cyperus esculentus* L. ³³. The spelling is characteristic of Dyn.VI ³⁴.

^w



. There is no space for  after ; *bnr* is spelled with , which almost certainly means that  must follow, but it or its traces cannot be seen in or between lacunae. (*J*)*bt* is spelled with an initial . According to *Wörterbuch*,  is not a graphic variant of (*j*)*bt* in such expressions, but *bt*; accordingly, *bt bnr* is “Fruchtbaum”, “Früchte”, “Süssigkeiten” ³⁵, and the item spelled in this manner in the offering lists means “alle süssen Dinge” ³⁶. BARTA in his study of the offering lists followed *Wörterbuch* and read *bt nb bnr*, “alle süßen Früchte” ³⁷. However, we are facing two different problems here. *Ht bnr* no doubt has a well attested meaning “fruit tree” ³⁸, but the interpretation of the item of offering lists spelled with the sign  as “Fruits” is a typical *ad hoc* assumption. The word *bt* is used for designating tree in general, its parts, and timber ³⁹, but not its fruits. Thus, it is highly improbable that an entity uneatable as a whole, even though some parts of it might be edible, could be included as an item into offering lists with their tendency to minuteness.  must be a variant of  in the offering lists, no matter how strange such an offhand treatment of the sign corresponding to the root morpheme seems to be. As a good argument for this understanding one can regard the spellings used in the offering lists incorporated into the carefully spelled Pyramid texts:                  

that is impossible in front of *bt* and of the feminine ending after *bnr* proves that  was used for spelling *jbt*.

- ^x Spellings of *rnp.t* with an initial  are rather rare, cf., e.g.,  in *Dbb-n(.j)* (LG 22)⁴¹,  in *K3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* (G 7101)⁴².
- ^y The cell is completely destroyed. In a standard offering list *rnp.t nb.t* is followed by the *bnk.t*-offering⁴³.
- ^z In a standard offering list of Dyn.VI (BARTA's *Listentyp A*⁴⁴), *h^c(w)* occupies the 82nd cell, while *g.(w)t jt* is the 111th item. Thus, the distance between these two items and, accordingly, the length of registers in our list had to be 29 cells. However, with such their length, *h^c(w)* that starts the fourth register of the same length must be no.88 (29×3=87). Thus, either each of the first three registers had two extra cells as compared to the standard list, or the length of the register was 27 cells (27×3=81) and two items were omitted between *h^c(w)* and *g.(w)t jt*. The omission of *b3b3.t* in the lower register⁴⁵ may be interpreted as testifying for the latter option, but, of course, the lengths of the registers could be different, and in that case all these reconstructions lose any significance.

OTHER MONUMENTS OF *MRJJ-R^c(W)-NFR(.W)*

- [1] Blocks from the façade and the entrance to a tomb, as well as two false doors of its owner and a false door of his wife in the British Museum (BM 1319, 1330, 1341, 1342)⁴⁶ no doubt belong to the Hermitage *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)*:

- ◆ The owner of the London blocks is named *K3r*, but he has also “young names” *Pjppj-nfr(.w)* and *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)*.
- ◆ The owner of the London blocks bears the following titles⁴⁷:
 - *h3t(j)-^c*, “Count”;
 - *smr w^c.t(j)*, Sole companion;
 - *h33 h(w).t*, Chief of the estate;
 - *hrj-h(3)b(.t)*, Lector priest;
 - *btm.t(j) bj.t(j)* (once with an epithet *m3^c*), Sealer/True sealer of the King of Lower Egypt;

⁴¹ HASSAN, *Giza* IV, fig.122.

⁴² SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig.23.

⁴³ BARTA, *Opferliste*, Abb.4–5.

⁴⁴ BARTA, *Opferliste*, Abb.5.

⁴⁵ See Commentary s.

⁴⁶ *Hiero.Texts* I, pl.34–37; *Hiero.Texts* I², pl.32–34.

⁴⁷ Underlined are those present also on the Hermitage block.

- *(j)m(j)-r(3)gs-pr* (once with an epithet *m3^c*), Overseer/True overseer of the troop-house;
- *zš md3.t ntr*, Scribe of the god's book;
- *n(j) (j)s.t-jb nb.f*, Favourite of his lord.

Thus, he has all the titles of the Hermitage *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* except the epithet *n(j) mrw.t*; characteristic is also the repeated use of the epithet *m3^c* that is present also on the Hermitage block.

- ◆ Although there are no unique shapes of hieroglyphs on the Hermitage and London blocks, some signs have similar details ⁴⁸.
- ◆ The quality of stone of the Hermitage and London blocks is similar ⁴⁹.

The London blocks were acquired in 1901 without a reliable record of their provenance. In 1901 BUDGE indefinitely wrote about “the necropolis of Memphis” in general ⁵⁰, but several years later he, for reasons unknown, suggested that they have come from Giza ⁵¹. The latter provenance was accepted by PORTER and MOSS ⁵², but it must be admitted that in the light of the career of *Ḳ3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* ⁵³ Saqqara would be a much more natural place for his tomb ⁵⁴. Recently the mastaba of *Ḳ3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* was discovered by KANAWATI by the pyramid of Teti ⁵⁵, and although it is still unpublished, there can be no doubt that the blocks in the British Museum and the Hermitage came from it ⁵⁶.

- [2] A certain *Ḳ3r* is represented twice in the mastaba of a nomarch of Edfu and vizier *Jzj* (Edfu, not far from the temple), once with a legend *z3.f mr(j).f smsw*, “his beloved eldest son” ⁵⁷, while an interesting biographic inscription in his own

⁴⁸ See below, Epigraphic Features.

⁴⁹ Only line drawings of the London blocks are published, but the author could work on the originals thanks to Dr. Stephen QUIRKE, former Assistant Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum.

⁵⁰ *Hiero.Texts* I, 13.

⁵¹ BUDGE, *Guide (Sculpture)*, 23.

⁵² *PM* III, 67; *PM* III², 301.

⁵³ See below, Other Monuments of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)*, 2.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Hiero.Texts* I², 33.

⁵⁵ See brief information, GIDDY, *EA* 23, 29.

⁵⁶ The identity of the owners of the St.Petersburg and London blocks has been established already by PEREPEL'KIN. Although he did not mention it in the IBDS guidebook, he definitely pointed out that LIKHATCHEV's block has come from Giza (ПЕРЕПЕЛ'КИН, *Путеводитель*, 12, кат.№ V/3) – a statement that could be based only on BUDGE, *Guide (Sculpture)*, 23. Moreover, when recording LIKHATCHEV's recollections, he replaced a long name *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* by a short *Ḳ3r* absent on the Hermitage block (ПЕРЕПЕЛ'КИН *MSS*, 111, rev.).

⁵⁷ ALLIOT, *Tell Edfou* II, 27; ALLIOT, *BIFAO* 37, 94.

neighbouring mastaba ⟨JE 43370–43371⟩⁵⁸ describes his biography and career in detail.

K3r was a child under Teti; in the beginning of the reign of Pepy I he was brought to the residence to be instructed for service among the offsprings of the provincial overlords (*brj.w-tp*). Pepy I made him Sole companion and Overseer of the *bnt(j).w-s* attendants, and during the long reign of that king he served at the capital. Merenra transferred him to Edfu and appointed him Nomarch, Overseer of Upper Egyptian grain and Overseer of the priests; later, perhaps under Pepy II⁵⁹ he became Overseer of Upper Egypt.

Already DARESSY supposed that the London blocks and the tomb at Edfu belonged to the same man at different stages of his career⁶⁰, and this identification that is generally accepted now⁶¹ is well based:

- ◆ Although the name *K3r* is rather widespread⁶², both *Pjppj-nfr(.w)* and *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* are very rare⁶³; interestingly, they are always attested in combination with *K3r* (*K3r/Pjppj-nfr(.w)* – relief fragment CG 1669⁶⁴, *K3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* – G 7101⁶⁵), but the sets of the titles of these two men are too different to try to relate them with our *K3r*.
- ◆ Even besides the evidence of the biographic inscription, the very fact that in the capital the young *K3r* of Edfu took or got the names *Pjppj-nfr(.w)* and *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)* is an indication of his service to Pepy I⁶⁶. The same assumption must be made on the owner of the London and St.Petersburg blocks, who, thus, had to serve in the capital at the same time. However, it is next to impossible to imagine a simultaneous existence of two people with very rare names and a similar title Sole companion.
- ◆ It seems that *K3r* was brought from Edfu to be instructed in the capital together with other provincial children within the framework of Pepy I's project of creating a new close circle of officials independent from the influence

⁵⁸ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17, 135–136; *Urke.I*, 253–255; EL-KHADRAGY, *SAK* 30.

⁵⁹ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 46; EL-KHADRAGY, *SAK* 30, 228.

⁶⁰ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17, 140.

⁶¹ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 29–30.

⁶² E.g., *PM III*², 184–185, 186 (now both also SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas II*), 251, 257–258, 306, 397, 419 (now also LABROUSSE, MOUSSA, *La chaussee du roi Ounas*, fig.99–100, pl.15-*ab*), 570; *PM VIII*, 260; DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.83; PETERSEN, *MedMusBull* 16, 4; CALLENDER, BARTA, *K.M.T.* 7/2.

⁶³ See Commentary h.

⁶⁴ BORCHARDT, *DARMKI*, 126–127.

⁶⁵ See n.14.

⁶⁶ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 59, n.53.

of the court, which would be only natural in the light of his father's assassination ⁶⁷. Then a metropolitan career of *K3r* had to be planned by the king from the very beginning (the more so that the vizir's and nomarch's positions at Edfu seem to have been abolished by Pepy I ⁶⁸) and he had to construct his tomb in one of the Memphite necropolises. The blocks in the British Museum and in the Hermitage and the newly discovered tomb at Saqqara fit this reconstruction well.

- ◆ The career of *K3r* is similar in its turning points to that of the celebrated *Wnj* ⁶⁹: the latter was also appointed Sole companion and Overseer of the *bnt(j).w-š* attendants by Pepy I ⁷⁰ and was made Overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenra ⁷¹. Like *K3r*, he was buried at the place of his last service, at Abydos, but from his autobiographic inscription we know that he got a sarcophagus and other equipment for his tomb from Pepy I, which means that he constructed a tomb at an early stage of his career ⁷². This unknown tomb had to be built somewhere in the Memphite region ⁷³ (most probably, at Saqqara), and this is what his colleague *K3r* had to do.
- ◆ The set of titles of *K3r* in his Edfu tomb differs greatly from that on the London and St.Petersburg blocks, but this is to be expected: he recorded only those that he held during his service as a provincial administrator ⁷⁴.
- ◆ The name of the wife of *K3r* represented on the London blocks is *Bhnmw* ⁷⁵, while in the Edfu tomb two owner's wives are named *Hnts* ⁷⁶ and *Jntj* ⁷⁷. However, this is not an argument against the identification of the two *K3rs* since *Bhnmw* could well die during the long reign of Pepy I.

Thus, the identification of *K3r* of Edfu and *K3r* of Saqqara is as secure as any Egyptological identification based on indirect data.

⁶⁷ Cf. KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 29–30.

⁶⁸ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 30–31.

⁶⁹ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 29.

⁷⁰ *Urk.*I, 100:7.

⁷¹ *Urk.*I, 105:11–13.

⁷² *Urk.*I, 99:10–17.

⁷³ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 196–197; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 124.

⁷⁴ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 41, n.81.

⁷⁵ *Hiero Texts* I², pl.33-1, 34-1.

⁷⁶ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17, 131, 135.

⁷⁷ DARESSY, *ASAE* 17, 132.

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES

Hermitage □18233



Wick has only two loops instead of usual three or four.



Instep is very high.




Rope loop is depicted as a single volume not separated from the palette.



The end of the tail is widening.



The shape of  is simplified beyond recognition.

BM 1319A



Wick is twice depicted with three loops ⁷⁸, but in one case it seems to have only two loops ⁷⁹.



Instep is very high in several cases ⁷⁸, although it is lower in others.



Rope loop is rendered correctly three times ⁸⁰, but once it is depicted as a single volume not separated from the palette.



The end of the tail is slightly widening.

DATING

Since *Ḳ3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)* was transferred to Edfu by Merenra, his Saqqara mastaba had to be constructed under Pepy I. *Wnj* started his tomb almost in the beginning of his service, before such important episodes of his career as the legal proceedings against a queen and numerous military expeditions, and in the light of the similarity of the careers of the two colleagues we have a right to suppose that the tomb of *Ḳ3r* could also be built and decorated in the early reign of Pepy I, although not in his first decade that had to be occupied with *Ḳ3r*'s growing up and making the first steps at the service. Thus, the second decade of Pepy I is the most probable date of the Saqqara tomb of *Ḳ3r/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)* and, accordingly, of the Hermitage block.

⁷⁸ Also on other blocks of *Ḳ3r/Pjppj-nfr(w)/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)* in the British Museum.

⁷⁹ The upper part of the sign is lost, but if it was as tall as the neighbouring hieroglyphs, there is no space for more than one loop in the lacuna.

⁸⁰ On other blocks of *Ḳ3r/Pjppj-nfr(w)/Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)* in the British Museum.

7. Relief Fragment of *Mrjj-ttj*

INV. NO.: □18103.

DATE: Early reign of Pepy I.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 24 cm high, 30 cm wide, 7 cm thick.

CONDITION: Edges are broken off; relief representation is badly weathered and partly destroyed in the upper left corner.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara TPC, annex of *Mrjj-ttj* to the tomb of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj*.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHACHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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

ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev.

ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 12, кат.№ V/2.

BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 134, 13–20.

RELATED MONUMENT: annex of *Mrjj-ttj* to the tomb of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* (Saqqara TPC).

DESCRIPTION

Rectangular limestone lining block from a cult chamber of a private tomb (fig.7.1, pl.XXIV). The left half is occupied with a picture of a large -shaped vessel standing in a wooden framework criss-crossed with ropes. The lines are of different thickness and depth, the background is not deepened. The right part of a similar vessel and a rope is preserved to the left. One more vessel was originally represented to the right, but it was erased, only slight traces remaining of it, and replaced with a vertical column of hieroglyphs (Inscription 7/2, ). A horizontal Inscription 7/1 is arranged under representations and Inscription 7/2 along the lower edge of the block () , only upper parts of the signs of a much lower quality remaining of it. There is a vertical blank margin along the right edge of the block being a border of the whole of the composition on a wall.

Constructions analogous to that on the Hermitage fragment could be pictured only in the scene of dragging enormous oil vessels on a sledge; in other cases vessels of any size were always represented as standing without fastening ^a.

¹ There is no special mention of the relief in PEREPEL'KIN's memorandum on the provenance of LIKHACHEV's monuments, but, according to the recollections of the latter, "stones from Sixth D<ynasty> tombs were bought at the antiquarian ALI in Cairo <in> 1908" [ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev.]. Since the most important Old Kingdom monuments were separately recorded by PEREPEL'KIN elsewhere, these "stones" could be only the relief fragment of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(.w)/K3r* (Cat.no.6) and the block of *Mrjj-ttj* (the Dyn.VI lintel of *nb(.w)-b3.f*, our Cat.no.11, was dated by PEREPEL'KIN to Dyn.IV [ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 10, кат.№ I/4]). See also Introduction to the present book.

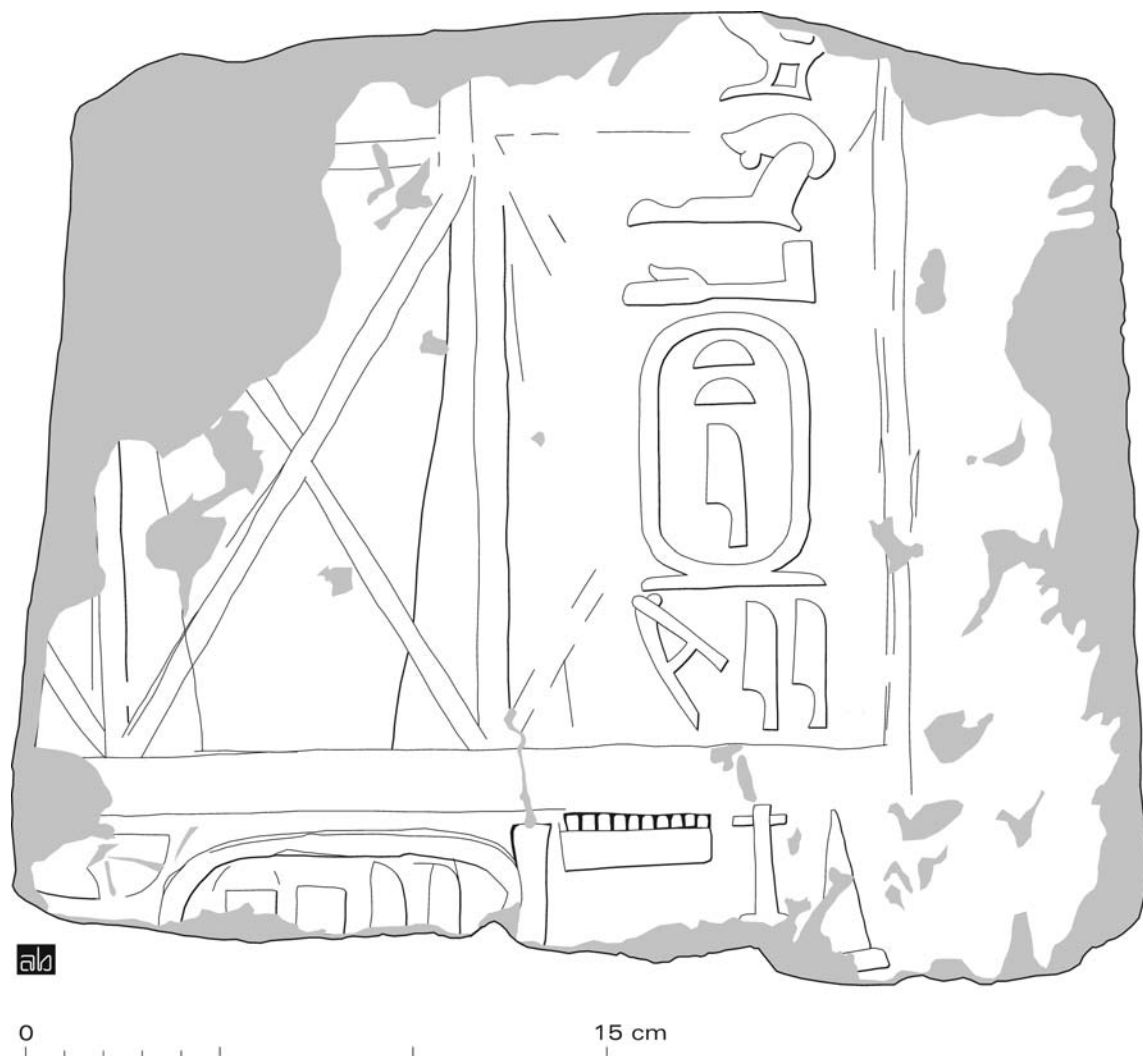


Fig.7.1
Relief fragment of *Mrjj-ttj*, Hermitage □18103

PROVENANCE OF THE RELIEF

The unique name of the owner of the relief, *Mrjj-ttj*², allows us to unequivocally attribute it to a well-known person, while the subject of the representation makes its position within his tomb more or less definite.




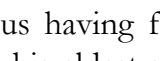
The tomb of *Mrjj-ttj/Mrj* is a four-roomed annex of 114 m² floor-space to his father's *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* celebrated great mastaba (Saqqara TPC)³. Numerous scenes of transportation of huge vessels on sledges are represented on the walls of the cham-

² See Commentary f.

³ *PM III*², 536–537; plan in DUELL, *Mereruka*, facing pl.2.

ber C 4⁴, its decorative program (like that of the chamber a 9 of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*) being devoted to the delivery of clothings, decorations and ointments. The upper registers of representations are lost on all the walls, and the Hermitage fragment must be one of the missing blocks.

THE HISTORY OF DECORATION OF THE TOMB OF *MRJJ-TTJ*

Unfortunately, the decoration of the rooms of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* has never been studied properly⁵ and the suites of his wife *W^c(j).t(j).t-ḥ.t-ḥr(w)/Zšzš.t* (rooms B) and of his son *Mrjj-ttj* (rooms C) remain virtually unpublished⁶, although they are of importance for various aspects of the history of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I. Already DARESSY, the author of the first publication of texts from the complex of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, noticed that some parts of inscriptions in *Mrjj-ttj* are palimpsests⁷, while SETHE supposed that since *Mrjj-ttj* was not called a son of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* in the rooms of the latter but had a title King's son of his body⁸, he actually was a son of *W^c(j).t(j).t-ḥ.t-ḥr(w)/Zšzš.t* and a certain king. SETHE also paid attention to the fact that the group of signs  in , “‘Hereditary nobleman’, ‘Count’, King's eldest son of his body beloved by him” has been invariably replaced by , thus having formed , “‘Hereditary nobleman’ *Mrj*, his eldest son of his body beloved by him”, looking very strange in the middle of the titulary⁹. Almost two decades later, the first explanation of this transformation was offered by FEDERN¹⁰ who supposed that *Mrjj-ttj* was a son of Pepy I¹¹ of *W^c(j).t(j).t-ḥ.t-ḥr(w)*; after the divorce of the royal spouses, *W^c(j).t(j).t-ḥ.t-ḥr(w)* became a wife of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, and, in this light, the erasing of the title King's

⁴ PM III², 536:122–124 (with references only to DARESSY, *MIE* 3).

⁵ The degree of obscurity is well reflected in the entry on *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* containing almost no positive information (MARTIN-PARDEY, in *LÄ* IV, 78); cf. DAVID R., DAVID A.E., *Biographical Dictionary*, 75.

⁶ Brief descriptions and reproductions of texts in standard hieroglyphs published by DARESSY (*MIE* 3, 561–574) are very inexact and incomplete; some inscriptions still readable a century later are said to be entirely effaced, while complete upper registers that were out of his reach are not mentioned at all (which means that he worked without putting up scaffolding and casts even more doubts upon his readings).

⁷ DARESSY, *MIE* 3, 561,

⁸ He also noticed a single exception to this rule (DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.88) but did not attach any importance to this fact.

⁹ SETHE, *ZÄS* 54, 55, Anm.1.

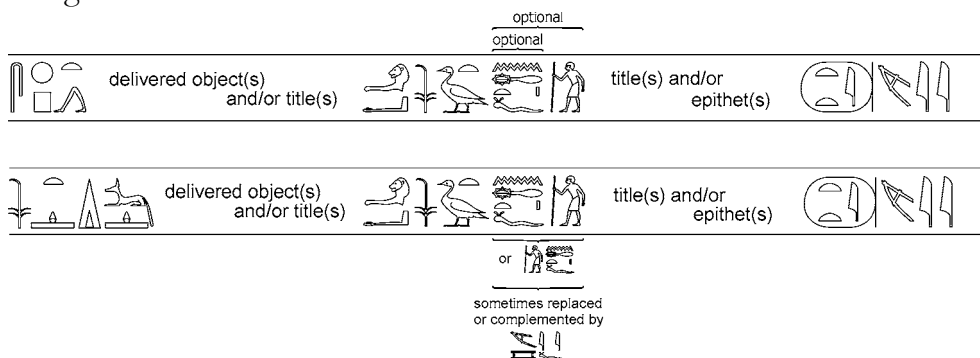
¹⁰ FEDERN, *Or* 5, 379–384.

¹¹ FEDERN made this conclusion although he knew JUNKER's incontestable proof of *z3 n(j)-sm.t* being a designation of not only kings' sons but also grandsons (JUNKER, *Giza* I, 9–10, 152–153, and especially idem., *Giza* II, 32–39) and even shared his understanding elsewhere (FEDERN, *WZKM* 62, 172–181).

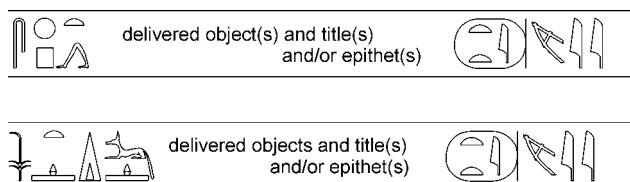
son meant a renouncement of *Mrjj-ttj*'s claim of royal heir. This theory is fantastic in many respects ¹², as NIMS has immediately demonstrated when putting forward his own interpretation ¹³. Although old, it is based on the best till now analysis of the palimpsests in the chambers of *Mrjj-ttj* and it may be regarded as satisfactory until the appearance of new works. In any case, it is sufficient for understanding specific features of the Hermitage relief, if not those of the tomb in general.

According to NIMS, the eldest son of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* of a wife whose name remains unknown was *Mmj* repeatedly represented as a mature man in the chambers of his father; later *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* married the daughter of Teti *W^c(j).t(j).t-h.t-hr(w)/Zšzš.t*, and their son *Mrjj-ttj* who had a “young name” *Mrj* became an heir as a king's grandson in spite of *Mmj*'s primogeniture. During the lifetime of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, an annex to his tomb was constructed for *Mrjj-ttj* and almost completely decorated, only the west wall and the western parts of the north and south walls in C 4 remaining unfinished. Inscriptions that are of the main interest for us are captions to the scenes of delivering offerings placed horizontally along the upper edge of the respective registers. They started either with the word *šhp.t* – “bringing” or with the *hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t* formula followed by the designation of the delivered goods, and terminated with the titles and epithets of *Mrjj-ttj* and his name. At this, noteworthy is their standardisation – in the captions occupying the whole length of the walls, approximately in the centre of the line there was the title King's son supplemented or not with some epithets, while in the shorter inscriptions it was absent.

Long versions:





Short versions:

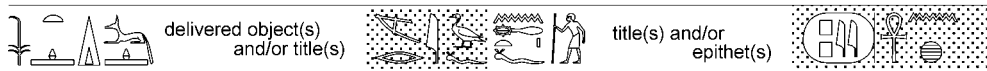
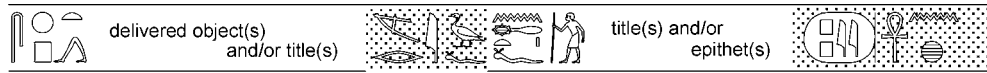


¹² Not to mention that FEDERN did not pay attention to DARESSY's observation on the palimpsests and to the sole record of *Mrjj-ttj* as a son of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* (see n.8).

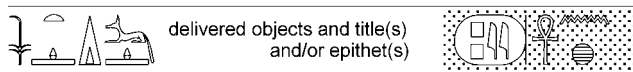
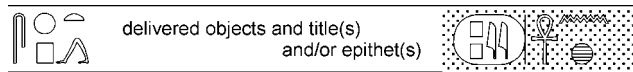
¹³ NIMS, *JAOs* 58, 638–647.

After the death of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, *Mmj* in some way managed to suspend *Mrjj-ttj* from his seniority in the family and usurped his part of the tomb complex. At this stage, the decoration of the chamber C 4 was finished in a very crude manner,  was replaced in inscriptions by , and the name *Mrjj-ttj* was erased and substituted for *Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)*, the name *Mmj* allegedly adopted with the enthronement of Pepy I ¹⁴.

Long versions:









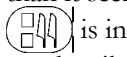


Short versions:



Thus, the first part of the titulary of *Mrjj-ttj* was turned into that of his and *Mmj*'s father who also had the “young name” *Mrj*, and the expression *ꜥ3.f* transformed its second part into the titulary of *Mmj/Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)* ¹⁵.

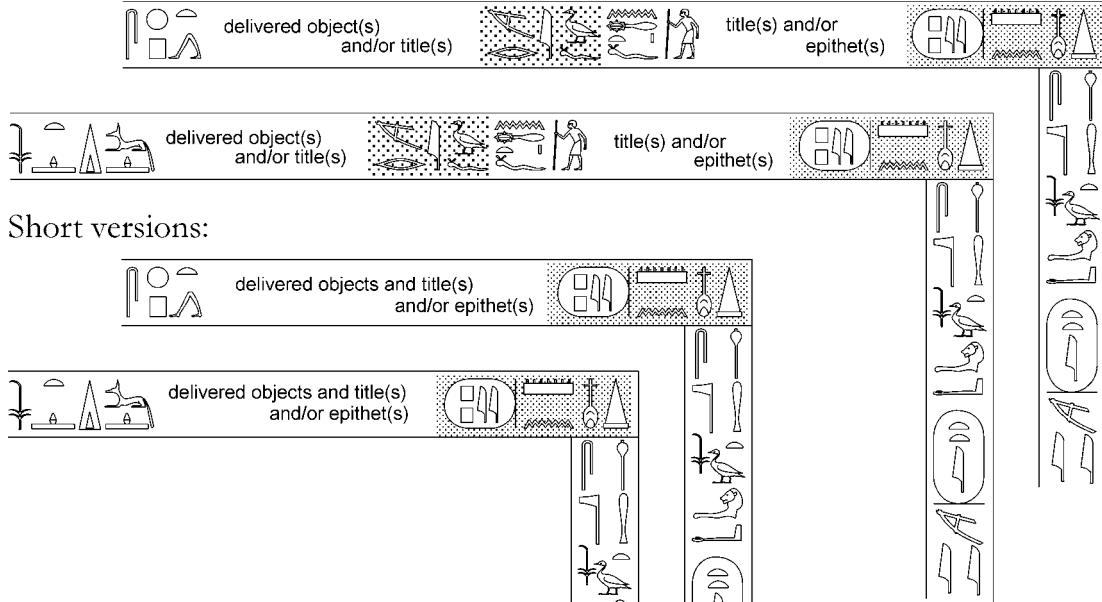
When *Mrjj-ttj* somehow recovered his positions and his part of the tomb complex, he erased *ꜥnb* in *Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)* and used the cartouche as a part of his new title Inspector of the prophets of the pyramid “Firm is the Beauty of Pepy”. The end of this title, the titles King’s son, “Count”, and the name *Mrjj-ttj* forming an indissoluble se-

¹⁴ One must admit that the replacement was carried out with minimal losses if not brilliantly. Both  and  consist of a small cartouche and a short part after it, and they are easily interchangeable.  and  are also of the same length,  can be replaced by , and  is present in either group of signs. However, the situation is more complicated than it seemed to NIMS.  is carved almost as carefully as the original hieroglyphs, while  is incised very carelessly and, almost obviously, by another hand. Can it be that the name was hastily replaced after the usurpation to prove the proprietary of *Mrj/Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)*, while the title King’s son was removed later, in colder blood?

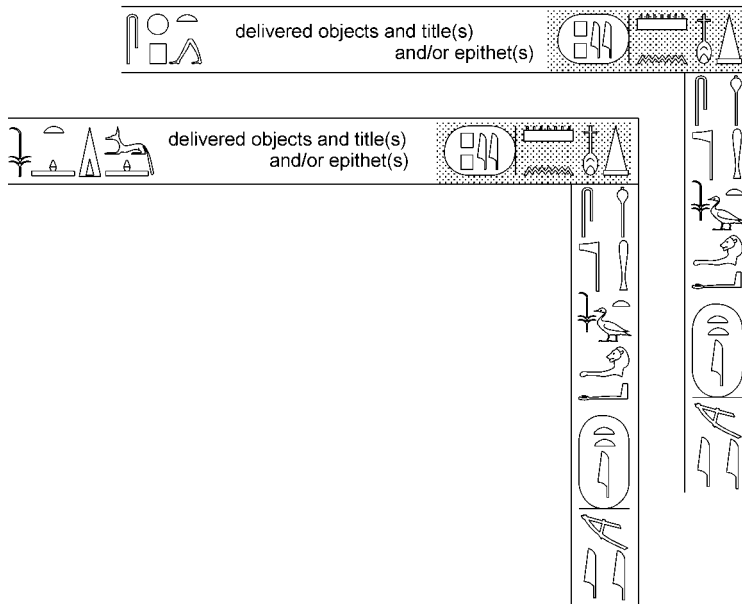
¹⁵ It was a very clever move partly concealing a crime against *Mmj*'s half-brother by demonstrative obeisance paid to his father. At the same time, the sense of the modified inscriptions was quite intelligible in spite of their unusual structure: “Bringing such and such goods (to) ... /titles follow/ *Mrj* (= *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, A.B.), /and/ (to) his eldest son of his body beloved by him ... /titles follow/ *Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)*” or “Offering given by the king ... (to) /titles follow/ *Mrj* (= *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, A.B.), /and/ (to) his eldest son of his body beloved by him ... /titles follow/ *Pjppj-ꜥnb(.w)*”.

quence were forcedly placed vertically under the original lines, which required a partial erasing of representations below ¹⁶.

Long versions:





Short versions:



The quality of the signs written in the course of the last modification is similar to that of the original inscriptions ¹⁷.

The Hermitage block is a witness of these dramatic changes bearing traces of some of them ¹⁸.

¹⁶ The group  remained not corrected by *Mrjj-ttj* in spite of its irrelevance as a reminder of the perfidy of his half-brother, since the modified inscriptions kept looking as an expression of a filial devotion in the same measure as in the time of *Mmj*'s usurpation (cf. n.15).

¹⁷ The theory of NIMS is by no means the last possible word in the problem of *Mrjj-ttj* and it has weak points. The reconstruction of the name of *Pjppj-^cnb(.w)* is not very reliable and the traces of signs under  must be reconsidered in every case (personal communication of Gabriele PIEKE). However, it is sufficient for our purposes here, and the stages of decoration of the chamber C 4 will be named according to NIMS below, although the sense of the changes could be different.

¹⁸ See Commentaries c–e.

INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription 7/1

--- nb [t3 dsr] (?) [shd hm(w.w)-ntr] Mn-nfr-pjbj ---

--- [Revered with Anubis], Lord [of the Sacred Land] (?)^b, [Inspector of the prophets] of the pyramid “Firm is the Beauty of Pepy” ---^c.

Inscription 7/2

--- z3 [n(j)-sw.t] h3t(j)-^c Mrjj-ttj-

--- King’s son ^d, “Count” ^e Mrjj-ttj ^f.

COMMENTARY

^a Cf., e.g. five detailed scenes of transportation in *K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)/Mmj*¹⁹. Each sledge is loaded with two vessels fixed by ropes passing through rope loops attached to the runners, criss-crossed and fastened to planks laid along vessels’ widest parts (fig.7.2). No vertical wooden posts are shown, although the construction represented is not rigid enough to fix the vessels reliably. Since the quality of the relief is excellent, this omission must be regarded as one of the conventions characteristic of Egyptian art.

On the south wall of the chamber A 9 in the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* the scene is treated even more conventionally: the vessels stand on a sledge without any fastening²⁰. However, on the west wall of the same chamber the scene is much closer to the Hermitage fragment²¹ (fig.7.3). Four dragged vessels are shown in a wooden framework attached to a sledge, only the front vertical post being repre-

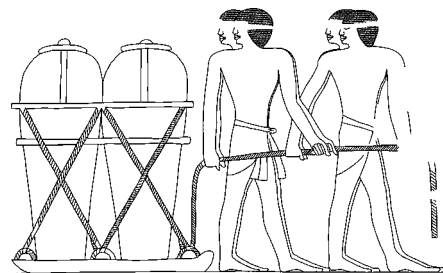


Fig.7.2
Representation of dragging
vessels in *K3(j)-gm(.w)-n(j)*
(redrawn after BISSING,
Gem-ni-kai II, Taf.36)

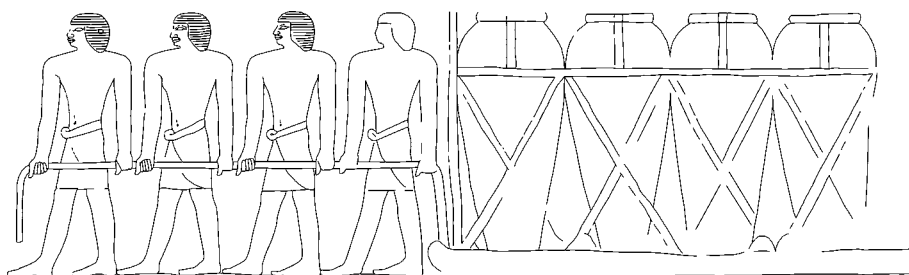


Fig.7.3
Representation of dragging
vessels in
chamber A 9
of
Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)
(after DUELL,
Mereruka,
pl.70)

¹⁹ BISSING, *Gem-ni-kai II*, Taf.36.

²⁰ DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.69.

²¹ DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.70.

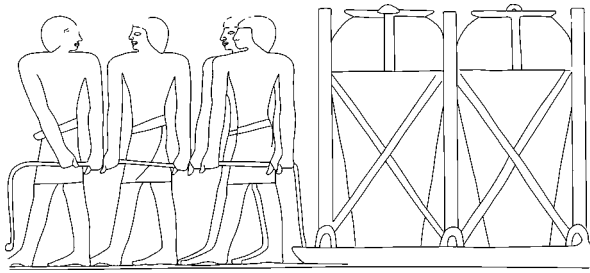


Fig. 7.4
Representation of dragging vessels
in *N(j)-k3.w-jzzj*
(after KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery VI*,
pl.66)

sents, while the back one is omitted (by mistake (?)). The criss-crossed ropes holding the vessels are fastened to very summarily pictured loops and to horizontal planks at the level of the vessels' shoulders.

In the tomb of *N(j)-k3.w-jzzj* (Saqqara TPC)²² the wooden framework is depicted with extra posts between the ves-

sels but without horizontal planks, the ropes looking as if fastened to nothing (fig. 7.4).

Numerous representations of dragging vessels in the chamber C 4 of *Mrjj-ttj* are similar to that on the Hermitage fragment both stylistically and as concerns the rendering of the holders and fasteners that is a cross between the features of the above scenes in *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* and *N(j)-k3.w-jzzj*. For instance, in the second register of the west wall, three vessels are shown, with the vertical poles between them and crisscrossed ropes as thick as the planks are. At this, like on the Hermitage block, the loops attached to the sledge are omitted and the sledge itself is only hinted at: the vessels are shown as standing on a line above the ground level, but neither the front, nor the back edges of the runner are depicted (fig. 7.5).

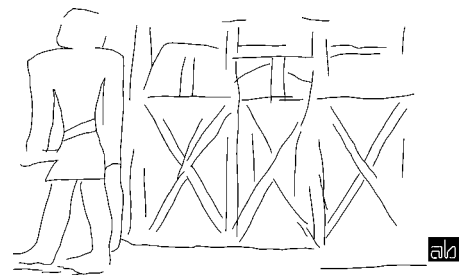








Fig. 7.5
Representation of dragging vessels
in chamber C 4 of *Mrjj-ttj*
(drawn after a photograph
by the author)

The quality of the representation on the Hermitage block is higher than that of the just considered scene, which must mean that it belongs to the original decoration of the chamber C 4 that is close to the murals of the chambers A 9 and A 10, i.e., the worst in the tomb of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*²³. It is safe enough to suppose that the reliefs of *Mrjj-ttj* were carved by the masters who have decorated chambers A 9 and A 10 of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*. As another argument for this suggestion one may consider the fact that the scene of dragging vessels in a framework that could

²² KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery VI*, pl.66.

²³ DUELL, *Mereruka*, 9. Some of them are also not completed, their background is not deepened or smoothed over, the lines are of different thickness and depth.

be a model for the representations in *Mrjj-ttj* (see above) is placed in the chamber A 9 of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*.























































- ^b Only slight traces looking like a number of illegible scratches can be seen in front of the cartouche. Most probably this is a carelessly shaped \cup with its left half carved deeper and its right half only slightly scratched. The sign \cup occurs more than once in the inscriptions of *Mrjj-ttj* in front of the original name ²⁴ as a part of the epithet of the tomb owner *jm3b(.w) hr Jnp(w) nb t3 dsr* ²⁵. The bent vertical line in the centre of what we read as \cup can be easily mistaken for the right outline of an asymmetric \triangle , but this reading is more than problematic, even though it seems attractive due to the line in question being deeper than those interpreted as the right outline of \cup . Of all known titles of *Mrjj-ttj* this \triangle can belong to *bnt(j)-š*, Attendant ²⁶, anomalously spelled as , without the determinative  ²⁷. Although the title is recorded in the annex of *Mrjj-ttj* several times ²⁸ and even this very spelling is used elsewhere in the complex of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* ²⁹ side by side with the normative ones ³⁰, this reconstruction must be discarded since *bnt(j)-š* is too low a title to be placed directly in front of the name of the tomb owner (before the modifications of the inscriptions). The bent line resembling a part of \triangle can be a remnant of an erased original inscription.
- ^c The cartouche  is carved very inaccurately, and some traces of an erased \triangle seem to be visible above the upper \square ; on the other hand, the hieroglyphs   

²⁴ DARESSY, *MIE* 3, 561, 573.

²⁵ JONES, *Index*, 15:65.

²⁶ JONES, *Index*, 691–692:2530.









²⁷ This very reconstruction was made by the present author in the previous publication of the relief, see BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 134, 16–17, Comm. C.

²⁸ DARESSY, *MIE* 3, 561, 564, 570. It may be appropriate to correct here a mistake of two important reference books. MURRAY (*Index*, pl.57), registers the title        , “Attendant of the pyramid ‘Established is the Perfection of Pepy’ ” allegedly borne by *Mrjj-ttj*; JONES (*Index*, 693:2535, 694:2537) mentions besides it also        , “Attendant of the pyramid ‘Steadfast are the Places of Teti’ ”. However, these titles are absent in the copies of DARESSY he refers to; actually in either case these are two different titles:                 , “Inspector of prophets of the pyramid ‘Established is the Perfection of Pepy’, Attendant” (DARESSY, *MIE* 3, 561), and         , “Inspector of prophets of the pyramid ‘Steadfast are the Places of Teti’, Attendant” (*ibid.*, 564), with a spelling variant               (*ibid.*, 570). Of course, one may suppose that *bnt(j)-š* is only an abbreviation of “*bnt(j)-š* of such and such pyramid” and that is why the two titles form a group, but the easiest reading is preferable.

²⁹ DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.7.

³⁰ DUELL, *Mereruka*, pl.62–64, 113, 133, 147–148, 159, 179–183.

after the cartouche are of a much higher quality similar to that of the signs in Inscription 7/2. This allows us to understand the cartouche as incised over that of Teti at the first stage of the modification of inscriptions, and to interpret the whole passage with confidence as the beginning of the title Inspector of the prophets of the pyramid “Firm is the Beauty of Pepy” written over the erased name *Pjppj-^cnb(.w)* at the second stage of the modifications.

- ^d The bird sign of which only the lower part  remains is no doubt  and, thus, the title is *ꜣꜣ n(j)-sw.t*³¹ belonging to the stable sequence characteristic of the vertical interpolations made at the second stage of modifications. As for the absence of the lower part of  that is to be expected in front of , it is explained by the fact that in the tomb of *Mrjj-ttj* the title is always spelled in the vertical columns with  arranged higher than  :  .
- ^e The title³² is placed between *ꜣꜣ n(j)-sw.t* and the name of *Mrjj-ttj* as it is characteristic of the of the steadfast string interpolated at the second stage of modification of inscriptions.
- ^f As far as we know, the name *Mrjj-ttj* is unique, borne by a single person³³, a son of *Mrr-w(j)-kꜣ(j)/Mrj*.

DATING

Mrr-w(j)-kꜣ(j) was a vizier of Teti and no doubt died under that king, for his vizirate passed to *ꜣnb(j)-m-^c-hr(w)/Zꜣj* and *Hnt(j)-kꜣ(j)/Jbꜣj* who lived under Teti as well³⁴; *Mrjj-ttj* became a vizier only under Pepi I³⁵. Since the quality of the original reliefs of *Mrjj-ttj* is similar to that of the murals in the chambers A 9 and A 10 of his father that were decorated in the last instance and in the chambers of *W^c(j).t(j).t-ḥ.t-hr(w)*, it seems that they were made also in the last years of *Mrr-w(j)-kꜣ(j)/Mrj*.

Although in his rooms *Mrjj-ttj* is normally represented as an adult, over the door leading from C 1 to C 2 he is depicted as a child in a palanquin scene³⁶. The picture of the owner of the tomb as a child must be meaningful, for otherwise it would be senseless³⁷, and, thus, the pictures of a grown-up *Mrjj-ttj* as well as his high titles record-

³¹ JONES, *Index*, 799:2911.

³² JONES, *Index*, 496–497:1858.

³³ RANKE, *PN I*, 161:12; *PM III*², 960:902.

³⁴ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 25–27. Cf. STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 100–101:68, 301, with a somewhat different order of viziers.

³⁵ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 35. Cf. STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 97:63, 301 – mid reign of Pepy I.

³⁶ NIMS, *JAO* 58, 641. This noteworthy fact is not mentioned by DARESSY, *MIE* 3, 563.

³⁷ It may be different in the case of representations of children in the tombs of their parents, see Cat.no.17, n.133.

ed in his tomb had to have a prospective meaning in the moment of its decoration ³⁸. Most probably his removal by *Mrj/Pjppj-^cnb(.w)* was possible due to his nonage in the moment of the death of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*.

It is impossible to say how long the annex C was in the hands of *Mmj/Pjppj-^cnb(.w)*, but it is obvious that it was recovered by *Mrjj-ttj* in the reign of Pepy I. The similarity of the original work in the annex and that of the second stage of the modification of inscriptions makes it very probable that they were executed by the same masters and, thus, the chronological span between the death of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* and the regress of

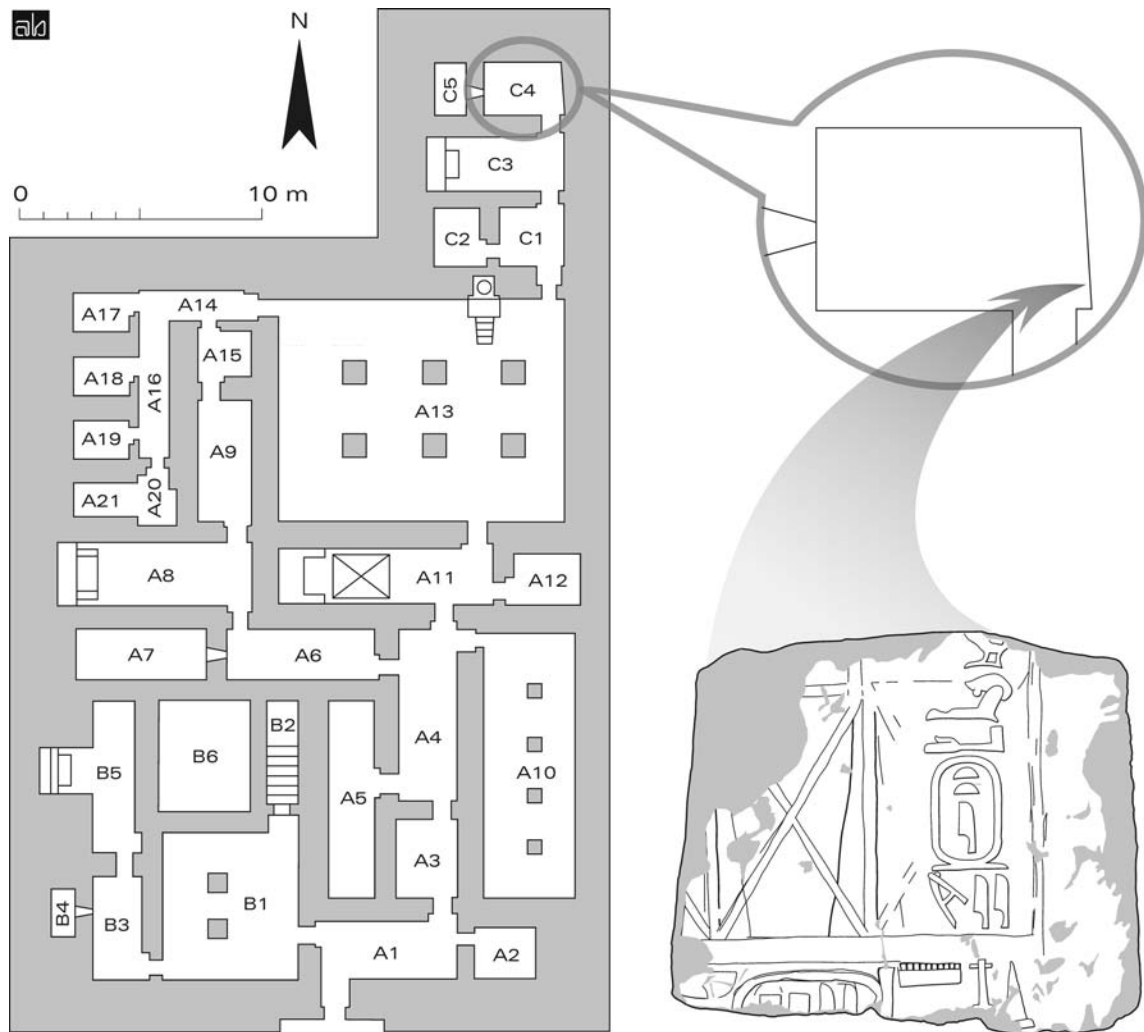


Fig.7.6
The most probable original location of the relief of *Mrjj-ttj*

³⁸ Cf. a representation of *Mrjj-ttj* as a child accompanying his mother in a palanquin scene in the room B 5 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas III*, Taf.11) that can be approximately synchronous.

