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CONTENTS

WILLIAM CHRISTOPHER HAYES		7
HENRY G. FISCHER	Varia Aegyptiaca	17
WILLIAM K. SIMPSON	Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty:	
	I The Residence of Itj-Towy	53
	II The Sed Festival in Dynasty XII	59
WOLFGANG HELCK	Der Papyrus Berlin P 3047	65
ALAN R. SCHULMAN	The Egyptian Chariotry: a Reexamination .	75
ERIC YOUNG	Some Notes on the Chronology and Geneal- ogy of the Twenty-first Dynasty	99
RICHARD A. PARKER	A Demotic Marriage Document from Deir el Ballas	113
HERBERT HOFFMANN	Helios	117
HARALD INGHOLT	A Colossal Head from Memphis, Severan or Augustan?	125
NICHOLAS B. MILLET	Gebel Adda: Preliminary Report 1963	147

Above: Block from serdab of Nḥbw, 6th Dynasty
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Below: False door of Nfr-īw, 9th Dynasty
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Varia Aegyptiaca

HENRY G. FISCHER

FRONTISPIECE AND PLATES I–VII

1. Yellow-skinned Representations of Men in the Old Kingdom (FRONTISPIECE, PLATES I–III)
2. A Realistic Example of the Hieroglyph for 'Iw "Old" (Figure 1)
3. Inscriptions on Old Kingdom Statues (Figures 1–2)
4. The Evolution of the Armlike Censer (Figures 1–8)
5. A Nubian (or Puntite) of the Archaic Period (Figures 1–5)
6. A Frequently Copied Scarab (Plate IV and Figure 1)
7. The Stelae of Den and Other Rulers of the Archaic Period (PLATES V, VIb)
8. A First Dynasty Wine Jar from the Eastern Delta (PLATE VI and Figures 1–5)
9. Some Occurrences of the Emblem of U.E. Nome 2 (PLATE VII and Figures 1–2)
10. The Land of *Srr* (Figure 1)
11. *Bst* in the New Kingdom

1. Yellow-skinned Representations of Men in the Old Kingdom

Throughout the Old Kingdom there is a certain amount of variation in the choice of color that is used in representing human skin. This variation is usually confined to scenes in tomb chapels showing peasants at work, and is particularly apt to occur in series of overlapping figures, where it helps to distinguish the superimposed contours, but at the same time clearly has some basis in wide differences of pigmentation such as may be observed in northern Africa today.¹ The portrayal of the tomb owner is much more conservative in this as in all other respects; his skin virtually always assumes the same dark red hue that is characteristic of Egyptian men at all periods, in contrast to the yellow skin that is customary for women.² Nearly all of the early exceptions to this rule occur in statuary and in two-dimensional representations of statuary, and it is these exceptions in particular that will now be considered.³

Junker has already discussed, on more than one occasion, a Sixth Dynasty relief depicting *Šm-nfr* IV as a yellow-skinned portly figure that is clearly identified as a statue by an adjacent inscription. In the pre-

¹ Cf. Caroline Ransom Williams, *Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb* (hereafter abbreviated *Decoration*), 44 and Wm. S. Smith, *Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (hereafter abbreviated *Sculpture*), 255.

² In the tomb of *Rt-htp* (Petrie, *Medum*, Pls. 11–12) the owner is lighter than some of his field workers, but many of the latter are the same color as he is and none of the men is as light as the women. A single occurrence of the hieroglyph for *šmšw*, representing an old man, is exceptionally colored yellow (Pl. 13), but this exception does not seem significant since the sign in question is colored red elsewhere in the same tomb (Pls. 13–14) and since other hieroglyphs show the same interchange of red and yellow (C. R. Williams, *Decoration*, p. 65 and n. 166). The statue of *Rt-htp* (Cairo Cat. 3) shows the same color as do his reliefs, and Von Bissing, (*Rec. trav.* 20 [1898], 122; *Äg. Kunstgeschichte* I, p. 84, n. 21) believes that Cairo Cat. 56 is comparable in this respect, although Borchardt (*Statuen u. Statuetten* I, p. 50, n. 2) is noncommittal about its color.

³ The yellow-skinned statue of Djoser (Cairo J. 49158) will not be considered, however, since it antedates the period under consideration.

liminary excavation report the yellow coloring was interpreted as an attempt to imitate the material of the statue,⁴ but this explanation was ultimately rejected because it was considered that the representation of a finished statue would show the final coating of paint that was normally applied to the surface of Old Kingdom sculpture.⁵ Junker accordingly concluded that the original statue was painted yellow and that *Šm-nfr* himself was actually light-skinned, adding that he may have become so only relatively late in life when he was less frequently exposed to the sun and open air. Without substantially altering Junker's conclusion, one might regard the significance of the color in more general terms as the bureaucratic pallor of a fat and sedentary official.

Further evidence for this interpretation has subsequently come to light in one of a series of three uninscribed Sixth Dynasty statues recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, all of which allegedly come from the same tomb at Gebelaw, about five km. south of Qena.⁶ The largest of them is a standing quartzite statue of excellent workmanship, which can hardly be later than the Sixth Dynasty. While this and a second statue show the owner in terms of the slim red-skinned youthful ideal that is generally favored in the Old Kingdom, the third (Pl. I) is decidedly rotund. It may be observed that the top of the kilt and the navel above it are located at an unusually high level — an iconographic peculiarity that also occurs in two-dimensional representations of portly individuals.⁷ A less typical feature is the shoulder-length wig;⁸ and the position of the hands, both laid flat upon the knees, is unexpected in Old Kingdom male statues of any kind. In his *Manuel d'archéologie* III Vandier cites only a few small and very clumsy examples of this attitude from Giza,⁹ but I suspect that it may have been somewhat more common in the southern provinces towards the end of Dynasty VI, for a much larger example of better manufacture was found in the tomb of *Ppy-nḥ ḥry-ib* at Meir¹⁰ and I have noticed another in the collection of a dealer at Luxor.¹¹ Although none of these other cases concerns a portly individual, the passivity of the hands seems particularly appropriate in the present instance. Except for the kilt, which is white, most of the body shows a yellow patination that cannot be relied upon as an indication of the original paint, but if the skin had been the usual color, one would expect to find traces of red such as those that clearly delineate the line of the belt; and the fact that the body was painted

⁴ *Anzeiger der österreich. Akad.* 1929, 112.

⁵ *Giza* 11, 225. In *Anzeiger der österreich. Akad.* 87 (1950), 404, his earlier interpretation is not mentioned and there is greater emphasis on the possibility that the lightness of the skin was a characteristic peculiar to *Šm-nfr*. Although the published data concerning polychromy are extremely limited, this subject being one that is much neglected in descriptions of painted reliefs, the evidence that is available to me seems to indicate that Old Kingdom representations of statues usually show the finished surface and that this is normally the conventional color of human skin, as Junker suggests. In addition to the material discussed in the following pages, four further examples may be noted: (1) Borchardt, *Grabd. Šaḥu-re* II, Pl. 38 and pl. 51, a royal statue with reddish-brown skin and other traces of polychromy; (2) Von Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, Pl. 6 and p. 8, where reddish-brown traces appear on the statue as well as on the bodies of men who drag it; (3) Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, Pl. 35, where several of the statues of *Iy* are similarly the same dark red as the skin of the men who work on them (seen from color slides in the Metropolitan Museum); the last case is remarkable because the surface of the sculpture is presumably receiving the final touches of the chisel and adze, yet it seems unlikely that the color represents quartzite or a reddish coniferous wood (for which possibility see C. R. Williams, *Decoration*, 47); (4) C. R. Williams, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, April 1918, 14–17, the portly figure of *Itwš*, which resembles that of *Šm-nfr* but shows traces of red on the face; an adjacent inscription apparently identifies the representation as a statue (*šp* — cf. the discussion on p. 27 below). A further complication is introduced by examples of *partial* polychromy, in which the exposed areas of the body are left unpainted; this question will be considered at the end of the present article.


⁶ Standing figure, MMA 62.200, height 89.5 cm.; lower part of standing couple, and feet of child, MMA 62.201.2, height 21.5 cm.; headless seated man, MMA 62.201.1, height 30 cm.

⁷ Cf. *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 245, n. 30 and Fig. 10e on p. 246.

⁸ For another case, in relief, see James and Apted, *Khentika*, Pl. 10 (lower left).

⁹ Attitude III D c, p. 66; the examples given are Boston 39.829 (Wm. S. Smith, *Sculpture* 71, Cairo J. 72141 (*ibid.*, Pl. 25a) and Cairo J. 72225–6 (Hassan, *Giza* 3, Pl. 71 [2]).

¹⁰ Excavated by Ahmed Kamal and placed in the Khashaba Collection at Assiut; see *ASAE* 15 (1915), 245 and 258, and Blackman, *Meir* IV, p. 20. It is uninscribed and portrays the owner and his wife seated side by side; the material is limestone and, according to Kamal, its overall height is 97 cm.

¹¹ A limestone statue inscribed for the *šdwtj-nṯr Ḥm-mnw*  , 49.5 cm. high.

yellow is confirmed by definite traces of pigment in the hollow behind the left arm.¹² Since there is no reason to suppose that the color imitates some material such as a gold overlay or a variety of light wood,¹³ it is safe to attribute it to the characterization of the type of individual that is represented.

A third yellow-skinned representation of a thick-bellied individual, also in the Metropolitan Museum, is probably to be dated to the Ninth Dynasty, somewhat later than the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁴ It is illustrated in the lower half of the Frontispiece of this volume. Here, at the bottom of the jambs of his false door, an older and younger version of *Nfr-ḥw* are brought together in a typical confrontation, each accompanied by the same youthful wife. In contrast to the more slender red-skinned ideal that is portrayed on the right, with shoulder-length wig, short projecting kilt, staff, and scepter, the left-hand figure, like other examples of the same kind,¹⁵ is empty-handed and wigless, and wears a very long kilt. Equally characteristic are the ripples of fat that appear along the outward-sloping contour of his abdomen, and the pendulous breast, which was overlooked by the sculptor, but was added when the skin was painted yellow — a correction that emphasizes the connection between this color and the physical type to which it is applied. The elderly aspect of these features is accented by the relative thinness of the man's face, neck and limbs. Although there seems little doubt that the color of the skin reflects the older tradition that is exemplified by the relief of *Šm-nfr* and the statue from Gebelaw, its date associates it with a later tendency towards a somewhat more selective and meaningful use of color to indicate variations in human pigmentation. Like the false door, this relatively late trend does not necessarily involve either statues or representations of statues. In Naga ed-Deir tomb 248, which Caroline Nestman Peck dates to the end of Dynasty VIII, a distinction has already been made between the tomb owner who is "chocolate red" and his field-workers who have darker skin ("chocolate") as a result of their more constant exposure to wind and sun.¹⁶ A little later, towards the beginning of Dynasty XI, the tomb of *'Iti* at Gebelein shows a yellow-skinned man supervising a dark-skinned team of butchers.¹⁷ And a late-Eleventh Dynasty model from the tomb of *Mkt-r* at Deir el Bahri, representing an inspection of cattle, likewise gives the officials a light yellow complexion, while the men who handle the cattle are "burned a deep rich brown."¹⁸ In the slightly earlier tomb of the minor queen *Kmsyt* at the same site, red and yellow are evidently applied with less discrimination to one or another of the male attendants represented on her sarcophagus,¹⁹ and the same is true of her burial chamber, except that ochre here replaces yellow for both the female attendants and the lighter-skinned men.²⁰ But the Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Beni Hasan again select lighter hues for overseers (who are often fat)²¹ or for the owner and his personal attendants.²² The contrast in pig-

¹² The surface has been examined microscopically by Mr. Murray Pease in the Metropolitan Museum's Conservation Department.

¹³ The imitation of red granite occurs in two Twelfth Dynasty statues from Assiut (Dunham, *Worcester Art Museum Annual* 3 [1937-38], 9-16) but, as Patrik Reuterswärd points out, this material was evidently thought to approximate the usual dark-red color of skin, for the body is occasionally left unpainted in red granite statues of the Old Kingdom (*Studien zur Polychromie* I, 13; one of the Assiut statues is mentioned on p. 15 and illustrated in Pl. 8).

¹⁴ MMA 12.183.8. Height 115.5 cm. Described and illustrated by Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 139-140 and Fig. 82. Various details have been commented upon by Robert Steuer, *Wdhw: Aetiological Principle of Pyaemia* (*Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Suppl. 10, 1948), pp. 5-6, 35-36, and by the present writer in *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 224, n. 6, and *Kush* 9 (1961), p. 52, n. 10.

¹⁵ Discussed in *JNES* 18 (1959), 244-247.

¹⁶ *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr*, (University Microfilms, 1959), p. 45, n. 6. This and the reference in note 18 below are mentioned in *Kush* 9 (1961), 59, in connection with the rather similar distinction that is made between Nubians and Egyptians on a First Intermediate Period stela from Rizaqat.

¹⁷ The figure in question is located to the right of the scene illustrated in Farina, *La Pittura Egiziana*, Pl. 18.

¹⁸ W. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pp. 20-21; cf. C. R. Williams, *Decoration*, p. 66, n. 172.

¹⁹ Naville, *Deir el Bahari, Dyn. XI*, I, Pl. 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, Pls. 2, 3.

²¹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pls. 12, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, I, Pls. 17, 37, 46; II, Pls. 4, 7, 11, etc. Note that the yellow-skinned men mentioned by C. R. Williams, *Decoration*, p. 66, n. 172 (referring to Blackman, *Meir* I, p. 17), have proved to be women (Blackman-Apted, *Meir* VI, p. 15).

mentation resulting from exposure and lack of exposure of the skin is also found in reliefs and wooden statues of the Middle Kingdom representing men with freshly-shaven heads; in such cases the scalp is yellow, overlaid with black stippling to imitate stubble, whereas the rest of the body is the usual red or reddish-brown.²³

The link provided by the false door of *Nfr-iv* strongly suggests that the color selected for the relief of *Šsm-nfr* and the statue from Gebelaw has the same meaning as in the later examples that have just been described. And a similar interpretation seems to be indicated for the few remaining instances where yellow is applied to representations of men in the Old Kingdom. As far as I can determine, statues are again involved in every case, and all of them (with one exception, to be mentioned presently), are naked figures, presumably conveying the idea of extreme youth.²⁴ Their lighter hue may accordingly betoken a relatively sheltered condition, as in the case of women and elderly bureaucrats. In two, and possibly three examples in the Cairo Museum the boys are part of group statues representing a family.²⁵ But a series of three separate naked male statuettes of *ʿIhly*, two painted red and one yellow, is described in the first edition of Wm. S. Smith's *Egyptian Sculpture and Painting*,²⁶ and two naked statues, one red and one yellow are represented in the reliefs of *Ppy-ḥnḥ Hnī* at Meir.²⁷ Both *ʿIhly* and *Ppy-ḥnḥ* belong to the Sixth Dynasty, while the group statuettes are of somewhat earlier date.

From the evidence that has been considered thus far, there can be little question that Junker's final conclusions regarding the color of *Šsm-nfr* were along the right lines, but it remains to be explained why the meaningful use of yellow for male figures should initially be confined to statues and why, in the series of two and three naked figures of identical appearance, this color should occur in one case only, while the other shows the usual dark red hue. As in all questions concerning Egyptian iconography, one must beware of imposing too narrow an interpretation on a phenomenon that is evidently the product of several ideas and points of view. The use of yellow to enhance the characterization of youth and old age was probably more apt to occur in statuary because of the basic purpose of three-dimensional sculpture, which served to embody the deceased in a more literal manner than could be accomplished on the walls of his chapel. The occasional extension of yellow to male figures would also have been favored as a means of dissimulation, a recurrent feature of Egyptian art,²⁸ but one which was again especially important in Egyptian statuary, for the many effigies of the deceased that were often placed in a single tomb not only multiplied his means of receiving life but also enabled him to assume all the varied guises in which he had formally appeared during his existence on earth;²⁹ it is significant that at least one of these types — the naked youth — does not appear among his representations in relief. Thus if, in the interests of realism, one of a pair of naked statues was painted yellow, the tend-

²³ Newberry, *Bersheh* I, Pls. 13, 15 and p. 22, where the shaven heads are described as "yellowish, speckled with black." An Old Kingdom example is possibly to be recognized in LD II, 96 (w). For Middle Kingdom examples in statuary, see Borchardt's description of Cairo Cat. 435 and 440 in *Statuen u. Statuetten* II, pp. 40, 42, and Schäfer's description of Berlin 16202 in *Priestergräber*, pp. 25–26 and Fig. 25.

²⁴ See Junker's discussion in *Giza* VII, 40–44.

²⁵ Cairo Cat. 55, 202 and perhaps 125; cf. Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue*, 98.

²⁶ P. 84. The description of these limestone statuettes (Cairo J. d'E. 47758–47760) on the corresponding page of the second edition corrects the provenance and refers to the photograph published by Capart in *Memphis*, p. 263, Fig. 246. Although the revised statement omits any mention of the color, Dr. Smith has kindly informed me that he believes the original edition was correct in this particular. James and Apted, *Khentika*, p. 4, also refer to the statuettes, but provide no description.

²⁷ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, Pl. 20. On p. 28 the yellow color is interpreted as "indicating that this statue was overlaid with gold," an idea which is not borne out by the comparative material under consideration. Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, 82 (4), sees evidence for gold overlay in the reliefs of *Ṭy*, where the sculptor's hammer is held between two sticks as though it were too hot to handle; but the tool in question is actually a heavy maul of the type illustrated in Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, Fig. 192 (MMA 20.3.190) and Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, Fig. 266.

²⁸ Most conspicuously attested in hieroglyphic writing; for dissimulation of forms see Drioton, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 57–68, and van de Walle, *Ägyptologische Studien 1955* (Grapow Festschrift), 366–378, and for dissimulation of color see C. R. Williams, *Decoration*, 72 and W. S. Smith, *Sculpture*, 266–267.

²⁹ Cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 166 ff. and esp. p. 171.

ency towards dissimulation would lead to the use of red for the other, and it may well be that the two colors suggested different aspects of youth.

The interaction of several ideas is particularly well exemplified by an interesting fragment of wall painting which, on account of the special problems that it raises, has been reserved for the end of this discussion. This is a limestone block which is currently exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, whose Department of Egyptian Art has generously provided the illustration in the upper half of the Frontispiece.³⁰ With several similar fragments, two of which are shown in Pls. II-III,³¹ it was found near the ruined mastaba of *Nḥbw* at Giza,³² and indicates that the walls of his serdab were decorated with several registers of repeating figures representing statues, as in the contemporaneous and better-preserved serdab of *Ppy-nḥ* (*Hni* the Black) at Meir.³³ In the case of *Ppy-nḥ* the figures are identical, and conform to the usual red-skinned ideal, each standing on a base with staff in one hand, scepter in the other, but in *Nḥbw*'s serdab this type alternates with wigless plump figures attired in a longer kilt, one hand holding a staff, the other hanging empty; the thickness of the body is emphasized by folding the empty-handed arm along one side so as to suggest a profile view.³⁴ In general the slender statues have red skin, as usual, while the fat ones are alternately yellow or yellow overlaid with black, resulting in one or another of two schemes of rhythmic color pattern:



Scheme (a) is exemplified by the Frontispiece and (b) by three fragments³⁵ in addition to the block illustrated in Pl. II, where the sole irregularity is a yellow plump figure at the center of the bottom register whose skin has not been overlaid with black. The orientation of the statues, all of which face right, has no bearing on the choice of (a) or (b), and further variations appear on two other blocks. The more intact of these (Pl. III) gives yellow or black skin to most of the plump figures as usual, but two of them are evidently red, while the slender figures not only display their normal red color, but are also black in one instance and in three other cases have very light skin. None of the last three figures is as light-skinned as its portly counterparts, however; its hue has the same value as the long kilt worn by the latter, and is probably to be interpreted as buff or ochre. All of this may be summarized as follows, with the additional color abbreviated as o (ochre) and the plump figures indicated by boldface type:



³⁰ MFA 13.4339a; the height is 46 cm. Also recorded on field negatives in the Museum of Fine Arts, B1306, C4350.

³¹ Both reproduced from field negatives in the Museum of Fine Arts; Pl. II (neg. no. B 1312) presumably corresponds to a block in the Cairo Museum, J. d'E. 44621, mentioned in the notes of Dr. William Stevenson Smith. Pl. III (neg. no. C 2917) is in Boston, MFA 13.4339b, but Mr. Edward Terrace informs me that the surface is now badly pitted and that nearly all traces of paint have disappeared.