Mrjj-ttj could not be considerable. Thus, the final modification should be dated back rather to the more or less early than to the mid reign of Pepy I – probably to his first decade.

THE MOST PROBABLE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE RELIEF

The presence of a blank margin along the right edge of the Hermitage block proves that it originally was the right one in the lining of a wall. Since the quality of the relief is too high for the west wall and the western part of the south wall of C4 decorated by *Mmj/Pjppj-nb(.w)*, they may be safely not considered here as its possible source. Although the quality of representations on the north wall is also rather low, theoretically it is possible to suppose that the block came from a register above the six completely or partly preserved ones; however, the east wall is slightly slanting and, thus, the blocks of the north wall joining it cannot be rectangular³⁹. The east wall remains the last and the only option. *Mrjj-ttj* accompanied by his son is represented in its left third as standing facing right; in front of him are three completely preserved registers and a bottom part of the fourth. The first register is devoted to the delivery of chests of linen; in the second and the third registers there are representations of the attendants of the tomb owner; only feet of five men and the lower edges of chests survived of the fourth register and, thus, a scene of bringing linen must be reconstructed in it. The Hermitage block can belong to registers 4 and 5, 5 and 6, or 6 and 7 (fig.7.6).

³⁹ Personal communication of Gabriele PIEKE.

8. Fragment of Pyramid Texts of Pepy I

INV. NO.: □18143.

DATE: Reign of Pepy I.

MATERIAL: Fine limestone.

PIGMENTS: Blue pigment in hieroglyphs.

DIMENSIONS: 11,5 cm wide, 8,5 cm high, 2 cm thick.

CONDITION: Fragment.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara, pyramid of Pepy I.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at an unknown Italian antiquarian in Cairo ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ТУРАЕВ, *ИИАН* 1915, 606–607.

PM III², 423.

BERGER-EL NAGGAR et al., *Pépy I^{er}* II, pl.16.

DESCRIPTION

Small fragment of fine limestone with several incised hieroglyphs in three vertical columns (↯↷) (fig.8.1, pl.XXV). As already TURAЕV has demonstrated ², the fragment bears a part of Utterances 524–525 of the Pyramid Texts arranged on the west wall of the horizontal corridor of the pyramid of Pepy I ³.

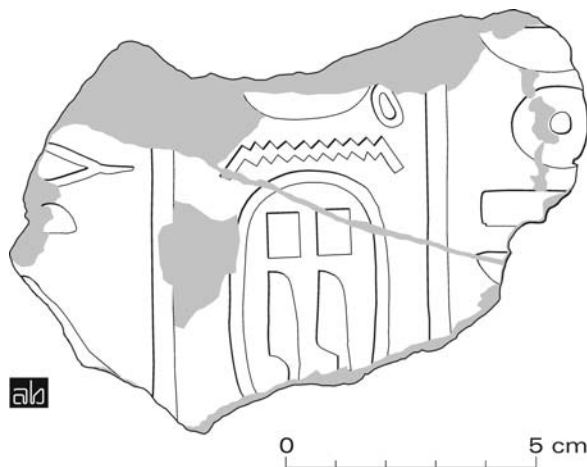


Fig.8.1

Fragment of Pyramid Texts of Pepy I,
Hermitage □18143

INSCRIPTION ⁴

[Utterance 524]

... ⁽⁴⁵⁹⁾ ... This [Pepy] is he who prevents the gods from becoming weary in seeking the Eye of Horus; this Pepy searched for it in Pe, this Pepy found it in On, ⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾ this Pepy took it from the head of Seth in that place where they fought. O Horus, stretch your arm to this Pepy; O Horus, take your Eye; may it go forth to you when this Pepy comes to you. ⁽⁴⁶¹⁾ May the Eye of Horus come to you with this Pepy, upon me for ever.

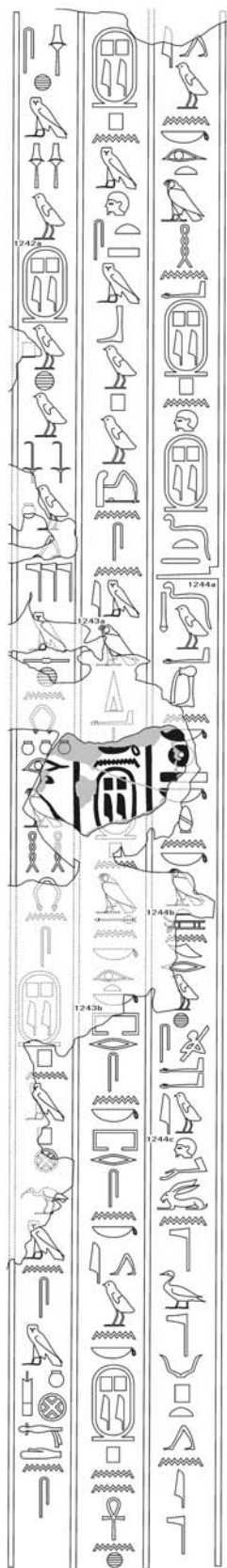
¹ ПЕРЕПЕАКИН *MSS*, 111 rev.

² ТУРАЕВ, *ИИАН* 1915, 606–607.

³ BERGER-EL NAGGAR et al. *Pépy I^{er}* II, pl.16.

⁴ Underlined are the words preserved on the Hermitage fragment.

459 460 461



[Utterance 525]

Saying words: Re is cleansed for you, Horus is adorned for you, inability to see (?) comes to an end, sleepiness is dispelled before the being of the god, the son of the god, and the messenger of the god... ⁵

Fig.8.2

Position of the fragment
Hermitage □18143
in Utterances 524–525
(based on BERGER-EL NAGGAR
et al., *Pépy I^{er}* II, pl.16)

⁵ Translation after FAULKNER, *Pyramid Texts*, 197.

9. Relief of *Mrjj-rꜥ(w)-ḥnh(.w)*

INV. NO.: □18108.

DATE: Dyn.VI, reign of Pepy I or somewhat later.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 135 cm high, 80 cm wide, 5,5–10,5 cm thick.

CONDITION: The lower block is almost complete, the upper one lacks the left half and both right corners; notches left by some instrument along the left edge of the upper block. The surface is locally eroded.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded, probably Abusir.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

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ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 13, кат. № VII.

LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Cat.no.17.

Путеводитель 2000, 248.


RELATED MONUMENT:

Probably fragment of a false door ÄgMUL 48 (SCHÄFER, *Priestergräber*, Abb.14; KRAUSPE, *Äg.Museum Lpz.*³, Kat.Nr.32 (Abb.); idem., *Äg.Museum Leipzig*, Abb.47.)

DESCRIPTION

The greater part of the surface of the two blocks (fig.9.1, pl.XXVI–XXVII) is occupied by the figure of the tomb owner standing (◄) carved in the sunk relief, with a staff in his front hand and a *brp* sceptre in his back hand; the back arm from the shoulder to the elbow and the front hand and arm below the mid humerus are lost. He wears a short starched trapezoidal kilt and a wig reaching his shoulders and leaving the ear exposed; his chin is decorated with a short artificial beard; there is a plain collar on his neck and a bracelet on his wrist.

The quality of the representation varies considerably from one its part to another. Some details, such as the face, fingers and toes are finely treated, while others, e.g., the ear, are carved carelessly; the upper curls of the wig are deeply carved, while the lower ones are represented as irregular strokes (pl.XXVII-1, 2). The same concerns hieroglyphs ².

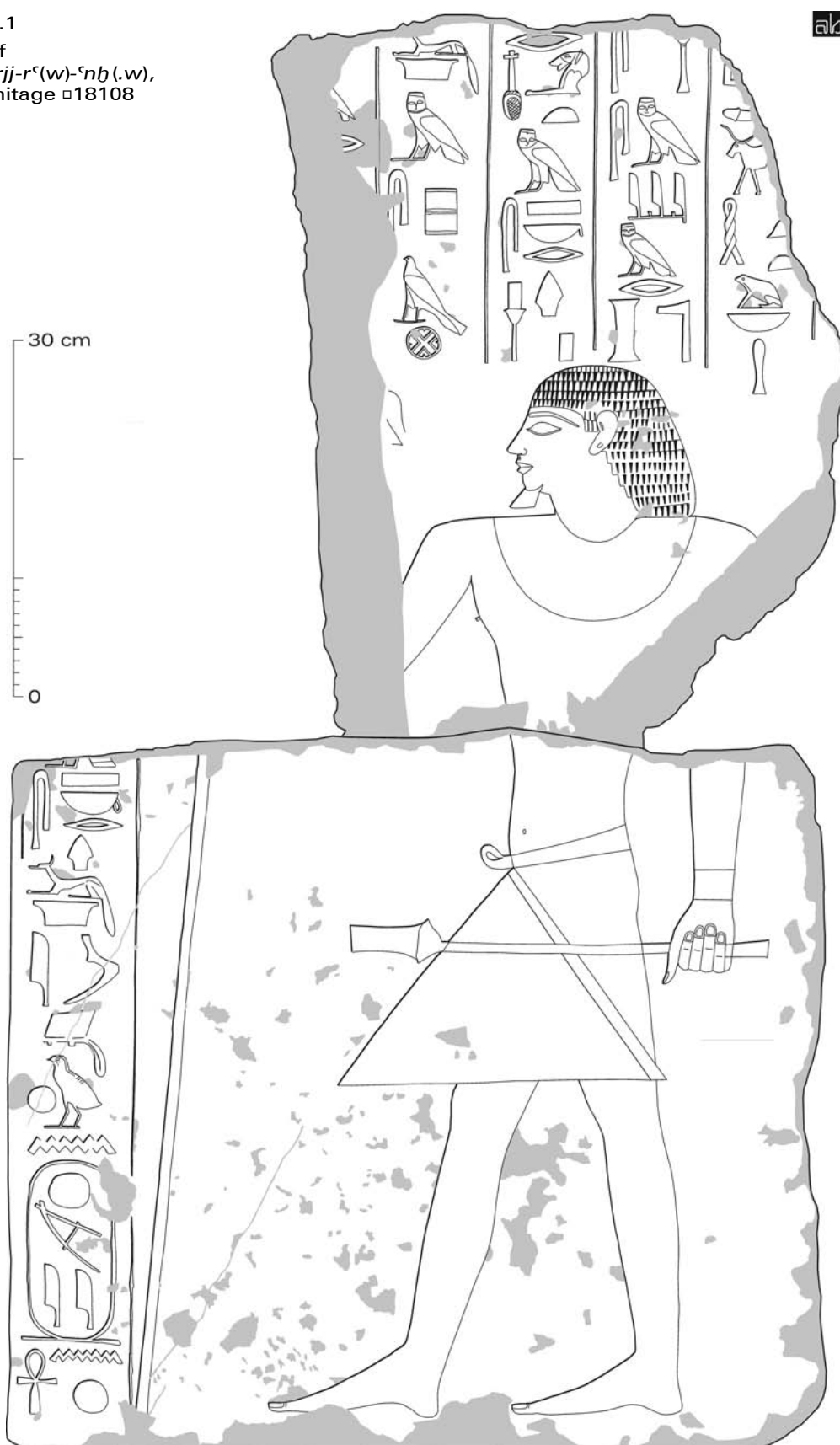
An incomplete vertical line of incised hieroglyphs (1, ▣) is arranged along the left edge of the lower block; the inscription lengthens into columns 2–7 above the head of the tomb owner, the first of which (2) is completely lost. There are some traces of an incomprehensible effaced form  in front of the owner's face; the motif is not a remnant of one or several hieroglyphs since it is placed under the separation line between columns 3 and 4.

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.

² See below, Epigraphic Features.

Fig.9.1

Relief
of *Mrjj-rʿ(w)-ḥb(.w)*,
Hermitage 18108



The type of the representation, the arrangement of the inscriptions, and the application of the sunk relief indicate that the relief originally decorated the façade of a tomb, on the right of the entrance.

INSCRIPTION

① --- [(j)r(j) nfr-ḥ3.t] m shkr Jnpw jm3ḥ.w n Jnpw Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)

② ---

③ --- (j)m(j)-r(3) ---

④ --- [ḥm(w)-ntr] Jnpw (j)m(j) sp3

⑤ --- [(j)r(j) nfr-ḥ3.t m shkr shm

⑥ --- shd sm(.w) (j)m(j)-r(3) zḥ(j.w)-ntr (Jnpw)

⑦ --- [mdw] k3 [ḥd] ḥm(w)-ntr Hk.t –

① --- [Keeper of the headdress] in adorning Anubis ^a, Revered with Anubis ^b
Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w) ^{c d}.

② ---

③ --- Overseer ---

④ --- [Prophet of] Anubis Who is in Sepa ^e,

⑤ --- Keeper of the headdress in adorning power ^f,

⑥ --- Inspector of sm-attendants ^g, Overseer of those who belong to the divine booth (of Anubis) ^h,

⑦ --- [Herdsman] of the [White] Bull ⁱ, Prophet of Heqet ^j.

COMMENTARY

^a The title belongs to the group of those borne by the keepers of the royal wigs/head-dresses who were simultaneously connected with the cults of certain gods ((j)r(j) nfr-ḥ3.t m (s)hkr Ptḥ, “Keeper of the headdress in adorning Ptah” ³, (j)r(j) nfr-ḥ3.t m shkr Mn(w), “Keeper of the headdress in adorning Min” ⁴, (j)r(j) nfr-ḥ3.t (m) shkr Hr(w), “Keeper of the headdress in adorning Horus” ⁵); however, the derivative of the title related with Anubis is unrecorded elsewhere.

^b A rare variant of the epithet jm3ḥ.w hr Jnpw ⁶; cf., e.g., in the tomb of K3(.j)-r^c(w)-pw (Saqqara NSP, D 39) ⁷. With this epithet Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w) stresses his special devotion to Anubis with whom four of his titles are related ⁸.

³ JONES, *Index*, 322:1184.















⁴ JONES, *Index*, 322:1185.


⁵ JONES, *Index*, 323:1187.




⁶ JONES, *Index*, 13:56; cf. also 13–17:57–78. For reading see Commentary d, for the meaning of jm3ḥ(w) see Cat.no.5, Commentary j.

⁷ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 274.

⁸ See Commentaries a, e, f, h.

- ^c The name is relatively rare, although it occurs in the Saqqara – Abusir region more than once ⁹.
- ^d The reading of the line 1 is based on the assumption that  belongs both to the title $[(j)r(j) \text{ nfr-}h3.t] \text{ m shkr}$ and to the epithet $jm3h.w$. Other variants of reading radically changing the understanding of the whole line are possible in theory but less probable in reality:
- ◆ $*[jr(j) \text{ nfr-}h3.t] \text{ m shkr } jm3h.w \text{ n Jnpw Mrjj-r}^c(w)\text{-}^c\text{nb}(.w)$, “[Keeper of the head-dress] in adorning, Revered with Anubis Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)”. This option gives rise to doubts for two reasons. First, the title $jr(j) \text{ nfr-}h3.t \text{ m shkr}$ without any specification of the object of adoration is unattested and looks strange in general; second, the honorific transposition of the name of the god is possible but not necessary in the epithets built after the pattern “ $jm3h.w \text{ hr/n}$ + god’s name”.
 - ◆ $*[jr(j) \text{ nfr-}h3.t] \text{ m shkr } Jnpw \text{ jm3h.w } n \text{ Mrjj-r}^c(w) \text{ } ^c\text{nb}$, “[Keeper of the headdress] in adorning Anubis, Revered with Meryra ^cnb”. This variant of reading presupposes the existence of the epithet $jm3h.w \text{ n Mrjj-r}^c(w)$, quite possible ¹⁰, although unattested elsewhere; the name ^cnb is spread rather widely in the Old Kingdom ¹¹. However, the epithets constructed after the pattern “ $jm3h.w \text{ hr/n}$ + king’s name” are rare and presumably reflect a particular closeness of their bearers to the given king ¹², as, e.g., in the case of $Sndm-jb(j)/Mhj$ who was a vizier of Unis and called himself $jm3h.w \text{ hr } Jz3j \text{ jm3h.w } hr \text{ Wnjs}$ ¹³. As far as one can judge, although the owner of the Hermitage relief was a keeper of the royal insignia, his other titles do not testify to his personal closeness to Pepy I Meryra, which makes this variant of reading less probable than our translation.
 - ◆ $*[jr(j) \text{ nfr-}h3.t] \text{ m shkr } Jnpw \text{ jm3h.w } N(j)\text{-}^c\text{nb-mrjj-r}^c(w)$, “[Keeper of the head-dress] in adorning Anubis, Revered $N(j)\text{-}^c\text{nb-mrjj-r}^c(w)$ ”. Although the name $N(j)\text{-}^c\text{nb-mrjj-r}^c(w)$ is unattested, the pattern “ nj + ^cnb + king’s name” is well known, e.g., $N(j)\text{-}^c\text{nb-snfr-w}(j)$ ¹⁴; however, this variant is highly improbable since it would require a transposition of the cartouche to the first place within the basilophorous name –             

Thus, the proposed reading based on the double function of  remains preferable, the more so as *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)* seems to be closely related with the cult of Anubis ¹⁵.

- ^e The title *hm(w)-ntr Jnpw (j)m(j) sp3* is not attested elsewhere, but *hm(w)-ntr Jnpw hnt(j) sp3*, “Prophet of Anubis Foremost of Sepa ¹⁶” is recorded repeatedly ¹⁷. The spelling of *sp3* with  instead of  is anomalous. An alternative interpretation of the title is offered by GOEDICKE ¹⁸.
- ^f The title is unique. One may tentatively interpret it as an abbreviation of also unrecorded **(j)r(j) nfr-h3.t m shkr sbm (Jnpw)*, “Keeper of the headdress in adorning the power of Anubis”; some ground for this assumption is afforded by the name *M33-shm-jnpw* borne by the brother and the son of *Jnpw-htp(.w)* (Giza WF) whose family is also remarkable for its devotion to Anubis ¹⁹.
- ^g The title is rare ²⁰; not to be confused with *sm/stm* ²¹. It may be of interest that this title related with the cult of Sokar is borne by the adorer of another god of the dead, Anubis.
- ^h The title is unattested elsewhere; however, cf. *zjb(j)-ntr* ²². The spelling is unusual, with the sign of a jackal omitted, cf. *T3wtj* (el-Qasr wa el-Saiyad T 73, reign of Merenra – mid reign of Pepy II ²³) ²⁴. The reading and the meaning of *zjb-ntr Jnpw* are discussed in detail by FISCHER ²⁵.
- ⁱ Rare title unattested apart from the Hermitage relief after Dyn.V ²⁶.
- ^j The most likely reading of the title: although this abbreviated form of *hm(w)-ntr Hk.t*, Prophet of Heqet ²⁷, is unattested elsewhere, concocting a unique title *hm(w) Hk.t*, Servant of Heqet, is even worse. Nonetheless, the deliberate arrangement of  in the centre of the column testifies to the intentional character of the abbreviation.

¹⁵ See Commentaries e, f, h.

¹⁶ On *sp3* see GOMÀÀ, *Besiedlung Ägyptens* II, 193–196.

¹⁷ JONES, *Index*, 506:1894.

¹⁸ GOEDICKE, *SAK* 20, 76; idem., in *Wege öffnen*, 79.

¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* IX, 156–157.


²⁰ JONES, *Index*, 966:3562; FISCHER, *JARCE* 3, 28.

²¹ But cf. *GHWb*, 700.

²² JONES, *Index*, 832:3035.

²³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 281:680.

²⁴ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Hamra Dom*, pl.20.

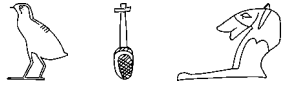
²⁵ FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, 45–49; for the omission of  see *ibid.*, 48–49. For older interpretations see JONES, *Index*, 832:3035.

²⁶ JONES, *Index*, 455:1701; BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER, *Götterwelt*, 237.

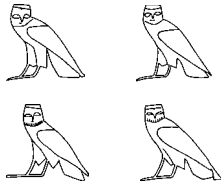
²⁷ JONES, *Index*, 564–565:2084; BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER, *Götterwelt*, 230. See also an important paper by BÁRTA, *JNES* 58.


EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES

The scattering of the quality of the hieroglyphs is striking. Against a general background of standard signs, some of them stand out for a high or very poor quality.




These signs have numerous inner details usually present only in the high quality inscriptions.




All the four completely preserved  signs are bearded. The beard is treated twice as a line separating the head from the body, and twice it is complemented with short vertical strokes above.




 has a very heavy oversized tail and a small rounded head without the sharp angle formed by feathers and characteristic of the vulture sign.



The back leg of  was troublesome for the artist. In line 1 he executed it almost perfectly, but in line 4 he was entangled in the outline and inner details.



 is very clumsy; the shape of the head is strange and the legs are too long and thin.

DATING

The basilophorous name *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)* gives the *terminus ante quem non* – the reign of Pepy I. On the other hand, a relatively high quality of the work most probably means that the relief cannot be dated to the end of Dyn.VI. Other features do not contradict this dating, although it means that the Hermitage relief bears the latest known record of the title Herdsman of the White Bull ²⁸.

ANOTHER MONUMENT OF *MRJJ-R^c(W)-^cNH(.W)* (?)

A fragment of a false door (panel and lower lintel) found in the course of BORCHARDT's excavations in the upper temple of Neuserra at Abusir (ÄgMUL 48)²⁹ belongs to a certain *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)/Hw(j)-n-hnm(w)* who was *smr w^c.t(j)*, Sole companion, and *hr(j)-tp n(j)-sw.t*, King's liegeman. Although these titles are absent on the Hermitage relief, this is not an argument against the identification, for there was more

²⁸ See Commentary i.

²⁹ SCHÄFER, *Priestergräber*, Abb.14; KRAUSPE, *Äg.Museum Lpz³*, Kat.Nr.32 (Abb.); idem., *Äg.Museum Leipzig*, Abb.47.

than enough space for them on the lost left half of the upper block. Moreover, the titles of the two *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)*s offer information that may be regarded as indirectly testifying for their identity. The title *hm(w)-ntr Hk.t* borne by the owner of the Hermitage relief (in the form *hm(w) Hk.t* ³⁰) is characteristic of the Saqqara – Abusir region ³¹, and at the same time it is very often associated with *hr(j)-tp n(j)-sw.t* ³², a title of the Abusir *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnb(.w)/Hw(j)-n-hnm(w)*.

The two monuments are rather close also stylistically and iconographically: wigs of the owners are of the same shape and the locks are treated similarly, ears are small and chins are decorated with short artificial beards; the bone structure of the shins and knees is carefully represented.

Thus, although the identity of the two persons cannot be proven, it is rather probable.

³⁰ See Commentary j.

³¹ BÁRTA, *JNES* 58, 107–109.

³² It is borne by thirteen of the fourteen Prophets of Heqet attested by BÁRTA, *JNES* 58, Tbl.1.

10. Lintel of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjpr-snb(.w)*

Inv. no.: □18125.

DATE: Reign of Pepy II, probably the second or the third decade.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 115 cm long, 49 cm high, 8 cm thick ¹.

CONDITION: Good besides the lost upper right corner, some missing fragments along the edges and erosion of the central part.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded; most probably Saqqara South.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHACHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ².

1918 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of

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1935 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

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HARPUR, *Decoration*, 283:730, 305.

BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 193.

RELATED MONUMENTS:

False door CG 1412 (BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, 77–78; BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 193, fig.7).

Lintel (*Sotheby's* 6045, lot 11; *Sotheby's* 7949, lot 42) and false door (MUSCARELLA, *Ladders to Heaven*, Cat.no.2; *COLL. BOROWSKI*, Cat.no.138) of *Jmpj/Šps-ptḥ* could have been executed in the same workshop.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

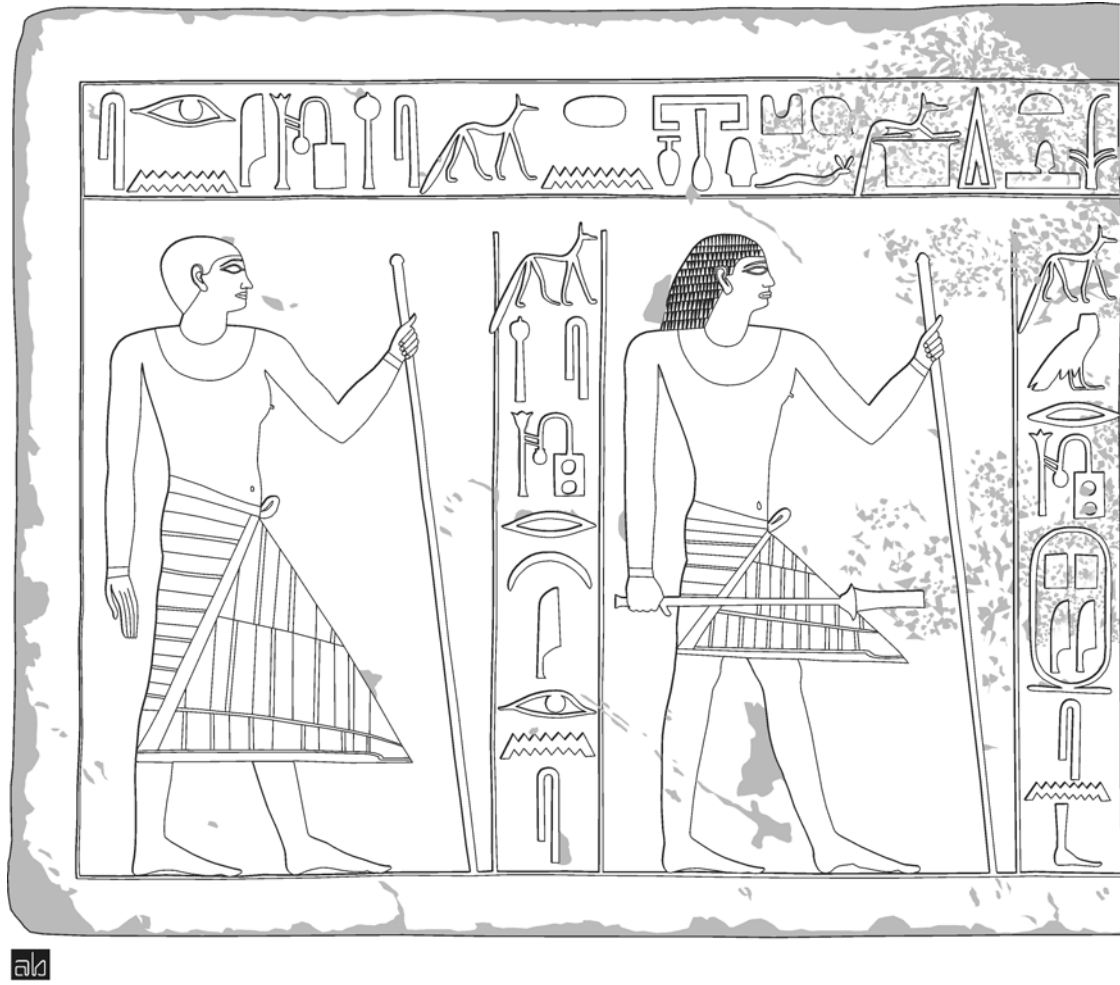
The lintel (fig.10.1, pl.XXVIII–XXX) is a block of fine limestone with four representations of the tomb owner carved in sunk relief and occupying its whole surface ^a. Inscriptions are placed along the upper edge of the lintel and between representations. Both pictures and hieroglyphs are of an exceptional quality if considering a relatively late date of the monument.

REPRESENTATIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The tomb owner is shown twice (the right most figure (◄) and the second from the left (►)) as wearing a short pleated trapezoidal kilt and a curled wig leaving the ear exposed (in the former case it reaches the shoulders, in the latter it is short) and holding a staff and a *brp*-baton, his neck and wrists are decorated with a broad collar and bracelets. Two other representations (the left most (►) and the second from the right (◄)) show him in a long pleated trapezoidal garment with no wig on his head, with a staff in his front hand and lowered back arm; a broad collar and bracelets are also depicted. In conformity with the Old Kingdom iconographic tradition, the first type of images (short garment and wig) corresponds to the idealized figure of a young man, while the second one (long garment, no wig) – to a mature or elderly stout person ^b. On the Hermitage lintel, as it is characteristic of late Old Kingdom monuments, the idea manifests itself in a degenerated way, the difference between the two iconograph-

¹ Measurements in LANDA, LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Cat.no.15 are inexact.

² ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book.



ic types being almost invisible. However, the breast and the abdomen of the figures in a long garment are somewhat more protruding and their legs are somewhat thicker than those of the figures in a short kilt ^c.

Inscription 10/1 occupies the left half of the horizontal line along the upper edge of the lintel (←):

hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t (hṭp dj) Jnpw tp(j) dw.f pr(.t)-hrw n ẓ3b shḏ ẓš(.w) N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

An offering given by the king, (an offering given by) Anubis Who is on his hill ^d – invocation-offerings for Juridical inspector of scribes ^e *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* ^f.

Inscription 10/2 occupies the right half of the horizontal line along the upper edge of the lintel (→):

hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t (hṭp dj) (J)s.t-jr.t pr(.t)-hrw n ẓ3b shḏ ẓš(.w) N(j)-[s(w)]-jr(.w) –

An offering given by the king, (an offering given by) Osiris ^g – invocation-offerings for Juridical inspector of scribes *N(j)-[s(w)]-jr(.w)*.

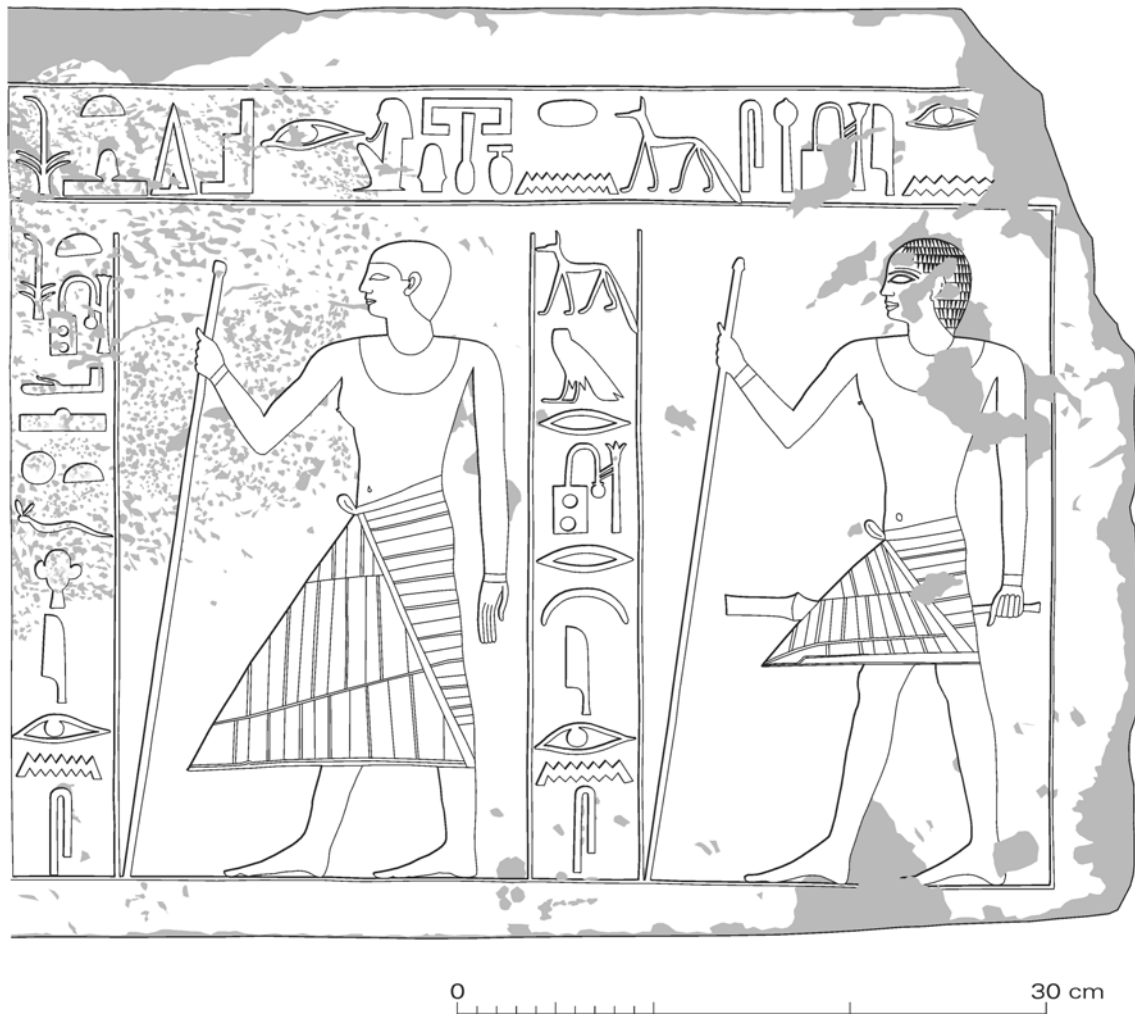


Fig.10.1

Lintel of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)*, Hermitage □18125

Inscription 10/3 is arranged vertically in front of the second from the left representation of the tomb owner (↙):

$\text{z}^3b(j)m(j)-r(3) \text{z}^{\text{š}}(.w) Pjbj-snb(.w) -$

Juridical overseer of scribes ^h *Pjbj-snb(.w)*ⁱ.

Inscription 10/4 is arranged vertically in front of the left most representation of the tomb owner (↙):

$\text{z}^3b shd \text{z}^{\text{š}}(.w) (j)r(j.w) j^{\text{c}}b N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) -$

Juridical inspector of scribes of those concerned with the Moon ⁱ *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

Inscription 10/5 is arranged vertically in front of the second from the right representation of the tomb owner (↘):

ꜥꜥ(.w) n(j)-sw.t hft-hr N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Scribe of the royal documents in the presence ^k N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w).

Inscription 10 / 6 is arranged vertically in front of the right most representation of the tomb owner (↗):

ꜥꜥ(j)m(j)-r(3) ꜥꜥ(.w) (j)r(j.w) jꜥ N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Juridical overseer of scribes of those concerned with the moon ^l N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w).

COMMENTARY

- ^a The first multi-figured lintels could appear under Neusera ³, but their overwhelming majority date to Dyn.VI and the later time ⁴.
- ^b Exceptions are rare; see for example the statue of *Pb(j)-r-ḥfr* (Louvre A.107; Saqqara NSP, early Dyn.IV)⁵, stout, but wearing a wig, and the family group Louvre A.44 (no provenance, Dyn.IV)⁶ where a man has a standard figure but no wig.⁷
- ^c This degenerated manner of rendering obesity is characteristic of the second half of Dyn.VI. Approximately in the mid reign of Pepy II the treatment of obesity becomes quite conventional⁸; rather corpulent figure of *Wr-nw* on the thickness of the entrance to his tomb (Saqqara TPC)⁹ dating to the reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II¹⁰ may be regarded as one of the latest examples of the original “naturalistic” treatment of stoutness.
- ^d *Tp(j) dw.f*, “He who is on his hill”, is one of the traditional epithets of Anubis common starting from Dyn.V¹¹ and later¹². The beginning of the offering formula is abbreviated: owing to the lack of space, *hṭp dj* is omitted in *Götterformel*.

³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 45.

⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 303–305, Tbl.4.2

⁵ PM III², 466; ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no.32.

⁶ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no.44.

⁷ On the meaning of the two types of images see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 214–260; БОЛШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 145–196.


⁸ See the lists of the monuments, HARPUR, *Decoration*, 329–330; BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 219–230; БОЛШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 152–167.

⁹ DAVIES W.V. et al., *Saqqâra Tombs I*, pl.24.

¹⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 273:380.

¹¹ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 15.

¹² BARTA, *Opferformel*, 25.

- ^e Common title ¹³ belonging to a group of juridical and scribal titles borne by the owner of the lintel ¹⁴.
- ^f Although the name is registered by RANKE ¹⁵, the spelling  is unattested by him. This form has been discovered recently ¹⁶, but the man cannot be our *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)*, for he was King's son, the title that would not be omitted on such an important element of his tomb decoration as an entrance lintel.
- ^g The beginning of the offering formula is abbreviated: owing to the lack of space, *hṯp dj* is omitted in *Götterformel*. For the same reason the name of Osiris is not accompanied by epithets. The first records of this god appear on private monuments under Isesi ¹⁷.
- ^h Another title ¹⁸ from a group of juridical and scribal titles borne by the owner of the lintel.
- ⁱ *Pjbj-snb(.w)* ¹⁹ is another name of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*. The fact that it is inscribed by the representation showing the tomb owner young and wearing a short kilt, while *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* labels both an analogous figure and representations of a stout man without a wig and wearing a long garment, demonstrates once more that there is no association between iconography and the presence of the “great” or the “young” name.
- ^j Rare title describing *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* as a high juridical official ²⁰.
- ^k The only purely scribal title ²¹ of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* not related with juridical activities.
- ^l High juridical title that seems to be unique ²².

¹³ JONES, *Index*, 814:2978.

¹⁴ See Commentaries h, j, l.

¹⁵ RANKE, *PN* I, 40:25, 174:3.

¹⁶ DOBREV, *BIFAO* 96, 109–110, fig.15.

¹⁷ EATON-KRAUSS, *V4* 3; HELCK, *MDAIK* 47, 164; BOLSHAKOV, *CdE* 67; idem., in *Mélanges Varga*. Cf. GRIFFITHS, *Origins* 1966, 67–68; GRIFFITHS, *Origins* 1980, 113–114.

¹⁸ JONES, *Index*, 803:2933.

¹⁹ RANKE, *PN* I, 132:11.

²⁰ JONES, *Index*, 814:2979. On the reading and the meaning of the title see FISCHER, *ZÄS* 105, 58–59.

²¹ JONES, *Index*, 839–840:3063.

²² Unregistered by JONES, cf. *Index*, 803.

FALSE DOOR OF *N(J)-S(W)-JR(·W)/PJPJ-SNB(·W)*

Inv. no.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1412.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 116 cm high, 68 cm wide.

CONDITION: lower left corner of the outer left jamb, upper right corner of the cornice and fragments of the torus are lost; lower left corner of the in-

ner right jamb and the lower edge of the false door are damaged.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara.

ACQUISITION HISTORY: Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, 77–78.

BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 193, 28–32.

The false door (fig.10.2, pl.XXXI) no doubt belongs to the same person:

- ◆ The owner of the false door bears the names *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* and *Pjbj-snb(.w)*. Although these names are met more than once ²³, their combination can be found only on Hermitage □18125 and CG 1412;
- ◆ The set of titles is practically the same on the two monuments; only one title recorded on the lintel is absent on the false door ²⁴;
- ◆ The formulaic inscriptions are abbreviated in the same manner on the lintel and on the false door ²⁵;
- ◆ The style of representations and hieroglyphs is identical on the lintel and on the false door.
- ◆ The quality of stone used for the lintel and the false door is the same.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The false door has a T-shaped panel ^m, two pairs of jambs, cavetto cornice and torus moulding ⁿ. Both lintels and all the four jambs bear a single line or column of fine hieroglyphs ^o. Inscriptions on the outer jambs terminate with the figures of the tomb owner sitting being determinatives to his names. A traditional table scene carved in low relief ^p and facing right is placed on the panel.

INSCRIPTIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

All the inscriptions (fig.10.2) except 10/10 and 10/11 are incised; the quality of signs is good.

Inscription 10/7 is arranged on the upper lintel and the left outer jamb (↓) ^q:

① *hṭp d(j) n(j)-sw.t (hṭp dj) Jnpw ṭp(j) dṯw.f pr(.t)-brw n jm3b.w*

② *ꜣ3b shd ꜣꜥ(.w) (j)r(j.w) jꜥh Pjbj-snb(.w) –*

²³ RANKE, *PN* I, 174:3, 132:11; *PM* III², 957:537, 964:1380–1381.

²⁴ See Commentary z.

²⁵ See Commentaries r, s.

- ① An offering given by the king, (an offering given by) Anubis Who is on his hill^r – invocation-offerings^s for the Revered^t,
- ② Juridical inspector of scribes of those concerned with the Moon *Pipj-snb(.w)*.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a man (►) sitting on a chair with lion legs^u on the supports shaped as truncated cones or pyramids standing on their wider bases^v and with a very small papyrus umbel decorating its rear part^w; a pillow covers the back of the chair^x. He wears a short wrap-around kilt and a plain broad collar, there is no wig on his head. The front hand of the man holds a staff, his back clenched fist rests on a lap.

Inscription 10/8 occupies the right outer jamb (▼►):

ꜥꜥ^c(.w) n(j)-sw.t hꜥt-ḥr ꜥꜥb(j)m(j)-rꜥ ꜥꜥ(.w)
N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Scribe of the royal documents in the presence, Juridical overseer of scribes *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

The name of the tomb owner is determined with a figure of a man (►) sitting on a chair with lion legs on the supports shaped as truncated cones or pyramids standing on their wider bases and with a very small papyrus umbel decorating its rear part; a pillow covers the back of the chair. He wears a short wrap-around kilt, a long wig exposing the ear and a plain broad collar. The front hand of the man holds a staff, his back clenched fist rests on a lap.

The panel of the false door bears a traditional table scene. The tomb owner (►) is represented as sitting on a chair with lion legs resting on the supports shaped as truncated cones or standing on their wider bases and with a very small papyrus umbel decorating its rear part; a pillow covers the back of the chair. The clenched fist of the man's front arm is to his breast, the back hand is stretched towards a one-legged table loaded with halves of loaves stylised as reeds^y. He wears a short wrap-around kilt, a long wig exposing the ear and a plain broad collar.

Above the table there is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs (◄—):

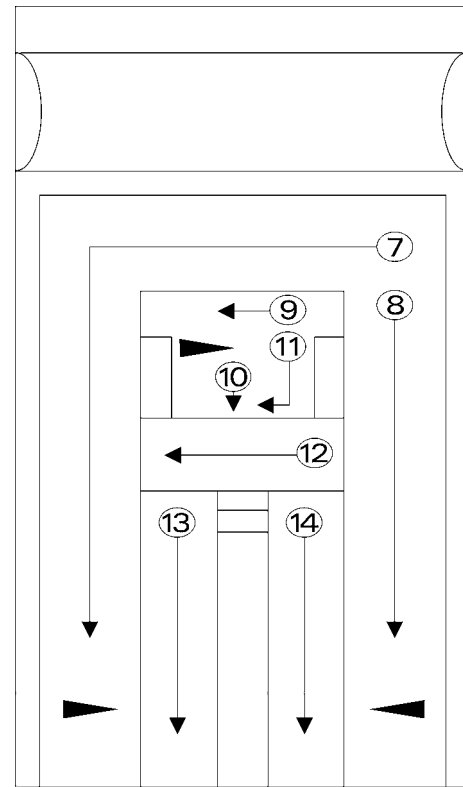


Fig.10.2

Arrangement of inscriptions on the false door of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pipj-snb(.w)*, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1412

Inscription 10/9

ꜣꜣb sꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ(.w) N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Juridical inspector of scribes *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

Between the table and the legs of the tomb owner there is a vertical column of hieroglyphs carved in low relief (↕):

Inscription 10/10

dbꜣ.t-ꜣꜣ –

Requisition of offerings.

To the right of the table there are three short horizontal lines of hieroglyphs carved in low relief (←):

Inscription 10/11

① ꜣꜣ t(3), ꜣꜣ ꜣ(n)k.t,

② ꜣꜣ k3, ꜣꜣ 3ꜣꜣ, ꜣꜣ sꜣ, ꜣꜣ mnꜣ.t –

① Thousand of bread, thousand of /vessels of/ beer,

② thousand of cattle, thousand of fowl, thousand of alabaster /vessels/, thousand of cloth.

Inscription 10/12 occupies the lower lintel (←):

ꜣꜣb sꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ(.w) N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Juridical inspector of scribes *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

Inscription 10/13 is arranged on the left inner jamb (↕):

ꜣꜣb (j)m(j)-r3 ꜣꜣ(.w) N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Juridical overseer of scribes *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

Inscription 10/14 is arranged on the right inner jamb (↗):

ꜣꜣb sꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ(.w) N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) –

Juridical inspector of scribes *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*^z.

COMMENTARY

^m T-shaped panels emerged in the mid Sixth Dynasty ²⁶. Some time ago the present author ²⁷ shared a common opinion that the false door *Ddj-pjbj* (in the mastaba of *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jꜣꜣj*, Saqqara TPC)²⁸ was the only earlier exception (the reign of

²⁶ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 18; idem., *JEA* 73, 277.

²⁷ BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 193, 33.

²⁸ JAMES, *Khentika*, pl.42.

Pepy I ²⁹). However, it is proven now that it has numerous later features ³⁰ and, thus, the rule is even harder and faster than it seemed recently.

- ⁿ Cavetto cornice and torus moulding appeared in the early to middle Dyn.V as a sign of a high status of the owner ³¹, the earliest example being *Pr-sn* <Saqqara ESP, D 45, reigns of Sahura – Neferirkara> ³². Under Neuserra these decorative elements became common in the tombs of high officials, e.g., *Pḥn-w(j)-k3(j)* <Saqqara NSP, D 70 = LS 15, reigns of Neuserra – Isesi> ³³, and turned into a universal norm only in Dyn.VI ³⁴.
- ^o False doors with two or three pairs of jambs bearing a single column of hieroglyphs each are characteristic of the reign of Pepy II and the later time, especially at Saqqara South ³⁵.
- ^p Inscriptions and representations carved in sunk relief appeared on the lintels and jambs of the false doors not earlier than under Neuserra and replaced low relief at the end of Dyn.V ³⁶. The table scene and the names of the thousands of offerings on the panel carved in the low relief (although the titles above the table are incised) is a legacy of an earlier period. However, although this combination can be found in the early Dyn.V ³⁷, it is present also on numerous much later false doors, e.g., *H3jj* <Saqqara, TPC, reign of Pepy I> ³⁸, *Ttj-snb(.w)* <in the mastaba of *Jrj.s*, Saqqara, TPC, mid to late Dyn.VI> ³⁹, and a group of false doors from the same location dated to the late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period: *Ttw* ⁴⁰, *Mrjj-r^c(w)-snb(.w)/Hk3-jb* ⁴¹; *Jpj-snb(.w)* <HMK.26> ⁴²; *Jpj-s3.s* ⁴³; *Jw.f-n-mw.t.f* ⁴⁴; *Wsr* ⁴⁵;

²⁹ NIMS, *JAOs* 58, 644–645; JAMES, *Khentika*, 1953, 13–14.