³² A brief description is given by Reisner in *BMFA* 11 (1913) 53 and 57. See too Smith, *BMFA* 56 (1958), p. 59, fig. 2. Mr. Terrace is preparing a comprehensive publication of the tomb, and I am particularly obliged to him for his help in getting this material together and for his generosity in permitting me to utilize it in the present discussion.

³³ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pp. 45-49 and Pls. 37-40. On visiting the site in 1959 I found that the walls of this chamber had recently sustained a great deal of damage.

³⁴ This is the phenomenon discussed by Madsen, *ÄZ* 42 (1905), 65-69. It is particularly apt to occur in representations of the type under consideration, as in the case of *Šsm-nfr* (Junker, *Giza*, XI, Fig. 89, p. 226, and cf. Fig. 73 a-b, pp. 182-183).

³⁵ MFA neg. nos. B 1307, right of B 1312, and perhaps left of A 868; in the last case a red-skinned youthful figure holds his hands at either side. In another case (right of neg. A 868) five figures are clearly visible in a single (bottom) register, but their colors are difficult to distinguish.

On the second of the two blocks deviating from the normal pattern,³⁶ the plump statues have red skin, while the slender ones are red, black, and a lighter color that may again be ochre:

R	B	R	O?	—
B	—	—	R	B
—	—	—	Y?	—

If scheme (a) is involved, it is possible that the light-skinned slender statue at the bottom was intended to receive an overlay of black, as in the case of the superfluous yellow plump figure in Pl. II. The evidence is much too fragmentary to reconstruct the complete decoration of *Nḥbw*'s serdab, but it seems likely that the variations just described have resulted from a lack of careful planning, or a failure to execute the plan progressively and continuously, and that they attempt to provide a transition between parts of the wall painted simultaneously by two or more artists.

The black overpainting that appears on some of the representations of *Nḥbw*'s statues is at least as carefully executed as the remaining details and consistently leaves strips of the underlying yellow exposed, apparently with the idea of reproducing the grained surface of dark wood.³⁷ This does not necessarily imply that the use of plain yellow in other cases imitates a lighter variety of wood; but even if it did, it is clear that the dark and light material was meant to register as the color of the skin, for the hair, collar, bracelets, kilt and staff are colored differently, and the base also shows a contrasting hue. Probably the black figures are to be related to later instances, dating from the First Intermediate Period onward, where black or blue occasionally appear on statues in place of red.³⁸ It remains significant, however, that yellow is reserved for the plump type of figure in virtually every case, even when the artist was obliged to depart from the alternating pattern that was evidently his principal concern.³⁹

³⁶ MFA neg. no. A 801.

³⁷ This combination of colors is frequent in representing wooden objects; good examples are illustrated in Abubakr, *Giza* I, Fig. 18, and Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1911–12, Pls. 11–14.

³⁸ In addition to the cases described and discussed by Patrik Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie* I, 43 f. (and cf. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, p. 23, n. 1), particular attention should be drawn to an early Twelfth Dynasty statue in the British Museum (BM 461), on which the exposed parts of the body show a few red traces as well as more frequent traces of blue. A thorough examination, kindly undertaken by Dr. Werner, of the British Museum's Research Laboratory, and by Mr. T. G. H. James, indicates that blue was the original color, and that the traces of red were acquired in modern times. Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, p. 28, describe a scene (Pl. 18) which bears the caption "*Painting a (ebony) statue of the Superintendent of Prophets, Henenit the Black (?)*." The use of the word "ebony" is evidently suggested by traces of paint on the statue in question, but the drawing does not make it clear whether these traces indicate strips of black graining or a uniform color. In either event it seems likely that, as in the case of *Nḥbw*'s wooden statues, the exposed parts of the body were not intended to be painted, although the ambiguity of the description raises the possibility that the skin was painted black. As Reuterswärd concedes in discussing unpainted or partially painted alabaster statuary (*ibid.*, 58–59, to which should be added the Twelfth Dynasty example in Newberry, *Bersheh* I, Pl. 15 and p. 19), the material was sometimes left exposed for purely aesthetic reasons. The representations of Eighteenth Dynasty royal statues described and depicted in Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, Pls. 15–19, 22A, and pp. 25–30 (not mentioned in Reuterswärd's work) also contain several unpainted or partially painted examples of various colors, including several of a white material such as alabaster or ivory, and another that is completely covered with red stippling, imitating granite.

³⁹ It may be added that an alternating series of red, yellow and black is common in border decorations, as exemplified by the torus moulding of the false door shown in the Frontispiece.

2. A Realistic Example of the Hieroglyph for 'Iw "Old"

It has frequently been observed that while the ancient Egyptians favored the physical ideal of vigorous youth in representing themselves in their tombs, the male figure (virtually never the female) is sometimes decidedly obese. In the preceding pages a further argument has been advanced for interpreting this type of figure as a more mature ideal — an ideal of sedentary and well-fed ease that was appropriate to the tomb owner's later years. On the whole, old age seems to have been regarded as a desirable state, so much so that a lifetime of 110 years was not considered excessive.¹ And from the description in the Westcar Papyrus of the



Figure 1

sage Djedi, who had attained that goal, it is equally clear that the "good old age" so frequently mentioned in the offering formulae meant an ability to eat abundantly, even if no one could seriously aspire to an appetite that encompassed 500 loaves of bread, a shoulder of beef and 100 jugs of beer daily.² This being the case, it is surprising to find that the offering formula on a group of Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty reliefs in the British Museum twice represents the ideogram for *iw* "be old" as an extremely emaciated individual (Fig. 1).³ With ordinary illumination, the details of the relief are much less conspicuous than my drawing would suggest, and it was only in going over the surface with a strong raking light that I noticed the starkly projecting clavicle and ribs. These features have been reproduced on the basis of two photographs which Bernard V. Bothmer kindly made at my request, using similar conditions of lighting.

Although many other Old Kingdom examples of the *iw*-hieroglyph display the old man with balding head and wearing a long kilt, his limbs and torso usually conform to the normal youthful ideal, or else — in some cases — show signs of corpulence such as a sagging breast and bulging waistline.⁴ The *iw*-sign is not directly identified with the deceased, to be sure, and in this connection it may be noted that partial baldness is virtually always restricted to lesser persons in contemporary representations, such as

¹ J. M. A. Janssen, "On the Ideal Lifetime of the Egyptians," *OMRO*, 31 (1950), 33-43.

² Westcar 7, 2; Sethe, *Lesestücke* 29, 1-2.

³ BM 1171; for the context, see T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², Pl. 3. The corresponding hieroglyph in BM 1168 shows the same features. I am very much obliged to Mr. James for permitting me to reproduce the sign in question.

⁴ *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 247, n. 32. The example illustrated there is taken from an architrave, Cairo Temp. Reg. 6/4/49/1 which has subsequently been published in *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 303, Fig. 3. In addition to the other examples already cited see also Steindorff, *Grabfunde* I, p. 46 (from the tomb of *Sjym-k3.i*, Berlin 1186).

farmers and workers.⁵ At the same time it is clear that this ideograph ordinarily acquired something of the “good” aspect of old age which the tomb owner desired.

If the representation under discussion is particularly interesting from the point of view of its context, it is also important in its own right, being the earliest realistic treatment of emaciation that has yet been noted. The next earliest representations⁶ are the statuette of a lean potter in the Oriental Institute, and the well-known reliefs from the Unas causeway, depicting peasants stricken by famine. The most comparable of the later Old Kingdom examples, however, is the pair of aged women who grind grain on either side of a false door, Cairo J. d'E. 56994. Here again old age is represented as an infirmity, reflecting the minority view that “what old age does for people is bad in every respect.”⁷

⁵ Cf. *JNES* 18 (1959), 245, 247. The bust of *ḥnḥ-ḥtj.f*, Boston MFA 27.442, is exceptional in this respect (*BMFA* 37 [1939], 46).


⁶ The three examples described in the following lines are all illustrated in *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), pp. 244–245 (Figs. 10, 12, 13), 251 (Fig. 11).

⁷ Prisse, 5, 2 (Z. Žába, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*, 16[20–21]; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 36, 19–20).

3. Inscriptions on Old Kingdom Statues







Full-length statues of the Old Kingdom normally bear relatively brief inscriptions, the purpose of which is usually restricted to identifying the owner, providing a final degree of individualization that is seldom even approximated by the sculpture itself. Such inscriptions, containing only the names, titles and epithets of the deceased, serve essentially the same function as the phonetic signs which are attached to a so-called determinative in order to specify the precise word that is involved.¹ The only other statement that may occasionally be expected to occur on statues prior to the Middle Kingdom is a dedication referring to the donor of the monument.² It is therefore of some interest to encounter, on the base of a seated statue of the early Sixth Dynasty, Cairo Cat. 45, a brief phrase which is appended to the name and titles and which, by its nature and location, may be seen to diverge from the usual pattern of an epithet.³ This occurs on the front of the base, at the end of the following inscription:

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §23, who speaks of cases where “it might be more truly said that the phonograms determine the *sound* of the ideogram, than that the ideogram determines the *sense* of the phonograms.” An awareness of the relationship between statue and inscription is indicated by the fact that the name often lacks a hieroglyphic determinative; this omission is discussed by Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, p. 171, n. 2.

² The mention of *Iy-m-ḥtj* on the base of one of Djoser's statues (Firth-Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, Pl. 58) is not altogether an exception since — aside from the fact that it antedates the period under consideration — this serves much the same purpose as a dedication. An offering formula exceptionally appears on a secondary structural element, apart from the statue itself (the naiform frame of Cairo Cat. 106), or, conversely, on an element which is an essential part of the representation (the papyrus scroll of a seated scribe, Cairo Cat. 83). In at least one case, however, the offering formula is located on the base of a rather crude late Old Kingdom statue (Cairo Cat. 219). A somewhat similar idea is involved in the group  which follows the name of *Kḥi-m-nfrt* on the base of three statues from his tomb (Cairo Cat. 65, 66, 181, but not 61 or 377). This group would seem to be an epithet, however, which parallels the construction of *di ḥnḥ*; as the latter is presumably a contraction of *dy n.f ḥnḥ* (Gardiner, *Grammar*, §378) so the former may be *pr(y) (n.f.) ḥrw* “one for whom offerings are made” (cf. Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 2A, right side, fourth stone from top; discussed by Clère, *Mélanges Maspero* I, 775 f.). A more detailed survey of inscriptions on statues, which includes nearly all the references in this note, is given by A. Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im alten Reich*, 93–97.