³⁰ BROVARSKI, forthcoming.

³¹ WIEBACH, *Scheintür*, 133–135; STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 15.

³² PETRIE H., MURRAY, *Seven Memphite Chapels*, pl.9; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 273:391.

³³ LD II, Bl.48; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 273:393.

³⁴ WIEBACH, *Scheintür*, 134; STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 15.

³⁵ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 17, 36.

³⁶ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 24.

³⁷ FISCHER, *OMRO* 41, 1.

³⁸ EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, pl.11; dating *ibid.*, 18–19.

³⁹ KANAWATI ET AL., *Excavations at Saqqara I*, pl.29; dating *ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁰ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.61.

⁴¹ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.64.

⁴² FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.67-2.

⁴³ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.68.

⁴⁴ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.69.

⁴⁵ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC II*, pl.70-2.

*Hrj-š.f-nbt(.w)*⁴⁶; *Htp-mr.t-ttj/Htpj*⁴⁷; *Htp-nj.t*⁴⁸; *Dw3w-htp(.w)* (HMK.37)⁴⁹; *Jtj*⁵⁰.

- ^q Huge three-dimensional false doors of Dyn.IV had protrusive upper lintels slightly hanging over the jambs; thus, inscriptions on the lintels terminated on the left with a name and/or representation (=determinative) of the tomb owner, while inscriptions on the jambs were quite independent and included another record of the name and/or another representation. The tradition of separating these inscriptions lived into the later times when the false doors were already carved from flat blocks and their lintels were spatially not separated from the jambs. Only in the late Old Kingdom the process of the false doors degradation led to the emergence of the monuments with the lintel inscription continuing on the left jamb, and with the tomb owner's name recorded only once, at the end of the vertical column. The false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* belongs to this type. However, the time of that serious turning-point in the development of the false door decoration is a problem complicated by the fact that the greater part of the degenerated false doors with the late arrangement of the inscriptions have no definite archaeological context. The false doors with the new arrangement usually have T-shaped panels⁵¹ that appeared in mid Dyn.VI. Thus, the late arrangement can hardly be earlier than the reign of Pepy II.
- ^r The name of Anubis is accompanied by the same epithet as in Inscription 1 on the Hermitage lintel and the beginning of the offering formula is abbreviated in exactly the same manner.
- ^s Abbreviated in the same manner as in Inscription 10/1 on the Hermitage lintel.
- ^t On *jm3b.w* see Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ^u This feature is not a dating criterion; however, its presence on a monument of a man not belonging to the highest officialdom or the royal family is characteristic of the second half of the Old Kingdom⁵².
- ^v This feature is not a dating criterion and occurs through the whole Old Kingdom⁵³.

⁴⁶ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.71-1, 2.

⁴⁷ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.72-1.

⁴⁸ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.72-2.

⁴⁹ FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.75; FISCHER, *ZÄS* 90, Taf.7-a.

⁵⁰ FISCHER, *ZÄS* 90, Taf.5.

⁵¹ See Commentary m. Exceptions to this rule are also possible, e.g., *N(j)-b-n(j)-sw(t)* (Saqqara NSP, S 906) (QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara* III, pl.61-1), *Hntj* (Saqqara TPC) (EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, *Excavations at Saqqara* II, pl.9).

⁵² CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 34.

⁵³ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 40.

- ^w The shape and size of this decorative element is not a reliable dating criterion, but a general tendency towards its reduction in the course of time is obvious ⁵⁴.
- ^x According to CHERPION ⁵⁵, this form of the cushion appeared under Snefru, was rare prior to Isesi, and was predominant under Unis and later. However, almost all the tombs dated by CHERPION back to the Fourth – first half of the Fifth Dynasty ⁵⁶ are actually not earlier than the reign of Neuserra.
- ◆ *N(j)-snb-snfr-w(j)/Fff* <Dahshur ENPS>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Snefru; traditional dating: Dyn.VI ⁵⁷.
 - ◆ *Snfr-w(j)-hṭp(.w)* <G 3008>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Snefru; traditional dating: Dyn.VI ⁵⁸.
 - ◆ *K3(j)-hṭf* <G 2136>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Cheops; traditional dating: mid Dyn.VI ⁵⁹.
 - ◆ *Nfr* <G 4761>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Cheops; traditional dating: reigns of Unis – Teti ⁶⁰.
 - ◆ *3b.t(j)-hṭp(.w)* <Giza WF>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Cheops; traditional dating: Dyn.VI ⁶¹.
 - ◆ *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)II* <Giza WF>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Cheops; traditional dating: Dyn.VI ⁶².
 - ◆ *Jb3*, false door found in G 4761 <KHM 7445>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Cheops; traditional dating: early Dyn.VI ⁶³. However, inscriptions are carved in low relief, which makes us prefer a somewhat earlier dating – late Dyn.V ⁶⁴.

⁵⁴ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 32–33 and especially n.31.

⁵⁵ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 30, critère 6.

⁵⁶ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 151–152.

⁵⁷ *PM III*², 892; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 279:611.

⁵⁸ *PM III*², 96; cf. HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:214 – three first decades of Pepi II. For a late date of this and the next tomb testify also the presence of the agricultural scenes on the east wall – they emerged there only in the late Dyn.V, see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, Tbl.1.

⁵⁹ *PM III*², 76; cf. HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:278 – mid reign of Pepi II. See also n.58.

⁶⁰ *PM III*², 76; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:126. For a late date testify also the presence of the list of offerings on the west wall and of the scene of the handing over of a lotus on the south wall – they emerged there only in the mid Dyn.V, see BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, Tbl.1.

⁶¹ *PM III*², 49.

⁶² *PM III*², 105; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:203.

⁶³ *PM III*², 138.

⁶⁴ See STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 24, 36.

- ◆ *Sšm(j)-nfr(w)* I <G 4940 = LG 45>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Djedefra; traditional dating: reigns of Userkaf – Neferirkara ⁶⁵.
- ◆ *Jr(j)-n-3h.t(j)/Jr(j)-n-ptb/Jrj* <Giza CF>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Mycerinus; traditional dating: Dyn.VI ⁶⁶.
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t* <Giza MPC (?); BLmK H.532>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Mycerinus; the spread of other datings is very wide ⁶⁷, but the reigns of Neusera – Isesi are the most probable option ⁶⁸.
- ◆ *Hnw* <Giza; BM 1272>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Mycerinus; traditional dating is very indefinite – Dyn.IV or later ⁶⁹, but *hpy.f hr w3.wt nfr.(w)t hpp.t jm3h.w(w) m.sn* that is present on the false door is not earlier than Dyn.V ⁷⁰.
- ◆ *Srf-k3(j)* <Sheikh Saïd 1>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Userkaf; traditional dating: reign of Isesi – early reign of Unis ⁷¹.
- ◆ *Nfr-jr.t-n.f* <Saqqara ESP, D 55>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Neferirkara; traditional dating: reigns of Isesi – Unis ⁷².
- ◆ *Wp-m-nfr.t/Wp* <Giza CF>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Neferefra; traditional dating: reigns of Neusera – Isesi ⁷³.
- ◆ *Jzj-^cnh(w)*, false door <Saqqara; BM 1383>. CHERPION's dating: reign of Neferefra; traditional dating: mid Dyn.V or later ⁷⁴.

Thus, this iconographic feature most probably emerged at the beginning of Dyn.V, but became common only under Neusera.

^y According to CHERPION ⁷⁵, this kind of stylisation appeared under Neusera – Isesi, became more common under Unis and was predominant in Dyn.VI. However, *terminus ante quem non* may be defined more exactly.

⁶⁵ PM III², 142; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:232.

⁶⁶ PM III², 250; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:28.

⁶⁷ Reign of Mycerinus (WIEDEMANN, PÖRTNER, *Altentümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, 9); mid Dyn.V (SCHÜRMANN, *Ii-nefret*, 14); reign of Merenra – early Pepi II (HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:17); Dyn.V–VI (PM III², 298).

⁶⁸ BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 115, 21–25.

⁶⁹ PM III², 306.

⁷⁰ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 17.

⁷¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 280:639.

⁷² HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:440.

⁷³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 266:56; cf. PM III², 281.

⁷⁴ PM III², 742. The false door has a torus and a cavetto cornice and, thus, it cannot be earlier than mid Dyn.V, see Commentary n).

⁷⁵ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 48, critère 20.

- ◆ *Jr(j)-n-3h.t(j)/Jr(j)-n-ptb/Jrj* <Giza CF>. CHERPION dates the tomb to the reign of Mycerinus ⁷⁶, but her dating is based only on the fact that the owner was Inspector of prophets of that king, and his tomb cannot be earlier than Dyn.VI ⁷⁷.
- ◆ *Ujj* <Saqqara NSP, D 22>. CHERPION dates the tomb to the reign of Neusera ⁷⁸. This dating is not unfeasible, but a later date, the reigns of Isesi – Unis is also possible ⁷⁹.
- ◆ *Sšm(j)-nfr(.w) IV* <Giza GIS; LG 53>. CHERPION dates the tomb to the reign of Isesi ⁸⁰. A somewhat later date, the reigns of Unis – Teti seems more probable ⁸¹.
- ◆ *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/Hnw* <Saqqara ESP, E 11>. CHERPION dates the tomb to the reign of Unis ⁸², but this is highly improbable and tomb should be dated to the mid Dyn.VI ⁸³.

Thus, this feature is most probably not earlier than the reign of Isesi.

^z Thus, the complete list of titles of *Pjpi-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* is as follows ⁸⁴:

- ◆ Juridical overseer of scribes {H₃}, {C_{2,7}};
- ◆ Juridical inspector of scribes {H_{1,2}}, {C_{3,6,8}};
- ◆ Juridical overseer of scribes of those concerned with the Moon {H₆};
- ◆ Juridical inspector of scribes of those concerned with the Moon {H₄}, {C₁};
- ◆ Scribe of the royal documents in the presence {H₅}, {C₂}.

DATING AND PROVENANCE

The lintel has been dated back to Dyn.VI–VIII ⁸⁵ and the false door to the Sixth Dynasty ⁸⁶. A more exact dating can be attained if considering both monuments together.

⁷⁶ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 170.

⁷⁷ PM III², 250; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:28.

⁷⁸ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 170.

⁷⁹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 277:543.

⁸⁰ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 170.

⁸¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:235.

⁸² CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 170.

⁸³ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 291:275; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 275:445.

⁸⁴ {H} = Hermitage □18125, {C} = CG 1412, subscribed index = number of inscription.

⁸⁵ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 13, кат.№ XI; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 283:730, 305.

⁸⁶ BORCHARDT, *DARMKI*, 77.

TYPOLOGY

- [1] The lintel of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* bears four representations of the owner, which is characteristic mainly of Dyn.VI and the later time ⁸⁷.
- [2] The combination of incised inscriptions and representations on the lintels and jambs and of the table scene on the panel carved in low relief is rather common starting from the middle of Dyn.VI ⁸⁸.
- [3] The false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* has a cavetto cornice and torus moulding, the features that became characteristic of the monuments of people of lower rank only in Dyn.VI ⁸⁹.
- [4] The false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* has a T-shaped panel, the feature that is not earlier than mid Dyn.VI ⁹⁰.
- [5] Having two pairs of jambs with a single column of hieroglyphs on each, the false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* belongs to the type characteristic of the reign of Pepy II and the later time ⁹¹.
- [6] The late arrangement of the inscription on the upper lintel and the left jamb of the false door most probably appeared under Pepy II ⁹².

ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

- [7] Corpulent figures of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* on the Hermitage lintel that do not differ much from his conventional images on the same monument are characteristic of the mid reign of Pepy II and the later period ⁹³.
- [8] The back of a chair is thrice represented as covered with a cushion on the false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*. This feature is characteristic starting from Neuserra ⁹⁴.
- [9] Halves of loaves in the table scene on the false door panel of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* stylised as panicles of reed are typical starting from Isesi ⁹⁵.

EPIGRAPHY

- [10] The epithet of Anubis “He who is on his hill” appeared in Dyn.V ⁹⁶.

⁸⁷ See Commentary a.

⁸⁸ See Commentary p.

⁸⁹ See Commentary n.

⁹⁰ See Commentary m.

⁹¹ See Commentary o.

⁹² See Commentary q.

⁹³ See Commentary c.

⁹⁴ See Commentary x.

⁹⁵ See Commentary y.

⁹⁶ See Commentary d.

[11] Osiris is mentioned in the offering formula on the lintel of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*. The first records of the name of this god on private monuments are not earlier than the reign of Isesi ⁹⁷.

[12] Basilophorous name *Pjbj-snb(.w)* gives a definite *terminus ante quem non* – the reign of Pepy I.

RELATED MONUMENTS

[13] A multi-figured lintel of *Jmpj/Špss-ptḥ* who was *w^cb^c3 Ptḥ*, Great *w^cb*-priest of Ptah, *ḥm-ntr Ptḥ*, Prophet of Ptah, *ḥr(j)-ḥ(3)b(.t)*, Lector priest, *(j)m(j)-r(3)pr*, Overseer of the house, from the former BREITBART collection was sold at the Sotheby's in New York in 1990 ⁹⁸ and resold in 2003 ⁹⁹. In many respects it is so similar to the Hermitage lintel that both monuments were most probably carved by the same hand or, at least, in the same workshop ¹⁰⁰. Another monument with the names *Jmpj/Špss-ptḥ* and a similar set of titles (with the exception of *(j)m(j)-r(3)pr*) is a false door in the former collection of Elie BOROWSKI ¹⁰¹. The quality of the work and the shapes of the hieroglyphs also leave no doubt that it belongs to the same person as the BREITBART lintel. Thus, the date of the monuments of *Jmpj/Špss-ptḥ* may be of use for dating *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.



[a] The names of the owner. Although the name *Jmpj* is rather rare, it is usually combined with *Špss-ptḥ* – a strange phenomenon ¹⁰² that deserves

⁹⁷ See Commentary g.

⁹⁸ *Sotheby's* 6045, lot 11.

⁹⁹ *Sotheby's* 7949, lot 42.

¹⁰⁰ The following features relate the two monuments:

- ◆ Similar general style and quality of carving;
- ◆ Similar garments (interchanging short and long trapezoid kilts);
- ◆ Similar attributes and ornaments (staves, *ḥrp*-batons, plain collars, bracelets);
- ◆ Similar manner of depicting corpulence;
- ◆ Similar spellings used in the offering formula (*Königsformel*, epithet of Anubis, and *prt-ḥrw*);
- ◆ Similar shape of the eye sign with the iris merged with the upper rim:  on the Hermitage lintel,  on the BREITBART lintel.

A number of features of the BREITBART lintel are different from those of the Hermitage piece:

- ◆ Five figures are represented, all facing right;
- ◆ Wigs have long radiating striated curls on top;
- ◆ Two figures have artificial beards;
- ◆ Pleating is shown only on one kilt and it is less elaborated.

However, all these differences are within a normal tolerance spread and do not call the likeness of the monuments in question.

¹⁰¹ MUSCARELLA, *Ladders to Heaven*, Cat.no.2; *Coll.Borowski*, Cat.no.138.

¹⁰² Already noticed by BROVARSKI, in *Hommages Leclant* I, 110, n.72.

some attention ¹⁰³. At this, all the monuments bearing this combination are not earlier than mid Dyn.VI:

- ◆ Mastaba at Saqqara <UPC> ¹⁰⁴. According to inscribed materials in the burial chamber, the reign of Pepy II ¹⁰⁵.
- ◆ Mastaba G 2381, shaft A, practically unpublished ¹⁰⁶, and representation in the pyramid temple of Pepy II ¹⁰⁷ (another name of the owner is *Mr(j)-ptḥ-ḥnb-mrjj-r(w)*). First half of the reign of Pepy II ¹⁰⁸, probably just before the middle of the reign ¹⁰⁹.
- ◆ Unprovenanced false door fragment in a private collection ¹¹⁰. Sotheby's dated it to Dyn.V – mid Dyn.VI, but it is hardly earlier than mid Dyn.VI (the false door is flat and the upper lintel is not separated from the jambs, although the inscription on the left jamb does not continue that on the upper lintel, cf. Feature (6) above).
- ◆ Statue Louvre A.108 = N.113 <Saqqara (?)> ¹¹¹. Second half of Dyn.VI ¹¹².
- ◆ Stela Louvre C.160 <Naga ed-Deir (?)>, the son of the owner ¹¹³. Late Dyn.VI ¹¹⁴.
- ◆ Coffin found in the tomb of *Nnkej* <Meir E.2> ¹¹⁵. First Intermediate Period ¹¹⁶.

(b) The lintel of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* is multi-figured – cf. Feature (1) of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.

¹⁰³ Cf. also an interesting combination *Špss/Jmpj*, *Špss* probably being an abbreviation of *Špss-ptḥ* <Naga ed-Deir N 67, late Old Kingdom> (MASPERO, *RecTrav* 13, 72).

¹⁰⁴ FIRTH, *ASAE* 30, 187; FISCHER, *MIO* 7, 304, n.9.

¹⁰⁵ FIRTH, *ASAE* 30, 187 (cf. *PM III*², 626 – Dyn.VI).

¹⁰⁶ *PM III*², 91–92; BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, 33–34.

¹⁰⁷ JÉQUIER, *Pepi II II*, pl.46.

¹⁰⁸ BROVARSKI, *Giza Mastabas VII*, 34.

¹⁰⁹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 96–97.

¹¹⁰ *Sotheby's* 6320, lot 34 (also mentioned as having appeared at the art market in New York in 1988, BROVARSKI, in *Hommages Leclant I*, 110, n.72).

¹¹¹ ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, Cat.no.33.

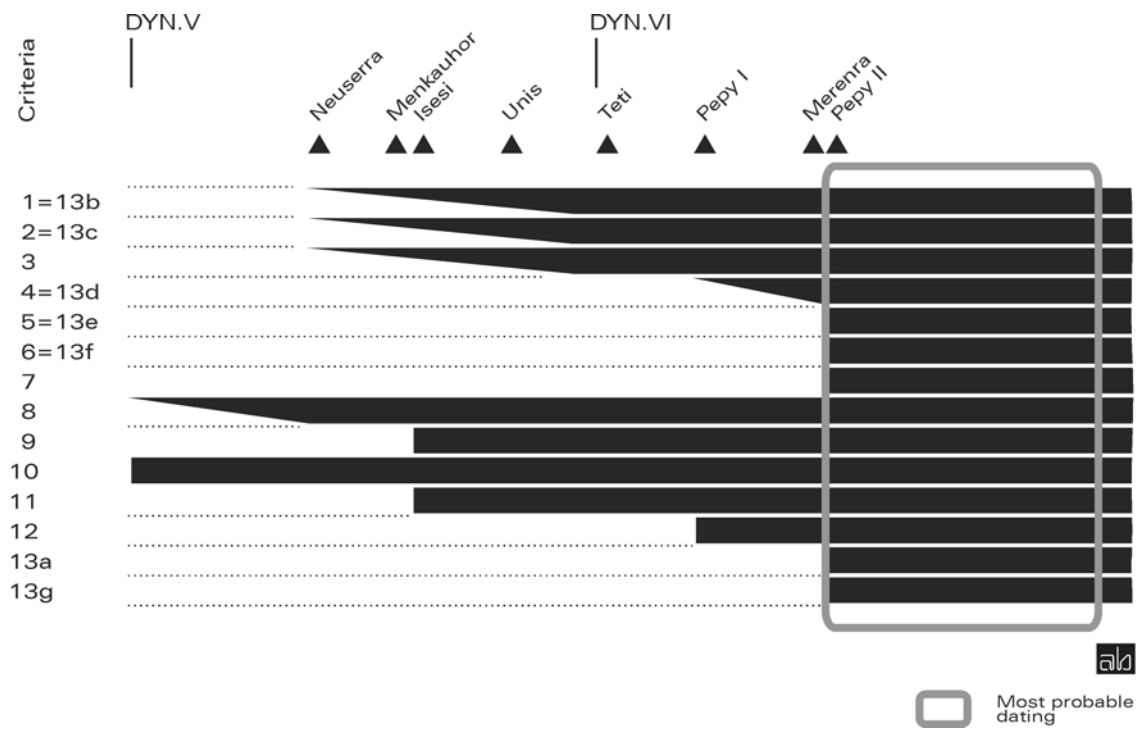
¹¹² ZIEGLER, *Les statues égyptiennes*, 120.

¹¹³ ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, Cat.no.31; BROVARSKI, in *Hommages Leclant I*, fig.5.

¹¹⁴ ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 194, 196.

¹¹⁵ KAMAL, *ASAE* 13, 175.

¹¹⁶ LAPP, *Typologie*, 96, 290 (M52).

Dating of the tomb of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)*

- [c] The inscriptions and representations on the jambs and lintels of the false door of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* are carved in sunk relief – cf. Feature [2] of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.
- [d] The panel of the false door of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* is T-shaped – cf. Feature [4] of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.
- [e] The jambs of the false door of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* bear a single column of inscription – cf. Feature [5] of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.
- [f] The inscriptions on both upper and lower lintel of the false door of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* are continued on the outer left and inner left jambs, respectively – cf. Feature [6] of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*.
- [g] The record of the thousands of offerings is placed on the panel of the false door of *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* above the table scene, which is a feature characteristic of Saqqara South under Pepy II ¹¹⁷.

The dating based on these criteria is exact enough (fig.10.3). Although Features [8] and [10] are as early as the beginning of Dyn.V, most characteristics of the lintel and the false door of *Pjbj-snb(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)* are much later. Features [1–3] can be seen in the second half of Dyn.V, but they became widespread only in Dyn.VI. Features

¹¹⁷ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 21.

[9] and [11] are not older than the reign of Isesi. Feature [4] occurs first under Pepy I but is rare before Pepy II. The name *Pjbj* being an element of *Pjbj-snb(.w)* (Feature [12]) may be that of both Pepy I and II. Features [5–7] are unequivocally characteristic of the reign of Pepy II and the later time. Thus, all these features can be present in the same tomb only starting from Pepy II. The monuments of *Špss-ptb/Jmpj* have the same characteristics: their Features [13b–f] are identical to [1–2, 4–6], while the *terminus ante quem non* for the Features [13a] and [13g] is also the reign of Pepy II. The upper chronological border can be hardly defined at the present level of our knowledge of the late Old Kingdom, but an extraordinary quality of the monuments makes their dating to the time after Pepy II highly improbable. Thus, the reign of Pepy II is the most plausible date of the lintel and the false door of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)*. The dating of the monuments of *Špss-ptb/Jmpj* that must be practically synchronous to those of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* also becomes more exact, and the supposition of the Sotheby's that the Hermitage lintel dates back to the early Dyn.VI ¹¹⁸ should be rejected.

Feature [13g] supports BORCHARDT's statement on the provenance of the false door of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* from Saqqara and allows us to attribute the four discussed monuments to a smaller locality – Saqqara South. The above comparison of four monuments of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* and *Špss-ptb/Jmpj* makes it possible to suppose that a number of masters lived at Saqqara South under Pepy II, who created monuments of exceptional quality standing out against the general background of the decay of artistic tradition characteristic of the period. It is very tempting to relate these masters to the royal workshop engaged in decorating the pyramid temples of Pepy II. If this is really how matters stand, the dating of these monuments may be with a high probability constricted to the second – third decades of Pepy II when the decoration of his pyramid temples was basically completed ¹¹⁹.

THE IDENTITY OF *N(J)-S(W)-JR(W)/PJPJ-SNB(.W)* (?)

With this dating and reconstructed location of the tomb of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjbj-snb(.w)* it is very possible that he is identical with a certain *Pjbj-snb(.w)* represented as greeting Pepy II in the pyramid temple of the latter ¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ Sotheby's 6045, lot 11; Sotheby's 7949, lot 42.

¹¹⁹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 64–65.

¹²⁰ JÉQUIER, *Pepi II* III, pl. 30–31.

11. Lintel of ꜥnh(.w)-ḥ3.f

INV. NO.: □18115.

DATE: Late Old Kingdom.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 41 cm long, 8–11 cm high, 8,5 cm thick.

CONDITION: Local longitudinal exfoliation of stone.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded; probably Giza.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at the antiquities dealer ALI ABD EL-HAJ at Giza ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 10, кат.№ 1/4.

RELATED MONUMENT:

False door of *Jn(j)-k3.f* (JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb. 78–79) could be made for him by ꜥnh(.w)-ḥ3.f.

DESCRIPTION

Limestone lintel with hieroglyphs of irregular sizes and rather clumsy shapes; the inscription is framed by an incised line (fig.11.1, pl.XXXII).

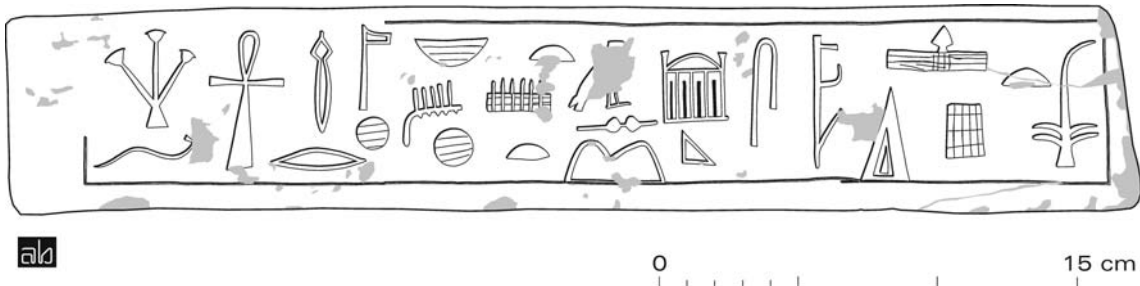


Fig.11.1

Lintel of ꜥnh(.w)-ḥ3.f, Hermitage □18115

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs are arranged in vertical columns (↱↴) without separators ^a.

ḥtp dj (nj)-sw.t krs m smj.t (j)mn.t.t nb jm3ḥ ḥr nṯr ʕ3 ꜥnh(.w)-ḥ3.f –

An offering given by the king ^b – a burial ^c in the western ^d desert ^e /as/ a Lord of reverence ^f with the Elder God ^g – /for/ ꜥnh(.w)-ḥ3.f ^h.











¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111, rev., and Introduction to the present book. The lintel is not mentioned in PEREPOLKIN's memorandum as a separate entry, but on the page where the provenances of most of Old Kingdom monuments are recorded, he says that "all other stones were bought at the antiquarian ALI in Cairo <in> 1908" (original in Russian).

COMMENTARY

- ^a This arrangement appeared on the false doors of late Dyn.III (e.g., *H^c(j)-b3.w-ḥkr/H_{ts}* <CG 1385; Saqqara NSP, A 2 = S 3073²) and was rather common in Dyn.IV – first half of Dyn.V (e.g., *Šrjj* <CG 1384; Saqqara NSP, B 3, Dyn.IV³; *Rwd-k3(j)* <BM 1268; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.IV or later⁴; *Mrjj* <MMA 67.50; Giza, mid Dyn.IV⁵; *Mr(j)-s(j)-ḥnb(.w) III* <G7530+7540, reign of Shepseskaf⁶; *Jwffj* <BM 130; Giza, Dyn.IV or later⁷; *Nfr-sšm-ḥw(j).f-w(j)* <BM 1282; Giza [?], Dyn.IV or later⁸; *K3.w-n(j)-sw.t* <Giza CF, reigns of Shepseskaf – Userkaf [?]⁹; *Htp-sš3.t/Htj* <G 5150 = LG 36, reigns of Userkaf – Sahura¹⁰; *N(j)-sw(.t)-nfr(.w)* <G 4970, reigns of Userkaf – Sahura¹¹; *K3(j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I* <G 2155, reigns of Userkaf – Neferirkara¹²; *K3(j)-tp(j)* <BM 1174+1288, FM 31709; Giza [?], Dyn.V¹³).¹⁴ In the developed Dyn.V – first half of Dyn.VI it became less frequent, in percentage terms if not absolutely (e.g., *Htp-nb(.w)*, wife of *D3d3(j)-m-ḥnb II* <CG 1415; Saqqara NSP, D 11, reigns of Neferefra – Neusera [?]¹⁵; *K3(j)-m-tnn.t* <CG 1456; Saqqara, Dyn.V¹⁶; *Nfr-ḥw(j).f-w(j)* <RMO 1939/2.1; Giza, Dyn.V¹⁷; *Nfr-jhjj* <Giza WF, end of V or later¹⁸; *Sn(j)-wḥm* <MFA 27.444; G 2132, early Dyn.VI or later¹⁹; *Nw* [?] <Giza WF, Dyn.V – VI²⁰; *3ḥw* <Giza WF, Dyn.V–VI²¹; *N(j)-*

- ² MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl.1; BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.10; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 275:470.
- ³ BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.10; dating PM III², 490.
- ⁴ *Hiero.Texts I*², pl.8-4; dating PM III², 308.
- ⁵ FISCHER, *Varia*, 29, fig.2, pl.7, fig.5; dating *ibid.*, 27.
- ⁶ DUNHAM, SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas I*, fig.6; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:98.
- ⁷ *Hiero.Texts I*², pl.14; dating PM III², 306.
- ⁸ *Hiero.Texts I*², pl.11-1; dating PM III², 307.
- ⁹ HASSAN, *Giza II*, fig.86; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:274.
- ¹⁰ JUNKER, *Giza II*, Abb.28; KANAWATI, *Giza II*, pl.45; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:230.
- ¹¹ JUNKER, *Giza III*, Abb.27; KANAWATI, *Giza II*, pl.53; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:145.
- ¹² JUNKER, *Giza II*, Abb.18; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:265.
- ¹³ *Hiero.Texts I*², pl.5-2,3; FISCHER, *Varia*, 33, fig.9, 36–37, fig.12, pl.11, fig.20; for dating see FISCHER, *Varia*, 37.
- ¹⁴ Similarly arranged inscriptions on the lintels and drums of the tomb entrances are characteristic mainly of Dyn.IV – early Dyn.V, HARPUR, *Decoration*, 47, 306, Tbl.4.4.
- ¹⁵ BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.19; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 277:541.
- ¹⁶ BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.35; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:528.
- ¹⁷ FISCHER, *OMRO 41*, pl.15; FISCHER, *Reversals*, fig.65; dating FISCHER, *OMRO 41*, 1.
- ¹⁸ ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.27, 28; dating PM III², 50.
- ¹⁹ FISCHER, *Varia*, 47, fig.14, pl.15, fig.15; dating *ibid.*, 50.
- ²⁰ JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb.17; dating PM III², 114.
- ²¹ ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.73-a; dating PM III², 62.

wd3-ptb <Giza WF, Dyn.V–VI>²²; *Z3-nbn* <Giza WF, Dyn.VI>²³; *Dmg* <Giza WF, Dyn.VI>²⁴; *Nfr-htp.s-wr(.t)* <PennUM E 13519; G 3098, Dyn.VI>²⁵, *ꜥnh* <PennUM E 13528; G 3094, Dyn.VI>²⁶²⁷. As it is obvious from the above list, the datings of some of these false doors are indefinite and they may belong to either the earlier or the later period. Some late Old Kingdom monuments (*Jt(w)-b3b3*²⁸ <JE 56994; no provenance, middle to late Dyn.VI>²⁹; *Pth-wr(.w)* <Giza WF, end of Dyn.VI – Dyn.VIII>³⁰; *Jn(j)-k3.f* <Giza WF>³¹) also have this feature; at Giza it can be one of numerous archaisms characteristic of that necropolis.³²

- ^b The order of signs in the beginning of the offering formula, , is far from normative and  may be considered belonging either to (*nj*)-*sw.t* or to *htp*. The first option is more probable due to a traditional relative position of  and , but the order of signs  is uncommon either.
- ^c The spelling of the word *kers* with the sign  after the determinative  is no doubt a mistake of the scribe, both bad and unusual³³. With such a corrupted spelling it is impossible to speculate on the grammatical form used³⁴.
- ^d Defective spelling of *jmn.t.t* as . The first *t*, however, may belong to *ꜣmj.t*.
- ^e Defective spelling with  instead of .

²² ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.95-a; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:109.

²³ JUNKER, *Giza* V, Abb.57; dating PM III², 103.

²⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* V, Abb.58; dating PM III², 104.

²⁵ FISHER, *Minor Cemetery*, pl.47-1; dating PM III², 99.

²⁶ FISHER, *Minor Cemetery*, pl.52-2; dating PM III², 97.

²⁷ Cf. also a drum of a false door of *Ztw* <CG 1495, no provenance>, BORCHARDT, *DARMKI*, Bl.43; the dating is problematic – on the one hand, the drum is long and thick, which seems to testify for an earlier part of the Old Kingdom, but, on the other hand, the signs are carved too inaccurately for the period of prosperity – can it be an archaizing late Old Kingdom monument?

²⁸ First correctly read by PEREPELKIN (ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Частная собственность*, 41 = PEREPELKIN, *Privat-eigentum*, 79); on the interpretation of the name see БЕРЛЕВ, *Общественные отношения*, 28–29. Cf. *Tefnen*, in LUCAS, ROWE, *ASAE* 41, 348, the reading accepted in PM III², 69, and *Tf-b3j*, GOED-ICKE, *Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 182–183.

²⁹ BAKIR, *Slavery*, pl.1; the dating is based on numerous epigraphic and stylistic features, cf. GOED-ICKE, *Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 183.


³⁰ JUNKER, *Giza* VI, 242; dating HARPUR, *Decoration*, 266:75.

³¹ JUNKER, *Giza* IX, Abb.78; for dating see below, Another Monument Related with ꜥnh(.w)-h3.f[?].

³² Cf. unprovenanced false door of *Jrjj* <CG 1512, First Intermediate Period> (BORCHARDT, *DARMKI*, Bl.45); although BORCHARDT (*ibid.*, 217) dated the false door to the Middle Kingdom, it has no features definitely testifying for such a late dating.

³³ Cf. LAPP, *Opferformel*, 39.

³⁴ However, see for *kers/kers.t* as a designation of burial *Wb* V, 64:5-7; *ÄgWb* I, 1340:34554, 47797.

- ^f On *jm3ḥ(.w)* see Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ^g Abnormal order of signs  with *br* after *ntr* 3. On *ntr* 3 see Cat.no.5, Commentary k.
- ^h Although the name *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f*³⁵ is not very common³⁶, it can be found on the monuments from Dyn.IV through the whole Old Kingdom and later³⁷. Interestingly, it occurs almost exclusively at Giza, thus being a local tradition (but cf. late Old Kingdom exceptions at Meir³⁸ and Naga ed-Deir³⁹).

DATING AND PROVENANCE

- ◆ Inaccurately carved hieroglyphs and a number of defective or unusual spellings⁴⁰ may be regarded as testifying for a late dating, although some of them may be a result of a low qualification of the master;
- ◆ The arrangement of hieroglyphs in vertical columns without separators, a feature that can be seen on archaised late Old Kingdom monuments at Giza⁴¹ does not contradict the above features of the inscription.

Thus, the lintel most probably must be dated to late Old Kingdom, perhaps to the second half of Dyn.VI or later, while the name of its owner makes Giza the most probable location of his unknown tomb⁴².

ANOTHER MONUMENT RELATED WITH *ḥNB(.W)-Ḥ3.F* (?)

A search for other monuments of *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f* is greatly hindered by the absence of his titles on the Hermitage lintel. Thus, it must be based on purely epigraphic features, which, if taken alone, is not a very dependable method. However, the spellings and the shapes of the signs on most of the monuments bearing the name *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f*⁴³ are so different from ours that there is no need to discuss them here. Only a badly fragmented false door found in the course of JUNKER's excavations at the West Field of Giza, by the mastaba S 4031/4033, may be, although not without a great deal of doubts, associated with him (fig.11.2). Unfortunately, its photograph has never been reproduced

³⁵ RANKE, *PN I*, 65:22.

³⁶ *PM III*², 60, 67, 108, 257 (and also more than once in the tomb of his son, HASSAN, *Giza III*, 119–129), 275, 306; *PM VIII*, 277; JUNKER, *Giza II*, Abb.17; HASSAN, *Giza I*, 67 + pl.44-a.

³⁷ E.g., DARESSY, *ASAE* 15, fig.6.

³⁸ KAMAL, *ASAE* 15, 224; BLACKMAN, *Meir IV*, pl.15.

³⁹ LUTZ, *Tomb Steles*, pl.25–27.

⁴⁰ See Commentaries b-e, g.

⁴¹ See Commentary a.

⁴² Commentary h; see also below, Another Monument Related with *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f* (?).

⁴³ See Commentary h.

and the quality of the line drawings published ⁴⁴ demands for better.

The false door was made for Him belonging to the baby king ⁴⁵, Overseer of craftsmen, Overseer of craftsmen of weaving (?) *Jn(j)-k3.f* by his son, He belonging to the baby king, Inspector of craftsmen, Inspector of craftsmen of [the worksho]p, Secretary, Sec[retary] of the king's workshop *ʿnh(.w)-h3.f*, who placed a dedicatory inscription and several representations of himself on it.

The false door obviously dates back to the end of the Old Kingdom:

- ◆ It was found in the area occupied by late Old Kingdom tombs;
- ◆ The figures of the owner both on the panel and the jambs are thin and elongated in conformity with the rules of the second style of the Old Kingdom;
- ◆ Some constructive and decorative features of the false door can be also regarded as late:

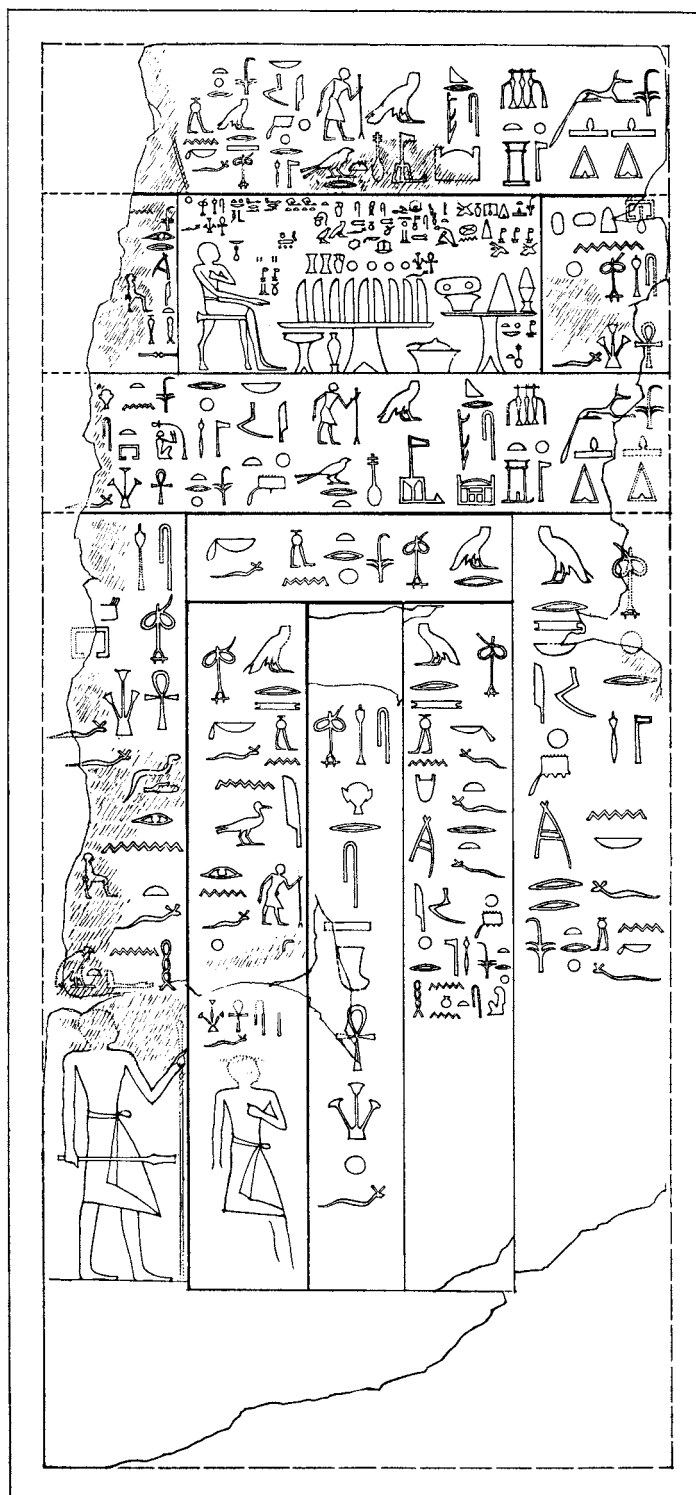


Fig.11.2

False door of *Jn(j)-k3.f* (after JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb.78)

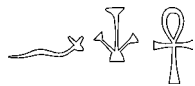
⁴⁴ JUNKER, *Giza IX*, Abb.78–79.

⁴⁵ See Cat.no.17, Commentary f.

- The panel and its lateral apertures are very wide, occupying the whole width of the false door; the apertures bear inscriptions;
- The table on the panel is very large as compared with a frail figure of the owner;
- Besides the table loaded with halves of loaves, another table with various goods is represented on the panel;
- Inscriptions on the panel are more numerous than in the classical Old Kingdom;
- Inscriptions on the both lintels are arranged in vertical columns without separators which does not contradict a late dating ⁴⁶.

Thus, the Hermitage lintel and the false door of *Jn(j)-k3.f* have three common characteristics: the name *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f*, the date, and the arrangement of inscriptions in columns. It is very tempting to suppose that the lintel came from an unknown tomb of the son of *Jn(j)-k3.f*, the more so that some epigraphic features are also similar:

ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f *Jn(j)-k3.f*



ḥ has no phonetic complements in the name *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f* both on his lintel and six times of seven on the false door of *Jn(j)-k3.f*;

ḥ is very wide both on the lintel of *ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f* and six times of seven on the false door of *Jn(j)-k3.f*.

Of course, all these features, important as they are, are not decisive enough for a definite identification. Moreover, some other features seem to contradict this identification:

ḥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f



The second barb is bent at almost a right angle;

Jn(j)-k3.f

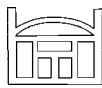


The second barb is almost straight;

⁴⁶ Cf. Commentary a.



The inner details are different from those on the false door of *Jn(j)-k3.f*;



The inner details are different from those on the lintel of ꜥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f;



The ribs are represented separately;



The outline of the sign is closed;



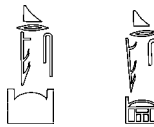
The upper loop is abnormally small;



The upper loop has a normal size (numerous examples, see above);



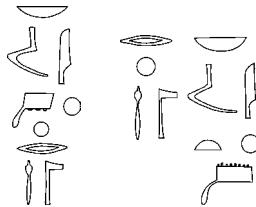
The word is spelled with an abnormal order of signs;



The word is twice spelled with a normal order of signs;



The word combination is spelled less completely than on the false door of *Jn(j)-k3.f* and with an abnormal order of signs;



The word combination is twice spelled much more completely and the order of signs in it is much more normative than on the lintel of ꜥnb(.w)-ḥ3.f.

However, these arguments *contra* are not decisive either because the false door and the lintel could be separated by some time and executed by different masters. Thus, the identification remains probable but not provable.

12. Lintel Fragment of *Mrrw*

Inv. no.: □ 2953.

DATE: Late Dyn.VI.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 33 cm long, 20,5 cm high, 7 cm thick.

CONDITION: Upper part erroded, surface locally weathered.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded; probably Saqqara South.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1909 – Acquired by TURAEV in Egypt;

1920 – Acquired by the Hermitage with the collection of TURAEV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ТУРАЕВ, ФАРМАКОВСКИЙ, *ЗКОИРАО* 6, 2, № 12, табл.I.

СТРУВЕ, *Этуды*, 271, 293, кат.№ 2.

DESCRIPTION

The right half of a limestone lintel with two representations of a tomb owner (►) carved in sunk relief occupying its whole surface (fig.12.1, pl.XXXIII). Inscriptions are placed along the upper edge of the lintel (Inscription 12/1, ◀) and between the representations (Inscriptions 12/2–4, ◀↓). The left half of the lintel is sawn off in modern times, the upper line of inscription being incomplete and the separation line under it being interrupted by the new edge of the slab; however, strangely enough, the separation line under the figures does not continue to the left of Inscription 12/4.

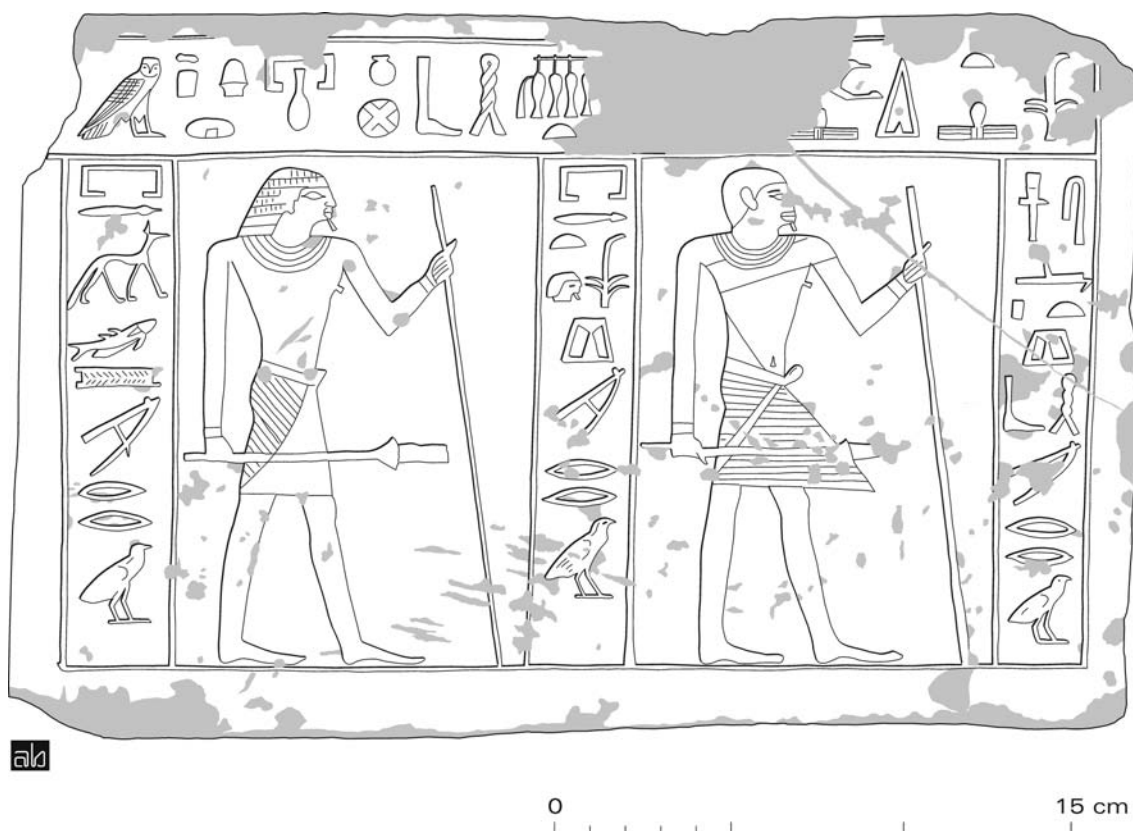


Fig.12.1

Lintel fragment of *Mrrw*, Hermitage □2953

REPRESENTATIONS

The right representation of the tomb owner shows him as wearing a short trapezoidal kilt, a sash of a lector priest, a small artificial beard, a broad collar and bracelets but no wig; in his hands he holds a staff and a *hrp* baton. At the left he is depicted in a short wrap-around kilt and a long wig reaching his shoulders and leaving the crudely outlined ear exposed; he is decorated with a small artificial beard, a broad collar and bracelets; in his hands he also holds a staff and a *hrp* baton. Features of the both faces are treated schematically.

INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription 12/1 occupies the horizontal line along the upper edge of the lintel (←):

hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t hṭp (dj) Jnpw [Hr(w)] bnt(j) Hbnw pr.t-hrw m --- –

An offering given by the king, an offering (given) by Anubis ^a /and/ [Horus] Foremost of *Hbnw* ^b – invocation-offerings at --- ^c.

Inscription 12/2 is arranged vertically in front of the right representation of the tomb owner (↕):

smr w^c.t(j) hr(j)-b(3)b(.t) Mrrw –

Sole companion ^d, lector priest ^e *Mrrw* ^f.

Inscription 12/3 is arranged vertically in front of the left representation of the tomb owner (↕):

hr(j)-tp n(j)-sw.t pr ^c3 Mrrw –

King's chamberlain of the Great House ^g *Mrrw*.

Inscription 12/4 is arranged vertically behind the left representation of the tomb owner (↕):

z3b ^cd mr pr ^c3 Mrrw –

Juridical ^c*d mr* official of the Great House ^h *Mrrw*.

COMMENTARY

^a The name of Anubis is omitted in TURAEV's translation ¹, although it is discernible even on a very bad and small photograph published by him ².

^b *Hbnw* was a capital of the 16th nome of Upper Egypt, although an exact location of the city is still subject of controversy ³. As a place of a fight of Horus and Seth,

¹ ТУРАЕВ, ФАРМАКОВСКИЙ, *ЗКОИРАО* 6, 2, № 12.

² ТУРАЕВ, ФАРМАКОВСКИЙ, *ЗКОИРАО* 6, pl.I.

³ See GAUTHIER, *Noms géographiques* IV, 25; VARILLE, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 29–32; GARDINER, *Onomastica* II, 382; MONTET, *Géographie* II, 158–159; GOMAA, in *LÄ* II, 1075–1076; ZIBELIUS, *Siedlungen*,

it was of importance for Egyptian mythology, various hypostases of its local god, Horus of *Ḥbnnw*, having been worshiped throughout Egypt in Greco-Roman period ⁴. However, in the Old Kingdom the only designation of the local Horus was *Ḥr(w) ḥnt(j) Ḥbnnw*, Horus Foremost of *Ḥbnnw* ⁵, and, as contrary to the later times, no other gods were related with the locality ⁶. Thus, only the name of Horus can be reconstructed in the lacuna in which it fits exactly (𓇨𓇳𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽𓵾𓵿𓶀𓶁𓶂𓶃𓶄𓶅𓶆𓶇𓶈𓶉𓶊𓶋𓶌𓶍𓶎𓶏𓶐𓶑𓶒𓶓𓶔𓶕𓶖𓶗𓶘𓶙𓶚𓶛𓶜𓶝𓶞𓶟𓶠𓶡𓶢𓶣𓶤𓶥𓶦𓶧𓶨𓶩𓶪𓶫𓶬𓶭𓶮𓶯𓶰𓶱𓶲𓶳𓶴𓶵𓶶𓶷𓶸𓶹𓶺𓶻𓶼𓶽𓶾𓶿𓷀𓷁𓷂𓷃𓷄𓷅𓷆𓷇𓷈𓷉𓷊𓷋𓷌𓷍𓷎𓷏𓷐𓷑𓷒𓷓𓷔𓷕𓷖𓷗𓷘𓷙𓷚𓷛𓷜𓷝𓷞𓷟𓷠𓷡𓷢𓷣𓷤𓷥𓷦𓷧𓷨𓷩𓷪𓷫𓷬𓷭𓷮𓷯𓷰𓷱𓷲𓷳𓷴𓷵𓷶𓷷𓷸𓷹𓷺𓷻𓷼𓷽𓷾𓷿𓸀𓸁𓸂𓸃

- ^c A list of festivals had to follow ¹⁸. Another theoretically permissible option is *m Ḥbnw*, “in *Ḥbnw*”, as in *N(j)-ḥnb-pjpj/Ḥnm(w)-ḥtp(.w)/Ḥpj* (ZM 14)¹⁹, but in the light of the most probable provenance of the lintel ²⁰ this reconstruction is nonsensical.
- ^d The title ²¹ had to be purely honorific in the late Old Kingdom.
- ^e The title ²² accompanies the figure of the owner wearing a sash of a lector priest.
- ^f The understanding of the name ²³ is equivocal: either *Mrr.w* – “Beloved”, or *Mrr-w(j)* – an abbreviated form of *Mrr-w(j)* + god’s name – “Such and such god loves me”; thus, its structure is not reconstructed in transliteration.
- ^g The title ²⁴ is a qualifying variant of a more common *ḥr(j)-tp n(j)-sw.t*.
- ^h The meaning of the title ²⁵ remains rather vague.

PROVENANCE AND DATING

The first thought that comes to mind at the sight of a record of [Horus] Foremost of *Ḥbnw* is that the lintel fragment came from Zawyet el-Mayetin, the place where this epithet was most natural and most common in the Old Kingdom ²⁶. However, the name *Mrrw* is not attested there. Of course, it is not surprising if considering the degree of devastation of the necropolis and its inadequate publications, but multi-figured lintels are not characteristic of rock-cut tombs, not to mention that a lintel hewn of a separate block of stone would be absolutely useless there. However, Horus Foremost of *Ḥbnw* is recorded besides Zawyet el-Mayetin also in the burial chamber of *Ppj* at Saqqara South (NEPII, N.IV, late Dyn.VI ²⁷) – *...jm3ḥ(.w) ḥr Ḥr(w) ḥnt(j) Ḥbnw...*, “...Revered at Horus Foremost of *Ḥbnw*...” ²⁸, which makes us consider this cemetery another possible provenance of the Hermitage lintel.

¹⁸ So already TURAЕV, in ТУРАЕВ, ФАРМАКОВСКИЙ, *ЗКОИРАО* 6, 2, № 12.

¹⁹ See n.11.

²⁰ See below, Provenance and Dating.

²¹ JONES, *Index*, 892:3268.

²² JONES, *Index*, 781:2848.

²³ RANKE, *PN I*, 162:26.

²⁴ JONES, *Index*, 789:2878.

²⁵ JONES, *Index*, 806–807:2948.

²⁶ Since TURAЕV regarded the titles of *Mrrw* as having been especially characteristic of the Hermopolite nome (which is not true, for they are too common), he was of the same opinion (ТУРАЕВ, ФАРМАКОВСКИЙ, *ЗКОИРАО* 6, 2, № 12).

²⁷ *PM III*², 677.

²⁸ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig.118; *Urk.I*, 262:13.

Although the tomb of *Ppj* is a unique evidence of veneration of Horus Foremost of *Hbnw* in the capital region, Saqqara South offers some close analogies to our lintel ²⁹.

- ◆ A fragmented lintel of *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)* found by JÉQUIER in the pyramid temple of Pepy II ³⁰ and dating to the end of Dyn.VI is very similar to that of *Mrrw* (fig.12.2). At least four figures of the owner are separated by columns of his titles, the main difference being the absence of the offering-formula in a horizontal line. The dress and the attributes of *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)* are also the same (only the beard is absent), as well as the style of the representations.

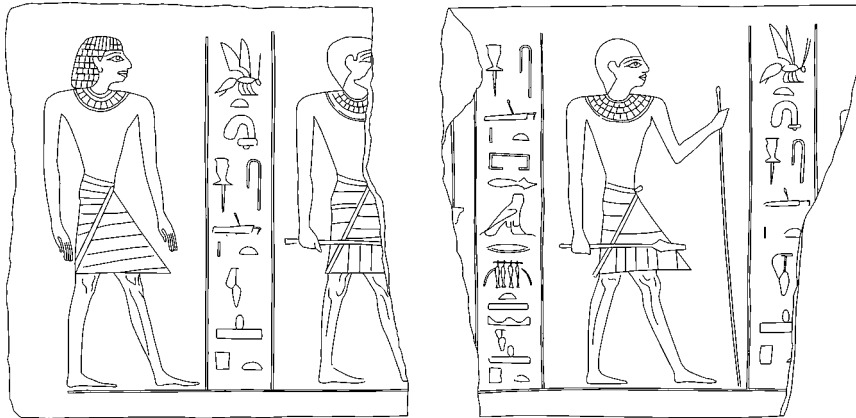


Fig.12.2
Lintel fragment of
Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)
(redrawn after
JÉQUIER, *Pepi II III*,
fig.25)

- ◆ A synchronous fragment of a lintel of *Šm3* (fig.12.3), also from the pyramid temple of Pepy II ³¹, differs by the presence of a figure of his wife and by a less ordered arrangement of inscriptions; however, the general impression produced by the object is the same.
- ◆ A lintel bearing three figures of its owner *Jzṯj* (Saqqara NEII, N.I, end of Dyn. VI ³²) ³³ with a column of hi-

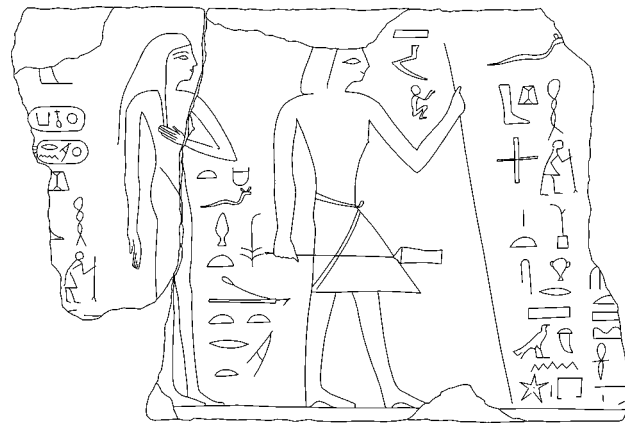


Fig.12.3
Lintel fragment of *Šm3*
(redrawn after JÉQUIER, *Pepi II III*, fig.26)

²⁹ It deserves some attention that *Ppj*, like *Mrrw*, was Sole Companion and King's chamberlain.

³⁰ JÉQUIER, *Pepi II III*, fig.25.

³¹ JÉQUIER, *Pepi II III*, fig.26.

³² *PM III*², 677.

³³ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig.98.

eroglyphs in front of each of them is not only another good analogy, but also a monument most probably revealing the function of such lintels: it is placed over a small false door of *Jzjtj* that, in its turn, has four small figures of hers on the upper part of the outer framing (fig.12.4).

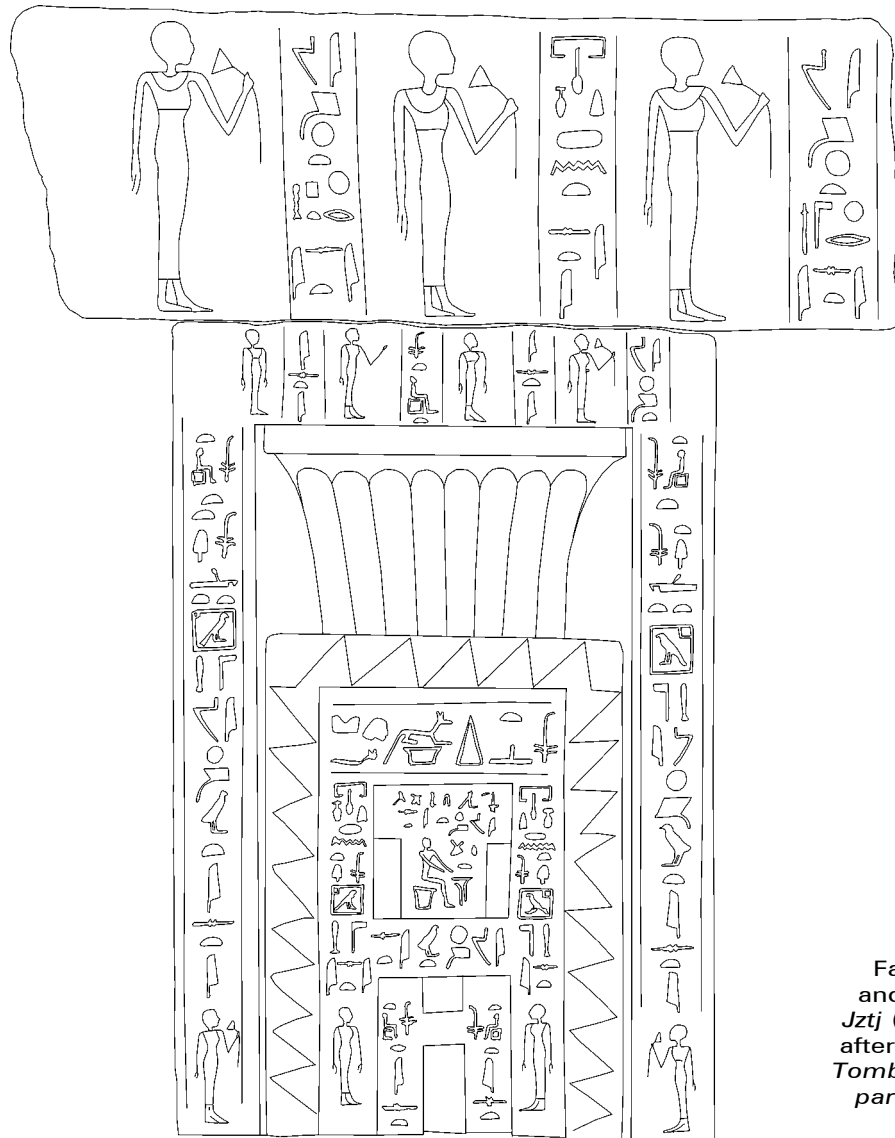


Fig.12.4
False door
and lintel of
Jzjtj (redrawn
after JÉQUIER,
*Tombeaux de
particuliers*,
fig.98)

Thus, it is very probable that the tomb of *Mrrw* was also placed at Saqqara South, and, like those of *Ppj*, *Hnm(w)-hṭp(.w)*, *Šmꜣ*, and *Jzjtj* it must be dated to the end of Dyn.VI.

13. Jamb Fragment of Ššj

INV. NO.: □18119.

DATE: Late Old Kingdom – early First Intermediate Period.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 109 cm high, 20 cm wide (inscribed surface 15 cm wide), 7–10 cm thick.

CONDITION: Rejoined from two fragments; both upper and lower parts are lost.

PROVENANCE: Matariya – Heliopolis.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV either in St. Petersburg or in Cairo ¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 12–13, кат.№ VI.

RELATED MONUMENTS: Obelisks CG 17001, 17002 (DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 211–212; KUENTZ, *Obélisques*, 7–8, pl.2–3; HABACHI, *Obelisk*, Abb.33; RAUE, *Heliopolis*, 471, 489; QUIRKE, *Cult of Ra*, ill.69 /only CG17002/).

DESCRIPTION ¹

Fragment of the left (judged by the orientation of the inscription) jamb of an entrance to a tomb bearing a single vertical column of deeply, to 1 cm incised hieroglyphs (↙↘) (fig.13.1, pl.XXXIV).

OTHER MONUMENTS OF ŠŠj AND THE PROVENANCE OF THE HERMITAGE JAMB

In 1916, a group of tombs of the High Priests of Heliopolis was discovered at Matariya ², as well as two obelisks of a certain *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/Sʿnb-ptb-pjppj/Ššj* (CG 17001, 17002) whose tomb remains unknown and who did not bear the title . The Hermitage jamb certainly came from the tomb of that *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/Sʿnb-ptb-pjppj/Ššj*:

- ◆ Although one sign is lost in the name of the owner on the jamb, Š[š]j is the most plausible reconstruction ³;
- ◆ Two of the four titles recorded on the jamb, one of them rare, are present also on the obelisks ⁴;
- ◆ The shapes of a number of hieroglyphs are similar on the jamb and on the obelisks ⁵.

¹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН MSS, 111, rev.

² DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16.

³ See Commentary g.

⁴ See Commentary h.

⁵ See below, Epigraphic Features.

of Busiris, could precede $[bnt(j)]-jmn.t(j.w)$ also on the Hermitage jamb.

- ^c Besides Ššj, this title ⁷ is recorded in Matariya only in the tombs of the High Priests of Heliopolis *Mrw* and *Sbkj/Bjj* ⁸.
- ^d Besides Ššj, this rare title ⁹ was borne only by the High Priests of Heliopolis *Mrw* and *Sbkj/Bjj* ¹⁰.
- ^e This very rare title is recorded only in the tombs of the High Priests of Heliopolis at Matariya: *Mrw* ¹¹, *Sbkj* ¹², *Sbkj/Bjj* ¹³, and, thus, it was peculiar only to the High Priests of Heliopolis ¹⁴ of a relatively short period. An attempt to relate it with the city of Nekheb – “the Nekhbite” ¹⁵ is unconvincing as concerns both orthography and historical geography. First, the title *nbbj* is always spelled without the hieroglyph 𓂏 obligatory in the name of the city, such a stable ellipsis of the sign corresponding to the morpheme bearing the sense of the word being next to impossible. Second, relations of Nekheb and Heliopolis deep enough to derive a title of the main religious figure of the latter from the name of the former are not documented. It is much more probable that $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ was derived from the verb $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ \times *nbb*, “to open new mine” ¹⁶ repeatedly used as a technical term for the activities of expeditions’ leaders in Middle Kingdom Sinai inscriptions: Sinai 47 (Amenemhet II) ¹⁷, Sinai 48 (Amenemhet II) ¹⁸, Sinai 51 (Amenemhet III) ¹⁹, Sinai 53 (Amenemhet III) ²⁰, Sinai 56 (Amenemhet III) ²¹, Sinai 137 (Middle Kingdom) ²². Although the title *nbbj* is absent in the Sinai inscriptions (probably because it was

⁷ JONES, *Index*, 839–840:3063.

⁸ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 195, 198, 204, 206.

⁹ JONES, *Index*, 208:776.

¹⁰ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 195, 204–206.

¹¹ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 195, 197, 198; DONADONI ROVERI, *Sarcophagi*, 149.

¹² DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 199, 215–216; MOURSİ, *Hohenpriester*, 34–35.

¹³ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 204, 206, 217–219.

¹⁴ *Wb.II*, 308:10; *GHwb*, 426; *ÄgWb I*, 647:16248.

¹⁵ JONES, *Index*, 485:1815.

¹⁶ *Wb.II*, 307:9 (“vom Eröffnen neuer Steinbrüche”); FAULKNER, *Dictionary*, 138 (“open mine”); *GHwb*, 426 (“eröffnen Mine”). The translation is contextual; however, cf. a related verb with a reduplication: *nbbbb*, “to open” – *Wb.II*, 309:12-13; *GHwb*, 426; *ÄgWb I*, 648:16253.

¹⁷ *Sinai II*, pl.16.


¹⁸ *Sinai II*, pl.16.



¹⁹ *Sinai II*, pl.18.

²⁰ *Sinai II*, pl.17.

²¹ *Sinai II*, pl.18.

²² *Sinai II*, pl.50.

already out of use in the Middle Kingdom), the proposed interpretation is preferable due to the fact that some other titles of the High Priests of Heliopolis were related with construction and expeditions ²³ (even if it is hardly possible to interpret the original meaning of  as a designation of a person searching for metal and stone, as HELCK did ²⁴). In any case, the name of *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/S^cnb-ptb-pjppj/Ššj* must be added now to the list of the High Priests of Heliopolis.

- ^f The title is unique, unrecorded elsewhere; however, cf. *šš3.w tš.wt jwnw*, “Scribe of the phyles and troops of Heliopolis”, on the obelisk CG 17002 ²⁵.
- ^g The name is reconstructed as  ²⁶ after CG 17001, 17002; theoretically, * , *š[r]j* might be another option ²⁷, but *Ššj* no doubt being an abbreviated form of *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t* ²⁸ makes that conjecture unconvincing in the extreme.
- ^h Obelisks CG 17001, 17002 ²⁹ bear nine titles of *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/S^cnb-ptb-pjppj/Ššj* including the two recorded on the Hermitage jamb; two titles present on the jamb are absent on the obelisks. The complete list of titles is as follows ³⁰:
- ◆ *šš^c(.w) n(j)-sw.t hft-hr*, Scribe of king's documents in the presence ³¹ – [Hel1₂], [H];
 - ◆ *šps(.w) n(j)-sw.t*, Noble of the king ³² – [Hel1₁];
 - ◆ *š3b(j)m(j)-r(3) šš.w*, Juridical overseer of scribes ³³ – [Hel2₃];
 - ◆ *šš jwnw*, Scribe of Heliopolis ³⁴ – [Hel1₁], unrecorded elsewhere;
 - ◆ *(j)m(j)-r(3) šš(.w) jwnw*, Overseer of the scribes of Heliopolis ³⁵ – [Hel1₃], [H] ³⁶;

²³ HELCK, *Beamtentiteln*, 95–98; MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 149–151; SCHMITZ, in *LÄ II*, 1249–1250.

²⁴ HELCK, *Beamtentiteln*, 97.

²⁵ See Commentary h.

²⁶ RANKE, *PN I*, 330:3.

²⁷ RANKE, *PN I*, 329:13.

²⁸ Cf., e.g., *Nfr-sšm-ptb/Ššj* (PM III², 226), *Nfr-sšm-ptb/Wd3-b3-ttj/Ššj* (PM III², 515), *Nfr-sšm-r^c(w)/Ššj* (PM III², 511), *Nfr-sšm-hw(j).f-w(j)/Ššj* (PM III², 306–307).

²⁹ DARESSY, BARSANTI, *ASAE* 16, 211–212; KUENTZ, *Obélisques*, pl.2–3.

³⁰ [H] = Hermitage 18119; [Hel1] = CG 17001; [Hel2] = 17002; subscribed index = number of inscription.

³¹ JONES, *Index*, 839–840:3063.

³² JONES, *Index*, 988:3648.

³³ JONES, *Index*, 803:2933.

³⁴ JONES, *Index*, 835:3048.

³⁵ JONES, *Index*, 208:776.

³⁶ See also Commentary d.




Column stands on a base; inner details are not rendered.



CG 17002

Column always stands on a base; inner details are rendered in some cases and are not in others.



Slight traces of a scratched inner element are visible. Its shape is more characteristic of representations of loaves (e.g., )⁴⁴) than of the respective hieroglyphs.



CG 17001

Hatched inner element is always represented in the upper part of the loaf.



Rim of the bowl is very flat and not separated from the body by a line.



CG 17001

Rim of the bowl is very flat.



Lower part of the loaf does not contract downwards.



CG 17001

Lower part of the loaf does not contract downwards.



Sealing is flat; inner details of the scroll are not rendered.



CG 17001

Sealing is flat; inner details of the scroll may be rendered.



Central part of the girdle is so wide that the knot is only slightly protruding.



CG 17001

Central part of the girdle is so wide that the knot is only slightly protruding.



As contrary to the late Old Kingdom tradition, the end of the wing is not turned down as a hook; eyes, beak and beard are rendered.



CG 17002

As contrary to the late Old Kingdom tradition, the end of the wing is not turned down as a hook; eyes, beak and beard are rendered on CG 17002, but are not visible on the published photographs of CG 17001.

DATING

Three tombs of the High Priests of Heliopolis at Matariya are dated to the First Intermediate Period⁴⁵. The unknown tomb of *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/S^cnb-ptb-pjbj/Ššj* must be chronologically close to them, but both epigraphic and prosopographic characteristics of the jamb and obelisks are too indefinite to specify the dating. However, the title *šps(.w) n(j)-sw.t*, Noble of the king, recorded on CG 17001 appeared at the begin-

⁴⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* IV, Taf.17.

⁴⁵ MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, §§ 17–19; SCHMITZ, in *LÄ* II, 1252.

ning of Dyn.VI and passed out of use at the end of the Dynasty or very soon after ⁴⁶, although it could be sporadically used in the Middle Kingdom ⁴⁷. If this criterion is sufficient for dating, *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/S^cnb-ptb-pjbj/Ššj* could hold the office of the High Priest of Heliopolis in the late Old Kingdom – early First Intermediate Period, after *Hw(j)-n-br(w)/Hwj* ⁴⁸, but prior to *Mrw, Sbkj* and *Sbkj/Bjj* ⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ FISCHER, *JAOs* 81, 423.

⁴⁷ FISCHER, *JARCE* 3, 25, n.4.

⁴⁸ On him see MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 32–33.

⁴⁹ MOURSI, *Hohenpriester*, 34–36.

14. Fragment of a Lintel

INV. NO.: □2471.

DATE: Mid Dyn.VI or later.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 29 cm high, 21.5 cm wide, 3–9 cm thick.

CONDITION: Rejoined from two fragments; both right and left thirds are lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – bought by SABOUROW at the isle of Santorin ¹.

1884 – acquired by the Hermitage with the collection of SABOUROW ².

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 368–369.

BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 134, 21–25.

DESCRIPTION

Middle part of a dark gray limestone lintel rejoined from two pieces (fig.14.1, pl.XXXV). It bears two lines of incised hieroglyphs (←), the lower half of the second line being destroyed.

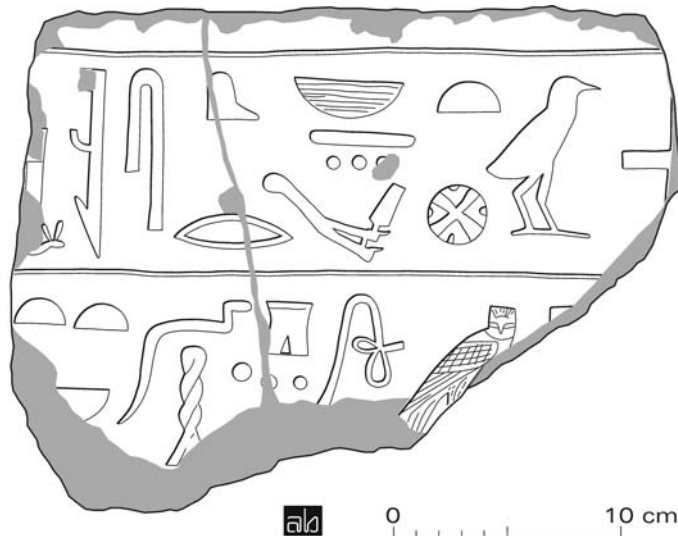
INSCRIPTION

① *[hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t hṭp dj Jnpw] --- (?) jm(j) w.t nb(w) t3 dsr krs[.t].f ---*

② *[hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t hṭp dj (J)s.t-jr.t] --- (?) p[r.t-brw n(.f)(?)] m w3g dḥw.tj.t ---*

① [Offering given by the king, offering given by Anubis] --- (?) ^a Who is in the place of embalming ^b, Lord of the Sacred Land ^c – [his] burial ^d ---

② [Offering given by the king, offering given by Osiris] --- (?) – in[vocation-offerings] ^e for him [?] at the *w3g* festival ^f, Thoth festival ^g ^h ---



COMMENTARY

^a See Commentary e.

^b An epithet of Anubis that appeared in the mid

Dyn.IV, e.g., *H^c(j).f-bw(j).f-w(j) I* (G 7130+7140) ³. *W.t* is most probably to be




¹ *Inv.Sabourow*, sheet 58.



² *Inv.Sabourow*, sheet 58, no 199 (“fragment d’un petit basrelief égyptien”).




³ SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* III, fig.25.



Fig.14.1

Lintel fragment Hermitage □2471

interpreted as a name of a place of embalming ⁴, which is stressed by the determinative  usual during the greater part of the Old Kingdom. However, in the late Dyn.VI, the determinative  being a substitute of the bandage determinative  started to prevail ⁵. Thus, in the end of the Old Kingdom, *w.t* assumed the meaning “wrapping”, “burial bandage” ⁶, and the epithet was reinterpreted as “He who is in a burial bandage” ⁷.

- ^c An epithet of Anubis describing him as a cemetery god ⁸ that was in use, although occasionally, as early as Dyn.IV ⁹.
- ^d The spelling of the word *kers* with the sign  placed after  is characteristic starting from the mid Dyn.VI ¹⁰, and generally it may be used as a dating criterion. However, occasionally it can occur earlier, cf., e.g., the false doors of *K3(j)-tp* (Giza WF) ¹¹ and *Jj-k3(j)* (Saqqara UPC, JE 72201) ¹², both Dyn.V.

If judged by the fact that the survived parts of the signs  and  are arranged rather low in the line, the *t* sign had to be placed above them: . According to LAPP, such an order of signs is characteristic of the period after Dyn.VI ¹³. Unfortunately, the two false doors LAPP refers to ¹⁴ have never been published properly, only schematic line drawings and inscriptions in standard hieroglyphs having been reproduced ¹⁵; nevertheless, their dating to the First Intermediate Period is really most probable, although the late Dyn.VI is not impossible either, if considering both the typology of the monuments and some spelling peculiarities.

- ^e The reconstruction of the initial part of the second line is based on the interpretation of the corner of a rectangular sign to the right of *m* as a remnant of . Since  is placed not in the beginning of the line, the destroyed part of the lintel

⁴ *Wb.I*, 380:1-2.

⁵ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 25, Anm.2; idem., *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 11.

⁶ *Wb.I*, 379, 4.

⁷ SCHENKEL, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 11; idem., *Memphis – Herakleopolis – Theben*, 35.

⁸ For “Sacred land” as a designation of necropolis and the world of the dead in general see *Wb.V*, 228:6-9; *Äg.Wb.I*, 1404:3638-36369; cf. also GOEDICKE *SAK* 20, 70.

⁹ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 8.

¹⁰ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 9.

¹¹ LECLANT, *Or* 22, tab.17-32; dating *ibid.*, 94.








¹² SAAD, *ASAE* 40, pl.73-74; SALEH, SOUROUZIAN, *Offizieller Katalog*, Kat.Nr.58; TIRADRITTI, *Treatures*, fig. on p.85.

¹³ LAPP, *Opferformel*, § 62.

¹⁴ *Snb.t* (CG 1450, Abydos), BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, Bl.34; *N(j)-^cnb-mn(w)* (CG 1587, Akhmim), BORCHARDT, *DARMK II*, 65.

¹⁵ BORCHARDT, *DARMK I*, 135-136; *DARMK II*, 65.

had to be occupied by the initial words of the second half of the offering formula: *hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t hṭp dj (j)s.t-jr.t*. With such a reconstruction, the length of both lines is the same; however, the inscription could be longer due to the use of an extra epithet in either line – *hnt(j) zḥ ntr*, Foremost of the divine booth, to the name of Anubis and *nb Ddw*, Lord of Busiris, to the name of Osiris.

- ^f If the height of the second line was the same as that of the first one, there was enough space for the traditional determinatives  or  under  .
- ^g Phonetic spellings of *dhwtj.t* are rather rare and one can hardly suppose that in our case it was supplemented with the ideogram  placed after the determinative  in the destroyed part of the inscription. Thus, the spelling used entirely conforms to the late Old Kingdom tendency towards phonetisation (cf., e.g.,  instead of , etc.).
- ^h The selection and the order of the festivals is unusual: when they are listed in a chronological order, *dhwtj.t* must be the second and *w3g* the fourth one ¹⁶. The earliest examples of dismissing the original order can be found as early as Dyn.V ¹⁷, but most typical it is in Dyn.VI, especially late. Since *m* is placed before *w3g*, while there is no preposition before *dhwtj.t*, it is reasonable to suppose that *w3g* was the first festival in the list. This conforms entirely to the reconstruction of *pr.t-hrw* before *m* ¹⁸. Being rather narrow, the lintel could not be very long and, thus, *w3g* and *dhwtj.t* could be the only festivals mentioned (cf., e.g., the lintel of *Wsr* <Giza WF, late Dyn.V> ¹⁹).

DATING

- ◆ The order of signs in *ḥrs.t.f* is characteristic of the late Old Kingdom and of the First Intermediate Period ²⁰.
- ◆ Although the used spelling of the word *w.t* predominant till the end of Dyn.VI ²¹ is not a decisive dating criterion, it should be taken into consideration.

Thus, late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period is the most likely date of the lintel fragment. It is in accord with the selection and sequence of the festivals ²², with different sizes of hieroglyphs and with their irregular arrangement.

¹⁶ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 10.

¹⁷ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 18.

¹⁸ See Commentary e.

¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza VI*, Abb.69, Taf.17-a.

²⁰ See Commentary d.

²¹ See Commentary b.

²² See Commentary h.

15. Fragment of Inscription

INV. NO.: □18235.

DATE: Old Kingdom or later.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 26 cm long, 25 cm high, 8,5 cm thick.

CONDITION: Fragment; greater part of the surface lost, the rest is much weathered.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Acquired by LIKHATCHEV, circumstances unknown.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.


1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

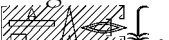





1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

DESCRIPTION

Fragment of a lining block from a tomb cult chamber with a part of horizontal inscription (←) of which only two incised hieroglyphs  remain ^a (fig.15.1, pl. XXXVI-1).

COMMENTARY

a One may reconstruct the beginning of the offering formula, , which is especially attractive due to the arrangement of the sign  close to the right edge of the block that can be interpreted as the right part of a lintel. The positioning of the signs *r* and *dj* one after another,  , is rather unusual – preference was normally given to a more compact grouping  – but not impossible¹. However, preferable is another reconstruction explaining the position of *r* in the centre of the line: , (*j*)*r*(*j*) *b*(*j*) *n*(*j*)-*sm.t*, He belonging to the baby king². In this case we must understand the fragment as belonging to the central part of the inscription.

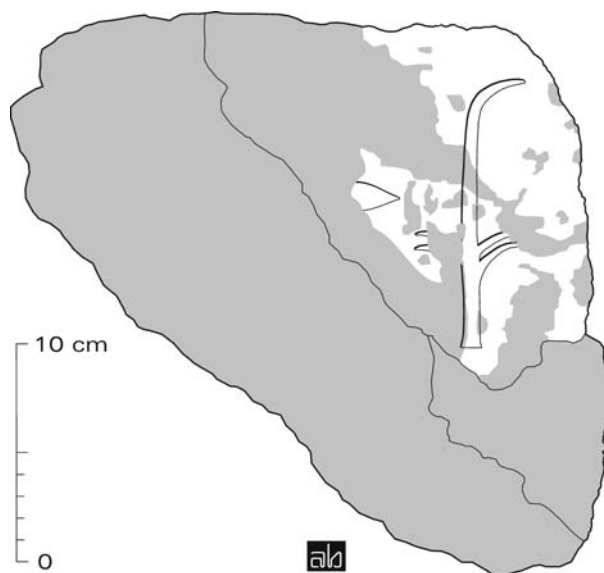




Fig.15.1

Fragment of inscription Hermitage □18235

¹ E.g., FIRTH, GUNN, TPC I, 220. Reconstruction variant  may be rejected without consideration due to an unproportionally small size of .

² See Cat.no.17, Commentary f.

16. Fragment of Inscription

INV. NO.: □18229.

DATE: Old Kingdom or later.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 16 cm high, 6 cm wide, 7 cm thick.

CONDITION: Fragment; surface weathered, losses of various size.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Acquired by LIKHACHEV, circumstances unknown.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHACHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished.

DESCRIPTION

Fragment of a lining block with a part of vertical inscription (𓆎) of which only three hieroglyphs 𓆎 carved in low relief remain; under them there is a horizontal separation line (fig.16.1, pl.XXXVI-2).

DATING AND PROVENANCE

Dating such a small fragment having no definite epigraphic features or provenance is always a problem. Unfortunately even the place of acquisition is unknown, but, if taking into account the fact that most reliefs and relief fragments were acquired by LIKHACHEV at ALI ABD EL-HAJ of Giza, it is not quite wrong to speculate that also this piece passed through his hands ¹. Although the range of monuments in the shop of ALI ABD EL-HAJ included objects from other sites ², it is highly improbable that a miserable and no doubt very cheap splinter could be brought to him from another cemetery, which makes Giza the most probable provenance for it and, accordingly, Old Kingdom the most probable date. It is also tempting to assume that it came from the tomb of the Overseer of Singing $N(j)-m^3r.t-r^c(w)$ at the Central Field of Giza, since it was a source of the most of the loose relief fragments in LIKHACHEV's collection (Cat.no.4). Nothing contradicts this assumption, but nothing can confirm it, however.

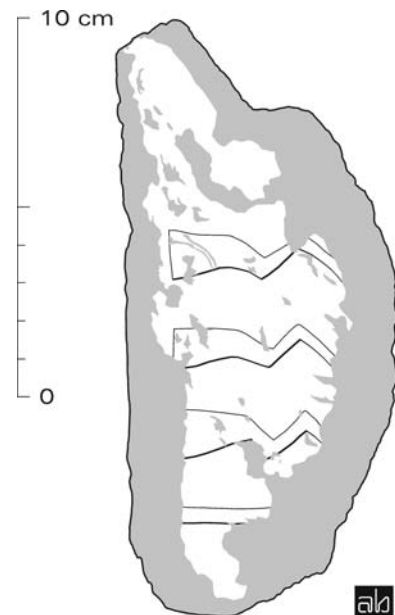


Fig.16.1
Fragment of inscription
Hermitage □18229

¹ It seems to have been too insignificant for the European antiquities market of the beginning of the twentieth century.

² See Introduction.

17. Offering Stone of *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)*

INV. NO.: □2261.

DATE: Dyn.V, reign of Neusera (?).

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 30 cm wide, 19,5 cm deep, 11,5 cm high.

CONDITION: Almost complete; minor dents.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

From the collection of CASTIGLIONE ¹;

1825 – With the collection of CASTIGLIONE acquired by the Russian Academy of Sciences for the Egyptian Museum;

1862 – With the collection of the Egyptian Museum transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 327;

СТРУВЕ, *Этюды*, 290–291, 305;

*PM III*², 769;

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 24–25, рис.9.

DESCRIPTION

The offering stone is a rectangular limestone slab with slanting sides (fig.17.1, pl.XXXVII). The upper surface is occupied by a large libation basin with a step surrounded by hieroglyphic inscriptions. The offering stone belongs to the type (C)2 after MOSTAFA ² and the type B1 after HÖLZL ^{3 a}.

INSCRIPTIONS

The hieroglyphs are incised rather inaccurately, with numerous simplified forms.

Inscription 17/1 begins in the upper right corner and occupies a horizontal line and a vertical column above and to the left of the basin (↓):

① *ḥtp dj n(j)-sw.t (ḥtp dj) Jnpw ḥnt(j) zḥ ntr krs m ḥr(j).t-ntr*

② *m nb jm3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 –*

① Offering given by the king, (offering given by) Anubis Who presides over the divine booth ^b – a burial ^c in the necropolis

② as a Lord of reverence ^d with the Elder God ^e.

Inscription 17/2 continues Inscription 17/1 and occupies a vertical column and a horizontal line to the right of and under the basin (↙):

① *jm3ḥ(.w) ḥr ntr ʕ3 (j)r(j) ḥ(j) n(j)-sw.t*

② *zḥ ḥr(j)-wdb Nb-jš(.w)t(.j) –*

① Revered with the Elder God, He belonging to the baby king ^f,

② Juridical master of the largess ^g *Nb(w)-jš(.w)t(.j)*^h.

¹ GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 327.

² MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 114–115.

³ HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 14.

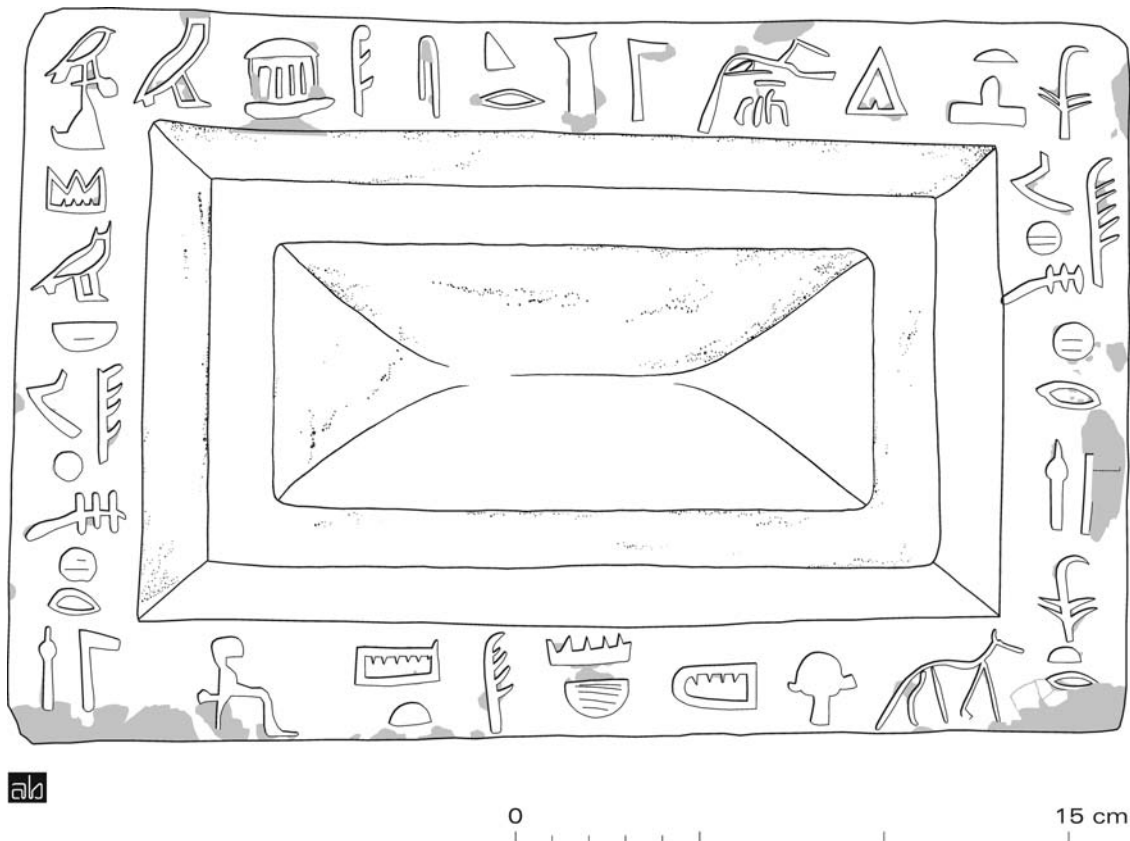







Fig. 17.1

Offering stone of *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)*, Hermitage □2261

COMMENTARY



- ^a Offering stones of this type existed from mid Dyn.V till the end of the Old Kingdom ⁴.
- ^b For *hnt(j) zḥ ntr* see Cat.no.5, Commentary h.
- ^c Reading    as a nomen causes no problems here ⁵. For the order of signs  and  as a dating criterion see Cat.no.14, Commentary d.
- ^d Cf. Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ^e See Cat.no.5, Commentary k.
- ^f The main interpretations of the title ⁶ are *rb/rḥ.t n(j)-sw.t*, “Acquaintance of the king”, *(j)r(j)/(j)r(j).t (j)ḥ.t n(j)-sw.t*, “He/she belonging to king’s placenta” ⁷, and

⁴ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 114–115, 121–122, 134.

⁵ FISCHER, *ZÄS* 105, 47–48; *Wb* V, 64:5-7; *ÄgWb* I, 1340:34554, 47797.

⁶ JONES, *Index*, 327–328:1206.

⁷ SETHE, in BORCHARDT, *Saḥu-Re* I, 77 (“Der zum Königsstamm oder zur Königssippe gehörige”). Cf. *(j)r(j)-ḥ n(j)-sw.t*, “Guardian of royal placenta”, ABD EL-HALIM, in *50th Anniversary of Archaeological Studies* III.

(j)r(j)/(j)r(j).t (j)b.t n(j)-sw.t, “He/she belonging to king’s property”⁸. The reading (j)r(j)/(j)r(j).t b(j) n(j)-sw.t proposed by BERLEV⁹ and removing numerous contradictions of the older theories remains practically unknown to those who do not read Russian, although it merits attention and special discussion. It is based on the spelling of the title on the Middle Kingdom stela of *Sḥtp-jb-r^c(w)-nb(.w)* (RMO 8)¹⁰ as , where  undoubtedly is *bj*, “child”¹¹. According to BERLEV, *bj n(j)-sw.t* is a newborn king as described in pWestcar, a creature divine since the moment of his coming into the world and since the same moment the owner of everything in the world; thus, king’s property can be designated as that of the royal *bj*. The title (j)r(j)/(j)r(j).t b(j) n(j)-sw.t describes its bearer as an organ of the king’s body since the moment of the birth of the latter – a fiction founded on the Egyptian notion of the gods’ bodies having separable organs being active but obedient creatures (like the Eye of Ra). Thus, (j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t is a kind of a royal emissary sent by the king¹² as his own organ to act on his behalf¹³, his personal servant. This understanding is of special importance because it explains the parallelism of (j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t and *b3k(w)* in the Middle Kingdom formula (j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t/b3k(w) m3^c n(j)-(j)s.t-jb.f jrr b3z.t.f nb.t m hr.t hrw n.t r^c nb – “True (j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t/b3k(w), his /≠king’s/ favourite, he who perennially does everything that he /≠king/ favours every

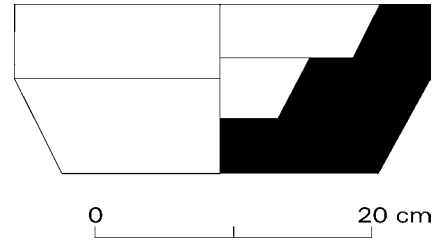
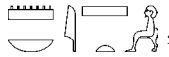





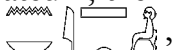


Fig.17.2
Offering stone of Nb-jš(.w)t(.j),
Hermitage №2261. Section

- ⁸ BRUNNER, *SAK* 1; JONES, *Index*, 327–328:1206; for the possibility of ancient reinterpretations see, e.g. FISCHER, *Varia*, 69; FISCHER, *El Saff*, 24, n.13.
- ⁹ БЕРЛЕВ, *Трудное наследие*, 165–171; BERLEV, *JEA* 60, 109–110; HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, Cat.no.2, Commentary a; and especially БЕРЛЕВ, ХОДЖАШ, *Скульптура*, кат.№ 3, КОММ. б, в, г.
- ¹⁰ BOESER, *Beschreibung Äg. Sammlung* II, Taf.7.
- ¹¹ *Wb*.III, 217:3-8; FAULKNER, *Dictionary*, 182; *GHwb*, 577; for Old Kingdom use and spelling of the word see *ÄgWb* I, 921:22526.
- ¹² E.g., the Great overseer of the house of Mentuhotep II *Hnnw* who brought stone for the statues of his lord from Wadi Hammamat boasted that “nothing like this has ever been done by any (j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t (inscription Hammamat M.114, ll.15–16), COUYAT, MONTET, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 83, pl.31.
- ¹³ E.g., vizier *Jmn-m-b3.t*, future Amenemhet I, compared himself with a part of the body /^c.t/ of the god /≠king/ sent by the god /≠king/ to a remote land (inscription Hammamat M.113, ll.9–10) COUYAT, MONTET, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 80, pl.29), while *Jn(j)-(j)t(w).f* called himself “his /≠king’s/ sole slave, a part of his body born by the She-falcon of his nest /i.e., by the mother queen/” (stela Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 891, l.8) (MOGENSEN, *Glyptothèque*, 92–93, pl.98; CLÈRE, VANDIER, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, 46).

day”. The figurative usage of *b3k(w)*, “slave”, for demonstrating loyalty is a well known phenomenon; *(j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t* as an organ of the king’s body is obedient in the same measure as a “slave”.

^g The best discussion of the functions of *hr(j)-wdb* and the origins of the title was made by JUNKER ¹⁴.

^h The name was read as , *Men-neb-aschet* by GOLÉNISCHEFF ¹⁵. STRUVE ¹⁶ saw  in the second sign: . Since this understanding of the sign is impossible and it obviously is , the present author returned to Golenischeff’s reading and offered several variants of interpretation: *Mn-nb(j)-jš(.w)t(.j)* – “(My) lord has established my property”, *Mn-nb-jš(.w)t(.j)* – “Firm is the lord of my property”, or *Mn-jš(.w)t(.j)-nb* – “Established is all my property” ¹⁷. However, as FISCHER has demonstrated ¹⁸, the first sign is not  but a specific form of  and, thus, the name is , *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)* ¹⁹.