³ In the Old Kingdom terminal epithets are normally limited to a single descriptive participle serving to distinguish related individuals who bear the same name (Ranke, *PN* II, 10–12). A possible exception is mentioned in the preceding note.

Cairo Cat. 1404,¹² and most of the following examples only differ in that one or more of the upright pales are slanted:¹³

	(→)	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI, Pt. 3, Fig. 68, p. 86.
	(←)	Cairo Cat. 1565 (= Mar. <i>Mast.</i> , 414).
	(→)	Brussels E 6146 (<i>Chron. d'Ég.</i> 2 [1926], 190; <i>Urk.</i> I, 308).
	(→)	Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 5893 and Seattle 11.11. ¹⁴
	(→)	Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> , Pl. 6 (architrave of 'Idw II).
	(←)	Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , Pl. 28.




































	4	5	6	4		5		6		7
I A				AL 	AR 	AL 	AR 	AL 	AR 	AL 
var.					
I B			BL 	BR 	BL 	BR 	BL 		
var.							
I C				CL 	CL 	CR 			
II A									
II C			CL 				
var.									

Figure 1. Forms of the *ssp*-sign in the Pyramid Texts.

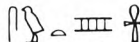



I A4: 1347bP, 1703dM, 1732aM, 1733aM, 1751bM.
 I A5: 75aW, 115bM, 217aW, 372cN, 474bW, 548aM, 611aT and M, 622cM, 654bM and N, 655aM, 737bM, 762bM and N, 772bM, 795cM, 812bM, 843aM, 844bM, 854cM, 864bM, 870bM, 937cP and M, 1047bM, 1084aM, 1086cN, 1201dP and M, 1347aP, 1374bM, 1417bP, 1426bP, 1651bM, 1726cM.
 I A6: 762bP, var. 1172aP.
 I AL4: 202aW, 217aM, 1069aP, 1212aM, var. 1156aP, second var. 737bT.
 I AR4: 1182aM.
 I AL5: 473cW, 510dW, 512bW, 622cP, 646cT, 654bT, 795cP, 819bN, 844bP, 879dP, 880aP, 889bP, 1084aP, 1086cP, 1426bM.
 I AR5: 63cW, 1182aP, var. 1164bP, 1166aP, 1182aN, 1212aP, 1417bP.
 I AL6: 232bW, 334bW, 772bP.
 I AR6: 1561bP, var. 1300bP.
 I AL7: 372eW.
 I B4: 75aN, 115bN, 697bN(?), 710cT, 737bN, 1802aN, var. 63cN.
 I B5: 260cW, 473cN, 474bN, 512bT, 530aT, 533bP, 548aT and P, 646cN, 697bT, 710cM, 735bT, 819bM, 858aN, 864bN, 889bN, 991bN, 1047bN, 1158aP, 1164bN, 1201dN, 1717bM, 1732aN, 1758aN, 1764cN, 2026bN.

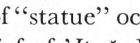
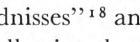
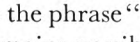

I B6: var. 509cW, 812bP.
 I BL4: 840bN, 843aN, 844bN, 854cN, 870bN, 1154aP, 1416aM.
 I BR4: 1802aN, 2107aN, 2122bN.
 I BL5: 211cW, 451bW, 737bN(?), 772bN, 795cN, 843aP, 858aP, 1374bP, 2015aN, 2020bN, 2183bN, var. 840bP.
 I BR5: 1987cN.
 I BL6: 937cN.
 I C4: 1086cM, 1751bN.
 I C5: 275cT, 622cN(?), 646cM, 655aN, 697bP, 710cN, 737bN, 896bN, 1154aN, 1156aN, 1158aN, 1166aN, 1212aN, 1253dP, M and N, 1261cP and N, 1327aP, 1416aN, 1877dN, 1903aN, 1916bN.
 I C6: 202aN, 1866aN.
 I CL4: 1426bN.
 I CL5: 622cT, 655aT.
 I CR5: 812bN, 1374bN, 1416aP.
 II A5: 896bP.
 II C4: 1084aM.
 II C5: 334bT, var. 1651bN.
 II CL5: 275eW.

¹² This is seen to best advantage in Capart, *Rue des tombeaux*, Pl. 102.

¹³ The orientation in each case is indicated by an arrow pointing in the same direction as the hieroglyphs.

¹⁴ Both of these inscriptions will appear in a forthcoming volume (no. 40) of *Analecta Orientalia* (Rome) entitled *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (items 5 and 6). For the second of them see Budge, *Collection . . . of Lady Meux*, 2nd ed., Pl. 8.

If the foregoing evidence leaves little doubt that the phrase  is to be read *šwt šsp ṛnh*, its interpretation is unfortunately much less certain. On the surface it appears to mean "he is (?) a receiver of life" or "he is (?) a living statue." This translation assumes that *šwt* is the Old Kingdom form of the masc. 3rd pers. pronoun, which is customarily written ; indeed I know of no exceptions to the normal writing. The use of the word would be paralleled, however, by the well-known statement that similarly accompanies *Nfr-m'nt*'s figure in his tomb chapel at Medum, referring to the permanence of his inscriptions:  "he is one who fashions his gods in writing that does not rub off."¹⁵ It seems less likely that  is the rare causative verb *šwti* "make great," which is used in conjunction with the verb *wr* in Pyr. 1343b and 2169b.

Whatever the meaning of the initial *šwt* may be, it remains highly probable that the phrase *šsp ṛnh* refers to the statue or its function. The earliest mention of *šsp* in the sense of "statue" occurs in the phrase  (Dyn. IV tomb of *Dbḥn*, Giza)¹⁶ and  (Dyn. V relief of *'Itwš*, Brooklyn Museum),¹⁷ which Junker has translated "eine Statue der Art eines lebenswahren Bildnisses"¹⁸ and "Statue nach dem Leben" or "Lebenswahre Statue,"¹⁹ in the second case the words *šsp ṛnh*, following the name, accompany a standing figure in profile which may indeed represent a statue and one that might plausibly be termed a "likeness according to life," since it depicts the owner as a mature and portly individual. Since this is paralleled by a fragmentary Sixth Dynasty relief in which the first word is replaced by *[t]wt* "image"²⁰ there is little doubt that *šsp* is the noun which has this same meaning in the Middle Kingdom and later. Further evidence is supplied by an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb painting which applies the following label to some representations of royal statues: . ²¹ Here the phrase "made into a *šsp ṛnh*" is paralleled by "made in the image of His Majesty's beauty."²² But it remains possible that the original meaning of *šsp* reflects the function of a statue as "one who receives" offerings and other ministrations, and that *ṛnh* refers to this function (adverbial "livingly")²³ rather than to the statue's appearance "lifelike"). The Sixth Dynasty passage under discussion lends support to this interpretation, as does an inscription on the base of a Nineteenth Dynasty statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art:  . . . "(this) image was made for him, to receive life and to rest in his chapel, by his assistant..."²⁴ And during the New Kingdom both *twt ṛnh* and *šsp ṛnh* are well known in the sense of "living image," although these specific epithets do not seem to be attested much earlier.²⁵

The phrase under discussion is not the only unusual feature of Cairo Cat. 46. The same statue is also distinguished by a long lappet wig of a type that is rarely worn by men at any period, apart from representations of divinities.²⁶ The only other private statues of the Old Kingdom which have this feature also date

¹⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. 24.

¹⁶ *Urk.* I, 20, line 9; Hassan, *Giza* IV, Fig. 118, p. 168.

¹⁷ C. R. Williams. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, April 1918, 14-17; *Ancient Egypt* 1920, 18-19; W. S. Smith, *Sculpture*, Pl. 48a; *Urk.* I, 192.

¹⁸ *Giza* XII, 130.

¹⁹ *Anzeiger der österreich. Akad.* 87 (1950), 403, and *Giza* XI, 224-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Fig. 89 and Pl. 23 (a-b).

²¹ N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, Pls. 15-16.

²² For *šwt ṛ* see *Wb.* IV, 335; the Belegstellen provide no evidence earlier than the Middle Kingdom, but some Old Kingdom examples (including Fig. 2) will be mentioned presently.

²³ Cf. the adverbial formations *ṛ-ikr*, *ṛ-mnh*, etc. (Gardiner, *Grammar*, §205.5).

²⁴ MMA 33.2.1; Kamal, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 88; and Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 350.

²⁵ *Wb.* V, 256.17, IV, 536.6; both terms usually refer to the king as the "living image" of a god. The epithet *twt ṛnh n R* is applied to Sekhemre Sankhtawy Neferhotep III of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Cairo Cat. 20799, as seen in a hand-copy provided by J. J. Clère; cf. Wm. C. Hayes in the revised *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, Ch. 2, p. 12 and n. 8).

²⁶ For some relatively early examples in statuary see the personifications of nomes in Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, Fig. 46, p. 70, and Reisner, *Mycerinus*, Pl. 41. It is hardly necessary to cite any of the much more abundant evidence in painting and relief. The lappet wig is attested in royal statuary in only two cases, shortly before the Old Kingdom (Djoser: Firth-Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, Pl. 30) and at the end of the Middle Kingdom (Hor: De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* 1894, Pl. 35).

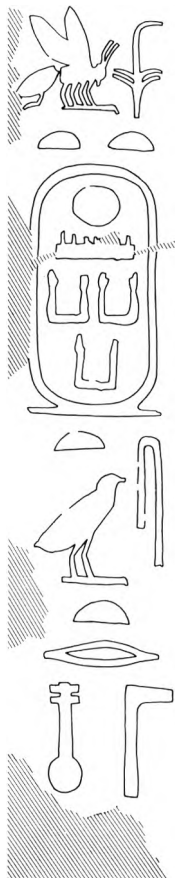


Figure 2

to the Sixth Dynasty, and occupied a public and conspicuous place in the portico of *Šsm-nfr*'s mastaba at Giza.²⁷ Another example, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty, was, on the other hand, placed within its owner's innermost coffin.²⁸ In a fourth case, belonging to the first half of the same dynasty, the body of the statue was painted blue, a color which was apparently intended to lend it a spiritual quality.²⁹ Possibly the lappet wig likewise bestowed a degree of posthumous divinity, and if so, there may be some connection between this and the reference to the owner as a "living statue" or a "receiver of life."