ANOTHER RECORD OF *NB-JŠ.WT(.J)* (?)

A certain Juridical master of the largess *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)* is represented in a procession of associates and relatives of the unknown owner of the wooden door-wing fragment from an unidentified Saqqara tomb found in 1859 (CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369 (the latter formerly Musée Guimet 2870)) ²⁰. Since the name is rare, the coincidence of the name and the title, even though a common one, may be a good reason for the identification of the St.Petersburg and the Cairo *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)*.

DATING

The offering stone has a few features that may be used as dating criteria:

- ◆ Typologically the offering stone is not earlier than mid Dyn.V ²¹.
- ◆ The spelling of the word *ḳrs* is typical after mid Dyn.VI ²².

Basing on these two criteria the present author has elsewhere dated the offering stone to the second half of Dyn.VI ²³. However, the second feature, although usually being

¹⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* II, 65. See also JONES, *Index*, 809–810:2958.

¹⁵ GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 327.

¹⁶ СТРУВЕ, *Этюд*, 290, 305.

¹⁷ БОЛЫШАКОВ, *ЭБ* 24, 24–25, Commentary V.2.3.

¹⁸ FISCHER, *Or* 60, 295.

¹⁹ For it see RANKE, *PN* I, 183:18, and add MARTIN, *Hetepka*, pl.31-73; ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.95-a, pl.43-a + LECLANT, *Or* 20, pl.40-25. Cf. *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)-nb(.w)t*, FRASER, *ASAE* 3, 125, *Urke*.I, 31:13.

²⁰ BORCHARDT, *DARMK* II, 38–39, Bl.68; ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 240–243, Cat.no.44.

²¹ See Commentary a.

²² See Commentary c.

²³ БОЛЫШАКОВ, *ЭБ* 24, 25.

of the king's documents of CG 1515 + SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320 is very close to Scribe of the orders of the king's documents of CG 1566 and the scribal nature of both titularies draws them together with those on CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369; at this, it should be remembered that we have only fragments that cannot bear a complete titulary at our disposal. Moreover, the wooden door on which *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* is shown not as an owner but as a subordinate came not from his tomb but from that of his superior, and only a single but the most important of his titles could be recorded there. Thus, the lack of coincidence of titles is not a decisive argument against the identification of *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* of all these monuments as the same person and it can be accepted as a working assumption.



- ◆ One more monument, according to BERLEV, is related with *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f*. Scribe of the king's documents *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* is represented thrice in the mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* (G 4970) as his son ³⁷; the same title *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* bears also on CG 1515 + SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320. These two men are almost certainly identical ³⁸, the absence of other titles of *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* in *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* being explained by the fact that the tomb of the father documents the very beginning of the career of the son ³⁹.
- ◆ The latter BERLEV's observation can be supplemented with another piece of evidence. Inspector of the boat *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* is shown on the relief fragment CG 57142 from the mastaba of *Nfr-m3̣.t* (Dahshur ESPS) as his brother ⁴⁰. Although *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* of G 4970 does not bear this title, this is obviously the same man:
 - According to an inscription on the false door of *Nfr-m3̣.t* (CG 57143) from the same tomb, his father and, accordingly, the father of *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f*, is *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* ⁴¹;
 - *Nfr-m3̣.t* is represented as a son of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* in the tomb of the latter ⁴²;
 - Besides *Nfr-m3̣.t* and *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* their brother *K3(j)-m-jb* is represented on the relief fragment CG 57142 ⁴³; he is depicted as their brother also in the

³⁷ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.27, 28, 30; KANAWATI, *Giza* II, pl.53, 52, 57.

³⁸ Already in HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 40.

³⁹ See below.

⁴⁰ BARSANTI, *ASAE* 3, 203:IV.

⁴¹ MASPERO *MMAF* I/2, 191:4; BARSANTI, *ASAE* 3, 204:V. The name is erroneously spelled as  (if only it is not a spelling variant of ) – cf. BAER *Rank and Title*, 91–92:264; FISCHER, *JAOs* 74, 26–29; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 289:19.

⁴² JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.28; KANAWATI, *Giza* II, pl.52.

⁴³ BARSANTI, *ASAE* 3, 203:IV.

mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)*⁴⁴;

- Two sons of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)*, *šps-k3(j)* and *N-sḏr-k3(j)*, were Inspectors of the boat⁴⁵; thus, this office was characteristic of the family and *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* could also assume it at a later stage of his career.

Thus, G 4970, reliefs from Dahshur, and CG 1515 + SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320 seem to be strongly tied together by titles and kinship of represented people; their relation with CG 1566 through close but not identical titles is less demonstrable but also very probable, while CG 1568 is related with CG 1515 by their synchronous discovery at Saqqara⁴⁶ and with the whole group by the scribal nature of the titles (fig.17.3):

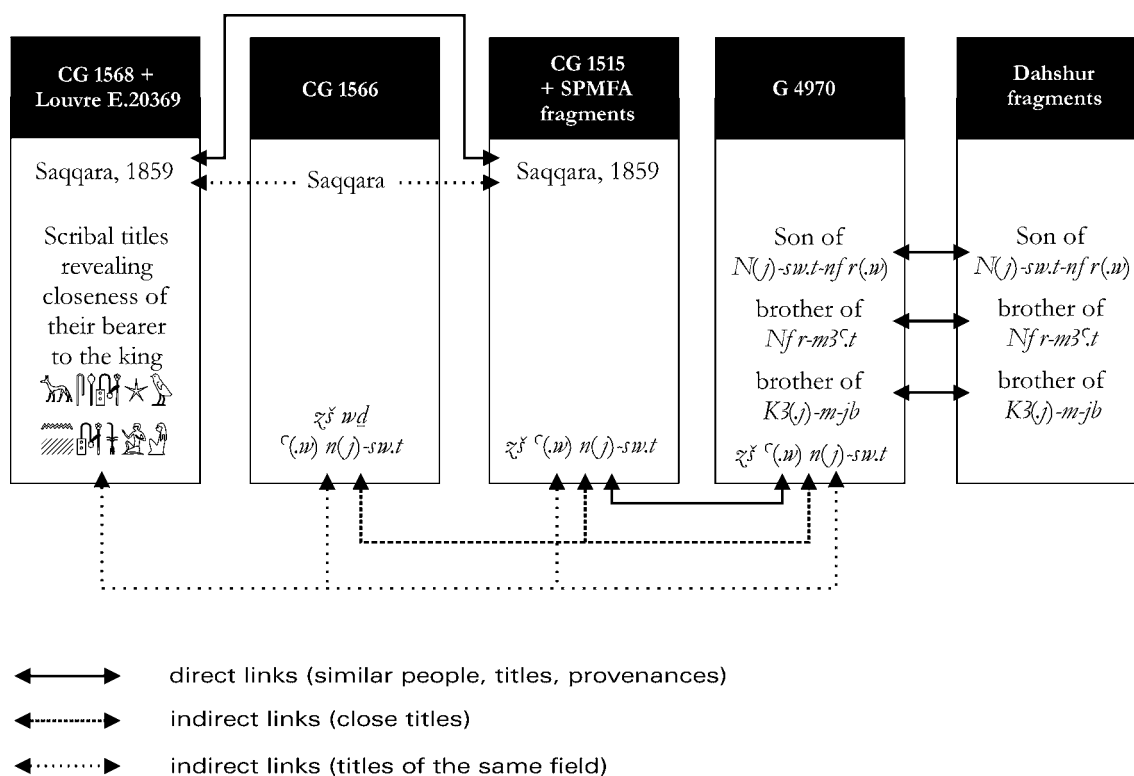


Fig.17.3

Links between various monuments bearing the name *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f*

⁴⁴ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.28; KANAWATI, *Giza* II, pl.52.

⁴⁵ JUNKER, *Giza* III, Abb.28; KANAWATI, *Giza* II, pl.52.

⁴⁶ Of course, CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369 came not from the tomb of *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* but from that of his unknown superior, but it is very probable that their tombs have been constructed side by side and were found simultaneously.

BERLEV dated CG 1515 + SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320 to late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI and supposed that the son of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* could live so long. BERLEV's identification of *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* of all these monuments and their dating have been unconditionally accepted by ZIEGLER⁴⁷; however, soon afterwards they were decidedly rejected by BAUD⁴⁸, who cast doubt on the assumed synchronism.

BAUD accepts BERLEV's dating of CG 1515 + SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320 to late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI⁴⁹, but dates CG 1566 to Dyn.IV, probably not later than the reign of Chephren, the tomb of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* to the reign of Chephren, and CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369 to Dyn.IV⁵⁰. Thus, he splits BERLEV's single *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* into two men: *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* A who lived in the early – middle Dyn.IV and *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* B of the end of Dyn.V (probably the reigns of Neusera – Unis). His argumentation is based mainly on the dating criteria of CHERPION, and thus, although CHERPION's datings are not generally considered in this book (see Introduction), we must make an exception to this rule and reconsider all the monuments with the name *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f*.

The date of SPMFA I.1a.5559 + SPMFA I.1b.320

BERLEV's dating of the false door is based on the following criteria:

- ◆ Type of the kilt of *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f*: trapezoidal kilts are especially characteristic of the last reigns of Dyn.V⁵¹. This observation needs no amendments and may be accepted in general.
- ◆ Type of the chair of *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f*: chairs with all their four legs depicted are characteristic, after BERLEV, of the same period. This feature is regarded as important also by CHERPION (criterion 11) who dates it to the reigns of Neusera – Pepy I⁵². The duration of this feature is established correctly in general, although some tombs in CHERPION's list are obviously later:
 - *šps-ptḥ* (Saqqara NSP, E 1, 2 + H 3) – reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II⁵³.
 - *Nfr-sšm-sš3.t/Hmw* (Saqqara ESP, E 11) – reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II (?)⁵⁴;

⁴⁷ ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, 240.

⁴⁸ BAUD, *GM* 133.

⁴⁹ It is a good confirmation of BERLEV's dating, since the criteria used by BAUD are different.

⁵⁰ BAUD, *GM* 133, 8.

⁵¹ With a reference to STAEHELIN, *Tracht*, 9–11.

⁵² CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 35, 159–160.

⁵³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:404.

⁵⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 275:445.

- K3(j)-bj,f <G 2136> – mid reign of Pepy II ⁵⁵;
- 3b.t(j)-btp(.w) <Saqqara UPC, E 11> – mid reign of Pepy II ⁵⁶;

More criteria may be considered.

- ◆ The false door has two pairs of narrow jambs of equal width that are characteristic of the second half of Dyn.V at Saqqara ⁵⁷;
- ◆ The false door has no torus that became usual under Neusera in Saqqara tombs of high officials and turned into a universal norm at the beginning of Dyn.VI ⁵⁸;
- ◆ Representations are carved in low relief that started to be replaced by sunk relief in the second half of Dyn.V ⁵⁹.

Thus, the false door(s) must be dated to the second half of Dyn.V, most probably closer to its middle ⁶⁰.

The date of CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369

BAUD dates this door to Dyn.IV basing on the following criteria:

- ◆ Type of the monument: wooden doors are allegedly characteristic of Dyn.III – early Dyn.IV ⁶¹. Seven monuments are listed that are said to be not later than the reign of Djedefra, but four of them are obviously later:
 - Jj-k3(j) <JE 72201; Saqqara UPC> ⁶² – late Dyn.V is the most acceptable dating, since the wife of the owner is represented as smelling a lotus on the false door jamb, a feature characteristic of the reign of Neusera and later time ⁶³;
 - (J)t(w)-sn <Saqqara, UPC> ⁶⁴ – most probably late Dyn.V ⁶⁵, if judged by the style.

⁵⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:278.

⁵⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 272:339.

⁵⁷ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 35–36.

⁵⁸ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 35.

⁵⁹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 36.

⁶⁰ This dating is in accord with the type of the amulet of K3(j)-br-(j)s.t.f: amulets on a long string are characteristic mainly of Dyn.V, although sporadically they may appear in Dyn.IV and VI (CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 60, 184–185). The duration of this feature (criterion 36) is established correctly in general, although it is too indefinite to be of practical use.

⁶¹ BAUD, *GM* 133, 15, n.12.

⁶² SAAD, *ASAE* 40, pl.73–74; SALEH, SOUROUZIAN, *Offizieller Katalog*, Kat.Nr.58; TIRADRITTI, *Treasures*, fig. on p.85.

⁶³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 134–135. Cf. the dating of the tomb in *PM III*², 637 – Dyn.V.

⁶⁴ MOUSSA, *MDAIK* 28.

⁶⁵ *PM III*², 652.

- *K3(j)-m-bꜣ.t* (JE 44175; Saqqara TPC)⁶⁶ – both the position of the tomb and the style of its decoration make late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI the most probable dating⁶⁷;
- *Nfrj* (Giza CF)⁶⁸ – middle to late Dyn.V⁶⁹, late reign of Isesi to Unis^{70, 71}
- ◆ Type of the wig worn by the represented men: according to CHERPION (criterion 30), it is not later than the reign of Djedefra⁷². However, of eight tombs listed by her, five are of much later date:
 - *Mr(j)-jb(j)* (G 2100-I-annexe = LG 24) – reigns of Shepseskaf – Userkaf⁷³;
 - *Htp-sꜣ3.t/Htj* (G 5150) – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura⁷⁴;
 - *Sšm(j)-nfr(.w)I* (G 4940) – reigns of Userkaf – Neferirkara⁷⁵;
 - *Tntj* (G 4920) – reigns of Userkaf – Neferefra⁷⁶;
 - *Sn-wꜣm* (G 2132) – not earlier than the beginning of Dyn.VI⁷⁷.
- ◆ “Dog’s collars” in combination with *wšb*-collars worn by the represented women: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 46) is characteristic of Dyn.IV–V down to Isesi⁷⁸. However, of forty-one tombs listed by her, thirteen or fourteen are later, sometimes much later than Isesi (not to mention the fact that most of the listed monuments are later than she supposes):
 - *N(j)-hꜣp-hnm(w)* (Giza WF) – reign of Neusera to Dyn.VI⁷⁹;
 - *Nfr-jr.t-n.f* (Saqqara ESP, D 55; MRAH E.2465) – reigns of Isesi – Unis⁸⁰;

⁶⁶ PM III², 542; now also CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pl.8; McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pl.14-b, 15-ab, 50.

⁶⁷ PM III², 542; HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:525; cf. McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, 19–23, – “late Neusera – Isesi”.

⁶⁸ ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, pl.34–35, fig.41-ab.

⁶⁹ PM III², 50.

⁷⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:128.

⁷¹ Consider also an unusual lintel with a slab stela of *Ndj* (Saqqara UPC, from the mastaba of *3b.t(j)-hꜣp(.w)*, Dyn.IV–V) (BADAWI, *ASAE* 40) and a badly fragmented door leaf (Elephantine, most probably Dyn.VI) (JUNGE, *MDAIK* 32, 98–107, Abb.7; idem., *Elephantine* XI, 11, Taf.1).

⁷² CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 50, 180.

⁷³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:93.

⁷⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:230; cf. KANAWATI, *Giza* II, 16–18, – mid reign of Sahura.

⁷⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:232.

⁷⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:287.

⁷⁷ FISCHER, *Varia*, 50.

⁷⁸ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 70, 192–193.

⁷⁹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:112.

⁸⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:440.

- *K3(j)-m-smw(j)* <Saqqara TPC> – reigns of Isesi – Unis ⁸¹;
 - *N(j)-k3.w-br(w)* <Saqqara NSP, S 915> – reign of Unis ⁸²;
 - *N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w)* <Giza CF> – reign of Unis ⁸³;
 - *Shm-k3(j)* <G 1029> – reigns of Unis – Teti ⁸⁴;
 - *Šps-k3.f-^cnb(.w)* <Giza CF> – reign of Unis – mid reign of Pepy II ⁸⁵;
 - *N(j)-h^ctp-pt^ch* <G 2430 = LG 25> – reign of Teti ⁸⁶;
 - *Mr(j)-w(j)-k3(j)* <Giza WF> – reign of Teti (?) ⁸⁷;
 - *Ttj* <Giza> – Dyn.V – VI ⁸⁸;
 - *N(j)-s(w)-^cnb* <Giza GIS> – Dyn VI ⁸⁹;
 - *Rmn-w(j)-k3(j)/Jmj* <Giza CF> – Dyn.VI ⁹⁰;
 - *Shm-^cnb-pt^ch* <Giza CF> – Dyn.VI ⁹¹;
 - The dating of the tomb of *Jj-nfr.t* <Giza MPC (?), BLmK H.532> depends on the reconstruction of the arrangement of reliefs – either reigns of Neusera – Isesi ⁹² or the reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II ⁹³.
- ◆ Numerous bracelets worn by the represented women: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 47) is characteristic mainly of Dyn.IV and is not later than the reign of Neusera ⁹⁴. However, of twenty-one tombs listed by her, six are later, sometimes much later than Neusera (not to mention the fact that most of the listed monuments are later than she supposes):
- *N(j)-h^ctp-hnm(w)* <Giza WF> – reign of Neusera to Dyn.VI ⁹⁵;
 - *Mr(j)-w(j)-k3(j)* <Giza WF> – reign of Teti (?) ⁹⁶;

⁸¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:526.

⁸² HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:435.

⁸³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:110.

⁸⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:225.

⁸⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:243.

⁸⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:111.

⁸⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:95.

⁸⁸ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:291.

⁸⁹ PM III², 220.

⁹⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:161.

⁹¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:224.

⁹² BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 115, 22–25.

⁹³ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:17.

⁹⁴ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 70, 193–194.

⁹⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:112.

⁹⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:95.

- Šps-k3.f-^cnb(.w) <Giza CF> – reign of Unis – mid reign of Pepy II ⁹⁷;
 - K3(j)-bj.f <G 2136> – mid reign of Pepy II ⁹⁸;
 - ---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb <Giza WF> – mid reign of Pepy II or later ⁹⁹;
 - Jt(w)-b3b3 ¹⁰⁰ <JE 56994; no provenance> – middle to late Dyn.VI if judging by numerous epigraphic and stylistic features ¹⁰¹.
- ◆ Several people represented on the door bear the title *rb n(j)-sw.t / (j)r(j)-b(j) n(j)-sw.t* ¹⁰²: according to BAUD, it is an early feature. However, although the title is really more common in the earlier Old Kingdom, it never ceased to be used, and in absence of other criteria unequivocally testifying for an early date of the monument, this feature is of very little importance.

Thus, many features of the false door may be as late as Dyn.VI (sometimes late Dyn.VI), but their combination is most probable in the second half of Dyn.V.

The date of CG 1566

BAUD dates this slab to the first half of Dyn.IV basing on the following criteria:

- ◆ Long cushions cover the whole seats of chairs in the table scene: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 2) is not later than the reign of Chephren ¹⁰³. However, of fourteen tombs listed by her, at least nine are or can be later than Dyn.IV:
- Mr(j)-jb(j) <G 2100-I-annexe = LG 24> – reigns of Shepseskaf – Userkaf ¹⁰⁴;
 - Htp-sš3.t/Htj <G 5150> – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura ¹⁰⁵;
 - N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w) <G 4970> – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura ¹⁰⁶;
 - b3.t(j)-btp(.w) <Giza CF> – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura or of Teti ¹⁰⁷;
 - Sn.nw-k3/Kkj <G 2041> – reigns of Userkaf – Neferirkara ¹⁰⁸;

⁹⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:243.

⁹⁸ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:278.

⁹⁹ For the dating see Cat.no.5, n.23.

¹⁰⁰ For reading see Cat.no.11, n.28.

¹⁰¹ Cf. GOEDICKE, *Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 183.

¹⁰² BAUD, *GM* 133, 8–9.

¹⁰³ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 28, 147.

¹⁰⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:93.

¹⁰⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:230.

¹⁰⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:145.

¹⁰⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 265:11.

¹⁰⁸ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 269:218.

- *N-sḏr-k3(j)* <G 2101> – reigns of Sahura – Neferirkara ¹⁰⁹;
 - *Nfr* <LG 99> – reigns of Neusera – Unis ¹¹⁰;
 - *Nfr.t-n(j)-sw.t* <G 1457> – probably Dyn.V ¹¹¹, although an earlier date must not be ruled out completely due to the type of the false door ¹¹²;
 - *K3(j)-tp* <Giza (?)> – Dyn.V ¹¹³.
- ◆ The tomb owner is represented face to face with his wife in the table scene: according to CHERPION, this feature is characteristic of Dyn.IV ¹¹⁴. However, two of three tombs she refers to are much later:
- *Jtw* <Giza WF> – Dyn.VI ¹¹⁵;
 - *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* <Giza WF> – mid reign of Pepy II or later ¹¹⁶.
- ◆ The presence of a cartouche of Snefru: it is regarded by BAUD as another reason for an early dating ¹¹⁷, but in the absence of more reliable criteria it is of no importance.

Thus, some features of the slab may be as late as Dyn.VI (sometimes late Dyn.VI), but their combination is most probable in Dyn.V.

The date of the mastabas of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* (G 4970) and of *Nfr-m3̄.t* (Dahshur ESPS)

BAUD accepts CHERPION's dating of the mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* to the reign of Chephren ¹¹⁸. Her dating is based on a number criteria that, however, have quite different chronological borders.

- ◆ Long cushions cover the whole seats of chairs in the table scenes: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 2) is not later than the reign of Chephren ¹¹⁹; however, it often appears in Dyn.V (see above).
- ◆ The shape of the halves of loaves in the table scenes: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 16) is characteristic of Dyn.IV, although oc-

¹⁰⁹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:147.

¹¹⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:127.

¹¹¹ PM III², 64.

¹¹² REISNER, *BMFA* 33, fig.3.

¹¹³ According to the reconstruction by FISCHER (*Varia*, 37), he may be a son of *K3(j)-tp* <Giza WF> (LECLANT, *Or* 22, fig.32) whose tomb dates to Dyn.V (LECLANT, *Or* 22, 94).

¹¹⁴ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 94.

¹¹⁵ PM III², 103.

¹¹⁶ For the dating see Cat.no.5, n.23.

¹¹⁷ BAUD, *GM* 133, 8.

¹¹⁸ CHERPION, in *Akten München* I, 23, idem., *Mastabas et hypogées*, 226.

¹¹⁹ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 28, 147.

asionally it can be as late as the reign of Neferirkara¹²⁰; however, some of the tombs listed by her are much later:

- *Nfr* <Giza CF> – reigns of Neusera – Unis (?) ¹²¹;
 - *Nfr-hr-n-ptb/Efj* <Giza CF> – Dyn V–VI ¹²²;
 - *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* <Giza WF> – mid reign of Pepy II or later ¹²³.
- ◆ The shape of the wig: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 28) was used down to the reign of Mycerinus or somewhat later ¹²⁴; however, some of the tombs listed by her must be dated to the beginning of Dyn.V and some of them are much later:
- *H^c(j).f-r^c(w)-snb(.w)* <G 7948 = LG 75> – reign of Neusera (?) ¹²⁵;
 - *N(j)-h^ctp-hnm(w)* <Giza WF> – reign of Neusera to Dyn.VI ¹²⁶.
- ◆ Presence of representations on the thicknesses of the false door niche: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 49) was in use down to the reign of Chephren or somewhat later ¹²⁷; however, a good deal of the tombs listed by her must be dated to the beginning of Dyn.V and one of them is much later:
- *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* <Giza WF> – mid reign of Pepy II or later ¹²⁸.
- ◆ Representation of ritual sailing: according to CHERPION, this feature (criterion 59) was in use at Giza down to the reign of Chephren or somewhat later ¹²⁹; however, all the tombs listed by her must be dated to the beginning of Dyn.V.¹³⁰

Thus, there is no need to date the mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* to to the reign of Chephren, its traditional dating to the first reigns of Dyn.V ¹³¹ going back to JUNKER remaining steadfast.

¹²⁰ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 47, 165–166.

¹²¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:127.

¹²² HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:134.

¹²³ For the dating see Cat.no.5, n.23.

¹²⁴ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 55, 178–179.

¹²⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:156.

¹²⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:112.

¹²⁷ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 71, 195.

¹²⁸ For the dating see Cat.no.5, n.23.

¹²⁹ CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 79, 202.

¹³⁰ CHERPION's criteria 3, 10, 13, 24, 41b, 50, 57, 58 are characteristic of the period at least down to the middle Dyn.V and they must not be reconsidered here.

¹³¹ E.g., HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:145 – reigns of Userkaf – Sahura.

The mastaba of *Nfr-m³ᶜ.t* <Dahshur ESPS> is traditionally dated to mid Dyn.V ¹³². Unfortunately, it is published so inadequately that the dating cannot be specified basing on its internal characteristics; however, both its dating and that of the mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* can be defined more exactly if basing on the kinship.

In the tomb of his father, *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* is represented twice as an infant and once as a grown-up man, but always with a legend “Scribe of the king’s documents”. Thus, the tomb was being decorated in the time when *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* reached the age of maturity; at this, since all his sixteen brothers and sisters are depicted mature, he was the youngest offspring of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* ¹³³. This allows us to make some calculations in order to date the tombs of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* and *Nfr-m³ᶜ.t* more exactly.

Although we have no information on the age of the transition from childhood to maturity and of the assumption of the first bureaucratic office requiring literacy and competence, it will not be a serious mistake to estimate it as about fifteen years ¹³⁴. The mastaba of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* can be dated to the reigns of Userhkaf – Sahura ¹³⁵ and that of *Nfr-m³ᶜ.t* to the reign of Neusera ¹³⁶. Thus, if the decoration of the former was executed when *K3(j)-ḥr-(j)s.t.f* was fifteen, his age in the moment of the decoration of the latter could be ¹³⁷:

¹³² BAER, *Rank and Title*, 91:261 (mid-V); PM III², 895 (middle Dyn.V), HARPUR, *Decoration*, 279:613 (reign of Neusera).

¹³³ According to FEUCHT (*Kind*, 265), representations of sons and daughters as infants in the tombs of their parents do not reflect reality but only symbolize their *Kind-Eltern-Verhältnis*, and their titles peculiar to adults are more trustworthy than the manner of their depiction. This may be true in some cases and wrong in others, generalizing statements being dangerous without a special investigation of the problem. At least, interchanging representations of the same person as a child and as an adult must have some meaning that cannot be easily brushed aside.

¹³⁴ On the one hand, the primary and the “higher education” could take as much as fifteen years altogether, as it was in the case of the High Priest of Amun *B3k-n-ḥ-n(j)-sw.t* from the reign of Ramses II (see PLANTIKOW-MÜNSTER, *ZÄS* 95), which, of course, may be explained by the specificity of his priestly career in the time when priesthood was, as contrary to the Old Kingdom, both professional and clannish. On the other hand, some positions, even the high ones, could be filled by adolescents, if judged by representations and autobiographies (see FEUCHT, *Kind*, 255–258), and although this was almost certainly a fiction, its very existence complicates our estimations.

¹³⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 268:145.

¹³⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 279:613.

¹³⁷ The lengths of the reigns after VON BECKERATH, *Chronologie*, 155:

Userkaf _____ 8 years;
Sahura _____ 13 years;
Neferirkara _____ 20 years;
Shepseskara _____ 7 years;
Neferefra _____ 11 years;
Neusera _____ 31 year.

- [a] *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* – year 1 of Userkaf, *Nfr-m3^c.t* – year 31 of Neusera: 104 years (15+89);
- [b] *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* – year 12 of Sahura, *Nfr-m3^c.t* – year 31 of Neusera: 84 years (15+69);
- [c] *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* – year 1 of Userkaf, *Nfr-m3^c.t* – year 1 of Neusera: 73 years (15+58);
- [d] *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* – year 12 of Sahura, *Nfr-m3^c.t* – year 1 of Neusera: 53 years (15+38).

Variant [a] is fantastic, variants [b] and [c] are not very probable because *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* could hardly be Inspector of the boat in such a venerable age, but variant [d] is possible, even with a tolerance of about ten years, which means that the tomb of *N(j)-sw.t-nfr(.w)* must be dated to the late reign of Sahura and that of *Nfr-m3^c.t* to the early years of Neusera ¹³⁸.

The date of the offering table of *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)*

Thus, it is possible to regard all the above monuments bearing the name *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* as belonging to the same man who was born in the first years of Dyn.V, started his service in the late reign of Sahura – early reign of Neferirkara and most probably died under Neusera. This also means that his colleague *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)* could be represented with him on CG 1568 + Louvre E.20369 under Neferirkara – Neusera; at this, if *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)* was younger than *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f*, his own tomb could be somewhat later – however, the reign of Neusera remains the most probable date of the Hermitage offering table.

¹³⁸ The case of *K3(j)-hr-(j)s.t.f* is a good illustration of the flexibility of the Egyptian administrative system: in a more than mature age he became Inspector of the boat – perhaps for keeping this position that seems unexpected in the light of his previous career as a scribe within the family after a death of one of his relatives.

18. Offering Stone of *Nfr-ḥn(j).t(.j)*

Inv. no.: □2263.

DATE: Late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 18,2 cm wide, 11 cm deep, 4,5 cm high.

CONDITION: Lower left corner of the upper surface is lost; its upper right corner and left edge are

damaged; minor cracks and losses.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

ACQUISITION HISTORY: Unknown; acquired before 1891.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Inventaire*, 327–328;

СТРУВЕ, *Этюды*, 291, 306;

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 19–21, рис.4.

DESCRIPTION

The offering stone (fig.18.1, pl.XXXVIII) is a rectangular limestone slab with slanting sides (fig.18.2). The upper surface with two libation basins bears six incised inscriptions (fig.18.3) and representations of a *ḥtp*-altar^a, a washing set^b and a cup^c carved in high relief, the two latter as seen from above. The offering stone belongs to the type (A+B)3 after MOSTAFA¹ and the type A+B+C2 after HÖLZL^{2 d}.

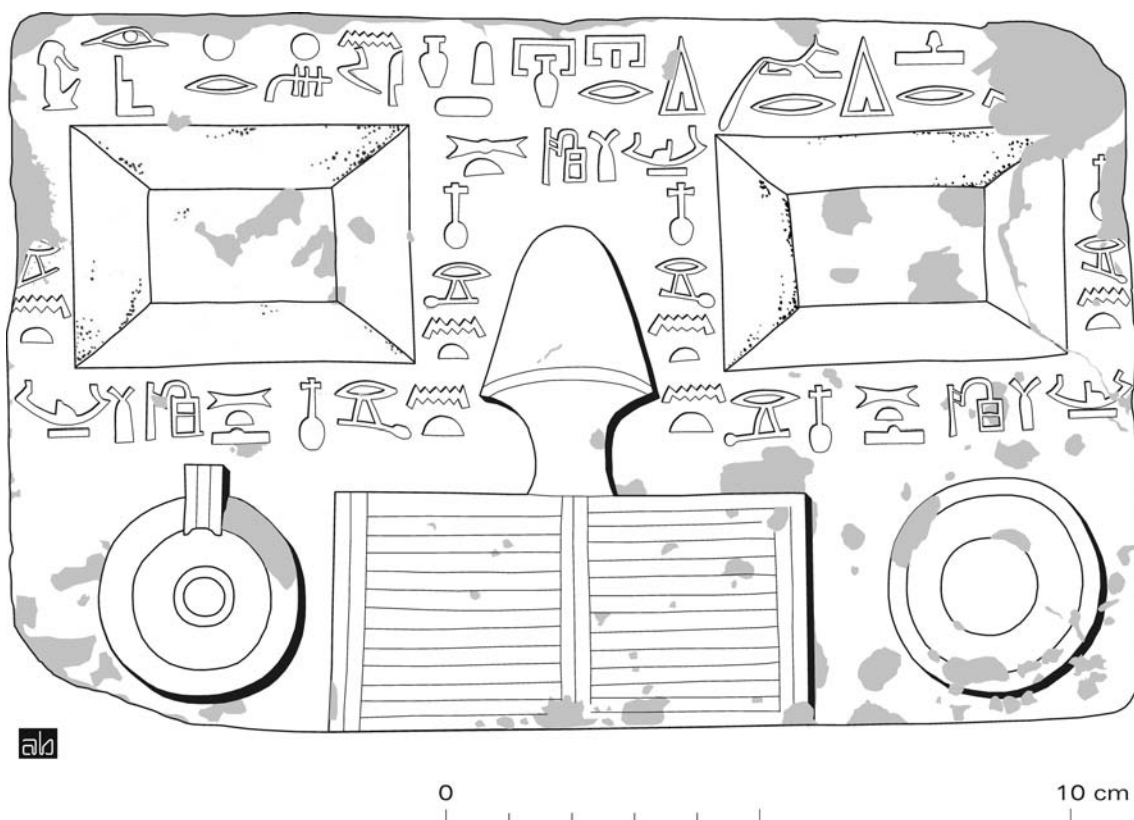


Fig.18.1

Offering stone of *Nfr-ḥn(j).t(.j)*, Hermitage □2263

¹ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 110–111.

² HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 16.

INSCRIPTIONS

The hieroglyphs are small, but deeply and carefully incised, although some simplified forms are used.

Inscription 18/1 begins in the upper right corner and occupies the upper line and the left outer column (↙):

- ① *hṭp rdj [n(j)-sw.t] (hṭp) rdj Jnpw pr(j)*
pr(j).t-brw n jm3b(.w) hr (J).s.t-jr.t
 ② *[Nfr]-hn(j).t(j) –*

- ① Offering given by the k[ing] ^e, (offering) given by Anubis ^f – may invocation-offerings go forth ^g for the Revered with Osiris ^h

- ② *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)* ⁱ.

Inscription 18/2 occupies the right outer column (↘):

Nfr-hn(j).t(j).

Inscription 18/3 occupies the line between the basins and the left inner column (↙):

- ① *ꜥꜥ tꜥꜥꜥ ꜥpr.w wj3*
 ② *Nfr-hn(j).t(j) –*

- ① Scribe of the troop of a crew of a boat ⁱ

- ② *Nfr-hn(j).t(j).*

Inscription 18/4 occupies the right inner column (↘):

Nfr-hn(j).t(j).

Inscription 18/5 occupies the line under the right basin (←):

ꜥꜥ tꜥꜥꜥ ꜥpr.w wj3 Nfr-hn(j).t(j) –

Scribe of the troop of a crew of a boat *Nfr-hn(j).t(j).*

Inscription 18/6 occupies the line under the left basin (→):

ꜥꜥ tꜥꜥꜥ ꜥpr.w wj3 Nfr-hn(j).t(j) –

Scribe of the troop of a crew of a boat *Nfr-hn(j).t(j).*



Fig. 18.2

Offering stone of *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)*,
Hermitage □2263. Section

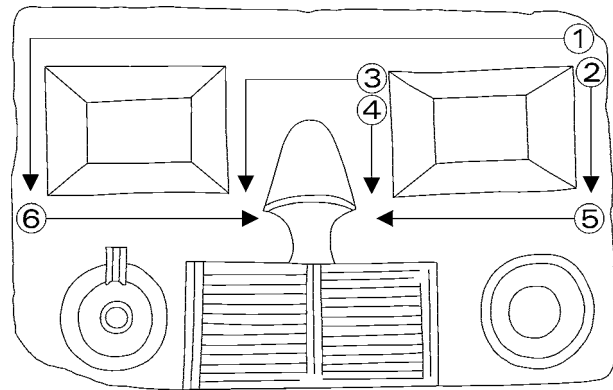


Fig. 18.3

Offering stone of *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)*, Hermitage □2263.
Arrangement of inscriptions

COMMENTARY

- ^a The *hṭp* sign represents a mat with a loaf on it ³, that is, the assumed earliest offering equipment. When placed on the offering stones, the oversized *hṭp* has a triple function. First, it refers to the general semantic of the root *hṭp*: satiation \leftarrow food \rightarrow offering \leftarrow contentment. Second, it is an image of the offering as it was brought by the overwhelming majority of the Egyptians even in the Old Kingdom. Third, it is a representation of a *hṭp* altar, the type that was in use in Dyn.IV ⁴. As contrary to the offering stones bearing a relatively small *hṭp* with its proportions close to those of a standard hieroglyph (e.g., our Cat.no.20), *hṭp* is much thicker here, it occupies the central place on the upper surface and constitutes the main decorative element.
- ^b The view of the washing set from above is much more common than the side view used on the offering stone of *Šps-ptḥ*, Cat.no.20. The spout of the ewer is usually turned towards a libation basin, e.g. *Hmw.t* <CG 57029, Saqqara – Abu-sir>⁵, *Jr.w-k3-ptḥ* <Saqqara UPC>⁶ and sometimes is placed over it, e.g. *Sṯw* <CG 1330, Saqqara>⁷, *Jj-mrjj I* <CG 57032 = JE 53151, Giza GIS>⁸, CG 57022 <Saqqara>⁹, thus being an ideal illustration of the replacement of real objects and actions by their representations: imaginary water flows eternally from a model vessel into a real basin that was used also for pouring real liquids into it ¹⁰. Exceptions to this rule are rare, e.g. *R^c(w)-wr(.w)* <in the tomb of *N(j)-wd3-ptḥ*, Giza CF>¹¹, *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj* <Saqqara TPC>¹²; at this, the spout is placed there over the representation of a *h3w.t*-table (in the latter case exactly, in the former less precisely) and, thus, the cleaning of the latter is shown. Representations of washing sets are especially common before Dyn.VI ¹³.
- ^c In the case of large offering tables cups could be used for keeping both liquids poured during the priestly service and breads and fruits ¹⁴. The latter was impossi-

³ *Wb*.III, 183; GARDINER, *Gr.*³, 501, R 4.

⁴ See list in MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 40–41.

⁵ ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR* III, unnumbered plate.

⁶ MOUSSA, JUNGE, *Tombs of Craftsmen*, ill.4.

⁷ BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, Bl.5; MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, Taf.13.

⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* X, Taf.22-a, Abb.53; MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, Taf.27-2; ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR* III, unnumbered plate.

⁹ ABOU-GHAZI, *DAR* III, unnumbered plate.

¹⁰ Cf. also HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 67.






¹¹ ABU-BAKR, *Excavations at Giza*, fig.95-g; MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, Taf.19-2.

¹² FIRTH, GUNN, *TPC* II, pl.12-c.

¹³ HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 69.

¹⁴ HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 67.

ble in the case of small monuments, but the symbolic meaning of the cups could be the same.

- ^d Offering stones of this type appeared in the second half of Dyn.V and could be influenced by the enormous altar in the court of the Solar temple of Neuserra ¹⁵.
- ^e The beginning of the offering formula was destroyed before 1939 when this damage was recorded in the inventory book of the Section of Ancient Orient, but after 1920s when STRUVE saw it complete and reproduced it in his transcription as  ¹⁶.
- ^f The complete spelling of the verb *rdj* with the initial *r* is rare. In Dyn.IV it sporadically occurs in *Götterformel* ¹⁷; in Dyn.V it appears for the first time in *Königsformel* ¹⁸ and can be occasionally found there in the later Old Kingdom ¹⁹; at this, as contrary to our offering stone, an abbreviated form *dj* may be used in the following *Götterformel* ²⁰.
- ^g The wording with two elements *pr* is relatively rare ²¹, while the spelling  with a stroke after the first  and with a  vessel replacing an oar in  is unique.
- ^h For the presence of Osiris as a dating criterion see Cat.no.10, Commentary g.
- ⁱ The name is rare ²² and occurs both in the Old and Middle Kingdom:
- ◆ Overseer of sculptors represented in the mastaba of *Pth-htp(.w)II/Iffj* <Saqqara WSP, D 64, middle to late reign of Unis>²³;
 - ◆ A relative of *Rwd* represented in the mastaba of of the latter <G 2362, false door fragment MFA 13.4334, Dyn.VI>²⁴;
 - ◆ A fictive (?) predecessor of the nomarch *Wb-htp(.w) III* represented in the tomb of the latter <Meir B4, reign of Amenemhet II>²⁵;
 - ◆ Owner of the coffin of *Nfr-hn(j).t(.j)* <Saqqara TPC, S 2741, Middle Kingdom>²⁶.
- None of these men can be our *Nfr-hn(j).t(.j)*.

¹⁵ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 110–113, 134.

¹⁶ СТРУВЕ, *Этиоды*, 306.

¹⁷ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 5–6.

¹⁸ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 12, 14.

¹⁹ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 22–23.

²⁰ MACRAMALLAH, *Idout*, pl.14; KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl.68.

²¹ See CLÈRE, in *Mélanges Maspero* I/2, 791–794; LAPP, *Opferformel*, 93, § 162.

²² RANKE, *PN* I, 199:14, 424:2.

²³ PAGET, PIRIE, *Ptab-hetep*, pl.38. For the dating see Cat.no.5, n.239.

²⁴ Unpublished, negative MFA B-1639 (the picture was put at the author's disposal by Dr. Peter DER MANUELIAN).





²⁵ BLACKMAN, *Meir* III, 19, pl.36-1.

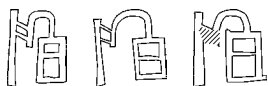
²⁶ QUIBELL, HAYTER, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, 16.

- i *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)* could boast of only one relatively low and rare title ²⁷ that is repeated thrice on his offering table (Inscriptions 18/3, 18/5, 18/6).

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES



The oar in  is replaced by the vessel  similar to that in the following group of determinatives  .



The upper part of the reed is not widened; the water bowl is omitted; the palette is divided in two parts, but no containers for paint are shown.

DATING

The date of the offering stone is problematic due to inconsistency of its features. A *terminus ante quem non* can be established easily:

- ◆ Offering stones of this type were in use starting from the reign of Neusera ²⁸.
- ◆ The record of Osiris proves that the offering stone cannot be earlier than the reign of Isesi ²⁹.

On the other hand, some facts can be interpreted as testifying to a later date, but they are not unequivocal:

- ◆ It seems that *hṯp*-signs on Old Kingdom offering stones get thicker over time, thus starting the process of development leading to the origin of Middle Kingdom types with a hypertrophied *hṯp* replacing other elements; cf., e.g., a group of offering stones discovered at the cemetery of queens of Pepy I ³⁰. Thus, it may be tempting to date the offering stone to the mid – late Dyn.VI, but this feature is not reliable at all.
- ◆ Most records of the name *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)* are as late as Dyn.VI and Middle Kingdom, but the mention of an Overseer of sculptors bearing this name in the mastaba of *Pth-hṯp(.w) II/Tfj* ³¹ seriously devaluates this fact as a dating criterion. However, this earliest record of the name *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)* is in accord with the type of the offering stone and the presence of the name of Osiris on it.
- ◆ The fact that *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)* had only one title may be another argument for a late dating, but a very weak one and negligible in the absence of more reliable criteria.

Thus, the offering stone can be as early as late Dyn.V, but Dyn.VI is a much more probable, although indefinite, dating.

²⁷ JONES, *Index*, 878–879:3216.

²⁸ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 110.

²⁹ See Commentary h.

³⁰ DOBREV, LECLANT, in *Critères de datation*.

³¹ See Commentary i.

19. Offering Stone of *Jmḥ.t*

INV. NO.: □5583.

DATE: Middle – second half of Dyn.VI.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: Traces of blue pigment in hieroglyphs.

DIMENSIONS: 35 cm wide, 23 cm deep, 13 cm high.

CONDITION: Right edge of the upper surface is chipped.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded, but since all Old Kingdom objects in the collection of GOLÉNISCHEFF seemingly came from Saqqara ¹, this piece may be of the same provenance.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Acquired by GOLÉNISCHEFF, circumstances unknown.

1911 – With the collection of GOLÉNISCHEFF acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Inv.no. I.1.a.5366 (4080).

1930 – Transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 288, Supplement 1.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 22–23, рис.8.

DESCRIPTION

The offering stone (fig.19.1, pl.XXXIX) is a rectangular limestone slab with slanting sides (fig.19.2). The upper surface is occupied with a libation basin surrounded by incised hieroglyphic inscriptions. The offering stone belongs to type C 1 after MOSTAFA ² and type B1 after HÖLZL ^{3 a}.

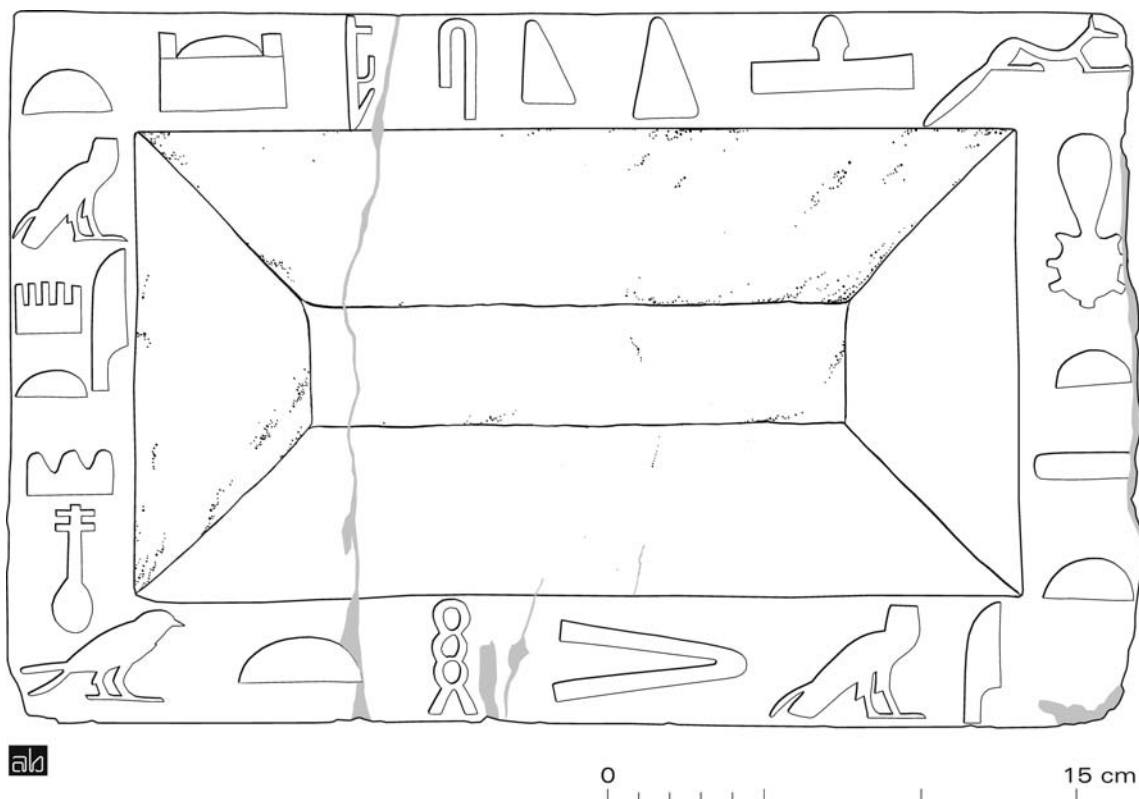


Fig.19.1

Offering stone of *Jmḥ.t*, Hermitage □5583

¹ HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 22–56.

² MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 114–115, 121–122, 134.

³ HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 14.

INSCRIPTIONS

Hieroglyphs are large, deeply incised, with traces of blue pigment in them. Although the signs in the vertical part of Inscription 19/2 are damaged, not a single hieroglyph is entirely destroyed.

Inscription 19/1 begins in the upper right corner and occupies a horizontal line and a vertical column above and to the left of the basin (↙):

- ① *ḥtp dj Jnpw*
 ② *ḳrs.t m jmn.t nfr(.t) wr(.t)–*
 ① An offering given by Anubis ^b –
 ② a burial ^c at the extremely good West ^{d e}.

Inscription 19/2 continues Inscription 19/1 and occupies a vertical column and a horizontal line to the right of and under the basin (↘):

- ① *mjtr.t*
 ② *Jmḥ.t –*
 ① “Lady” ^f
 ② *Jmḥ.t* ^g.

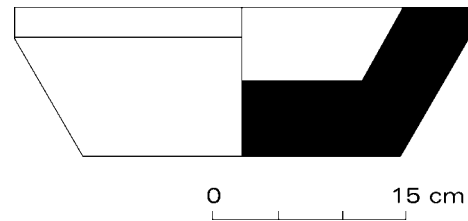


Fig.19.2
Offering stone of *Jmḥ.t*,
Hermitage ̳5583, section

COMMENTARY


- ^a The offering stones of this type are not earlier than the second half of Dyn.V ⁴.
^b *Götterformel* is used independently, without *Königsformel*, for saving space, which was a must considering the size of the hieroglyphs.
^c The word *ḳrs.t*, “burial”, is attested, although rarely, in Old Kingdom inscriptions other than the offering formula ⁵. This makes it possible to understand the words spelled by the coffin sign and *t* as “burial” also in the formula, as contrary to their traditional interpretations as verbal forms. For the order of signs 𓆎 and 𓆏 as a dating criterion see Cat.no14, Commentary d.
^d A rare pleonastic entirely phonetic spelling ⁶.
^e Not registered by BARTA ⁷.
^f In Dyn.II–III, the title *mjtr* was borne by people occupied in some building activities and its feminine derivative could be applied to their wives; later on, *mjtr* fell

⁴ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 121–122, 134.

⁵ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 43–44; *ÄgWb* I, 1340:34556, 34565 (incomplete references).

⁶ See HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 288, Supplement 1, Commentary c.

⁷ BARTA, *Opferformel*, 27.

into disuse, while *mytr.t*⁸ became a purely honorific designation⁹. However, the shade of meaning of the title remains obscure¹⁰. The spelling  without *r* but with two *t* is anomalous.

⁸ Not registered by RANKE, but its rare masculine counterpart is attested¹¹.

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES



The end of the wing is turned down as a hook, a feature that appeared in the mid Dyn.VI¹²






The form of  with a projection in the lower part of the vessel and with three projections at either side is anomalous. The upper pair of projections may depict an excessively wide vessel's neck and the bottom one may be a clumsy representation of an extra loop of the rope reticule. A vessel with three loops around its body instead of two is depicted in the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Snbj* at Meir (B 1), both as a hieroglyph and in a representation of a man bringing milk¹³ (fig.19.3).



Fig.19.3
Vessel in
the tomb
of *Snbj*,
Meir
(after
BLACKMAN,
Meir II,
pl.18-12)

DATING

A number of features may be used as dating criteria:

- ◆ Typologically the offering stone is not earlier than mid Dyn.V¹⁴.
- ◆ The spelling of *kers.t* is characteristic of the late Old Kingdom¹⁵.
- ◆ The shape of  is characteristic of the late Old Kingdom¹⁶.
- ◆ An anomalous shape of  may be interpreted as late.
- ◆ A phonetic spelling of *jmn.t* may be interpreted as late.

Thus, the most probable date of the offering stone is the mid – late Dyn.VI.

⁸ JONES, *Index*, 424–425:1572.

⁹ HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, 102; FISCHER, *JNES* 18, 262–263.

¹⁰ E.g., FISCHER, *Egyptian Women*, 71, n.175.

¹¹ RANKE, *PN I*, 32:11.

¹² E.g., JUNKER, *Giza VI*, Abb.69, 82, 83; idem., *Giza VII*, Abb.12, 50, 101.

¹³ BLACKMAN, *Meir I*, pl.11; *Meir II*, pl.18-12.

¹⁴ See Commentary a.

¹⁵ See Commentary c.

¹⁶ See Epigraphic features.

20. Offering Stone of Špss-ptḥ

Inv. no.: □18106.

DATE: Most probably mid Dyn.VI or later.

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 18,5 cm wide, 11 cm deep, 7,5 cm high.

CONDITION: Complete.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara (?)¹.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Purchased by HILTON PRICE², circumstances unknown;

July 13, 1911 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV in London at Sotheby's¹.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography,

since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PRICE, *Catalogue I*, 223, Cat.no.2058.

Sotheby's H.P., 36, Cat.no.236.

ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН *Мсс*, 111, rev.

ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 10, кат.№ I-6.

*PM III*², 769 (with a wrong title).

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 10–19.

DESCRIPTION

The offering stone (fig.20.1, pl.XL) is a rectangular limestone slab with strongly slanting sides (fig.20.2). The upper surface with two libation basins bears seven incised inscriptions (fig.20.3) and representations of a *ḥtp*-altar^a, of a *ḥ3w.t*-table seen from above^b, and of a washing set carved in low relief^c. The offering stone belongs to the type (A+B)3 after MOSTAFA³ and the type A+B+C2 after HÖLZL^{4 d}.

INSCRIPTIONS

The hieroglyphs are small, rather inaccurately incised, sometimes overstepping the limiting lines due both to their uneven sizes and irregular arrangement. Although the signs are shallow and the outlines of some of them are weathered, not a single hieroglyph is entirely destroyed.

Inscription 20/1 begins in the upper right corner and occupies the right half of the upper line (←):

¹ A brief description of the offering stone Inv.no. 2058 in the catalogue of the HILTON PRICE collection (PRICE, *Catalogue I*, 223) is sufficient for its identification with the Hermitage piece. In the copy of the Sotheby's sale catalogue originally in possession of LIKHATCHEV (now in the library of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St.Petersburg Branch), an entry on it (*Sotheby's H.P.*, 36, Cat.no.236) is marked with a pencil. A label with the inventory number of the HILTON PRICE collection is still stuck to the offering stone. According to HILTON PRICE, the offering stone is from Saqqara, which corresponds well with the titles of Špss-ptḥ relating him with the pyramid and the Solar temple of Userkaf (see Commentaries e and l). The identity of the HILTON PRICE and the Hermitage offering stone is recorded in *PM III*², 769 (with a wrong title "Overseer [of prophets] of the Pyramid of Userkaf").

² On HILTON PRICE see DAWSON, UPHILL, *Who Was Who*³, 343.

³ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 110–111.

⁴ HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 16.

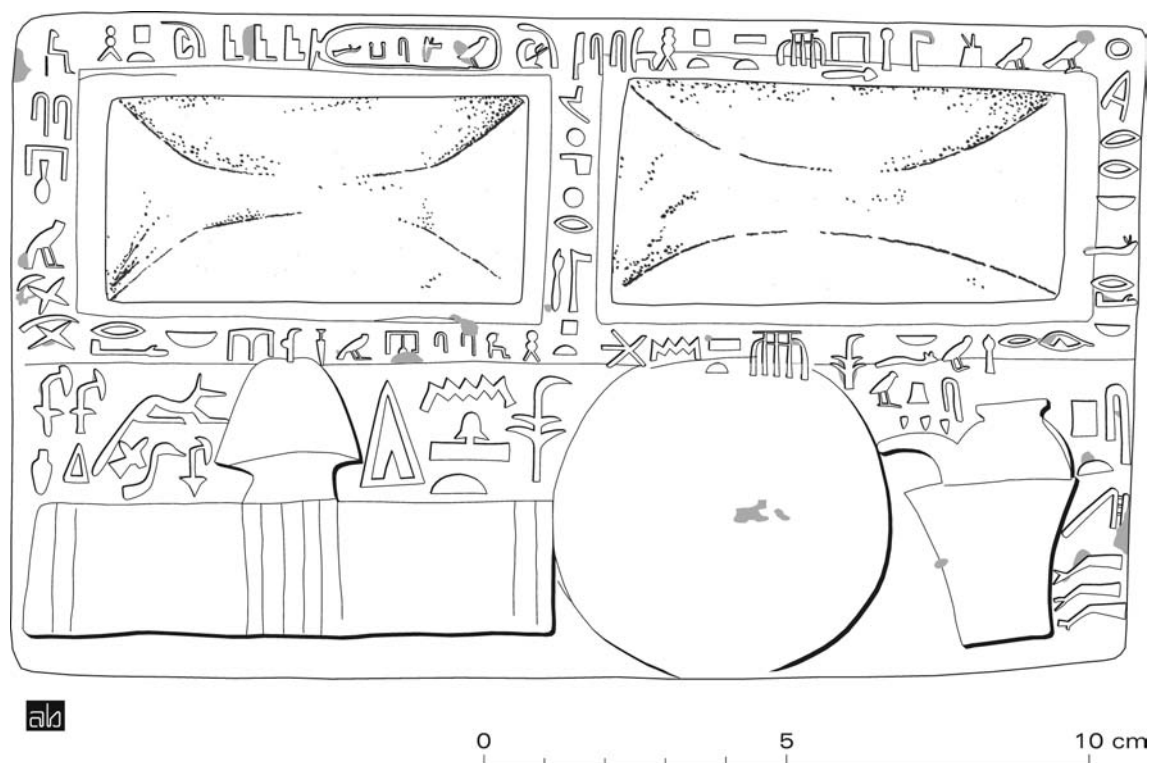


Fig. 20.1

Offering stone of Špss-ptḥ, Hermitage 18106

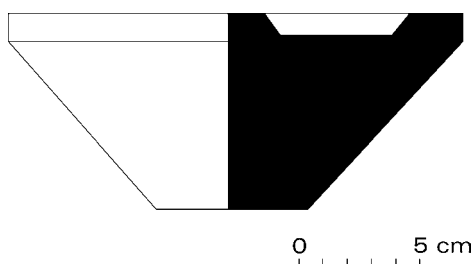


Fig. 20.2

Offering stone of Špss-ptḥ,
Hermitage 18106. Section

*hm(w)-ntr R^c(w) m Nḥn-(r^c(w)) hnt(j)-š pr-^c
Špss-ptḥ –*

Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Strong-
hold of Ra”^e, Attendant of the Great House^f
Špss-ptḥ^g.

Inscription 20/2 interrupts the
upper line and occupies the cen-
tral column and the left half of the
lower line (↙):

- ① *jm3ḥ(.w) hr ntr^c3*
- ② *Špss-ptḥ pr.t-ḥrw m tp(j) rnp.t
(m) ḥ(3)ḥ nb r^c (nb) –*

- ① Revered^h with the Elder
Godⁱ

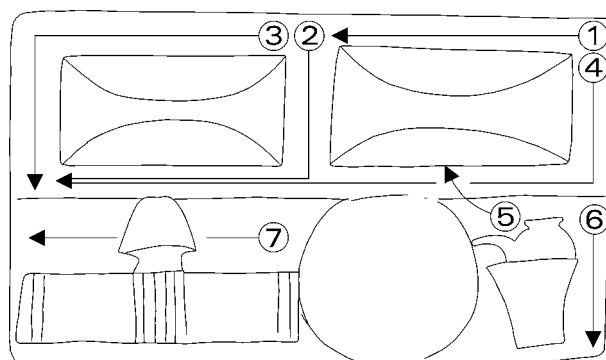


Fig. 18.3

Offering stone of Špss-ptḥ, Hermitage 18106.
Arrangement of inscriptions

- ② Špss-ptḥ – an invocation-offering at the festival of the first day of the year, (at) every festival /and/ (every) day ^{i k}.

Inscription 20/3 occupies the left half of the upper line and the left column (↙):

- ① *w^cb W^cb-(j)s.wt-Wsr-k3.f Špss-ptḥ*
 ② *pr.t-brw m smd.t(?) (m) 3bd(?) –*
 ① *W^cb*-priest of the pyramid “Clean are the Places of Userka^p” ¹ Špss-ptḥ –
 ② an invocation-offering at the half month festival ^m /and/ (at) the month festival.

Here Inscription 20/3 meets Inscription 20/2 that also terminates with the list of the days of offering, as if their ends continue one another.

Inscription 20/4 occupies the right column and the right half of the lower line (↘):

- ① *mrr(.w) nb.f r^c nb*
 ② *jrr wd(.t) nb.f ... (sic) hnt(j)-š n šbdw-(dd.f-r^c(w)) Špss-ptḥ –*
 ① Beloved of his lord every day ⁿ,
 ② He who does what his lord commands ^{o... (sic) p}, Attendant of the pyramid “Starry Firmament (of Djedefra)” ^{q r s} Špss-ptḥ.

The name Špss-ptḥ belongs both to Inscriptions 20/4 and 20/2, and *pr(.t)-brw* etc. in the latter may be read as a continuation of Inscription 20/4.

Inscription 20/5 is arranged between the representations of the *h3w.t*-table and the washing set (↔), its last sign interrupting Inscription 20/4:

gs.w –
 Halves of loaves ^{t u}.

Inscription 20/6 is arranged vertically (↕) along the right edge of the offering-stone by the representation of the washing set:

stp.t –
stp.t offering ^v.

Inscription 20/7 is placed above the representation of the *hṯp*-altar, on both sides of its upper portion (↔):

hṯp dj n(j)-sw.t (hṯp dj) Jnpw h3 t(3) h3 h(n)k.t h3 3pd (h3) k3 –

An offering given by the king, (an offering given by) Anubis – thousand of loaves, thousand /of vessels/ of beer, thousand of fowl, (thousand) of cattle ^w.

COMMENTARY


^a On the role of the *hṯp* sign on offering stones see Cat.no.18, Commentary a.


^b *H3w.t*, a round gueridon, often with its leg separate from the top, which testifies to its origin from a plate on a stand, was used in life, as reflected in table scenes,

and, as an object of daily life, it very early became a component of burial goods. Thus, it cannot be considered an offering table at the initial stage of its development. However, in Dyn.IV *ḥ3w.wt* acquired a function in the cult and were often placed in front of the false doors; therefore, they turned into real offering tables and even became the commonest type of this category of the tomb equipment for some time ⁵. Representations of *ḥ3w.wt* on the offering stones may reflect either stage of its development.


- ^c The copper washing set consists of an ewer and a basin; in the cases when a pigment is preserved, it is red, the colour of copper ⁶. As a rule, on the offering stones it is represented in high relief, as seen from above ⁷; side-view occurs relatively rarely ⁸.
- ^d Offering stones of this type appeared in the second half of Dyn.V and could be influenced by the enormous altar in the court of the Solar temple of Neusera ⁹.
- ^e The title is relatively common ¹⁰. The reading of the name of the Solar temple of Userkaf is offered by SETHE ¹¹.

Although the reading of the name of the Solar temple where Špss-ptḥ served is not obvious at the first sight, it is nonetheless reliable. Titles constructed after the pattern “such and such priest of Ra in such and such Solar temple” could be spelled completely, with two signs of the sun, e.g.,

 , ḥm(w)-nṯr R^c(w) m Nḥn-r^c(w), Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Court of Offerings of Ra” ¹²;

 , ḥm(w)-nṯr R^c(w) m Šꜥp-jb-r^c(w), Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight of Ra” ¹³.

However, very often the second ☉ could be omitted, e.g.,

 , ḥm(w)-nṯr R^c(w) m Nḥn-(r^c(w)), Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Stronghold (of Ra)” ¹⁴;

⁵ БОЛЬШАКОВ, ЭВ 23:2, 103; BOLSHAKOV, in *Oxford Enc.* II, 573–574 = BOLSHAKOV, in *Ancient Gods*, 291.

⁶ Cf. ЛИВШИЦ, ЭВ 17, 5.

⁷ Cf. Cat.no.18, Commentary b.

⁸ Cf. BORCHARDT, DARMK I, 15.

⁹ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 110–113, 134.


¹⁰ JONES, *Index*, 534–535:1997.


¹¹ SETHE, ZÄS 53 (correcting SETHE, ZÄS 27, 112). An alternative interpretation by RICKE (ZÄS 71, 110, Anm.1; 111, Anm.2) is impossible.


¹² MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 314.


¹³ MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nianchebnum*, Taf.51-b, Abb.22.

¹⁴ BORCHARDT, DARMK I, 27.

, $hm(w)-ntr R^c(w) m Sh.t-(r^c(w))$, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Field (of Ra)”¹⁵;



, $hm(w)-ntr R^c(w) (m) (J)s.t-jb-(r^c(w))$, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Desire (of Ra)”¹⁶;

, $hm(w)-ntr R^c(w) (m) Šzḫ-jb-(r^c(w))$, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight (of Ra)”¹⁷;

, $hm(w)-ntr R^c(w) m 3h.t-(r^c(w))$, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Horizon (of Ra)”¹⁸.

The compiler of our inscription followed the latter pattern, which is only to be expected, since the lack of space repeatedly forced him to use abbreviated spellings, but either he or the carver omitted by mistake also the semantic kernel of the temple’s name, the sign ㊦, thus reducing the word to a sole determinative.

As KAISER has demonstrated¹⁹, the names of six Solar temples that are known today may be determined either by the obelisk hieroglyph ㊦ or by the mound or mastaba sign ㊧, a definite correlation existing between the names and the determinatives used: $(J)s.t-jb-r^c(w)$ (Neferirkara) and $Šzḫ-jb-r^c(w)$ (Neuserra) are determined only by ㊦, $Sh.t-r^c(w)$ (Sahura) and $Htp-r^c(w)$ (Neferefra) only by ㊧, while both signs may be used in the names $Nḥn-r^c(w)$ (Userkaf) and $3h.t-r^c(w)$ (Menkauhor)²⁰. At this, only the name $Nḥn-r^c(w)$ may be determined also by the signs of a mound or an obelisk bearing a construction reminiscent of a mast with a cross-piece or a disc:

- (1)  Slab with a building inscription²¹ <Abu Gurob, year of the fifth count of cattle under an unnamed king, probably Sahura or Neferirkara, if judging by the lengths of the reigns and the contents of the text²²>;
- (2)  False door of $Sn.nw-ḥn(w)$ <Saqqara ESP, D 52²³, reigns of Sahura – Neuserra²⁴> (after inexact handwriting);

¹⁵ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, 77–78, Bl.22.

¹⁶ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 366.

¹⁷ KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 121, HASSAN, *Giza* II, fig.237.

¹⁸ HASSAN, *Giza* VI/3, fig.70.

¹⁹ KAISER, *MDAIK* 14, 108.










²⁰ This rule is somewhat shaken now by the spelling of $(J)s.t-jb-r^c(w)$ with the determinative ㊧ on the sealing Berlin 20381, KAPLONY, *Rollsiegel* II, Taf.67-18; however it is not disproven, for a record on such a specific media as a seal is not a decisive evidence.

²¹ STOCK, *ZÄS* 80, Abb.4; idem., *Or* 25, Abb.12; RICKE, *ASAE* 54, Taf.1-*b*; 1965, Abb.1; EDEL, in *Userkaf* II, Taf.2-*a*, Abb.1; LEHNER, *Pyramids*, 150.

²² KAISER, *MDAIK* 14, 110, as contrary to STOCK, *ZÄS* 80, 143; RICKE, *ASAE* 54, 77. OSING (*Or* 41, 306) for a reason undisclosed dates it to the reign of Neuserra.

²³ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 319.

²⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:500.

- [3]  Offering stone of *Dw3(j)-rꜥ(w)* (CG 1375; Dahshur ESPS ²⁵, Dyn.V, reigns of Sahura – Neusera ²⁶) (after standard font);
- [4]  False door of *N(j)-k3.w-ptḥ* (UMM 10780; Saqqara (?) ²⁷, reign of Isesi ²⁸);
- [5]  Statue of *N(j)-ꜥnb-rꜥ(w)* (CG 55; Saqqara ²⁹, Dyn.V, reign of Neferirkara or later if judging by the titles and style) (after standard font);
- [6]  False door of *Nn-bft(j)-k3(j)* (CG 1484 ³⁰; Saqqara ESP, D 49, reign of Neusera (?) ³¹); on the same false door the name *Nbn-rꜥ(w)* is more than once spelled with a traditional obelisk determinative  ³²;
- [7]  Rock inscription in Wadi Maghara (Sinai 13, year after the third or the fourth count of cattle under Isesi) ³³;
- [8]  Mastaba of *K3(j)-m-nfr.t* (MFA 04.1761; Saqqara NSP, D 23 ³⁴, reigns of Isesi – Unis (?) ³⁵);
- [9]  Mastaba of *Nfr-jr.t-n.f* (MRAH E.2465; Saqqara ESP, D 55 ³⁶, reigns of Isesi – Unis ³⁷);
- [10]  Lintel fragment ³⁸ (Saqqara, reign of Isesi or later, if judging by the presence of the name of Osiris) (after inexact handwriting);

²⁵ MASPERO, *MMAF* I/2, 190–191; BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, 34.

²⁶ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 279:617.

²⁷ MURRAY, *AE* 1917, 63; STRUDWICK, *RdE* 38, pl.6; FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, 35, fig.4.

²⁸ STRUDWICK, *RdE* 38, 141–142.

²⁹ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, 49, Bl.14.

³⁰ BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, Bl.40.

³¹ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 275:447.

³² BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, Bl.40.

³³ *Sinai* I, pl.7:13; BAINES, PARKINSON, in *Essays te Velde*, fig.1 (cf. BIRCH, *ZÄS* 7, 340; WEILL, *Inscriptions du Sinai*, 110; *Urke.*I, 55:17).












³⁴ SIMPSON, *Kayemnofret*, pl.B.

³⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 276:522.

³⁶ WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 5, 7.

³⁷ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 274:440.

³⁸ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 445.

- [11]  False door of *W3s-k3(j)* (BM 1156A ³⁹; Giza (?), Dyn.V ⁴⁰);
- [12]  False door of *Hnm(w)-htp(.w)* (BM 1143 ⁴¹; Saqqara, Dyn.V);
- [13]  Offering stone of *K(3,j)-ḥp* (Berlin 11467 ⁴²; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.V (?)) (after inexact handwriting);
- [14]  False door of the same *K(3,j)-ḥp* (Berlin 11469 ⁴³; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.V (?)) (after inexact handwriting);
- [15]  Offering stone of an unknown man (Berlin 11661 ⁴⁴; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.V (?)) (after inexact handwriting);
- [16]  Offering stone of *N(j)-ḥnḥm(w)/Nmḥw* (Berlin 11664 ⁴⁵; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.V (?)) (after inexact handwriting);
- [17]  False door of *Nfr* (CG 1462 ⁴⁶; provenance unrecorded, Dyn.V (?)) if judging by epigraphy and the type of the false door);
- [18]  Offering stone of *Nfr* (UCL 19658 ⁴⁷; provenance unrecorded; Dyn.V (?)). This case is problematic: in the title *ḥm(w)-ntr R^c(w) m Nḥn-(r^c(w))* the sign  is placed on a summit of the obelisk as if it were a Sun-disk: ; however, a poor line drawing and even a worse commentary ⁴⁸ keep us from speculating whether this is an intentional graphic game or a pure coincidence;
- [19]  Offering stone of *Dd.f-ḥr(w)/Jttj* (REM 1684 ⁴⁹; Giza (?); late Dyn.VI ⁵⁰);

³⁹ *Hiero.Texts* I², pl.27.

⁴⁰ *PM* III², 303.

⁴¹ *Hiero.Texts* I², pl.18-2.

⁴² *Aeg.Inscr.* I, 45.

⁴³ *Aeg.Inscr.* I, 44.

⁴⁴ *Aeg.Inscr.* I, 58.

⁴⁵ *Aeg.Inscr.* I, 60.


⁴⁶ BORCHARDT, *DARMI* I, Bl.36.


⁴⁷ STEWART, *Stelae* II, pl.37:1.

⁴⁸ STEWART, *Stelae* II, 36.


⁴⁹ WALLE, *JNES* 36, fig.2.

⁵⁰ WALLE, *JNES* 36, 23–24.

- (20)  Drum of a false door of $N(j)^c nb-hnm(w)/Hmj$ <CG 1714⁵¹; provenance unrecorded; dating problematic> (after a very small photograph).

The inaccurately carved sign  on the offering table of Špss-ptḥ no doubt belongs to this group of determinatives (especially close to (1), (7) and (19)) and, thus, the name of the Solar temple should be read as $Nhn-r^c(w)$.

The Solar temple of Userkaf had four building periods⁵². In the first phase a mound, probably imitating the primeval hill, was constructed; a mast on it could be a perch for the Sun-falcon⁵³. In the second phase the mound was replaced by a thickset obelisk on a pedestal more or less similar to the Solar temple of Neusera as reconstructed by BORCHARDT⁵⁴, but, probably, with a Sun-disc on its top that succeeded the perch⁵⁵; in the third and the fourth phases the enclosure and the structures around the obelisk were radically rebuilt⁵⁶. It is more or less generally accepted that only the first phase can be dated back to the reign of Userkaf, while the following reconstructions were undertaken by Neferirkara and finished only by Neusera who revered Userkaf as a founder of the dynasty, and that $Sh.t-r^c(w)$ and $(J)s.t-jb-r^c(w)$ are not the names of archaeologically undocumented temples of Sahura and Nferirkara but the designations of the phases of a single structure undertaken by the respective kings⁵⁷.

According to KAISER⁵⁸, the spellings of $Nhn-r^c(w)$ with the determinative  reflecting its original shape of a mound are earlier than Neferirkara, while starting from his reign the variants of the true obelisk sign were in use, and, thus, archae-

⁵¹ BORCHARDT, *DARMK* II, Bl.91.

⁵² RICKE, *Userkaf* I, 4–31.

⁵³ SCHÄFER, *OLZ* 32; RICKE, *Userkaf* I, 5.

⁵⁴ BORCHARDT, *Rathures* I, Bl.1.

⁵⁵ However, cf. (3) showing something like a cross atop an obelisk, and (14) with a disk on a mast over either a pointed mound or a miniature obelisk; unfortunately, reproductions of both inscriptions are unreliable. STRUDWICK (*RdE* 38, 142) prefers to understand the thin structures on a squat base ((4), (11), and (15)) not as real obelisks but as masts, which also calls the above reconstruction into question.

⁵⁶ Cf. STADELMANN, *Pyramiden*, 164; idem., *Pyramiden*³, 164. See also plans, LEHNER, *Pyramids*, 150, and a CAD reconstruction, KREJČÍ, in *AeS* 2000, fig.3.

⁵⁷ As contrary to it, STADELMANN (in *AeS* 2000, 542 = *Sokar* 7, 32–33) supposes that, having been the places of worship of the Sun-god, Solar temples were not as personalised as pyramid temples, and that what we call the temple of Userkaf was intended for the cult of three brothers – Userkaf, Sahura and Neferirkara; however, this difference, important as it is, is not a matter of principle for us here.

⁵⁸ KAISER, *MDAIK* 14, 111, Abb.1.

ological and epigraphic data are in accord with one another. This idea was extensively exploited by the later researchers of Abusir – Abu Gurob ⁵⁹, but it was never critically checked or verified, although a number of strong objections to it can be raised:

- ◆ The above list of determinatives showing a mound or an obelisk with a mast or a disc irrefutably demonstrates that the former could be used under Isesi (7) and even as late as the end of the Old Kingdom (19), while the latter are undeniably recorded in the end of Dyn.V (8), (9); at this, the datings of the monuments differ much from those accepted by KAISER who relied too much on the presence of the kings' names as a dating criterion;
- ◆ On the same monument a determinative of an obelisk with and without a disk may be used (6);
- ◆ The same man could be a priest in several Solar temples, which must mean that they functioned simultaneously and, thus, their names could not designate different building periods of a single temple ^{60 61};
- ◆ The name *Nḥn-r^c(w)* was in use till the end of the Old Kingdom (19), which makes the renaming of the temple already under Sahura and then again under Neferirkara highly improbable ⁶². Of special interest is the fact that the inscription Sinai 13 (7) mentioning some important event that happened in the temple under Isesi ⁶³ names it *Nḥn-r^c(w)*.
- ◆ The physical absence of the Solar temples besides those of Userkaf and Neusera is not an argument for their names referring to these two structures. For

⁵⁹ E.g., by RICKE (*Userkaf* I, 15–18) who used the shapes of the determinatives for dating the building periods of the temple of Userkaf.

⁶⁰ Already in LEHNER, *Pyramids*, 152.

⁶¹ One may suppose that *Nḥn-r^c(w)* could be mentioned as a more popular name instead the later ones, but then why is it absent, e.g., in the titulary of *Tjj* who was a priest in *Sh.t-r^c(w)*, *Js.t-jb-r^c(w)*, *Htp-r^c(w)* and *Šsp-jb-r^c(w)* and whose tomb was spacious enough for recording an extra (and especially important) title?

⁶² According to STADELMANN (in *AeS* 2000, 542 = *Sokar* 7, 32–33), what we call the names of the Solar temples actually referred not to architectural structures but to households of different kings attached to the same cult complex. This interpretation eliminates the improbable renamings (see n.61), but it is also dubious: we know these names mainly from the titles of priests reflecting their duties in the cult and not in the household.



⁶³ On the interpretation of the text see EICHLER, *Expeditionswesen*, 32–33:13; VALBELLE, BONNET, *Sanctuaire d'Hathor*, 3; BAINES, PARKINSON, in *Essays te Velde*; GOEDICKE, in *AeS* 2000, 408; and absolutely fantastic KAMMERZELL, in *LingAeg* 9.

instance, the pyramid of Neusera could be built over the Solar temple of Sahura, reusing its blocks and architectural elements ⁶⁴.

Thus, the situation is more complicated than usually supposed. The problem can be solved only archaeologically, the shapes of determinatives being only an auxiliary argument. They may reflect some reality or a memory of it ⁶⁵, but it is impossible to deduce from them as an independent source; accordingly, they are not a dating criterion that may be used without extra verification.

^f For the title ⁶⁶ and its translation see Cat.no.3, Commentary I.

The sign *hnt* represents a rack of three vessels, while the classical Old Kingdom form is that of four. Unfortunately, the form of *hnt* is not a reliable dating criterion: although the late variant prevails in the end of Dyn.VI, it appears first in the early Dyn.V ⁶⁷, while the old one survives into the Middle and New Kingdom. In the middle Dyn.VI and even later, when the new variant became widespread, it could alternate with the older one on the monuments of the same person; e.g., both forms are present in the tomb of *K3(j)-hjf* (G 2136, mid reign of Pepy II) ⁶⁸ and on the false door of *N(j)-s(w)-ḳd(w) I* (Giza WF, First Intermediate Period) ⁶⁹.

The spelling of the title on the Hermitage monument has two deviations from the norm: the determinative  is absent, and the signs *t* and *ṣ* are transposed: . The absence of the determinative is a rather common abbreviation, but the signs transposition is a result of carelessness of the compiler of the texts or of the carver.

^g As contrary to the traditional but grammatically impossible Ptahshepses ⁷⁰. The name belongs to the number of the commonest in the Old Kingdom, but, unfortunately, none of the numerous *Špss-ptḥ*s may be identified with the owner of the Hermitage offering stone. The only *Špss-ptḥ* who was Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple of Userkaf was the owner of the mastaba C 1 at Saqqara ⁷¹, but his false

⁶⁴ BORCHARDT, *Nefer-ir-ke3-re*^c, 54–55; KAISER, *MDAIK* 14, 112, Anm.2; VERNER, in *AcS* 2000, 591–592.

⁶⁵ OSING's idea that the determinatives with a mast are engendered by hieratic forms of the obelisk sign (*Or* 41, 308–309, with a reference to POSENER-KRIÉGER, *CENIVAL*, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. pal. 8, now also GOEDICKE, *Paleography*, 29-a) can hardly be acceptable in the cases of monumental objects of a high quality.

⁶⁶ JONES, *Index*, 691–692:2530.

⁶⁷ E.g., JUNKER, *Giza* II, Abb.7, 9, 10.

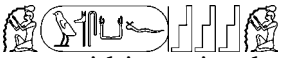



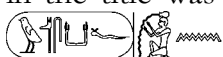
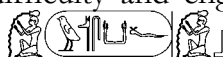
⁶⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* VI, Abb.28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40; dating: HARPUR, *Decoration*, 271:278.

⁶⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* VI, Abb.104; dating: HARPUR, *Decoration*, 270:246.

⁷⁰ Cf. already RANKE, *PN I*, 326:19.

⁷¹ *PM III*², 464.

door (BM 682 ⁷²) is so enormous that one cannot imagine our miniature offering stone to belong to the equipment of the same tomb.

- ^h For the meaning and translation of *jm3ḥ(.w)* see Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ⁱ According to BERLEV's "theory of Two Suns", *ntr* ʕ3 traditionally translated as "Great God" actually is the "Elder God", Sun, opposed to his son, *ntr nfr*, the "Younger God", i.e., the king ⁷³. However, also Osiris might be called *ntr* ʕ3 ⁷⁴ and, thus, starting from the reign of Isesi ⁷⁵, *jm3ḥ.w hr ntr* ʕ3 ⁷⁶ is an epithet referring to its bearer as being under protection of both Ra and Osiris.
- ^j The selection of the festivals is rather unusual and, perhaps, is a result of shrinking the list as much as possible without reducing it to the traditional abbreviated formula "every festival, every day". In the traditional complete list of the festivals the First day of the year would be the third and "every day" the twelfth item.
- ^k The absence of \neg in the expression *rʕ nb* is most probably due to miscalculation of the space occupied by the previous signs. The phonetic spelling of *rʕ*, "day", is rare ⁷⁷.
- ^l The spelling  is abnormal in two respects. First, the determinative of a pyramid is omitted, which is one of numerous abbreviations used on the offering stone of Špss-ptḥ due to the lack of space. Second, the arrangement of  before the cartouche contradicts the norms of honorific transposition ideally requiring  ⁷⁸. However, the presence of two signs  in the title was a matter of some difficulty and engendered such spellings as  ⁷⁹ or even  ⁸⁰.
- Špss-ptḥ combined the positions of a *wʕb*-priest in the pyramid temple of Userkaf ⁸¹ and of a Prophet of Ra in the Solar Temple of the same king. This combination,

⁷² *Hiero. Texts* I², pl.17, now add DORMAN, *JE* 4 88.

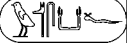

⁷³ БЕРЛЕВ, *Трудовое население*, 12, n.2; BERLEV, *RdE* 24, 12, n.2; idem., in *Studies Polotsky*, 362–365; HODJASH, BERLEV, *AoF* 3, 11–12; idem., *Reliefs and Stelae*, 37, Commentary c, and now especially BERLEV, in *Discovering Egypt*. On the relations of the Sun and the king as a father and a son in the Amarna period see also ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Кэ́и и Семнех-ке-ре*, 258–271.

⁷⁴ BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, 184–185; БОЛЬШАКОВ, *Человек и его Двойник*, 105–106.

⁷⁵ On the date of the first occurrences of the records of Osiris in private tombs see Cat.no.10, Commentary g.

⁷⁶ JONES, *Index*, 30:142.

⁷⁷ Cf. Commentary n.

⁷⁸ CG 1564 (BORCHARDT, *DARMK* II, Bl.64). Cf. also  (CG 1417) (BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, Bl.20);  (CG 1375) (BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, 34).




⁷⁹ CG 1359 (BORCHARDT, *DARMK* I, 27).

⁸⁰ *Aeg.Inschr.*I, 44.

⁸¹ JONES, *Index*, 369:1366.

e.g. ✱⁹⁵. Our form differs only by the position of the extra ray not above but aside. The forms of the two star signs in Inscription 3 (✧ and ✧) being different do not testify against our interpretation of ✧ as the name of the pyramid of Djedefra: first, they are also very simplified and, second, the title *hnt(j)-š n Šbdw(-Dd.f-r(w))* was carved not simultaneously with other inscriptions, but after a break⁹⁶. In conclusion, no other pyramid name could be abbreviated as ✱⁹⁷, and, thus, ✧ is either the name of an unknown pyramid, which is highly improbable, or that of the pyramid of Djedefra.

The name of the pyramid of Djedefra had been unknown for a long time. Now we have several indisputable records of it in the titles of the priests who served in the pyramid temple:

- ◆ Ink inscription on the sarcophagus of a certain *Š3bw-sw* (?) discovered in his tomb at Abu Rawash (M.15, late Dyn.V or later according to MÁLEK⁹⁸); MONTET was prone to date it to Dyn. IV⁹⁹, but MÁLEK's dating is supported by the presence of the component *Š3b* in the name *Š3bw-sw* (?), which is characteristic mainly of Dyn.VI, but not at all of Dyn.IV¹⁰⁰. *Š3bw-sw* (?) was , Overseer of the servants of the Double of the pyramid "Starry Firmament of Djedefra"¹⁰¹.
- ◆ Rock graffito of the Overseer of the army *ʿnh.w* in Wadi Hammamat¹⁰² (probably Dyn.V, although the dating is not secure). Among the titles of *ʿnh.w* is , *wʿb*-priest of the pyramid "Starry Firmament of Djedefra".
- ◆ Recently found in the temple of the pyramid of Abu Rawash and still unpublished sealing bears the title Director of the pyramid "Starry Firmament of Djedefra"¹⁰³.
- The name of the pyramid of Djedefra is included into the name of a domain , "Starry Firmament of Djedefra" mentioned in the tomb

⁹⁵ POSENER-KRIÉGER, CENIVAL, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl.58-f, pal. pl. 7.


⁹⁶ See Commentary t.

⁹⁷ See, e.g. BENNET, *JEA* 52, 174–175.

⁹⁸ *PM* III², 7.

⁹⁹ MONTET, *Kémi* 8, 216–217.

¹⁰⁰ See references in *PM* III², 374, 966.

¹⁰¹ MONTET, *Kémi* 8, 122–123 (the publication is rather inaccurate and on p.216 the same name is reproduced in standard hieroglyphs with  instead of ✱). Unfortunately, a facsimile reproduction of this important inscription has never been published, although the need of it is urgent, cf. SIMPSON, *JNES* 18, 25, n.9.

¹⁰² GOYON, *Wadi Hammamat*, 14, 57–58, pl.9.

¹⁰³ MATHIEU, *BIFAO* 102, 442; VALLOGGIA, *EA* 23, 12.

of Ptḥ-ḥtp(.w)I¹⁰⁴ (Saqqara WSP, D 62, late reign of Isesi¹⁰⁵), probably in the vicinity of Abu Rawash (at least, it is included into the list of the estates of Ptḥ-ḥtp(.w)I located in Lower Egypt).

If our understanding of the inscription on the Hermitage offering stone is correct, this is another record of the pyramid of Djedefra, which is of special interest both because of its abbreviated spelling¹⁰⁶ and date.

As the first known son of Ra¹⁰⁷, Djedefra occupies a very special place in the history of Egyptian ideology; nonetheless, he remains the most mysterious figure of Dyn.IV (except the ephemeral Βίχερις and Θαμφοις). In his time REISNER¹⁰⁸ proposed a version of the dynastic history of the successors of Cheops with Djedefra as the main character¹⁰⁹. According to it, K3(j)-w^cb(w) and H^c(j).f-r^c(w) were Cheops' sons of the main queen, while Djedefra was a son of a "foreign lady", a "Libyan queen", whose claim to the throne was weak and whose domination caused "open enmity if not active resistance" of the main branch of the family; the descendants of Djedefra in their turn organized an "open revolt" under Chephren in whose face the main branch of the family came back to power. This theory is one of the excessively vivid historical reconstructions to which otherwise realistically-minded REISNER was often inclined; it is based mainly on the fact that Djedefra built his pyramid not at Giza but at Abu Rawash, on the generally accepted opinion on the brevity of his reign and on the unfinished state of his pyramid, on the destruction of the necropolis of Abu Rawash, and on some very weak ideas on the primogeniture within the family Cheops, but when it was published in 1931, the absence of records of the cult in the pyramid temple of Djedefra might seem testifying for the persecution of his memory. However it cannot be taken seriously in the light of the sources available today and the modern understanding of the history of Dyn.IV¹¹⁰:

- ◆ The construction of the pyramid of Djedefra at Abu Rawash must be regarded not as a demonstrative break-up with his father but as a continuation of the old tradition of building pyramids at a new place;

¹⁰⁴ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 353; MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl.12; JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 384:25; HASSAN, *Saqqara* II, pl.40.

¹⁰⁵ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 273:398.

¹⁰⁶ On the reason of the abbreviation see Commentary t.

¹⁰⁷ MÜLLER, *ZÄS* 91.

¹⁰⁸ REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 239–254.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. earlier CHASSINAT, *MonPiot* 25, 69–75.

¹¹⁰ E.g., HELCK, *Geschichte*, 60.

- ◆ As VALLOGGIA has demonstrated ¹¹¹ based on a quarry mark on a roofing block of the boat trench of Cheops mentioning the year after the 11th count of cattle under Djedefra ¹¹², his reign had been at least 23 years long ¹¹³;
- ◆ According to the results of recent excavations, the pyramid of Djedefra did not remain unfinished ¹¹⁴ and its complex was destroyed only in Roman times ¹¹⁵;
- ◆ The recently discovered depot of pottery vessels in the pyramid temple of Djedefra is a material evidence of the continuation of his cult till the beginning of Dyn.V ¹¹⁶;
- ◆ Several priests of Djedefra are known ¹¹⁷, the latest of whom, *Rwd* <G 3086, JE 46497> ¹¹⁸ and the dwarf *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* <Giza WF> ¹¹⁹ lived in Dyn.VI, the latter most probably in the mid to late Dyn.VI ¹²⁰.

These are indubitable proofs of the existence of a long cult in the pyramid temple of Abu Rawash ¹²¹, and along with the tomb of *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* the Hermitage offering stone bears its latest unquestionable record ¹²², which maximises the importance of the monument.

- ^r The word *šdw* in the name of the pyramid of Djedefra may be theoretically interpreted as both “star” ¹²³ and “starry sky” ¹²⁴, but the latter option is more probable in the light of the name of the pyramid of Cheops, *3ḥ.t-ḥw(j).f-w(j)*, “Horizon of Cheops”. If we do not question the continuation of ideological tradition from Cheops to his son (for which we have no reason if the theory of marginality of Djedefra is disproven), we can see a manifestation of that tradition also in the names of their

¹¹¹ VALLOGGIA, in *Études Lauer* II, 419.

¹¹² ABUBAKR, MUSTAFA, in *FsRicke*, fig.6.

¹¹³ VON BECKERATH (*Chronologie*, 158–159) still accepts the length of 9 years based on the 8 years of the Turin Papyrus.

¹¹⁴ VALLOGGIA, *EA* 23, 12.

¹¹⁵ VALLOGGIA, *EA* 23, 10.

¹¹⁶ MARCHAND, BAUD, *BIFAO* 96.

¹¹⁷ WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 193.

¹¹⁸ FISHER, *Minor Cemetery*, pl.46-1.

¹¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza* V, Abb.29-a.

¹²⁰ For the dating of *---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb* see Cat.no.5, n.23.


¹²¹ Cf. also MARAGIOLIO, RINALDI, *Piramidi Menfite* V, 9; WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 192–196.














¹²² See below, Provenance and Dating.

¹²³ *Wb*.IV, 224:10; *GHwb*, 738; *ÄgWb* I, 1178:29366.

¹²⁴ *Wb*.IV, 224:12; *GHwb*, 738; *ÄgWb* I, 1178:29368.

pyramids, both related to the sky, but to its different parts ¹²⁵. Interpretation of JONES, “Radjedef (Djedefra)-shines-like-a-star” ¹²⁶ is highly improbable.

- ^s According to the common understanding going back to SETHE ¹²⁷,  is an elephant tusk looking strange enough as a determinative to a star or a district of the sky. However, if interpreted as a spout of a metal vessel ¹²⁸, it becomes a very logical reference to copper as a substance of the sky.
- ^t Halves of bread are one of the most important tomb offerings; in the main scene of Old Kingdom tomb decoration, the deceased is represented as sitting at the table loaded with these vertical halves of bread and, thus, the arrangement of Inscription 20/5 by the image of that table is most reasonable.

Early Old Kingdom inscriptions mention *gs.nj* – “two halves of a loaf” ¹²⁹, later plural is used instead of dual, but the rib sign  remains obligatory in all spelling variants. In the second half of Dyn.VI, however, deviations from the original spelling are numerous. The main tendency is a phonetic complementation of the rib sign by mono- and biconsonant signs. Either its first consonant may be complemented, e.g.  ¹³⁰,  ¹³¹,  ¹³², or the second one, e.g.  ¹³³,  ¹³⁴,  ¹³⁵, the rib sign tending to move to the end of the word in the latter case, e.g.  ¹³⁶,  ¹³⁷. The role of the rib sign diminishes in these spellings, and it may be easily omitted, e.g.  ¹³⁸,  ¹³⁹,  ¹⁴⁰. The spelling on the Hermitage offering stone follows the latter tendency, but it differs by the presence of the  sign in the beginning

¹²⁵ For the meaning of *shdw* and *3ḥ.t* in the Pyramid Texts see ALLEN, *YES* 3, 4, 18–20. Cf. also KRAUSS, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 254–260.

¹²⁶ JONES, *Index*, 179:678.

¹²⁷ SETHE, *Übersetzung und Kommentar PT IV*, 158.

¹²⁸ MÖLLER, *ZÄS* 38.

¹²⁹ JUNKER, *Gîza I*, Abb.59; *Gîza II*, 84.

¹³⁰ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.12.

¹³¹ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig.81.

¹³² JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.6.

¹³³ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.17.

¹³⁴ *Hiero. Texts I*², pl.34-3.

¹³⁵ JUNKER, *Gîza VII*, Abb.46.





¹³⁶ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.14.








¹³⁷ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig.48.

¹³⁸ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.3.

¹³⁹ JÉQUIER, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 14.



¹⁴⁰ JUNKER, *Gîza VII*, Abb.87.

and by transposition of the hieroglyphs  and . The shape of the three small signs  being a determinative is indefinite, but these no doubt are not halves of loaves ; however, we cannot expect a better carving of such small signs, the more so that their shape is often mixed up (see the above examples).

- ^u The arrangement of Inscription 20/5 allows us to reconstruct the order of carving the texts on the offering stone. Inscriptions 21/1–3 and 21/4 down to the words *jrr wd(.t) nb.f* were made first. Then the carver turned to Inscription 21/5 and spelled the name of the halves of loaves as  entirely filling the space between the representations of the table and of the washing-set. However, since this spelling was very different from the traditional ones, he decided to complement it with the sign *sw* for which he had no space and which had to be placed above, partly in the line of Inscription 20/4. As a result a strange spelling  appeared with the determinative in the centre, which becomes sensible only if regarding  as an addition. Then Inscription 20/4 was finished, but the remaining space was not enough for a more or less clear spelling of *hnt(j)-š n Šhdw-dd.f-r^c(w)* and, thus the pyramid name was written in the most abbreviated form.
- ^v The first records of the *stp.t*-offering consisting in the cutting off of a foreleg of a living animal and the turning off of a head of a bird ¹⁴¹ (hence the determinatives  ¹⁴²) appear in the late Dyn.V ¹⁴³. According to JUNKER, if *stp.t* was determined only by , the goose was included into the *hnt.t*-offering.
- ^w The order of the thousands is abnormal. According to the rules of Egyptian calligraphy, those under the jackal sign must be read first, but bread and beer that traditionally open the list are placed to the left, i.e., they are in the end of the list. The normative  is abbreviated to , fowl erroneously preceding cattle ¹⁴⁴.

EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES



In the name of the Solar temple of Userkaf the sign of a falcon on a perch  is replaced by a falcon .



The determinative to the name of the Solar temple of Userkaf represents a squat structure with an indefinite construction atop.



A simplified form of  may have no vessel.

¹⁴¹ JUNKER, *Giza* III, 114.

¹⁴² MACRAMALLAH, *Idout*, pl.11, 17; KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl.62, 70.

¹⁴³ JUNKER, *Giza* III, 114.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. the same wrong order   on a slab of Dyn.VI (Rwd, G 3086, PennUM E 13523), FISHER, *Minor Cemetery*, pl.48-4.



The shape of ★ as an X-shaped sign with an extra ray aside may be engendered by a hieratic form ✖.



The star sign in ★ and ☆ is simplified to an oblique cross.



□ has no lower horizontal strokes.



⚡ has long vertical outermost strokes.



The shape of 𓏏 is simplified, the marrow issues from the upper part of the main volume.



The shapes of 𐎓, especially of the head, are oversimplified.