After considering so many debatable points, it is reassuring to be able to cite at least one Old Kingdom statue inscription which unmistakably follows the owner's name by an allusion to the statue itself. The phrase was frequently applied to kings of the Fourth Dynasty, but is best preserved on the base of a fragmentary statue of Mycerinus in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 2).³⁰ Although the forward left corner of the base is broken away, enough remains to be certain that *štw t r ntr-nfr* is not followed by *nb*, as previously stated.³¹ The meaning is: "made into the likeness of the good god."

²⁷ Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 109 and Pl. 13 (c-d).

²⁸ Steindorff, *Grabfunde* I, pp. 31–32 and Pls. 6–7.

²⁹ Statue of *Intf*, BM 461; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, Pl. 23. A fifth example (Copenhagen AE.I.N. 1662, early Dyn. XII) is also illustrated *ibid.*, Pl. 61. For the color of BM 461 see above, p. 22, n. 38.

³⁰ MFA 09.202; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 111 (19) and Pl. 47. For other examples, following the name of Chephren, see Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* I, pp. 17–18 (Cairo Cat. 15 and 17) and Hölscher, *Grabd. Kgs. Chephren*, p. 101 (fragments in Leipzig).

³¹ *Mycerinus*, p. 111 (19), where Reisner reads *štw t r ntr nfr nb* and translates "shining brighter than any other good god."

4. The Evolution of the Armlike Censer

It is well known that two types of censers were employed in ancient Egypt. Old Kingdom reliefs almost invariably show a simple cup, which is sometimes footed for easier handling and often provided with a knobbed lid (Fig. 2);¹ this type is less frequently represented in later periods, and in temple scenes of the New Kingdom it is perhaps to be considered an archaism.² From the Eleventh Dynasty onward greater preference is given to a more elaborate armlike type that provides a substitute hand to hold the bowl of glowing coals on which the incense is laid. Although it has sometimes been stated that the armlike censer was of earlier origin than this,³ no satisfactory evidence has been adduced for such a claim, nor has any attempt been made to trace the various steps in the development of the implement.

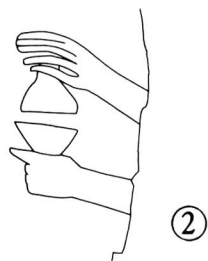
¹ Discussed by Blackman, *ÄZ* 50 (1912), 66–68. The example illustrated in Fig. 2 is taken from Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 11 (top center).

² It is particularly apt to appear in the traditional series of figures who perform the offering ritual, as in H. E. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, Pl. 9.

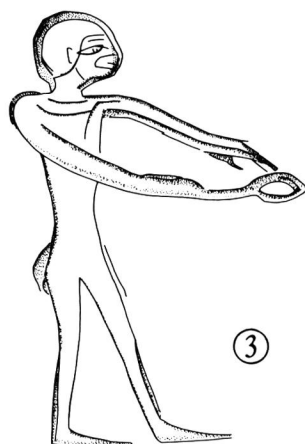
³ L. Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reichs*, 169, and Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, p. 322 and n. 3. Jéquier cites an example in Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux*, II, Pl. 42, where an offering bearer does carry an object resembling a censer; on closer inspection, however, this object appears to be a plain shaft, the contour of which is distorted by several pits that have been filled with plaster.



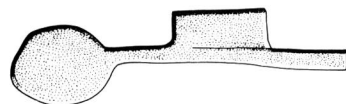
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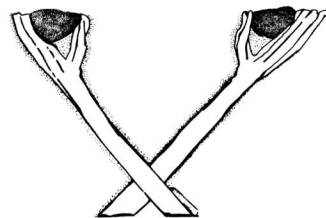
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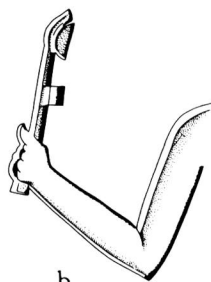
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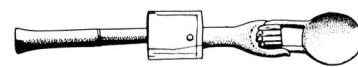
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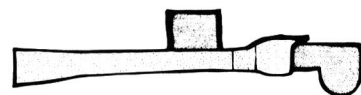
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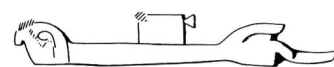
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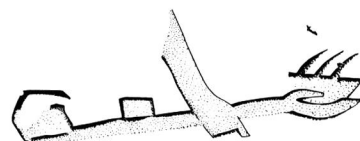
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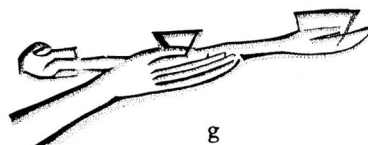
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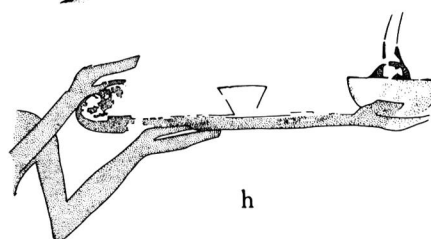
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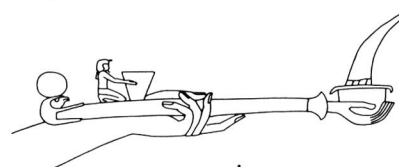
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

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⑤ Figures 1-6. Evolution of the armlike censer.

A fairly extensive search has, in fact, yielded only three examples of the later type of censer from tombs that clearly antedate the reign of Neb-hepet-re Mentuhotep. One such case (Fig. 3) is found on the miniature mastaba of a Thinite nomarch whose burial at Saqqara apparently dates to the very end of the Old Kingdom.⁴ A clearer version of much the same thing (Fig. 4) appears in the secondary chapel of *Hkꜣ-ib* at Assuan;⁵ here the censer is placed in mid-air above a diminutive oryx that is being led forward as an offering. Although the chapel itself was evidently built before the end of the Sixth Dynasty, the scene in question is one of many additions which were carved on the walls by succeeding generations of funerary priests, and, like the miniature mastaba, it is probably no earlier than Dynasty VIII. Of much greater interest is an example which is not only more detailed but also appears to be the first of its kind. It occurs directly above the offering table on the false door of *Mni* at Dendera,⁶ and although I had already suspected its existence when I previously had occasion to discuss this individual,⁷ it seemed wiser to withhold comment until the original relief could be examined in the Cairo Museum. The result is the tracing shown in Fig. 1.

Like the example in the chapel of *Hkꜣ-ib*, *Mni*'s censer is not held by an attendant, but is placed above an offering — in this case the offering table. Here, by virtue of its armlike form, it is able to do the censuring of its own accord, as expressed by the adjacent words *rdit sntr* "giving incense." But unlike the *Hkꜣ-ib* example, in which the receptacle for the coals is apparently an oval bowl, viewed from above, the censer of *Mni* differs from all later forms in that the hand holds a burner of the Old Kingdom type, i.e. one provided with a foot for handling; the comparable example shown in Fig. 2 also comes from Dendera and is approximately contemporaneous. The other end of the arm is also distinctive, for it does not end abruptly, like that of *Hkꜣ-ib*'s funerary priest, and the early Eleventh Dynasty examples, but widens and curves slightly upward, and has two divergent pairs of incised lines, perhaps intended to represent muscles. A final difference is the rounded bowl at the center, which is later replaced by a rectangular box or straight-sided frustrum-shaped pot, although rounded shapes are sometimes found in the New Kingdom (see note 31).

While the date of *Mni*'s tomb cannot be earlier than the reign of Merenre, and in my opinion is somewhat closer to the end of the Sixth Dynasty,⁸ it seems likely that this earliest representation of the armlike censer was inspired by the arrangement of offerings on false doors and niche stelae of much earlier style, dating to the Third and Fourth Dynasties. At that time, as in the Sixth Dynasty, the table laden with conventionalized half-loaves of bread is surmounted by a list of offerings and similarly oriented so as to address the owner. In the earlier Old Kingdom, however, one of the foremost items in the list, and frequently given exceptional size and prominence, is  *iti(t)* "washing," representing an outstretched arm which presents water from the ewer that often accompanies it.⁹ This feature becomes much less common after the Fourth Dynasty,¹⁰ surviving only in a few examples from Giza; but on a mid-Fifth Dynasty false door from Saqqara, the space above the offering table is almost entirely occupied by a large-scale writing of  *hnkt* "offer-

⁴ Cairo J. d'E. 49805. Published by Jéquier in *ASAE* 26 (1926), Pl. 6 to p. 55 and *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, p. 27, Fig. 34. Another copy of the scene in question, including the detail given here in Fig. 3, appears in *WZKM* 57 (1961), 76.

⁵ I am indebted to the excavator, Labib Habachi, for permission to reproduce this detail. His preliminary account of the tomb has appeared in *Archaeology* 9 (1956), 8-15.

⁶ Cairo Cat. 1662; Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 1.

⁷ *Denderah in the Old Kingdom and its Aftermath* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1955), pp. 143-167.

⁸ The pyramid of Merenre is mentioned in his burial chamber, Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 3, and the tomb is dated to this reign by Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 226 (177A). On the grounds of the stylistic and palaeographic features discussed in *Denderah in the Old Kingdom*, I would hesitate to concede that it is quite so early, although Baer's findings agree with my conclusion that *Mni* (with *Tnwtj*) antedates the other Sixth Dynasty officials at Dendera.

⁹ For Third Dynasty examples, see the panel of *Hsy-rt*, Cairo Cat. 1426; and the false door of *Ht-bnw-skr*, Cairo Cat. 1385. For examples dating to the Fourth Dynasty, see Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, Pls. 17-19, 30 (a), 57, and Cairo Cat. 1391, 1392.

¹⁰ Fifth Dynasty: Hassan, *Giza II*, Fig. 94; Abubakr, *Giza I*, Fig. 38; Sixth Dynasty: Junker, *Giza V*, Fig. 27, and perhaps *JNES* 18 (1959), Fig. 27 on p. 271.