PROVENANCE AND DATING

One tomb of a priest of the Solar temple of Userkaf is located at Dahshur¹⁴⁵, one at Giza¹⁴⁶ and the bulk of them at Saqqara¹⁴⁷. This allows us to suggest with a high probability that the latter was also the place where Špss-ptḥ was buried, which agrees with information of HILTON PRICE¹⁴⁸. It is of interest, however, how he could combine the positions in the temples of Saqqara, Abu Gurob and Abu Rawash.

Records of the pyramid and the Solar temple of Userkaf give *terminus ante quem non* for the offering stone. In his time PEREPELKIN dated it to early Dyn.V¹⁴⁹; however a number of features make us prefer a much later dating.

- ◆ The offering stones of this type occur starting from mid Dyn.V¹⁵⁰.
- ◆ The records of the *stp.t*-offering are not earlier than late Dyn.V¹⁵¹.
- ◆ The spellings of *gs.w*, “halves of loaves”, without the sign 𓏏 are characteristic of mid Dyn.VI and later time¹⁵².

Thus, mid to late Dyn.VI is the most probable dating of the offering stone of Špss-ptḥ.

¹⁴⁵ PM III², 894.

¹⁴⁶ JUNKER, *Giza* IX, 107–118. The provenance of the false door of W3ṣ-k3(j) (BM 1156A) from Giza (*Hiero. Texts* I², pl.27) is questionable.

¹⁴⁷ PM III², 927:684.

¹⁴⁸ See n.1.

¹⁴⁹ ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 10. The dating is no doubt based on the title related with the cult of Userkaf.

¹⁵⁰ See Commentary d.

¹⁵¹ See Commentary v.

¹⁵² See Commentary t.

21. Offering Stone of *Hkn*

INV. NO.: □5397.

DATE: Late Old Kingdom (?).

MATERIAL: Limestone.

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 23,5 cm wide, 13 cm deep, 6,5 cm high.

CONDITION: Minor dents along the edges of the upper surface.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

? – Acquired by TURAEV, circumstances unknown.

1920 – Acquired by the Hermitage with the collection of TURAEV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

СТРУВЕ, *Этюды*, 291, 305–306.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 21–22, рис.6.

DESCRIPTION

The offering stone (fig.21.1, pl.XLI) is a flat rectangular limestone slab with slanting sides (fig.21.2). The upper surface is occupied with a libation basin surrounded by incised hieroglyphic inscriptions. The offering stone belongs to the type C 1 after MOSTAFA ¹ and the type B 1 after HÖLZL ^{2 a}.

INSCRIPTIONS

The hieroglyphs are deeply incised; in spite of generalisation of the shapes, the quality is relatively high.

Inscription 21/1 begins in the upper right corner and occupies a horizontal line and a vertical column above and to the left of the basin (↓):

① *hṭp dj n(j)-sw.t hṭp (dj) Jnpw pr.t-brw n.s (m) 3bd (m) smd.t (?)*

② *h(3)b nb r^c nb jm3b.(w)t –*

① An offering given by the king, an offering (given) by Anubis ^b – invocation-offerings for her (at) the month festival, (at) the half-month festival,

② (at) every festival, every day ^c – Revered ^d

Inscription 21/2 continues Inscription 20/1 and occupies a vertical column and a horizontal line to the right of and under the basin (↙):

① *hm(w).t-nṯr H(w).t-br(w) jm3b.(w)t*

② *br nṯr ^c3 (j)r(j.t) b(j) n(j)-sw.t Hkn –*

① Prophetess of Hathor ^c, Revered ^d

② with the Elder God ^f, She belonging to the baby king ^g *Hkn* ^h.

COMMENTARY

^a Offering stones of this type are not earlier than the second half of Dyn.V ³.

¹ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 114–115, 121–122, 134.

² HÖLZL, *Opfertafeln*, 14.

³ MOSTAFA, *Opfertafeln*, 121–122, 134.

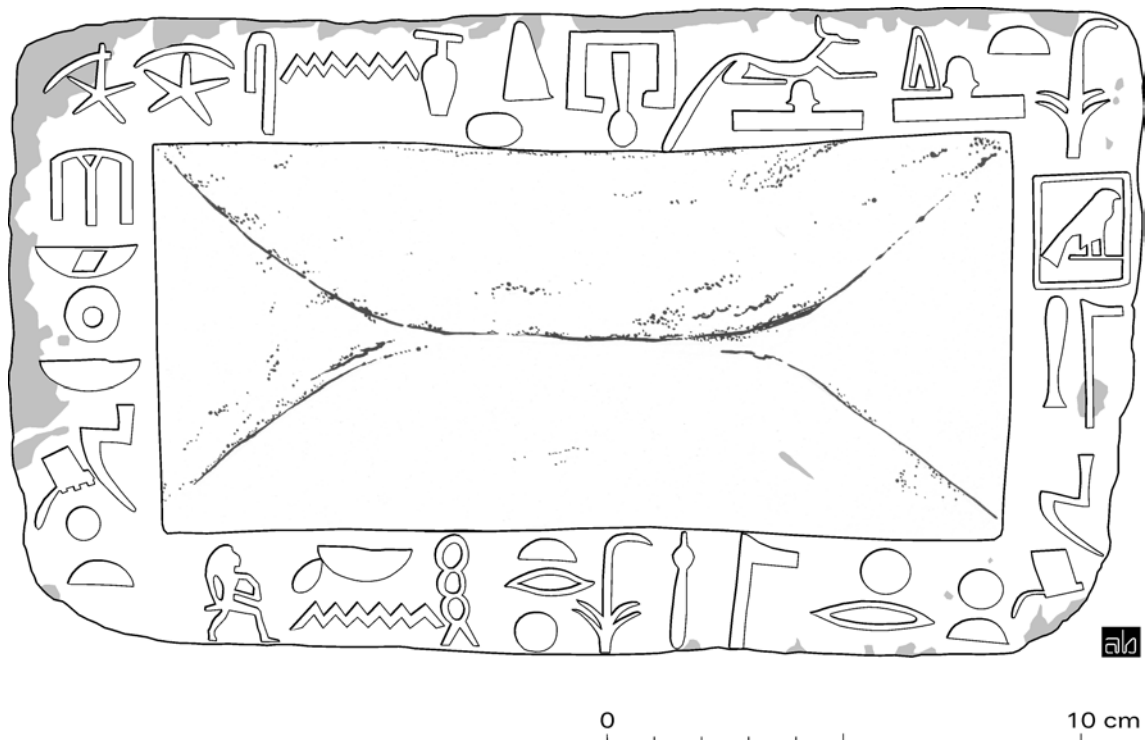


Fig. 21.1
Offering stone of *Hkn*, Hermitage 5397

- ^b The beginning of the offering formula is given in almost a complete version, only *dj* being omitted in the *Götterformel*. This variant is possible through the whole Old Kingdom.
- ^c Due to the lack of space, the compiler of the inscription included only the last items of the list of the festivals, the omitted ones being covered by “(at) every festival”. For a similar abbreviation see, e.g., the offering stone of *N(j)-k3-br(w)* (BM 1603) ⁴.
- ^d The abnormal spelling of *jm3b/jm3b(.w)/jm3b(.w)t* with the initial *ḳ* omitted is characteristic of the late Old Kingdom (except for the word combination *nb(w)jm3b*) ⁵. For *jm3b(.w)* see Cat.no.5, Commentary j.
- ^e The most abbreviated version of the title without epithets of the goddess ⁶.

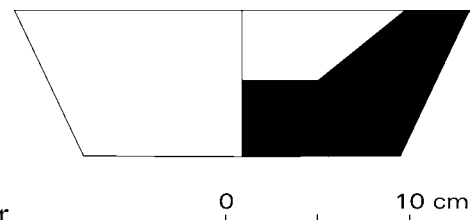




Fig. 21.2
Offering stone of *Hkn*,
Hermitage 5397,
section

⁴ *Hiero. Texts I*², pl. 41-1.

⁵ FISCHER, *Varia*, 51–53.

⁶ JONES, *Index*, 540–541:2012. On the Old Kingdom cult of Hathor in the Memphite region see ALLAM, *Hathorkult*, 3–22.

- ^f On the meaning of *ntr* ʕ3 see Cat.no.5, Commentary k .
- ^g For the reading and meaning of the title ⁷ see Cat.no.17, Commentary f .
- ^h Not registered in this form by RANKE, but see *Hkmm*, both male and female ⁸. The determinative to the name  represents a man; STRUVE erroneously read it as  ⁹.

DATING

Typologically the offering stone can be as early as mid Dyn.V ¹⁰, but the spelling of *jm3b.(w)t* without the initial *j* ¹¹ moves the *terminus ante quem non* to the late Old Kingdom.

⁷ JONES, *Index*, 327–328:1206.

⁸ RANKE, PN I, 257:3.

⁹ СТРУВЕ, *Этимология*, 291, 306.

¹⁰ See Commentary a.

¹¹ See Commentary d.

22. Fragment of an Ointment Tablet

INV. NO.: □18057.

DATE: Mid – late Dyn.VI or later.

MATERIAL: Alabaster (calcite).

PIGMENTS: No traces.

DIMENSIONS: 4,5–7,5 cm wide ¹, 9 cm deep, 1 cm thick.

CONDITION: Left half is lost; numerous cracks.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded; probably from the Saqqara – Abusir region.

ACQUISITION HISTORY:

1908 – Purchased by LIKHATCHEV at an unknown Italian antiquarian in Cairo ².

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum of Palaeography, since 1930 Museum of Books, Documents

and Scripts, since 1931 Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1935 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

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ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН, *Путеводитель*, 10, кат.№ 1/7.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *СГЭ* 51.

БОЛЬШАКОВ, *ЭВ* 24, 25–27.

ROCHHOLZ, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, 174, Abb.9.

DESCRIPTION

Right half of a rectangular alabaster tablet (fig.22.1, pl.XLII). The polished upper surface is divided into vertical sections with incised vertical lines; three divisions are complete and one, the left most, is partly preserved. At the bottom of each section is a round drilled depression, a container for an ointment, with the name of the latter incised above ^a.

INSCRIPTION

① <i>st(j) b(3)b</i>	Festival ointment,
② <i>hknw</i>	<i>hknw</i> - oil,
③ <i>sf t</i> ---	resin --- ^{b c}
④ ---	---

COMMENTARY

- ^a Ointment tablets ³ are usually interpreted as related with the rituals of the opening of the mouth ⁴ or with the anointing that

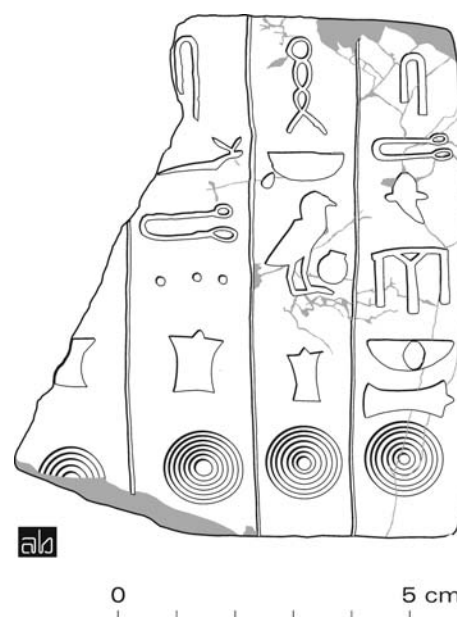


Fig.22.1

Fragment of an ointment tablet,
Hermitage □18057

¹ Thus the original length was 14–15 cm.

² ПЕРЕПЕЛКИН Mss, 111, rev.

³ See lists: JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 187; TAWFIK, *GM* 30, 81, Anm.1; MÁLEK, 33, 38–40; BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 131; ROCHHOLZ, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, 170–173; now to be supplemented by VERNER, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, fig. on p.84, bottom; VERNER, CALLENDER, *Abusir* VI, fig.B24; BÁRTA, *K.M.T.* 13/1, fig. on p.28.

⁴ VACHALA, *ZÄS* 108, 61.

followed the opening according to the Pyramid Texts ⁵. These opinions are no doubt acceptable in general, all the more so that at least in one case some traces of organic substances were found preserved in the depressions ⁶, but the problem of the place of the tablets within the tomb complex is more complicated. A discovery of several tablets in the superstructures of Abusir mastabas ⁷ can hardly be interpreted as an evidence of their affiliation with the equipment of the cult chambers, for the necropolis of Abusir is destroyed so much that the position of minor objects means nothing of itself (a tablet found in the burial chamber of *Sndm-jb(.j)* ⁸ is a good illustration of this thesis). On the contrary, a number of facts testify against that idea.

- ◆ The rituals of the opening were well documented, albeit only in the New Kingdom, but the use of ointment tablets was not recorded anywhere, neither textually, nor figuratively.
- ◆ Numerous mural representations of the “sacred oils” placed by the false doors and, thus, most probably bearing relation to the offering rites ⁹, show them as kept in large vessels ¹⁰, which gives us some idea of the volumes of unguents used in the cult. On the other hand, the tablets are small (the largest is only 23 cm long ¹¹) and the capacity of their containers is so insignificant that they could bear only symbolic samples of ointments. This makes questionable their belonging to priestly equipment.
- ◆ Several tablets with the names of the seven ointments but without containers are known ¹². Such a replacement of real objects with their models is a phenomenon characteristic of the goods of the burial chambers (food offerings, vessels, tools). The closest analogy are the model sets of tools for the opening of the mouth including the *psš-kef* instrument, the *ntrj* blades, and a number of vessels whose imitative nature is unquestioned ¹³.

⁵ ROTH, *JEA* 78, 122.

⁶ JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 186.

⁷ VACHALA, *ZÄS* 108, 1982.

⁸ BÁRTA, *K.M.T.* 13/1, 28.

⁹ Cf., e.g., figures of kneeling men presenting them in *Nfr-sšm-r(w)/Ššj* <Saqqara TPC> (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* V, pl.58).







¹⁰ E.g., *Mhw* <Saqqara UPC> (ALTENMÜLLER, *Mebu*, Taf.75); *Hzzj* <Saqqara TPC> (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* V, pl.57, 63); *Sʿnb-w(j)-ptb* <Saqqara TPC> (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* V, pl.73); *Špsj-pw-ptb* <Saqqara TPC> (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* VII, pl.39); *Hfj* <Saqqara TPC> (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Teti Cemetery* VII, pl.50); *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jbbj* <Saqqara TPC> (JAMES, *Khentika*, pl.13, 19); *Pjbj-ʿnb(.w) Hr(j)-jb* <Meir D.2> (BLACKMAN, *Meir* IV, pl.9).

¹¹ TAWFIK, *GM* 30, 78.

¹² JUNKER, *Giza* VII, Abb.80; HASSAN, *Giza* III, pl.3; BORCHARDT, *DARMI* I, Bl.6.

¹³ ROTH, *JEA* 78, 114–116.

Thus, it is more reasonable to suppose that the tablets were placed into the burial chambers together with the *psf-kf* sets as guarantors of the eternal reiteration of the rituals ¹⁴. Approximately in this manner has the present author discussed the problem almost twenty years ago ¹⁵; now this hypothesis is entirely confirmed by the discovery of an ointment tablet *in situ* in the burial chamber of queen *Hkr.t-nb.tj* <Abusir B> ¹⁶.

- ^b Although the lists of the seven ointments are very common, the nature of most of the “sacred oils” remains a problem ¹⁷.
- ^c All the names of the ointments have a determinative of a sealed cylindrical alabaster vase that is arranged vertically  in columns 2–4 and, due to the lack of space, horizontally  in column 1. Such spellings with similar determinatives to all of the “sacred oils” are a simplification of the earlier tradition of using specific determinatives for some names:  to *n(j)-hnm*,  to *sft*,  or  to *tw3w.t* ¹⁸. The moment of the alteration is difficult to establish, but the early variant was still used, e.g., by *Nfr* <G 4761> ¹⁹ under Unis – Teti ²⁰, by *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jbbyj* <Saqqara TPC> ²¹ in the late reign of Teti – early reign of Pepy I ²², and by *Wrj* <Giza WF> ²³ under Teti – Pepy I ²⁴. The simplified version most likely came to use in the mid to late Dyn.VI, e.g., in *Mjnnw* (?) <Giza WF> ²⁵ or *K3(j)-m-^cnb* <G4561> ²⁶.

PROBABLE PROVENANCE

Containers for ointments may be arranged along either the upper or the lower edge of the tablets. The former option is characteristic mainly of Giza ²⁷, the latter alternative

¹⁴ Both were found in the burial chamber of queen *Hkr.t-nb.tj* <Abusir B>, VERNER, CALLENDER, *Abusir VI*, 32–34.

¹⁵ БОЛЫШАКОВ, *СТЭ* 51, 47–48; idem., *ЭВ* 24, 26.

¹⁶ On the unique circumstances that let the tablet keep its original position in a robbed burial chamber see VERNER, CALLENDER, *Abusir VI*, 20–21.

¹⁷ See, e.g., JUNKER, *Giza II*, 75; VON DEINES, GRAPOW, *Grundriss der Medizin VI*, 110–111, 437; GARDINER, *Onomastica I*, 8, n.1; ROCHHOLZ, in *Wege öffnen*, 224; KOURA, *7 Heiligen Öle*, passim.

¹⁸ JUNKER, *Giza VII*, 186.

¹⁹ JUNKER, *Giza VI*, Abb.10.

²⁰ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 267:126.

²¹ JAMES, *Khentika*, pl.40.

²² KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, 25–27.

²³ JUNKER, *Giza VI*, Abb.72.

²⁴ HARPUR, *Decoration*, 266:58.

²⁵ JUNKER, *Giza VI*, Abb.98.

²⁶ JUNKER, *Giza IV*, 25.

²⁷ JUNKER, *Giza VII*, 187.

is typical of Saqqara²⁸ and Abusir^{29 30}. Thus, the Hermitage tablet is probably from the Saqqara – Abusir region.

DATING

- ◆ Although the names of the seven “sacred oils” occur starting from Dyn.I, their selection and order became invariable only in Dyn.IV³¹, while the tablets appeared in the mid Dyn.V, continued into the later periods, and could be in use in the First Intermediate Period (*Jmn* <SPMFA I.1.a.4672 (1930)>³²) and even in the Middle Kingdom (*Df3(j)-b(c)p(j)* <MMA 25.184³³>).
- ◆ The spellings of the names of the “sacred oils” with a similar determinative is probably not earlier than mid Dyn.VI³⁴.

Thus, the Hermitage tablet most probably must be dated to the mid – late Dyn.VI or later time.

²⁸ JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 187.

²⁹ VACHALA *ZÄS* 108, Abb.1, 3–5, 8.

³⁰ For the list of (not numerous) exceptions see ROCHHOLZ, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, 170.

³¹ ROHHOLZ, in *Wege öffnen*, 223–224.

³² LEGRAIN, *Collection Hoffmann*, 27, Cat.no.67; HODJASH, BERLEV, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 57–58, Cat.no.20.


³³ HAYES, *Scepter* I, 337.

³⁴ See Commentary c.


Indexes ¹

1. Kings


Pepy I

 – 8

2. Private persons ²


Jj-nfr.t.f ♀  – 1/1:2

Jmh.t ♀


 – 19/2:2

nb-wd.s ♂


 – 1/1:1

 – 1*/2; 1*/3

nb(.w)-h3.f ♂

 – 11

Pjbj-snb(.w) ♂

 – 10/3; 10/7:2

(see also *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)*)

Mrjj-r^c(w)-nb(.w) ♂

 – 9:1


Mrjj-[r^c(w)]-nfr(.w) ♂

 – 6/1:4


Mrjj-ttj ♂

 – 7/2

Mrrw ♂


 – 12/2; 12/3; 12/4


N(j)-m3^c.t-[r^c(w)] ♂


 – 4:5


N(j)-m3^c.t-r^c(w) ♂

 – 5*/1

 – 5*/3:2


 – 5*/4; 5*/5; 5*/6

 – 5*/7

 – 5/8

 – 5/9:3


N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w) ♂

 – 10/1; 10/4; 10/5; 10/6; 10*/8;
10*/9; 10*/12; 10*/13; 10*/14


 – 10/2


(see also *Pjbj-snb(.w)*)

Nb-jš(.w)t(j) ♂


 – 17/2:2

Nfr-hn(j).t(j) ♂


 – 18/1:2

 – 18/2; 18/3:2; 18/4; 18/5;
18/6

Nht[tj] ♂

 – 3/3:3

Hkn ♀

 – 21/2:2

¹ Bold numbers refer to those of monuments used in the present book, while ciphers after the slashes and italicised ciphers after the colons designate respectively inscriptions and lines (columns). Objects other than in the Hermitage published in the book are marked by an asterisk.

² In this index, entries correspond to persons and include all the records of the individual on the published monuments (spelling variants included). Similar names of different persons form separate entries.


Hw(j).w(j)-nfr ♂

 – 3/1:3

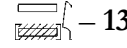
(H)w(j).f-w(j)-snb(.w) ♂

 – 3/4:3

šps-ptb ♂

 – 20/1; 20/2:2 = 20/4:2; 20/3:1-2

š[š]j ♂


 – 13

3. Titles

(j)m(j)-r(3) [b]s[.t]pr ♂, Overseer of sin[ging]
of the Great House

 – 4:1

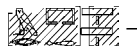
(j)m(j)-r(3) zb(j.w)-ntr (Jnpw), Overseer of
those who belong to the divine booth (of
Anubis)

 – 9:6

(j)m(j)-r(3) zš(.w)jwnw, Overseer of the scribes
of Heliopolis

 – 13

(j)m(j)-r(3) š.wj [pr-š], Over[seer] of the
two lakes [of the Great House]

 – 3/1:1

[(j)m(j)]-r(3) gs-pr mš, True overseer of the
troop-house

 – 6/1:2

(j)m(j)-r(3) ---, Overseer ---

 – 9:3


[(j)r(j) nfr-b3.t] m šbkr Jnpw, [Keeper of the
headdress] in adorning Anubis

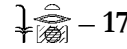
 – 9:1³

(j)r(j) nfr-b3.t m šbkr šbm, Keeper of the head-
dress in adorning power


 – 9:5

(j)r(j) b(j) n(j)-sw.t, He belonging to the baby
king

 (?) – 15

 – 17/2:1


(j)r(j.t) b(j) n(j)-sw.t, She belonging to the
baby king

 – 21/2:2

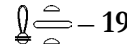
w^cb W^cb-(j).swt-Wsr-k3.f, w^cb-priest of the pyra-
mid “Clean are the Places of Userka^r”

 – 20/3:1

w^cb Mn-(j).swt-[N(j)wsr]-r^c(w), w^cb-priest of
the pyramid “Firm are the Places [of Ne-
user]ra”

 – 4:4


mjtr.t, “Lady”

 – 19/2:1

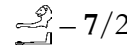
[mdw] k3 [bd], [Herdsman] of the [White] Bull

 – 9:7

nbbj, Founder of mines

 – 13

b3t(j)-, “Count”




 – 7/2

[bm(w)-ntr] Jnpw (j)m(j).sp3, [Prophet of] Anu-
bis who is in Sepa

 – 9:4-5

bm(w)-ntr R^c(w) m Nbn-(r^c(w)), Prophet of
Ra in the Solar temple “Strongold of Ra”


 – 20/1

³  belongs both to the title and to the
following epithet *jm3b.w n Jnpw*, 
 (Cat.no.9, Com-
mentary d).

hm-ntr $R^c(w)$ *m šsp(w)-jb-r^c(w)*, Prophet of Ra in the Solar temple “Delight of Ra”

 – 4:3


hm(w.t)-ntr H(w).t-br(w), Prophetess of Hathor

 – 21/2:1

hm(w-ntr) Hk.t, Prophet of Heqet

 – 9:7


br(j)-sšt3, Secretary

 – 5*/6; 5*/7

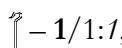
[brjj]-sšt3 [pr^c3], [Secre]tary [of the Great House]

 – 5/9:1


brj-sšt3 n [n(j)-sw.t], Secretary of [the king]


 – 3/1:2⁴

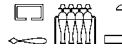
hk3, Chief

 – 1/1:1, 1*/2, 1*/3

bnt(j)-š pr^c3, Attendant of the Great House

 – 3/3:1-2

 – 3/4:2

 – 5/8

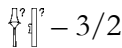
 – 5*/5⁵

 – 20/1

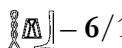
bnt(j)-š n Shdw-(Dd.f-r^c(w)), Attendant of the pyramid “Starry Firmament (of Djedefra)”

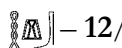
 – 20/4:2

brp [?] jz(.t) [?], Director [?] of the crew [?]


 – 3/2⁶

br(j)-hb(.t), Lector priest


 – 6/1:1

 – 12/2

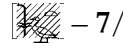
brj-sb3, Sunshade bearer

 – 3/2


br(j)-tp n(j)-sw.t pr^c3, King’s chamberlain of the Great House

 – 12/3

z3 [n(j)-sw.t], [King’s] son

 – 7/2

z3b (j)m(j)-r(3) zš(.w), Juridical overseer of scribes

 – 10/3; 10*/8; 10*/13


z3b (j)m(j)-r(3) zš(.w) (j)r(j.w) j^cb, Juridical overseer of scribes of those concerned with the moon

 – 10/6


z3b^c d mr pr^c3, Juridical ^cd mr official of the Great House

 – 12/4


z3b br(j)-wdb, Juridical master of the largess

 – 17/2:2


z3b shd zš(.w), Juridical inspector of scribes

 – 10/1; 10/2; 10*/9; 10*/12; 10*/14

z3b shd zš(.w) (j)r(j.w) j^cb, Juridical inspector of scribes of those concerned with the Moon

 – 10/4; 10*/7:2

zš^c(.w) n(j)-sw.t hft-br, Scribe of the royal documents in the presence

 – 10/5; 10*/8


 – 13


⁴ Perhaps an abbreviated or incomplete form of *br(j)-sšt3 n n(j)-sw.t m hmw št3.w pr^c3*, Secretary of the king in the secret interior of the palace (Cat.no.3, Commentary h).

⁵ For spelling see Cat.no.5, Commentary l.


⁶ Conjectural reading, perhaps not a title (Cat. no.3, Commentary k).

ꜥꜥ [pr] ꜥ3, Scribe of the Great House


 – 5*/1

 – 5*/5

ꜥꜥ md3.t ntr, Scribe of the god's book


 – 6/1:1

ꜥꜥ tꜥ.t ꜥpr.w wj3, Scribe of the troop of a crew of a boat

 – 18/5; 18/6

 – 18/3:1

ꜥꜥ tꜥ.wt jwnw, Scribe of the troops of Helio-
polis

 – 13

4. Epithets

jm3b.w, Revered

 – 5/9:2

 – 6/1:3

 – 10*/7:1

jm3b.w n Jnpw, Revered with Anubis

 – 9:1⁷


[jm3b.w hr Jnpw] nb [t3 dsr], [Revered with
Anubis] Lord [of the Sacred Land]

 – 7/1


jm3b(.w) hr (J)s.t-jr.t, Revered with Osiris

 – 18/1:1


jm3b.w hr ntr ꜥ3, Revered with the Elder God


 – 5*/3:2; 5*/6; 5*/7

 – 17/2:1

 – 20/2:1

smr wꜥ.t(j) Sole companion

 – 6/1:1

 – 12/2

[shd hm(w.w)-ntr] Mn-nfr-Pjppj, [Inspector of
the prophets] of the Pyramid “Firm is the
Beauty of Pepi”

 – 7/1


shd sm(.w), Inspector of sm-attendants

 – 9:6


shmbjb n nb.f rꜥ nb, One who delights the
heart of his lord every day

 – 4:2

jm3b(.w)t, Revered /female/

 – 21/1:2

jm3b(.w)t hr ntr ꜥ3, Revered /female/ with the
Elder God

 – 21/2:1-2

jrr wd(.t) nb.f, Carrying out the order of his
lord

 – 20/2:4


mrr(.w) nb.f, Beloved of his lord

 – 5*/5


mrr(.w) nb.f rꜥ nb, Beloved of his lord ev-
ery day

 – 20/4:1

[n(j) (j)s.t-jb] nb.f, [Favourite] of his lord

 – 6/1:3




n(j) mrw.t, Possessor of love

 – 6/1:2

nb jm3b hr ntr ꜥ3, Lord of reverence with the
Elder God


 – 11


 – 17/1:2


⁷  belongs both to the epithet and the pre-
vious title [(j)r(j) nfr-h3.t] m shkr Jnpw, 
 (Cat. no. 9,
Commentaryd).


5. Deities


Jnpw, Anubis


 – 9:1 (in the title $[(j)r(j) \text{ nfr-}b3.t] \text{ m shkr } Jnpw$)⁸

 – 9:1 (in the epithet $jm3b.w \text{ n } Jnpw$)⁸

 – 12/1 (in the offering formula)


 – 18/1:1 (in the offering formula)

 – 19/1:1 (in the offering formula)


 – 20/7 (in the offering formula)

 – 21/1:1 (in the offering formula)


$[Jnpw] \text{ jm}(j) \text{ wt nb}(w) \text{ t3 } dsr$, [Anubis] Who is in the place of embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land

 – 14/1 (in the offering formula)


Jnpw (j)m(j) sp3, Anubis Who is in Sepa


 – 9:4 (in the title $[bm(w)-ntr] Jnpw (j)m(j) sp3$)

$[Jnpw] \text{ nb } [t3 \text{ } dsr]$, [Anubis] Lord [of the Sacred Land]


 – 7/1 (in the epithet $[jm3b.w \text{ hr } Jnpw] \text{ nb } [t3 \text{ } dsr]$)

Jnpw bnt(j) z3b ntr, Anubis Who presides over the divine booth


 – 5*/3:1 (in the offering formula)

 – 17/1:1 (in the offering formula)


Jnpw tp(j) dw:f, Anubis Who is on his hill

 – 10/1; 10*/7:1 (in the offering formula)

$(Js.t-jr.t)$, Osiris (in the offering formula)

 – 10/2 (in the offering formula)


[--] (?) – 14/2 (in the offering formula)


 – 18/1:1 (in the epithet $jm3b.w \text{ hr } Js.t-jr.t$)


$(Js.t-jr.t \text{ Hnt}(j)) \text{ jmn.tj.w nb } 3bdw$, [Osiris Foremost] of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos (in the offering formula)


 – 13 (in the offering formula)


ntr 3, Elder God


 – 5*/3:2; 5*/6; 5*/7 (in the epithet $jm3b(.w) \text{ hr } ntr 3$)

 – 11 (in the epithet $nb \text{ jm3b } hr \text{ ntr } 3$)


 – 17/1:2 (in the epithet $nb \text{ jm3b } hr \text{ ntr } 3$)


 – 17/2:1 (in the epithet $jm3b(.w) \text{ hr } ntr 3$)

 – 20/2:1 (in the epithet $jm3b(.w) \text{ hr } ntr 3$)


 – 21/2:2 (in the epithet $jm3b(.w) \text{ t } hr \text{ ntr } 3$)

R^c(w), Ra


 – 4:3 (in the title $bm-ntr \text{ R}^c(w) \text{ m } Šsp(w) \text{ j3-r}^c(w)$)

 – 20/1 (in the title $bm(w) \text{ -ntr } \text{R}^c(w) \text{ m } Nbn \text{ -}(r^c(w))$)


H(w).t-hr(w), Hathor

 – 21/2:1 (in the title $bm(w) \text{ .t-ntr } H(w) \text{ .t-hr}(w)$)


$[Hr(w)] \text{ bnt}(j) \text{ Hbnw}$, Horus Foremost of *Hbnw*



 – 12/1 (in the offering formula)

Hk.t, Heqet

 – 9:7 (in the title $bm(w \text{ -ntr}) \text{ Hk.t}$)

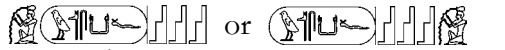

K3 [bd], [White] Bull

 – 9:7 (in the title $[mdw] \text{ k3 } [bd]$)


⁸  belongs both to the title and to the following epithet $jm3b.w \text{ n } Jnpw$,  (Cat.no.9, Commentary d).

6. Edifices

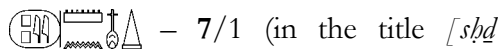
$W^c b-(j)s.wt-Wsr-k3.f$, pyramid “Clean are the Places of Userkaf”

 or 
20/3:1 (in the title $w^c b W^c b-(j)s.wt-Wsr-k3.f$)

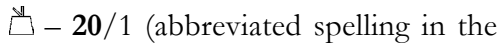
$Mn-(j)s.wt-[N(j)-wsr]-r^c(w)$, pyramid “Firm are the Places [of Neusera]”

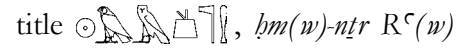
 – 4:4 (in the title $w^c b Mn-(j)s.wt-[N(j)-wsr]-r^c(w)$)

$Mn-nfr-Pjbj$, Pyramid “Firm is the Beauty of Pepi”

 – 7/1 (in the title $[shd hm(w.w)-ntr] Mn-nfr-Pjbj$)

$Nhn-(r^c(w))$, Solar temple “Stronghold of Ra”

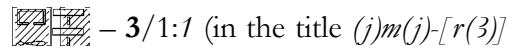
 – 20/1 (abbreviated spelling in the

title , $hm(w)-ntr R^c(w)$
 $m nhn-(r^c(w))$

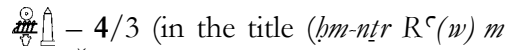
$Shdw-(Dd.f-r^c(w))$, pyramid “Starry Firmament (of Djedefra)”

★ – 20/4:2 (in the title $hnt(j)-s n Shdw-(Dd.f-r^c(w))$)

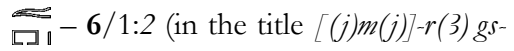
$s.wj [pr^c3]$, Two lakes [of the Great House]

 – 3/1:1 (in the title $(j)m(j)-[r(3)] s.wj [pr^c3]$)

$Ssp-jb-r^c(w)$, Solar temple “Delight of Ra”

 – 4/3 (in the title $(hm-ntr R^c(w) m Ssp(w)-jb-r^c(w))$)

$gs-pr$, troop-house

 – 6/1:2 (in the title $[(j)m(j)]-r(3) gs-pr m3^c n mrw.t$)

7. Provenance

Abusir (reconstructed): 9

Giza: 3, 4, 5

Giza (reconstructed): 11

Heliopolis (reconstructed): 13

Saqqara: 6, 7, 8, 20

Saqqara (reconstructed): 1, 10, 12

Saqqara – Abusir (reconstructed): 22

Unknown: 2, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21

8. Collectors

CASTIGLIONE: 17

GOLÉNISCHEFF: 19

LIKHATCHEV:

1 (from Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

3–7, 9–11 (from ALI ABD EL-HAJ, Giza)

8, 22 (from an anonymous Italian antiquarian, Cairo)

20 (from HILTON PRICE)

13, 15, 16 (from unknown sources)

SABOUROW: 14

TURAEV: 2, 12, 21

Unknown: 18

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¹ The following symbols are used in the bibliographic list: 📖 – book, 📄 – paper, 📖 – review, 📖 – forthcoming, 📖 – manuscript.

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
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Abbreviations

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- ADAIK ♦ *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe*. Glückstadt.
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- AV ♦ *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen*. Mainz.
- BeiträgeBf* ♦ *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*. Kairo.
- BÆ ♦ *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. Bruxelles.
- BAR ♦ *BAR International Series*. Oxford.
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- BIFAO ♦ *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Le Caire.
- BiOr ♦ *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden.
- BMFA ♦ *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston.
- BMHBA ♦ *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*. Budapest.
- BSAE ♦ *British School of Archaeology in Egypt*. London.
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- YES ♦ *Yale Egyptological Studies*. New Haven.
- ZÄS ♦ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig, Berlin.
- ВДИ ♦ *Вестник древней истории*. Москва. [*The Journal of Ancient History*. Moscow].
- ВН ♦ *Вопросы истории*. Москва [*Problems of History*. Moscow].
- ВК ♦ *Восточная коллекция*. Москва. [*Oriental Collection*. Moscow].
- ДАН ♦ *Доклады Академии Наук СССР. Ленинград* [*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. Leningrad*].

- ЗВОИРАО ♦ *Записки Восточного отделения Императорского русского археологического общества*. Санкт-Петербург. [*Memoires of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*. St.Petersburg].
- ЗКОИРАО ♦ *Записки Классического отделения Императорского русского археологического общества*. Санкт-Петербург. [*Memoires of the Classical Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*. St.Petersburg].
- ИПАН ♦ *Известия Императорской Академии Наук*. Санкт-Петербург [*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*. St.Petersbourg].
- История приобретения ♦ *Выдающийся русский востоковед В.С.Голенищев и история приобретения его коллекции в Музей изящных искусств (1909–1912)*. Москва, 1987 (Из архива ГМИИ 3). [*Outstanding Russian Orientalist W.S.Golénischeff and the History of Acquisition of his Collection by the Museum of Fine Arts (1909–1912)*. Moscow, 1987 (From the Archive of SPMEF 3)].
- Музей палеографии ♦ *Музей палеографии*. Ленинград, 1925. [*Museum of Palaeography*. Leningrad, 1925].
- НЭС 23 ♦ БРОКГАУЗ Ф.А., ЕФРОН И.А. *Новый энциклопедический словарь XXIII*. Санкт-Петербург, б.г. [BROCKHAUS F.A., EFRON I.A. *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary XXIII*. St.Petersburg, s.a.].
- Эрмитаж 2000 ♦ *Государственный Эрмитаж. Путеводитель*. Санкт-Петербург – Милан, 2000. [*The State Hermitage. Guidebook*. St.Petersburg – Milan, 2000].
- СГЭ ♦ *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа*. Ленинград. [*Reports of the State Hermitage Museum*. Leningrad].
- ЭВ ♦ *Эпиграфика Востока*. Ленинград. [*Oriental Epigraphy*. Leningrad].

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄgMUL ♦ Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig.
- AMSM ♦ Arthur M.Sackler Museum, Cambridge (Mass.).
- BLmK ♦ Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.
- BM ♦ The British Museum, London.
- CF ♦ Central Field, Giza.
- CG ♦ Catalogue général du Musée du Caire.
- EEF ♦ Egypt Exploration Fund, London.
- EF ♦ East Field, Giza.
- ENPS ♦ East of the Northern Pyramid of Snefru, Dahshur.
- ERA ♦ Egyptian Research Account, London.
- ESP ♦ East of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara.
- ESPS ♦ East of the Southern Pyramid of Snefru, Dahshur.
- FM ♦ Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
- GIS ♦ Cemetery GIS, Giza.

- IBDS ♦ Institute of Books, Documents and Scripts, Leningrad.
JE ♦ Journal d'entrée du Musée du Caire.
KHM ♦ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.
LG ♦ Giza, numbering of LEPSIUS.
LS ♦ Saqqara, numbering of LEPSIUS.
MBDS ♦ Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts, Leningrad.
MFA ♦ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MMA ♦ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MPC ♦ Mycerinus Pyramid Cemetery, Giza.
MRAH ♦ Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
NSP ♦ North of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara.
NEPII ♦ North-east of Pyramid of Pepy II
NSIII ♦ North of the Pyramid of Senusert III, Dahshur.
NWMI ♦ North-west of the Pyramid of Merenra I, Saqqara.
PAHMA ♦ Phoebe A.Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley.
PennUM ♦ Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia.
RAS ♦ Russian Academy of Sciences.
REM ♦ Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose.
RISDMA ♦ Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, Providence.
RMO ♦ Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.
RPM ♦ Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim.
RSM ♦ Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.
SF ♦ South Field, Giza.
SPMFA ♦ State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.
TPC ♦ Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara.
UCL ♦ University College London.
UMM ♦ University Museum, Manchester.
UPC ♦ Unis Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara.
WF ♦ West Field, Giza.
WSP ♦ West of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara.
ZM ♦ Zawyet el-Mayetin.

Addenda

- P.102, n.228.* This is not a close analogy, nor even is the chapel of G 1103 typologically similar to those of G 2097, G 4561 and G 1208N in general: the entrance to the chapel is at the south and, thus, it leads not to the “alcove” but to the corridor that is by no means dead-end.
- P.146, Commentary c.* KANAWATI dates *Wr-m* to the mid – late reign of Teti ¹, which is possible if accepting his understanding of the cemetery of Teti as completely filled with tombs during the reigns of Teti – Pepy I ²; his criticism of the dating offered by DAVIES and his collaborators (later than Dyn.VI) ³ is no doubt justified as well. Nonetheless, HARPUR’s dating seems to remain most substantiated as concerns the features of the monument taken *per se*.
- P.151, Commentary p.* KANAWATI prefers to date *Jrjs* to the mid – late reign of Teti or somewhat later now ⁴.
- P.195, n.67.* Now see also KANAWATI – “certainly antedate<s> the building of Teti’s pyramid itself” ⁵.
- P.205, n.24.* Now see at http://www.gizapyramids.org/Studies/B1639_NS.jpg.
- Pp.214–219, Commentary e.* The newest work devoted to the Solar temples is a PhD dissertation by VOß ⁶. However, the problem of the determinatives to *Nbm-r^c(w)* is not taken seriously by her ⁷, perhaps because she uncritically relies upon the opinion of MARTIN ⁸ voiced in a very offhand manner and without a serious discussion of the material.
- P.223, Commentary q.* A new attempt to revitalise the legend in its purest form is made by KANAWATI ⁹ who needs it as an extra illustration of his concept of rivalry within royal families of the Old Kingdom.
- P.231, n.3.* Now see also two more samples from Abusir South ¹⁰ and new reproductions of the recently published tablets ¹¹.

¹ KANAWATI N., *Conspiracies in the Egyptian palace. Unis to Pepy I*. London – New York, 2003, 131.

² KANAWATI, *Conspiracies*, passim.

³ DAVIES W.V. et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, 1.

⁴ KANAWATI, *Conspiracies*, 79.

⁵ KANAWATI, *Conspiracies*, 138.

⁶ VOß S., *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie. Bedeutung und Funktion eines singulären Tempeltyps im Alten Reich*. Hamburg, 2004 (<http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/opus/volltexte/2004/2100>).

⁷ VOß, *Sonnenheiligtümer*, 26–27.

⁸ MARTIN K., *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens. Untersuchungen zu Ursprung und Geschichte der altägyptischen Obeliskens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Hildesheim, 1977 (*HAB* 3), 20.

⁹ KANAWATI, *Conspiracies*, 2.

¹⁰ VACHALA B., “Salbölpaletten aus Abusir-Süd”, *GM* 199 (2004), Abb.2, 3.

¹¹ VACHALA, *GM* 199, Abb.1; VERNER M., *Abusir. Realm of Osiris*. Cairo – New York, 2002, fig. on p.146.

P.232, paragraph 1. Add also two new tablets published by VACHALA, one found in a burial chamber (although not *in situ*) and the other from a shaft ¹².

P.232, n.12. Add VACHALA, *GM* 199, Abb.1, 3.

P.233, n.17. Add PÁSZTHORY E., “Die Alabasterpaletten für die ‘sieben Heiligen Salböle’ im Alten Reich”, *Antike Welt* 23/2 (1992), 129–131.

¹² VACHALA, *GM* 199, 90, 92.

PLATES



Nikolai Petrovich LIKHACHEV

Plate II



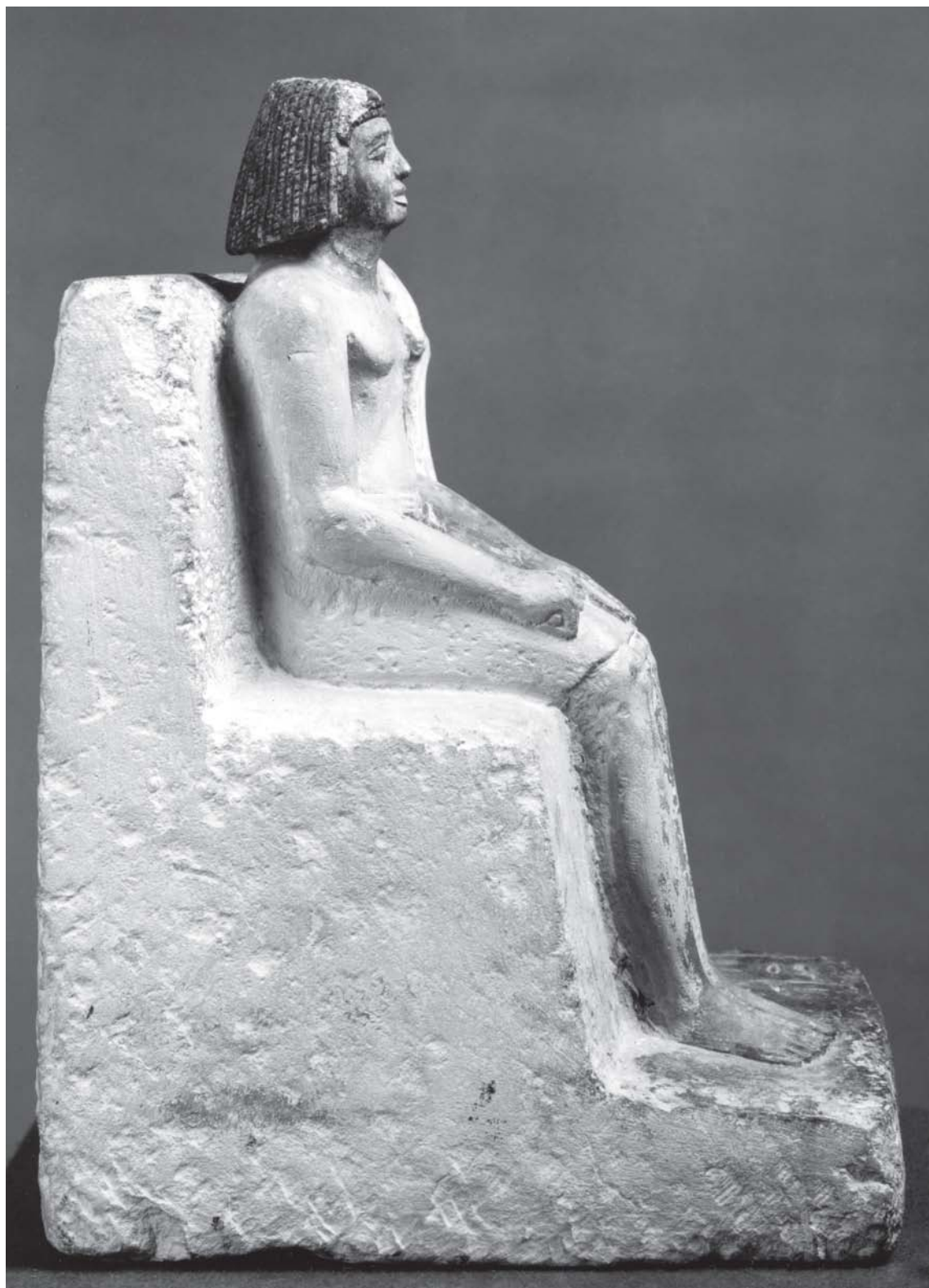
© State Hermitage Museum

Family group of ḥb-wd.s, Hermitage □18107 (front view)
Cat.no.1



Family group of *ḥb-wd.s*, Hermitage 18107 (detail)
Cat.no.1

Plate IV



© State Hermitage Museum

Family group of *ḥb-wd.s*, Hermitage □18107 (side view)
Cat.no.1



Family group of ḥb-wḏ.s, Hermitage □18107 (side view)
Cat.no.1

Plate VI



© State Hermitage Museum

Family group of *ḥb-wd.s*, Hermitage □18107 (inscription)
Cat.no.1



© Fitzwilliam Museum

Statue of *'nh-wd.s*, Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge, E.35.1907

Plate VIII



Statue of *ḥb-wd.s*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.35.1907 (inscriptions)

© Fitzwilliam Museum



1



2

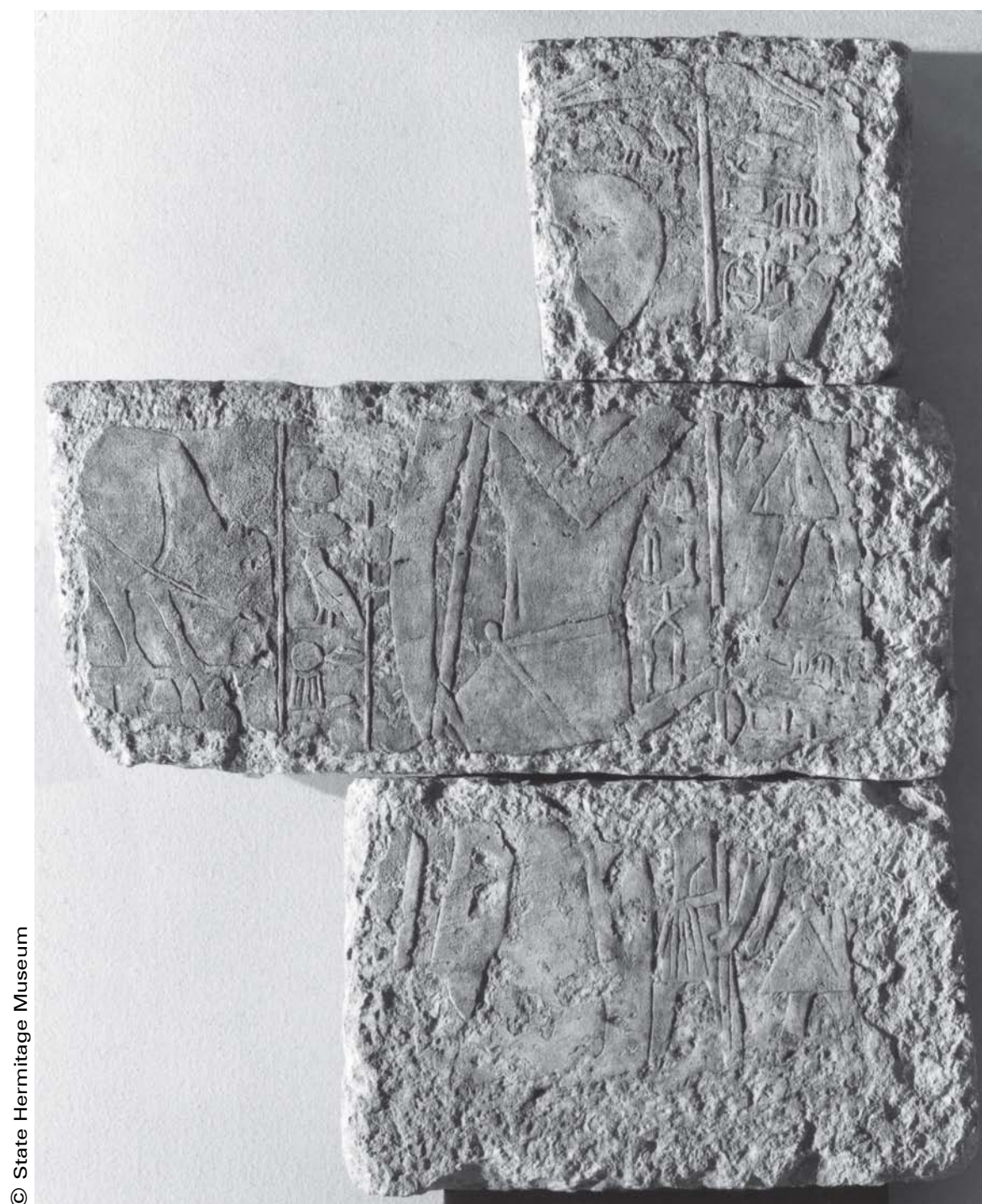
Head of a statue
Hermitage □5368
1. Front view
2. View from above
Cat.no.2

Plate X



© State Hermitage Museum

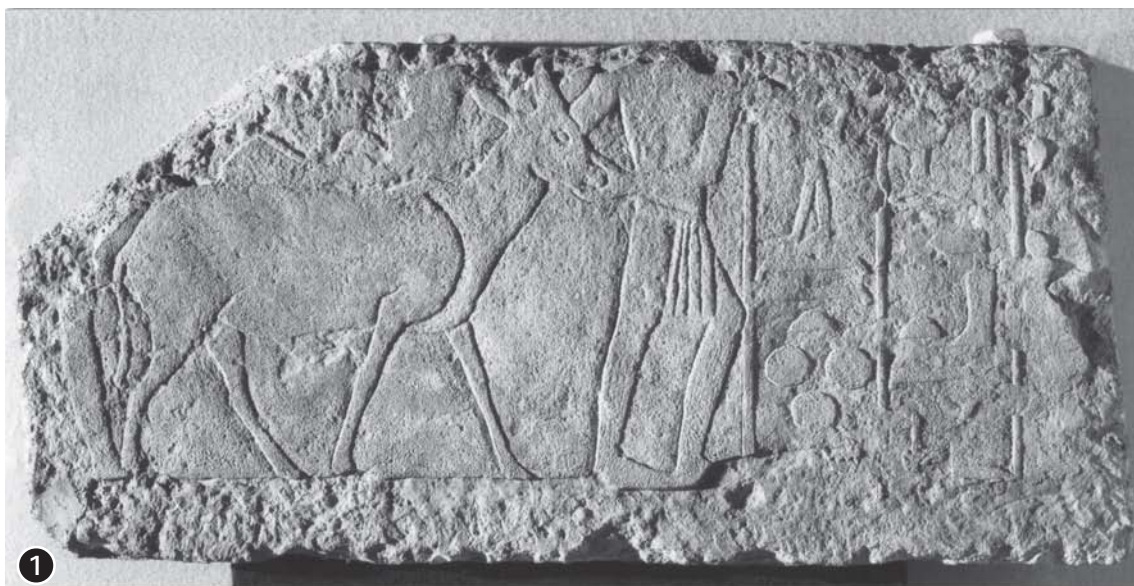
Head of a statue, Hermitage 5368 (side views)
Cat.no.2



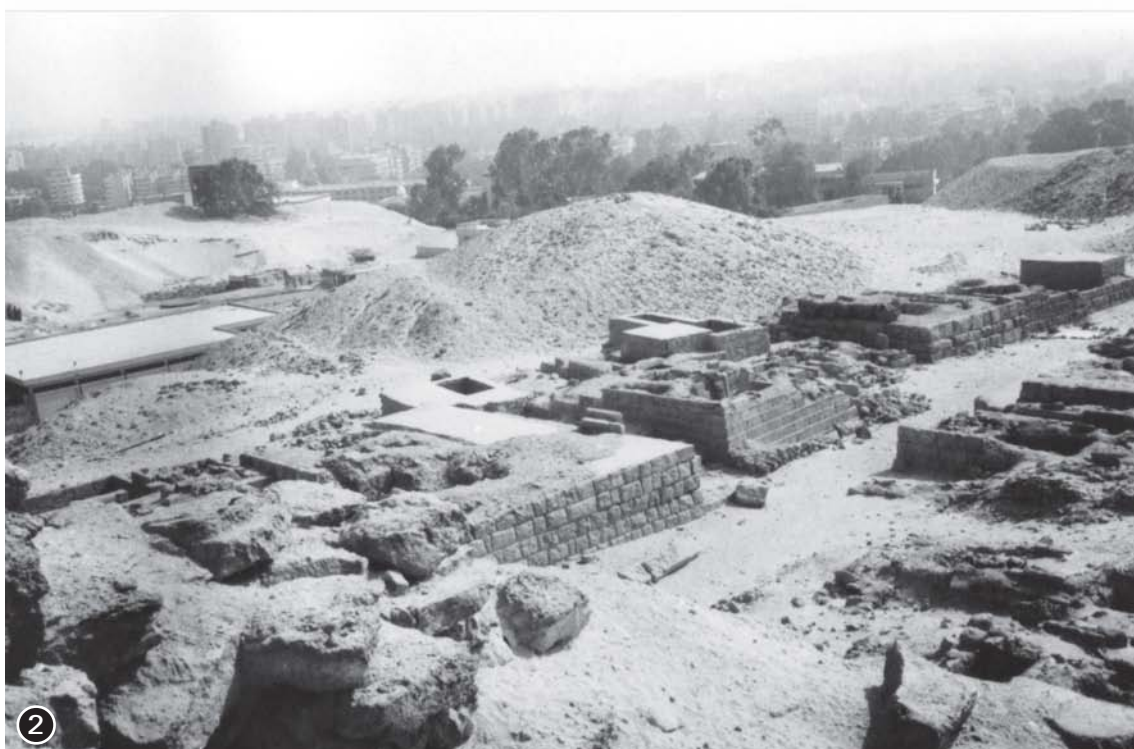
© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*, blocks I – III, Hermitage □18126
Cat.no.3

Plate XII

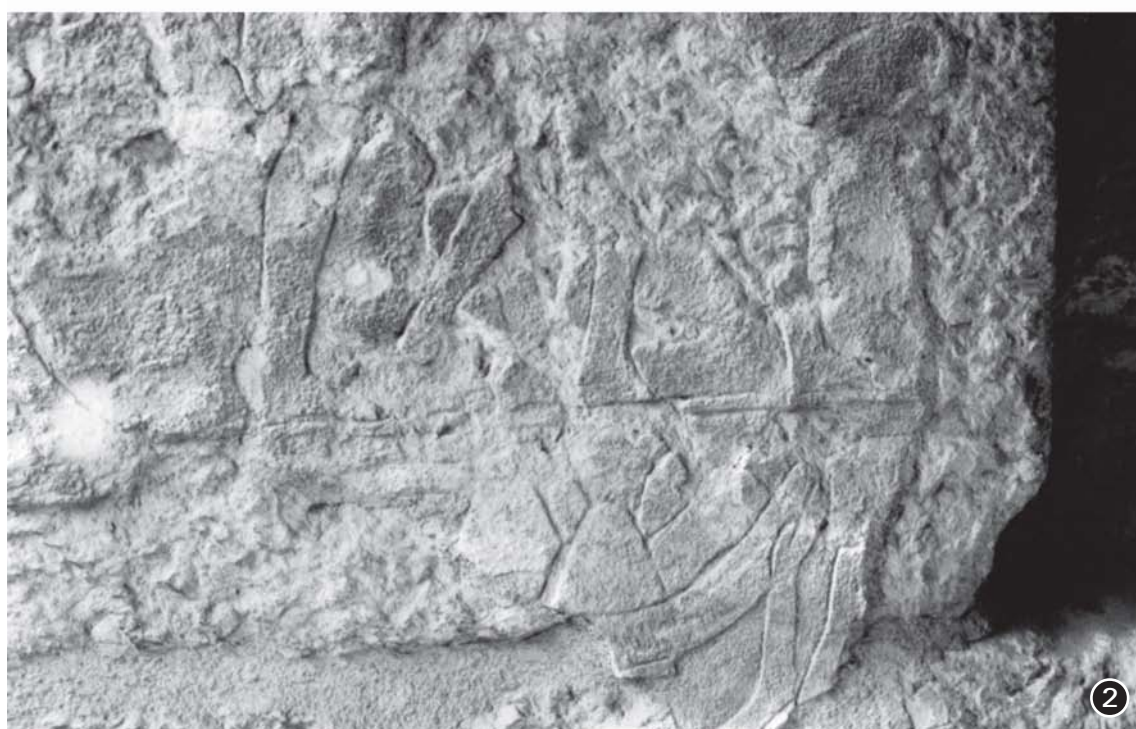


© State Hermitage Museum



1. Relief of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*, block IV, Hermitage □18124
Cat.no.3

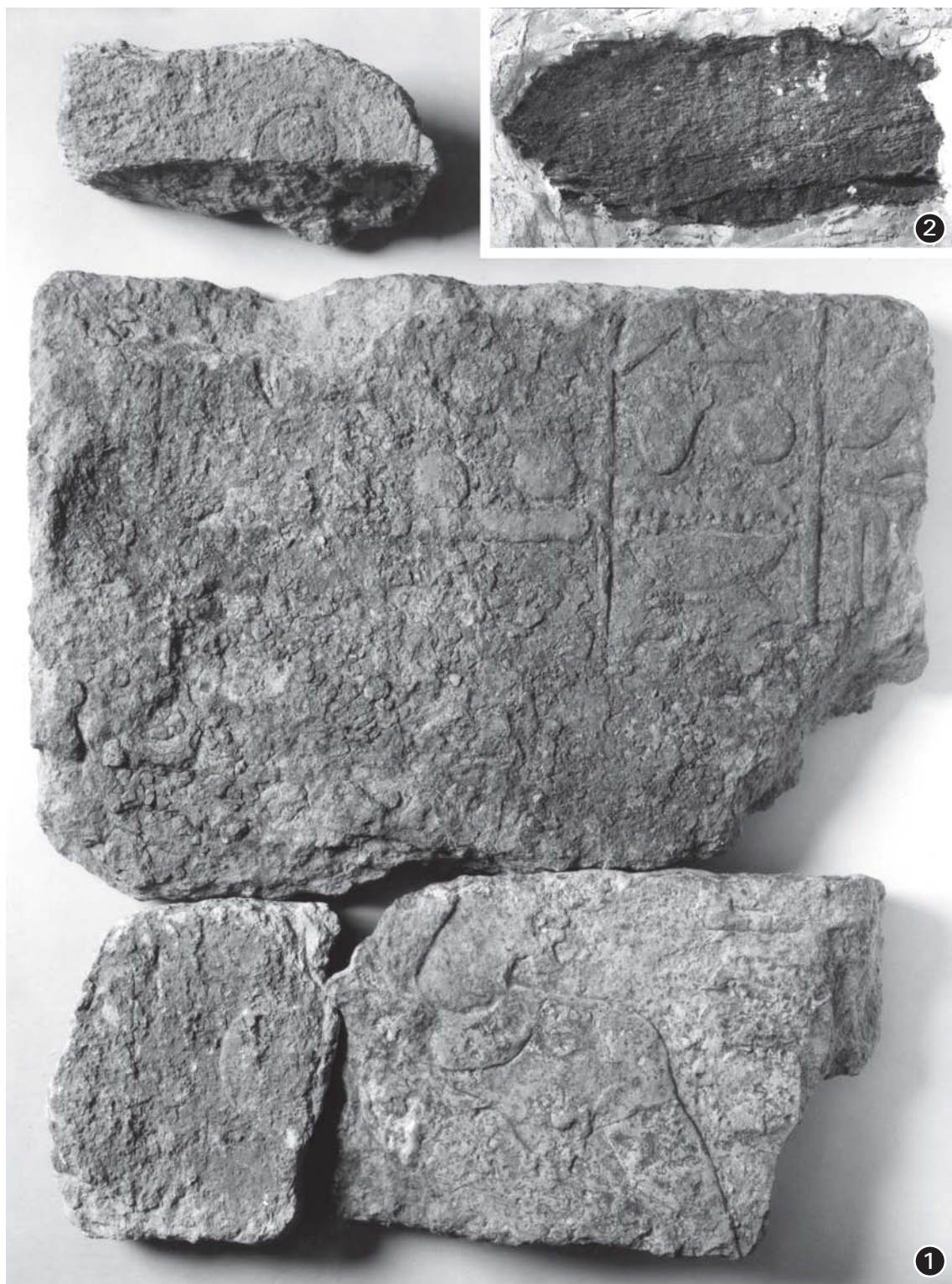
2. Cluster of tombs of *hnt(j).w-š* at Giza (view from the mastaba G 2000)



1. G 2098, south wall of the chapel

2. G 2098, south wall of the chapel, technique of carving

Plate XIV



© State Hermitage Museum

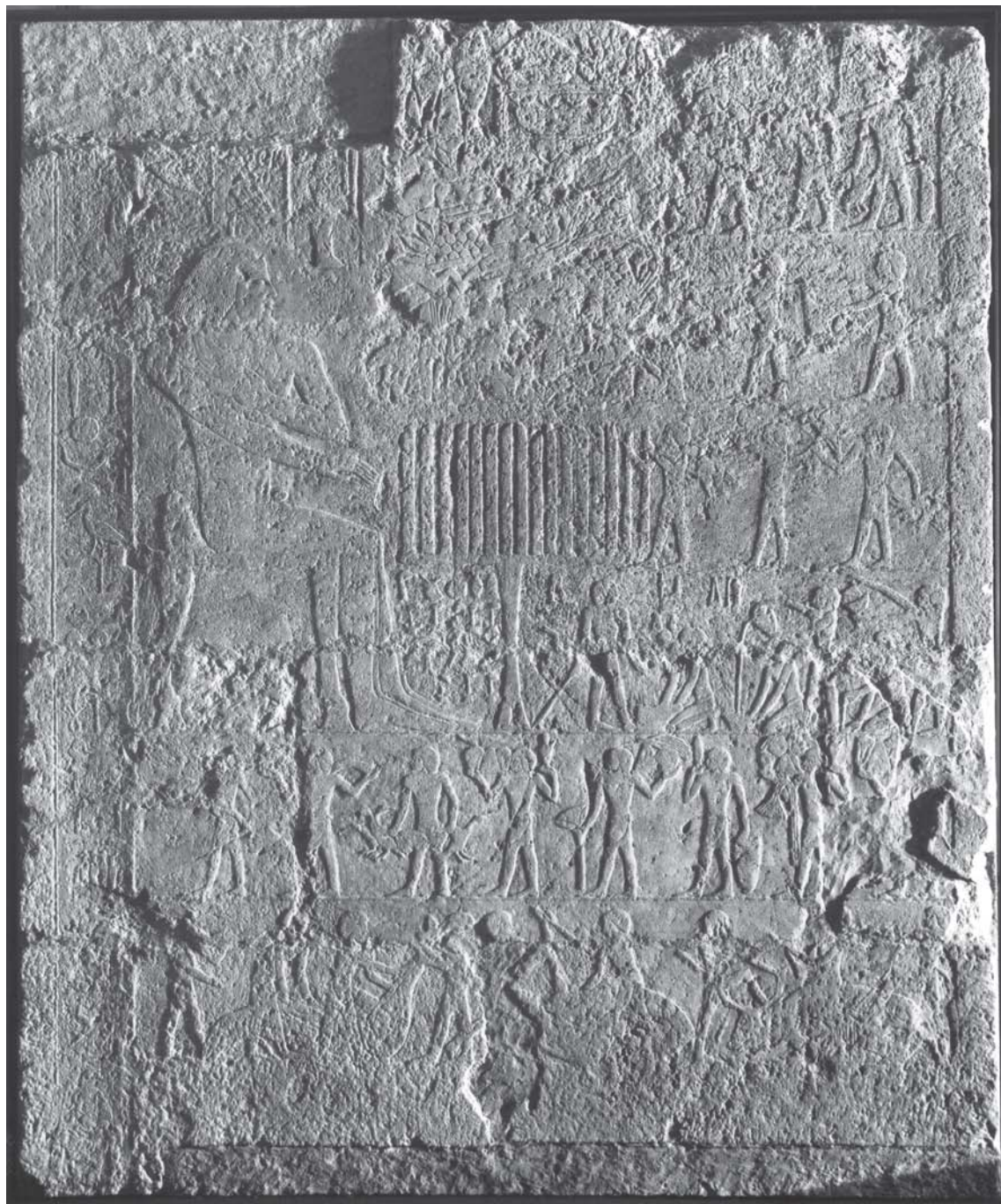
1. Relief of *N(j)-m3't-r(w)*, fragment I-B, block II, fragments III-A, III-B, Hermitage □18234, □18730, □18231, □18232. Cat.no.4
2. Relief of *N(j)-m3't-r(w)*, fragment I-A, Hermitage □18729 (different scale). Cat.no.4



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *N(j)-m3:t-r(w)*, fragments I-A, I-B, block II,
fragment III-A, Hermitage □18234, □18729 □18730, □18231
(old photograph)

Cat.no.4



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *N(j)-m3ꜥt-rꜥ(w)*, Hermitage □18123
Cat.no.5



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *N(j)-m3' t-r'(w)*, Hermitage □18123 (detail)

Cat.no.5

Plate XVIII



© State Hermitage Museum

1



2



3

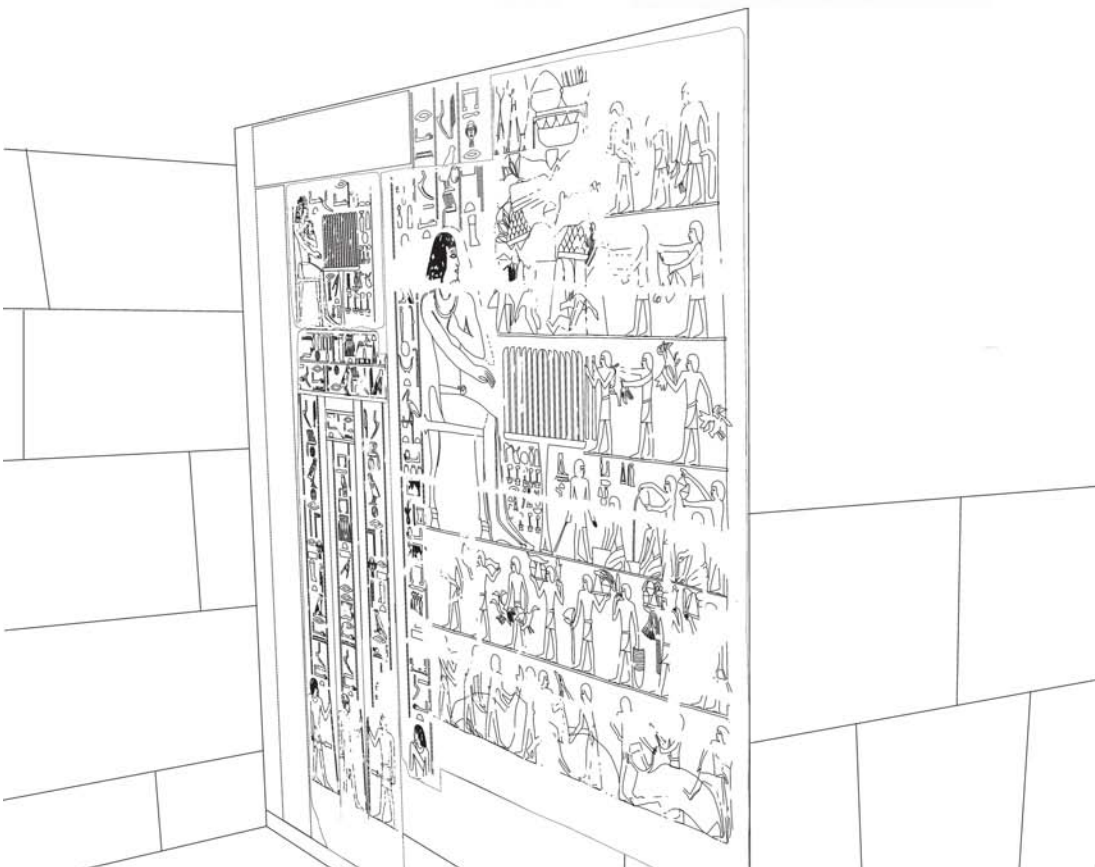
Relief of *N(j)-m3t-r(w)*, Hermitage □18123 (details)

1. Determinative on the false door jamb
2. Priestly service
3. Overturning of an ox

Cat.no.5



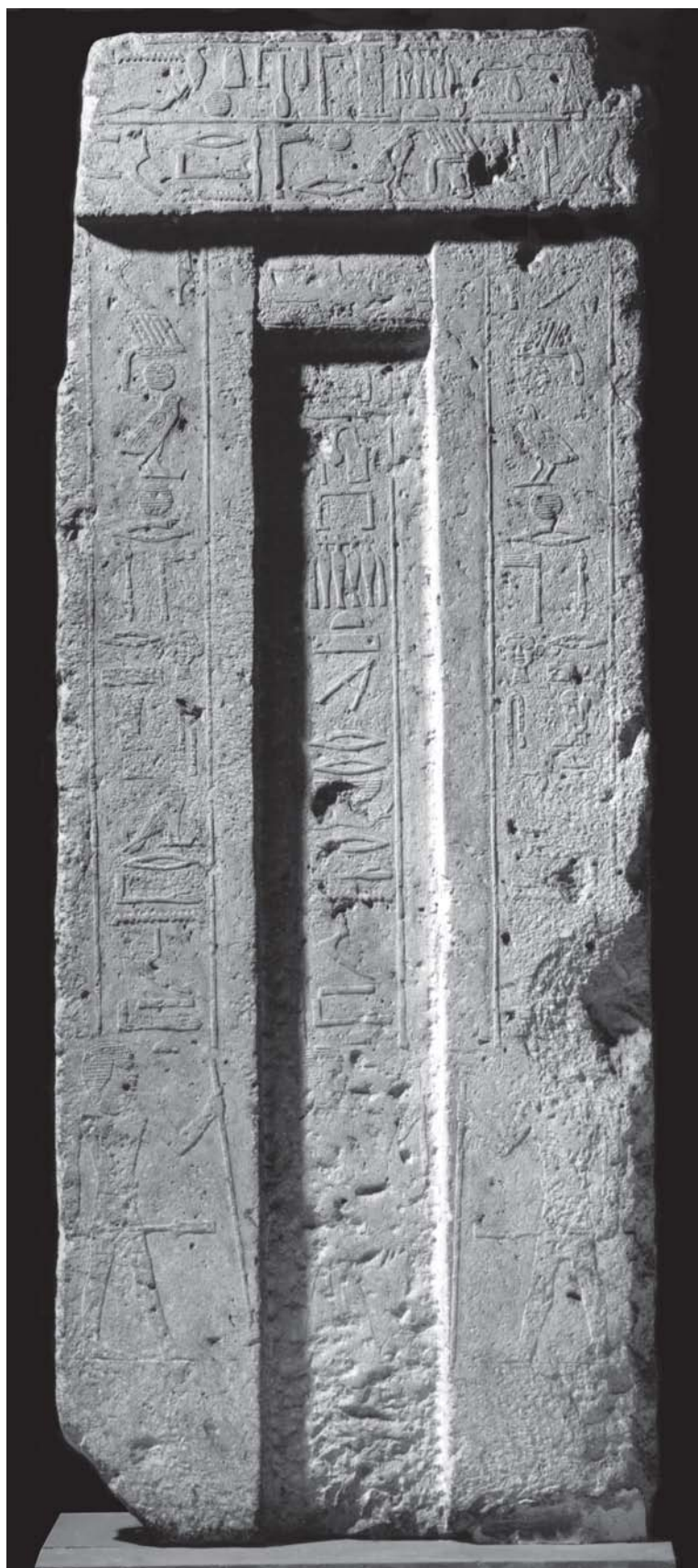
1



2

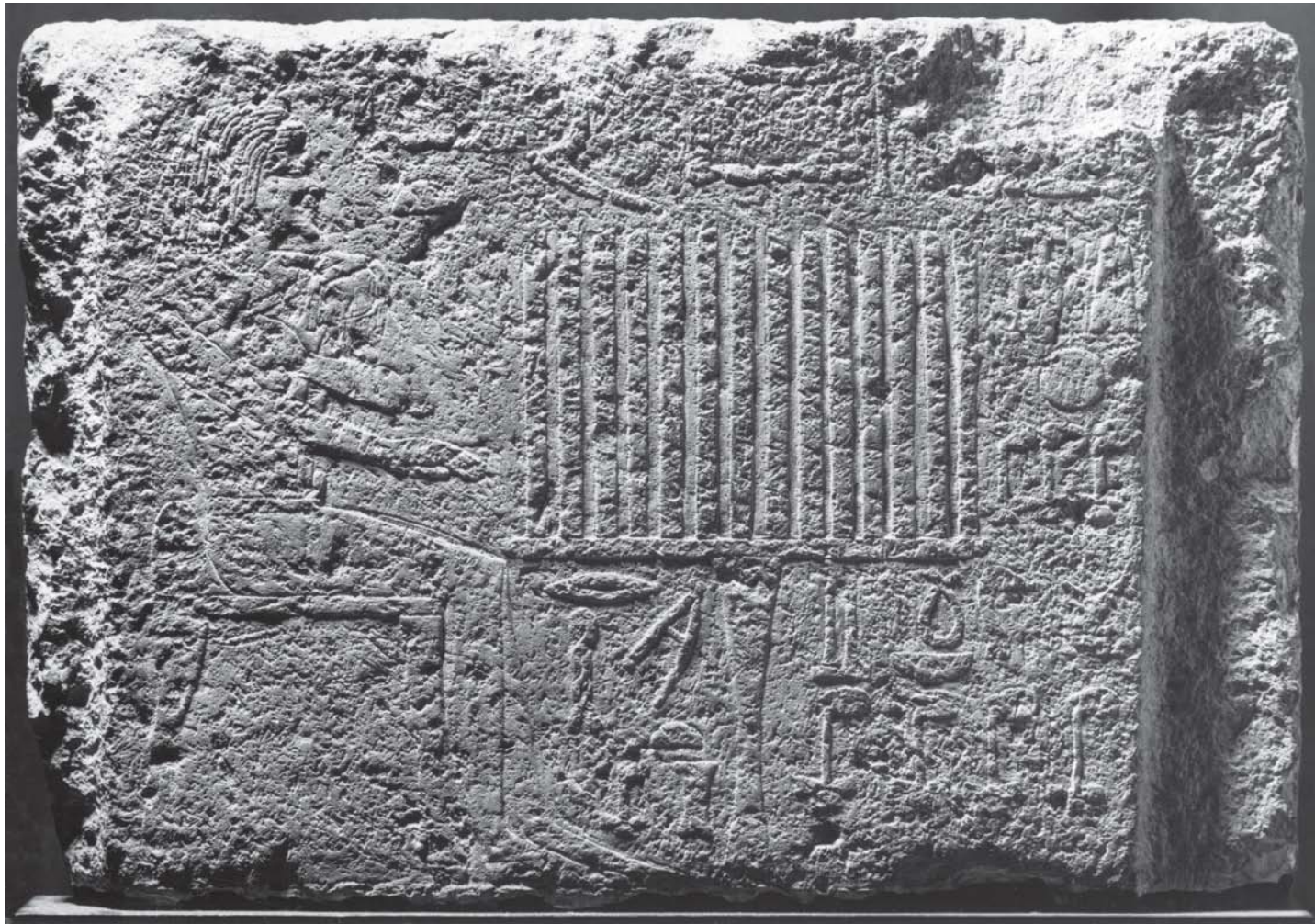
G 2097, west wall of the "corridor"

1. Present condition
2. Reconstruction



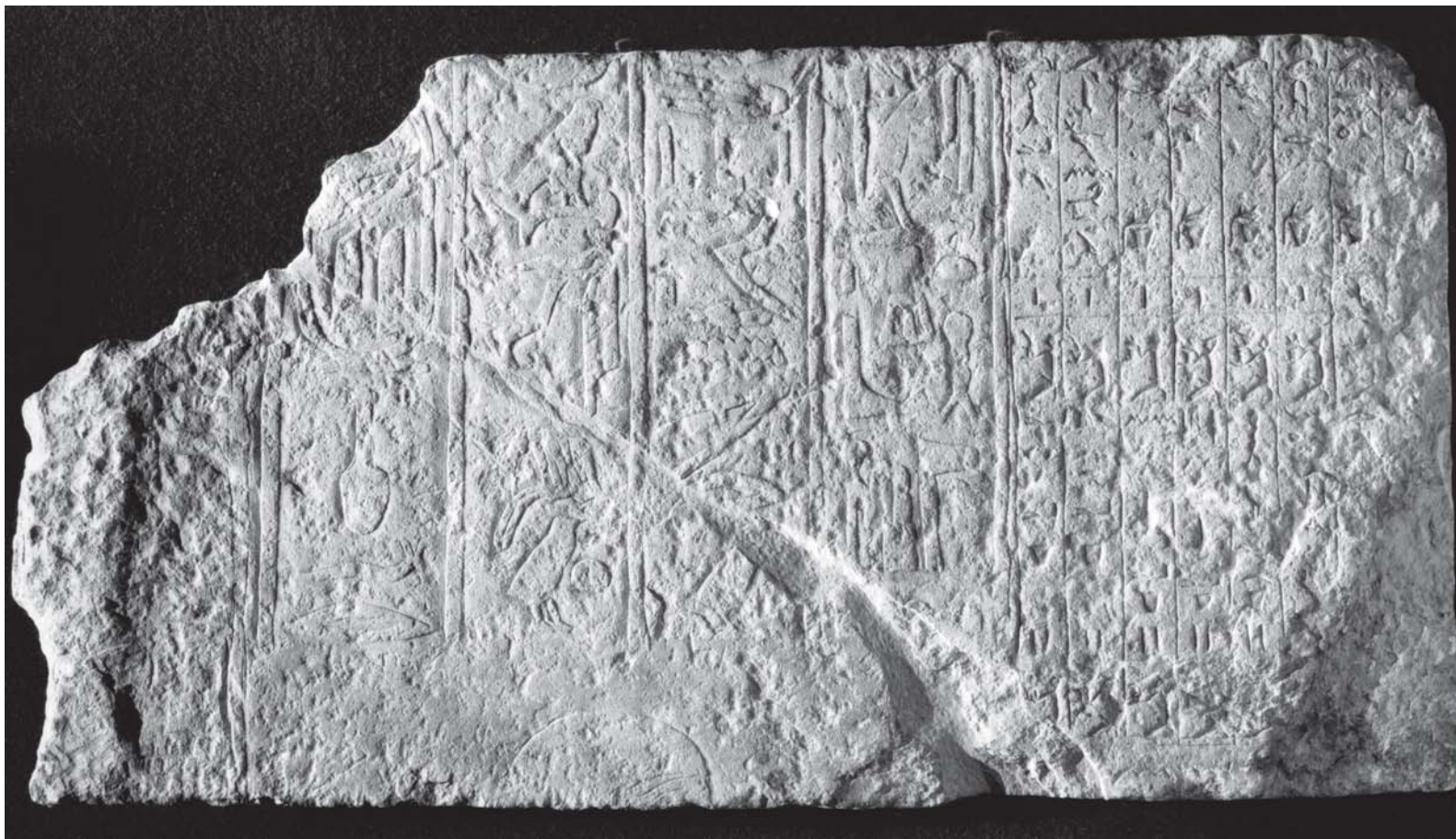
© Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

False door of
N(j)-m3:t-r(w),
lower part,
Copenhagen,
Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek
Æ.I.N.1437



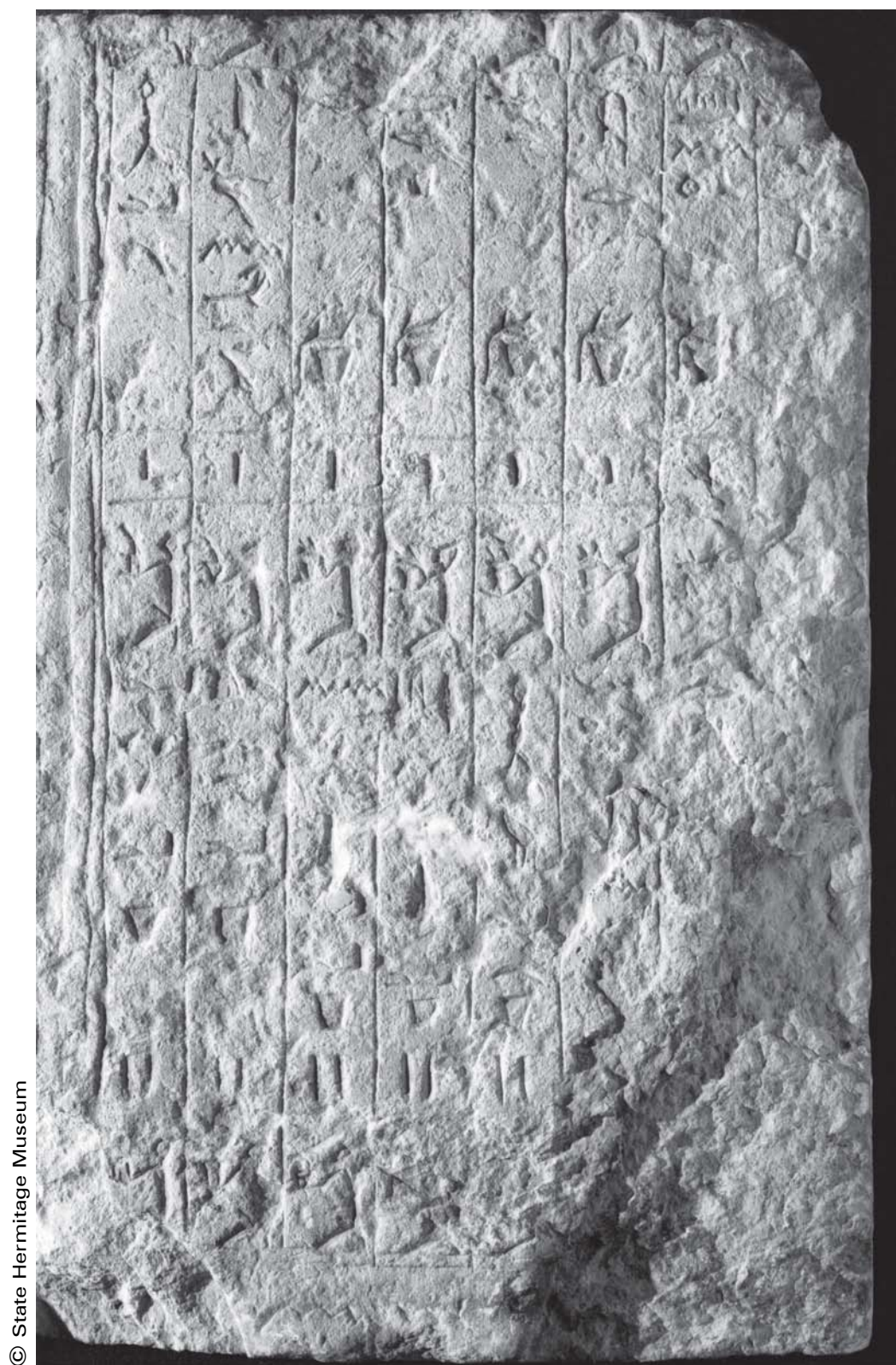
© Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

False door of *N(j)-m3̣:t-r(w)*, panel
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N.1445



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *Mrj-j-r^c(w)-nfr(w)*, Hermitage □18233
Cat.no.6



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *Mrj-r^c(w)-nfr(w)*, Hermitage □18233 (detail)
Cat.no.6



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief fragment of *Mrjj-ttj*, Hermitage □18103
Cat.no.7

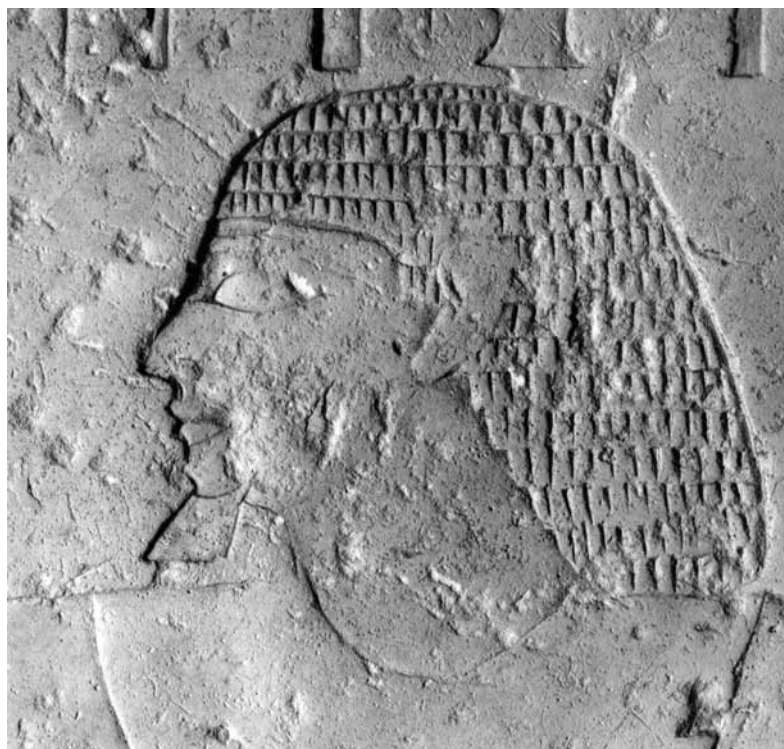


Fragment of Pyramid Texts of Pepy I, Hermitage □18143
Cat.no.8



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *Mrj-j-r'(w)-ḥb(w)*, Hermitage 18108
Cat.no.9



© State Hermitage Museum

Relief of *Mrjj-r'(w)-ḥb(.w)*, Hermitage 18108 (details)
Cat.no.9



Lintel of
N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/
Pjpj-snb(.w),
Hermitage □18125,
left half.
Cat.no.10

Lintel of
N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/
Pjpj-snb(.w),
 Hermitage □18125,
 right half
 Cat.no.10

© State Hermitage Museum





© State Hermitage Museum

Lintel of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pjpj-snb(.w)*, □18125
Cat.no.10



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

False door of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)/Pj(j)-snb(.w)*, CG 1412



© State Hermitage Museum

Lintel of *ḥb(w)-ḥꜣf*, Hermitage 18115
Cat.no.11



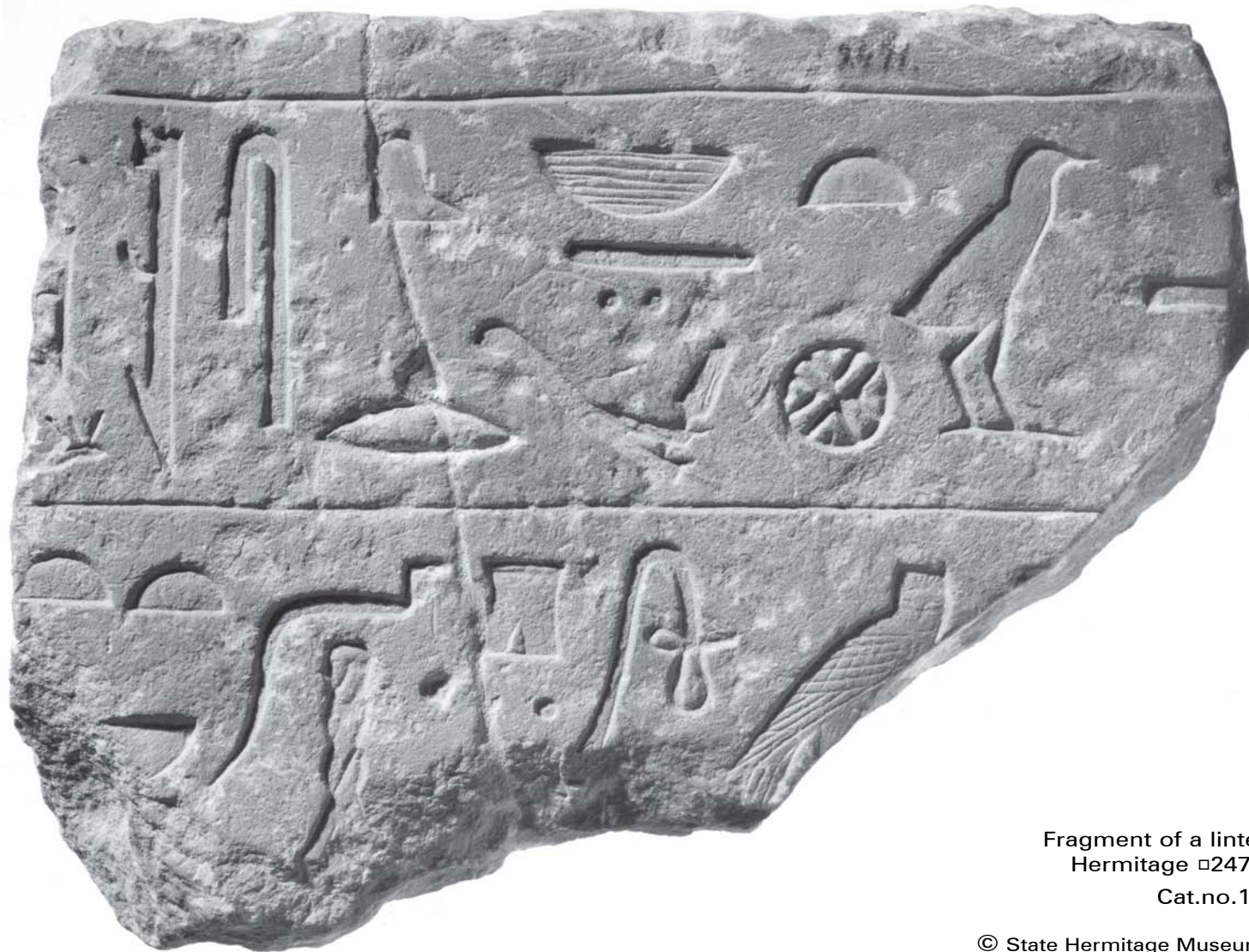
© State Hermitage Museum

Lintel fragment of *Mrrw*, Hermitage □2953
Cat.no.12



© State Hermitage Museum

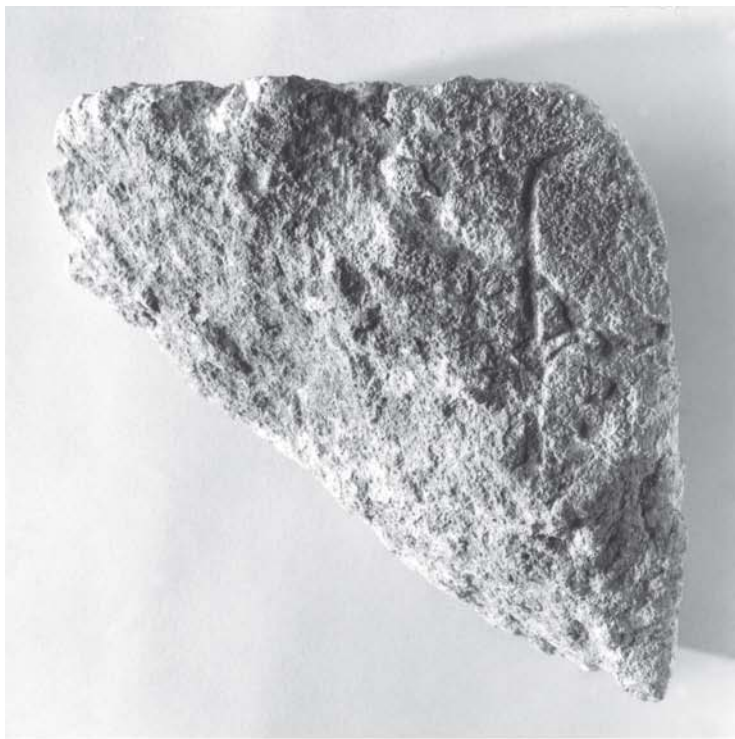
Jamb fragment of Ššj
Hermitage □18119
Cat.no.13



Fragment of a lintel
Hermitage □2471
Cat.no.14

© State Hermitage Museum

Plate XXXVI



© State Hermitage Museum

1



© State Hermitage Museum

2

1. Fragment of inscription
Hermitage □18235
Cat.no.15

2. Fragment of inscription
Hermitage □18229
Cat.no.16



© State Hermitage Museum

Offering stone of *Nb-jš(.w)t(.j)*, Hermitage □2261
Cat no.17



© State Hermitage Museum

Offering stone of *Nfr-hn(j).t(j)*, Hermitage □2263
Cat.no.18



Offering stone of *Jmḥ.t*, Hermitage □5583
Cat.no.19

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Offering stone of Špss-ptḥ, Hermitage □18106
Cat.no.20



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Offering stone of *Hkn*, Hermitage 5397
Cat.no.21

Plate XLII



© State Hermitage Museum

Fragment of an ointment tablet, Hermitage □18057
Cat.no.22