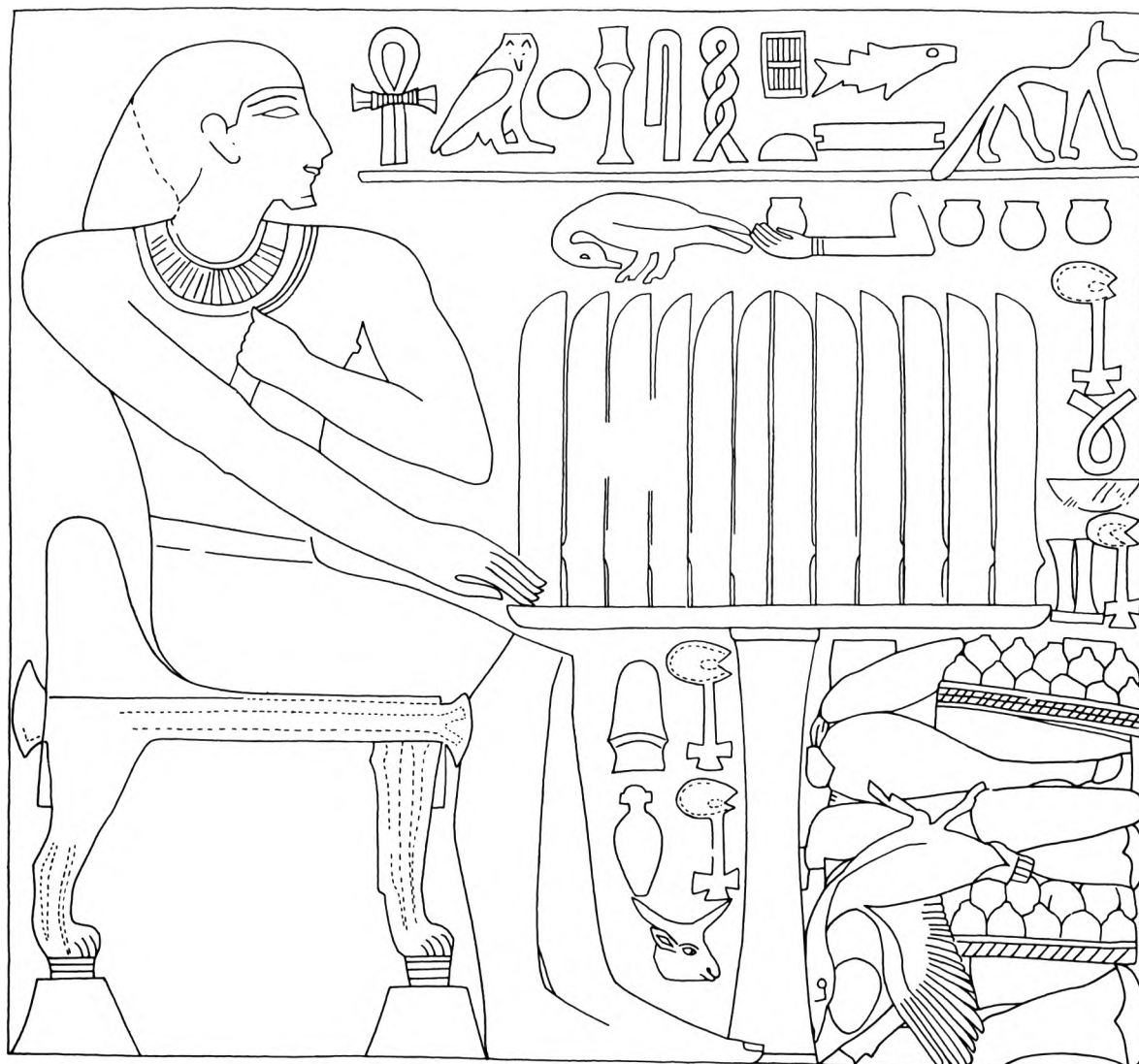


Figure 7. Offering scene on false door of *Šym-k3-Pth*.

ings” (Fig. 7).¹¹ Although the arm-hieroglyph in this case is separated from the owner by a plucked fowl, its size, its orientation, its relatively isolated situation, and its form (even including a bracelet on the wrist)¹² provide a significant link between the censer on *Mni*’s false door and the older tradition that has just been described. And the same tradition is continued in Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty stelae, where the armlike censer is occasionally placed above the other offerings so that it similarly faces the owner.¹³ In none of these later examples, however, is the censer ever accompanied by an inscription.

¹¹ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 04.1760; Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 291. Drawn from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Edward Terrace and Dr. Wm. S. Smith; and collated with the original by Mr. Terrace and Miss Suzanne Chapman.

¹² The bracelet on the wrist also occurs in some Twelfth Dynasty representations of censers besides the example in Fig. 5c, see Blackman, *Meir* III, Pl. 25; Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* II, plate facing p. 358 (Bersha coffin, BM 30841).

¹³ The closest Middle Kingdom parallels are Cairo J. d’E. 44301 (Dendera, Dyn. XI), Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pls. 12, 19, and Cairo Cat. 1647; the form of the latter (Fig. 6d) reinforces its resemblance to Fig. 7. A false door in De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour 1894–95*, Fig. 129, p. 86, shows an armlike censer immediately in front of the owner, but beneath the offering table.

If an earlier tradition in the arrangement of the offering scene explains the representation of the arm-like type of censer on *Mni*'s false door, that representation nonetheless indicates that a censer of this type actually existed and was used in his time, before the end of the Old Kingdom. One hesitates to say how recently it had been developed, for the idea of an armlike handle was by no means a new one. It is applied in the very same way to small ivory spoons of the Archaic Period: Fig. 8a shows a Third Dynasty example from the tomb of *Hsy-rt*; ¹⁴ this is accompanied by a view (as seen from above) of a similar spoon of about the same period, excavated at Ballas and now in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 8b). ¹⁵ A second ivory spoon, exca-

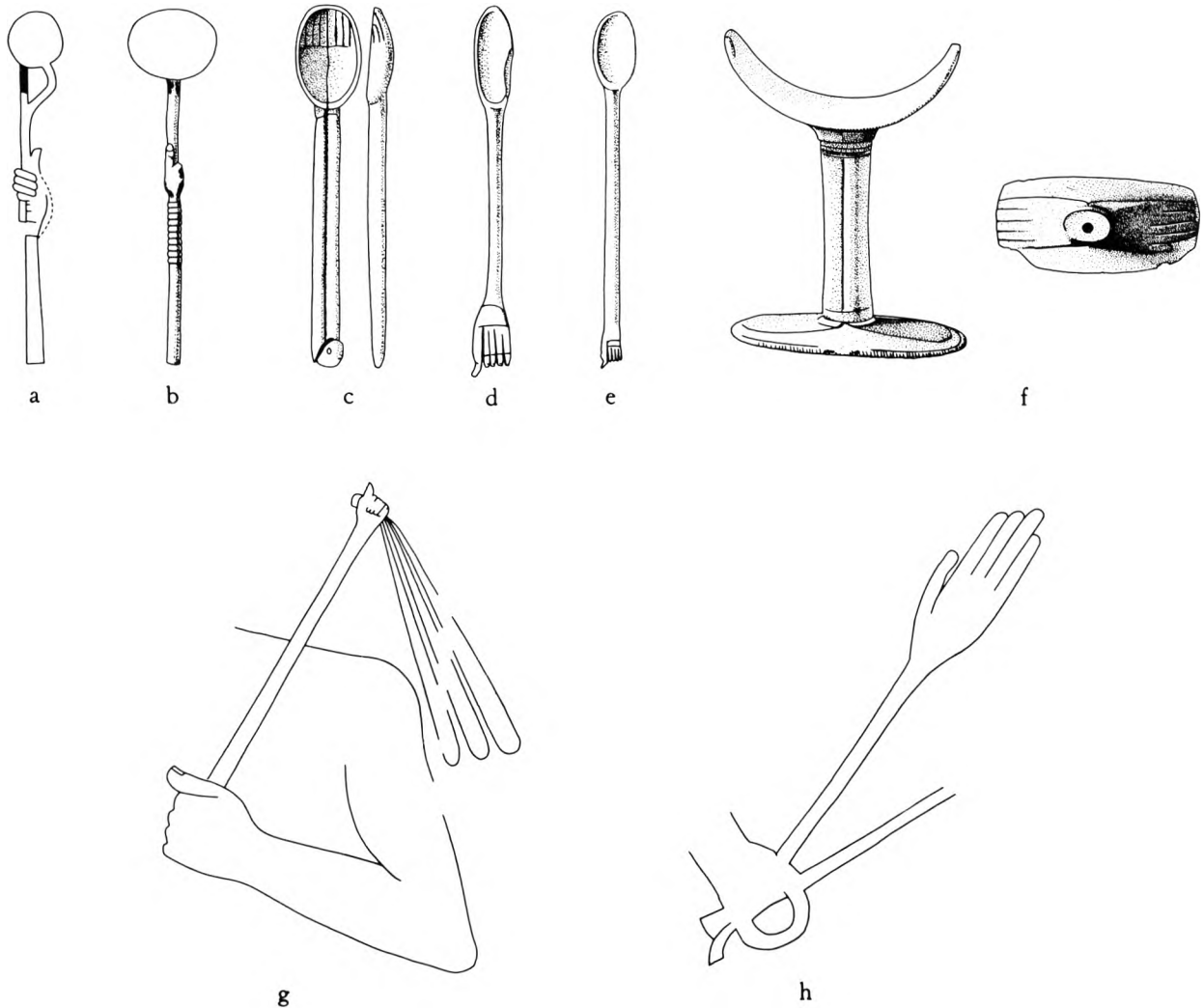


Figure 8. Brachiomorphic implements of the Old Kingdom.

¹⁴ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1911-12*, p. 35 (71), Fig. 18 and Pl. 21.

¹⁵ Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. 43 (1) and p. 42. For the series of ten bracelets on the wrist, cf. the archaic statue of *Ny-šy-mš*, Louvre A 38 (Wm. S. Smith, *Sculpture*, Pl. 4 [c]), which has eleven bracelets on one arm and twelve on the other. Old Kingdom women are frequently represented wearing a similar series of bracelets, but they are seldom as numerous as this (an exceptional relatively late example is shown in Junker, *Giza IX*, Fig. 90).

vated at Tarkhan, is probably earlier but is less similar, for both arms are represented, and the hands themselves form the cup (Fig. 8c).¹⁶ Two later bone spoons from Badari reverse the idea, and with equal logic display a *closed* hand at the end of the handle that is intended to be grasped (Fig. 8d-e).¹⁷ During the Old Kingdom the armlike handle was adapted to several other uses: from the Fourth Dynasty onward tomb reliefs represent the deceased holding a fly-whisk of the kind illustrated in Fig. 8g,¹⁸ and reliefs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties show that beatings were sometimes administered by means of a stick terminating in a flattened hand (Fig. 8h).¹⁹ From the Sixth Dynasty there are excavated examples of headrests which have a support in the form of a pair of arms in place of the usual fluted column, with the two hands cupped beneath the curved piece on which the head actually rested (Fig. 8f).²⁰

The further development of the arm-handled censer is illustrated in Figs. 5 and 6, beginning with examples from the Eleventh Dynasty. The inner coffin of *ḥḥyt*, which was made just prior to Neb-hetep-re Mentuhotep's reunification of Egypt, shows a pair of objects (Fig. 5a)²¹ which only vaguely resemble censers of the type under discussion, with the bowl viewed from above (Figs. 3 and 4), while the outer sarcophagus of the same minor queen more unmistakably represents a censer with the bowl in profile (Fig. 5b).²² Slightly later Eleventh Dynasty examples from the Theban tombs of *Mkt-r* (Fig. 6b)²³ and *Hty* (Fig. 6c)²⁴ provide the bowl with a horizontal loop that is firmly grasped by a closed fist. In the case of *Mkt-r*, the representation is a three-dimensional wooden model, the form of which is reduplicated in a more detailed model from a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Bersha (Fig. 6a);²⁵ eventually, by the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, the loop-handled bowl is discarded in favor of the simpler loopless bowl that is supported in the open palm of the hand. The boxlike incense container, with sliding lid, also gives way to a frustrum-shaped cup; whichever form is adopted, the container is normally located at the center, midway down the handle, but in one exceptional case it is moved to the very end, emphasizing the censer's resemblance to a hieroglyph (Fig. 6d).²⁶ It is, however, the butt of

¹⁶ Petrie, *Tarkhan* II, Pl. 1.

¹⁷ Brunton, *Qau and Badari* I, Pl. 40 (7, 9). No. 9 (Fig. 8d) is attributed to the Sixth Dynasty, and no. 7 (Fig. 8e) to Dyn. IX. A small wooden spoon from a late Old Kingdom tomb at Meir may also be mentioned here (Kamal, *ASAE* 13 [1914], p. 177, Fig. 25); this shows an open hand at *both* ends, with one hand supporting the bowl.

¹⁸ Fig. 8g shows a relatively early example from the tomb of *Dbḥn* (reign of Mycerinus), Hassan, *Giza* IV, Fig. 119 and Pl. 49. Cf. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 256-257 and Figs. 673-677.

¹⁹ The example illustrated is Cairo Cat. 1556 (Maspero, *Musée Égyptien* II, Pl. 11), from the early Dyn. V tomb of *Tp-m-nḥ* at Saqqara (Mariette's D 11); in this case the stick is carried to discipline a pair of baboons on leashes. Another block from the same tomb (Cairo Cat. 1541) shows the use of a similar stick to discipline a recalcitrant taxpayer, as does a scene in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of *'Ibi* (Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi* I, Pl. 8). The same implement is held by an attendant leading a monkey and dog in Epron, et al., *Tombeau de Ti* I, Pl. 16, and by boys at play in Oriental Institute, *Mereruka*, Pl. 162 and James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², Pl. 25 (BM 994). The last two examples are also illustrated in Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, Pls. 22, 27.

²⁰ A calcite example from the tomb of *Kḥ.i-gm.n.i*, who died in the reign of Teti, Firth-Quibell, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, Pl. 14. Other late Old Kingdom examples are: Engelbach, *Harageh*, Pl. 9 (7-8); Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* I, Pl. 11 (1-2); Cairo J. d'E. 43059; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, Pl. 62 (14).

²¹ Cairo J. d'E. 47355. The drawing is made from a photograph in the excavation records of the Metropolitan Museum, as is Fig. 5b. Cf. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, Pl. 9 (bottom).

²² Cairo J. d'E. 47267. See preceding note.

²³ Sketched from a photograph and the original, in the Metropolitan Museum (model boat acc. no. 20.3.4); cf. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, Pl. 49 (right). A similar censer is held by one of the figures in the offering procession (acc. no. 20.3.8), *ibid.*, Pl. 32.

²⁴ Traced from the original painting, at Deir el Bahri; cf. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, Pl. 16 (bottom). The outline is black, the arm yellow; the bands on the wrist are red, and the box and incense burner are blue-green.

²⁵ Museum of Fine Arts 20.1124. Drawn from the photograph shown in Wm. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, 4th ed., Fig. 60, p. 97.

²⁶ Cairo Cat. 1647; drawn from a photograph; as stated above in note 13, this is placed above the other offerings, facing the owner.

the handle that undergoes the most distinctive changes. Early in the Twelfth Dynasty this acquires a falcon head, which, throughout the same dynasty, is normally turned backward (Fig. 6e).²⁷ At least one relatively early Twelfth Dynasty example reverses this orientation (Fig. 6f),²⁸ but it is probably not until the Thirteenth Dynasty that the falcon's head is regularly turned forward, with the ends of a wig projecting above and below the handle (Fig. 6g, h).²⁹ With this development the censer has at length assumed the form that is so familiar from New Kingdom monuments.


A secondary development in the evolution of the censer is the addition of a small prostrate or kneeling figure of the king, adapting the instrument specifically for use in the temple rituals. Two examples of prostrate figurines, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty and to the reign of Tuthmosis III, have been discussed elsewhere,³⁰ and it need only be added that a censer with a kneeling figure, the precursor of a type that is common in the Late Period, is represented at Luxor as early as the reign of Tutankhamun (Fig. 6i).³¹

²⁷ Fig. 6e displays one of the earliest examples, drawn from the photograph shown in Blackman, *Meir* II, Pl. 28 (and cf. Pl. 6); cf. also vol. III, Pl. 17 and VI, Pl. 17. For further evidence see Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, Figs. 834–835 on p. 322 (coffins from Bersha; a third occurrence of similar origin is shown in Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* II, facing p. 358).

²⁸ Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aeg. Slg. . . . Leiden* II, Pl. 9. It is difficult to date this stela more precisely, but there is no specific reason to suppose that it is later than the reign of Sesostri I, and conversely, there are several features which suggest that it may be this early: note in particular the clear bipartite division of the surface allotted to the main text above and to the representations below (H. W. Müller, *MDIK* 4 [1933], 200–201), the affectionate embrace of the mother and grandmother, who stand behind the owner (Pflüger, *JAOs* 67 [1947], 129) and the provisioning scenes in the bottom register (*ibid.*, 130).

²⁹ The first example (g) is drawn from a photograph of Toulouse 49267, a typical round-topped stela of very late Middle Kingdom style. The second (h) is from the tomb of *Hr-m-ḥw.f* at Hieraconpolis, as seen in Wreszinski, *Bericht*, Pl. 43; for the date, see Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 3, 9–11.

³⁰ *University Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (March 1956), 26 ff.; Vol. 21, no. 2 (June 1957), 35 ff.

³¹ Luxor temple; redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 190 (cf. Pl. 189). The king is represented in another kneeling attitude  on a censer held by Ramesses IX in the tomb of *'Iy-mi-šb* (Thebes, no. 65, north and south ends of east wall: Metropolitan Museum negs. T 1702, T 1705 and color copy of the latter by Nina Davies MMA 36.4.2). In this example the incense container has the form of a rounded lotus calyx.

5. A Nubian (or Puntite) of the Archaic Period

One of the most detailed and carefully executed stelae from Zaki Saad's excavations at the archaic cemetery of Helwan, as well as one of the latest, represents the owner seated before his offering table in the usual manner (Fig. 1)¹ but provided with a highly unusual series of arm ornaments and an almost equally exceptional arrangement of the hair. It is conceivable that the four long twisted strands that hang downward

¹ Fig. 1 has been prepared on the basis of the drawing and photograph published by the excavator in his *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs*, *ASAE* Suppl. 21, Fig. 32, p. 46, and Pl. 27. As Drioton has noted in his introduction to the same work (pp. xv–xvi) the appearance of the number “1000” below each item in the offering lists indicates that this stela is one of the most recent, “proches par le style de ceux de la IIIe dynastie.”

are merely an elaboration of the lowest row of overlapping layers of locks that are characteristic of wigs of similar pattern. The only Old Kingdom parallels for this detail are restricted, however, to later representations of Nubians or Puntites dating to the Fifth Dynasty, nearly all of whom show similar long strands which fall in front of or behind the shoulder. The earliest examples, from the pyramid temple of Sahure, are particularly comparable, since the heads of the southerners are again covered with short locks neatly arranged in horizontal rows (Fig. 2),² although a somewhat longer and fuller version of the same thing occurs as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty in Hatshepsut's reliefs depicting the inhabitants of Punt (Fig. 3).³ This later example,

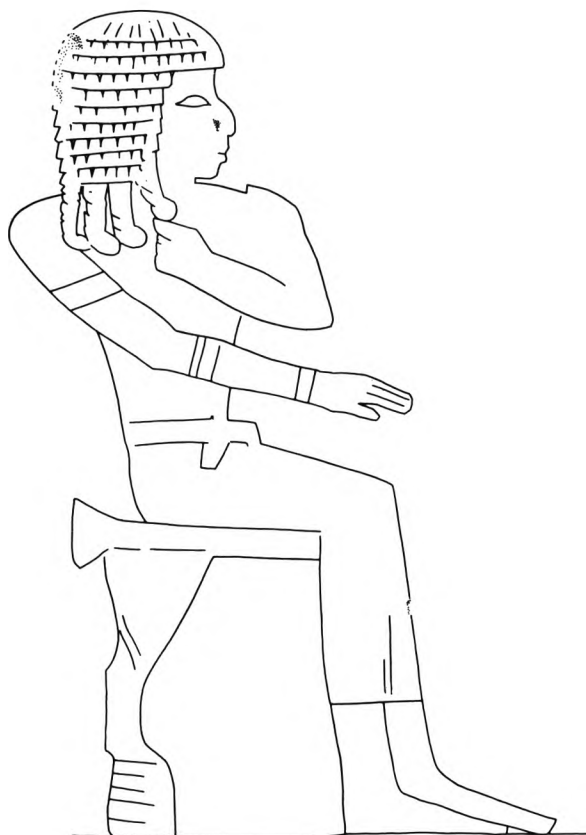


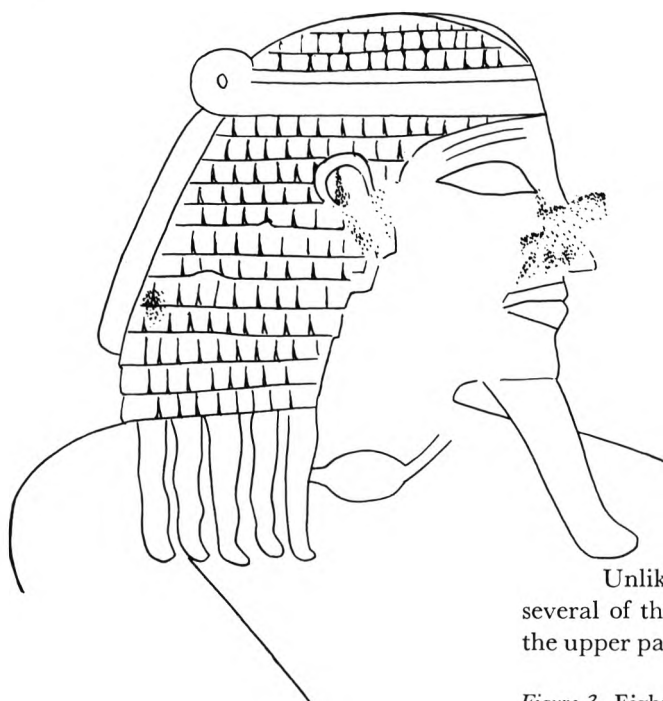
Figure 1. Late archaic relief, Helwan.



Figure 2. Early Fifth Dynasty relief, Abusir.

² Borchardt, *Grabd. Šaḥu-re* II, Pl. 7 (redrawn and compared with a photograph of the original relief); the short locks appear four times here and in Pl. 6.

³ The drawing is made from a detail of the fragment illustrated by Nicholas Millet in *JARCE* 1(1962), Pl. 4. See also Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pls. 69, 70, 76, and Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, Pl. 17.



as well as the other Fifth Dynasty evidence,⁴ clearly indicates that the three vertical strips that project from the bottom of the coiffure in Fig. 2 are neither ribbons, as Davies has stated,⁵ nor, as Frankfort suggests, are stiff pigtails such as are worn by the Masai today.⁶ If one seeks a modern survival, it is more probably to be found in the *shiknab* which is still worn by the Bisharin and other Nubian tribes, and which likewise combines curly hair on the upper part of the head with twisted vertical strands at the sides and back.⁷ This style shows a certain amount of individual variation, but it occurs in much the same form throughout the eastern part of the Sudan and along the Red Sea coast as far as Somaliland, where Punt was presumably located.⁸

Unlike their contemporaries from other foreign regions, several of the Fifth Dynasty southerners wear bracelets,⁹ and the upper part of the arm bears a chevron that evidently repre-

Figure 3. Eighteenth Dynasty relief, Deir el Bahri.

⁴ For convenience in reference, all the Fifth Dynasty examples may be tabulated as follows:

- (a) Borchardt, *ibid.*, Pl. 7 (Fig. 2 above).
- (b) *Ibid.*, Pl. 6.
- (c) *Ibid.*, Pl. 8.
- (d) Von Bissing, *Grabd. Ne-user-er*, Pl. 9.
- (e) *Ibid.*, Pl. 11.
- (f) Junker, *Giza II*, Fig. 28 and Pl. 16 (=LD II, 23 and Text I, 64).
- (g) Junker, *Giza III*, Fig. 27.

In examples (e) and (f) the ends of the vertical strands are distinctly curled.

⁵ Davies, *ibid.*, p. 26; the Nubians in Pl. 18 indeed have ribbons at the base of their hair, as in Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, Pl. 30, but in both cases these are the projecting ends of a band which shows very clearly along the top of the forehead. The same explanation is excluded for the Sahure examples, which have a fillet of normal pattern, with the ends hanging down the back of the head at a much higher level.

⁶ Frankfort, *Griffith Studies*, 447-450. A long straight pigtail hangs down the back (*ibid.*, Pl. 71), and two or three smaller pigtails are sometimes contrived above it; in either case the hair is drawn tight against the scalp.

⁷ Keimer, *BIE* 34 (1952), 331-334 and Figs. 103-133, pp. 408-419. The *honkwil* of the younger men is similar, but leaves the ears exposed. The Ababda formerly limited the bushy part of their hair (the *telat*) to a relatively small area on the crown of the head (*ibid.*, 332 and Figs. 134-137, pp. 420-421), but this variation was adopted by only a few of the Bisharin and is now abandoned altogether. A simpler alternative (the *erif*), which lacks the vertical strands, also appears in ancient Egyptian representations of Nubians (e.g., *Kush* 9 [1961], 56 ff.).

⁸ Although Keimer is principally concerned with the Bisharin, he also refers to the Amar Ar of the Sudanese Red Sea coast (*ibid.*, Figs. 111, 128, pp. 410, 418), and calls attention to excellent photographs of the latter in *National Geographic Magazine* 56 (1929), 475-485. Somali and Hamran examples may be seen in A. H. Keane's *Africa* (London, 1895) I, 486, 500; the Hamran tribe is located on the Atbara in Ethiopia, near the Bahr Setit confluence.

⁹ References (c), (d) and (e) in note 4.

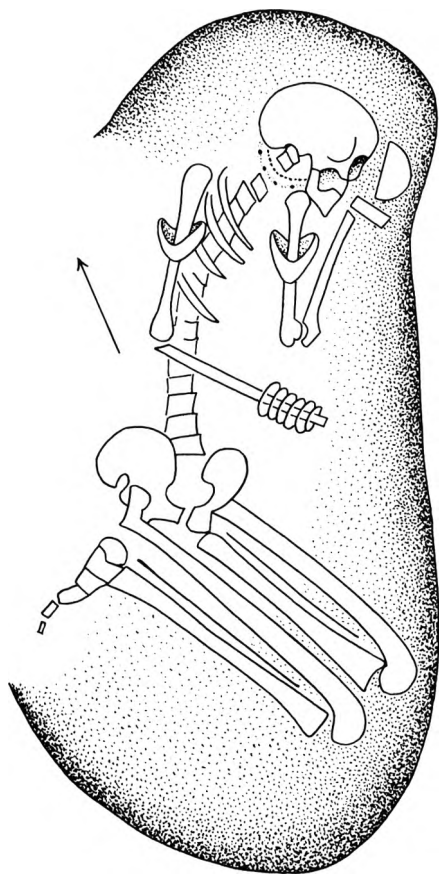


Figure 4. Early Old Kingdom burial at Shellal.

sents another ornamental band.¹⁰ Borchardt has pointed out that actual examples of this type of band, made of elephant ivory, have been found in precisely the same position on both arms of a negroid adult male individual buried at Shellal (Fig. 4),¹¹ and Frankfort has added that very similar armbands are worn by modern Masai warriors of Kenya, this being the basis for his less convincing comparison of hair styles.¹² The sector of the cemetery to which the grave belongs is classified by Reisner as Late B-group and the grave itself is dated “to about the Second to Fourth Dynasties,”¹³ while Frankfort would limit the span to the Second or Third.¹⁴ To judge from the published photograph of the contemporaneous Helwan stela, the armband shown therein is more oblique than Dr. Saad’s drawing indicates, and may very well represent a similar ornament viewed from another angle (Fig. 5).¹⁵ It is also possible, however, that this is a simpler armband of the type sometimes shown in Eighteenth Dynasty representations of Nubian attire.¹⁶

The presence of a second bracelet on the forearm of the Helwan figure would also be unexpected if he were a native Egyptian, for a series of bracelets is often displayed by women of the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom,¹⁷ but men are never shown wearing more than one on each wrist and the same is true of the Nubians represented in the Fifth Dynasty reliefs. Here again, however, the Shellal cemetery provides a Nubian parallel, for the same burial that has already been mentioned revealed six shell bracelets on the right wrist, and the left wrist of another adult male described as an “Egypto-negroid mixture” wore a coil of leather bracelets.¹⁸ This evidence suggests the possibility that the two bracelets of the Helwan figure are in reality the upper and lower elements of a similar series.

¹⁰ In addition to Fig. 2 (reference a), see references (c), (d), (e) and (f). The example in (f) is overlooked in the drawings of Lepsius and Junker, but is clearly recognizable in Junker’s Pl. 16. See also Jéquier, *Mon. fun. Pépi II*, III, Pl. 14.

¹¹ *Grabd. Šaḥu-re’ II*, 20, and Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Bulletin No. 1*, Pl. 16; *Report for 1907–1908*, I, 50–51 (Cemetery 7, grave 190), Pls. 6(d), 66(b, 19); cf. Vol. II, Pl. 5 (d). Unfortunately no detailed evidence can be presented for the term “negroid,” since this burial was apparently overlooked in the text of Vol. II (*Report on the Human Remains*); presumably, however, the anatomical indications of a negroid admixture were more definite than in the case of 7:119, mentioned below, note 18. Fig. 4 is based on Reisner’s drawing, isolating the undisturbed part of the burial.

¹² Frankfort, *ibid.* (supra n. 6), 445 and Pl. 71(b).

¹³ Reisner, *Report for 1907–1908* I, 45.

¹⁴ Frankfort, *ibid.*, 447.

¹⁵ The example on the left is based on Borchardt, *Grabd. Šaḥu-re’ II*, Fig. 2, p. 20 (cf. Frankfort, *ibid.*, Pl. 71[a]). The drawing on the right shows an oblique view of a three-dimensional model which was made on the basis of the preceding and Reisner’s Pl. 66(b, 19).

¹⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, Pls. 16–17 (showing Amenophis II in the guise of a Nubian); Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, Pls. 23, 28, 29 (top left).

¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 32, n. 15 and Fig. 8b.

¹⁸ Reisner, *ibid.* (supra n. 11), 47 (Cemetery 7, grave 119). G. Elliot Smith (*ibid.* II, 79) describes the anatomical data, including subnasal prognathism, etc., and concludes: “no definite Negro features but a negroid appearance.”

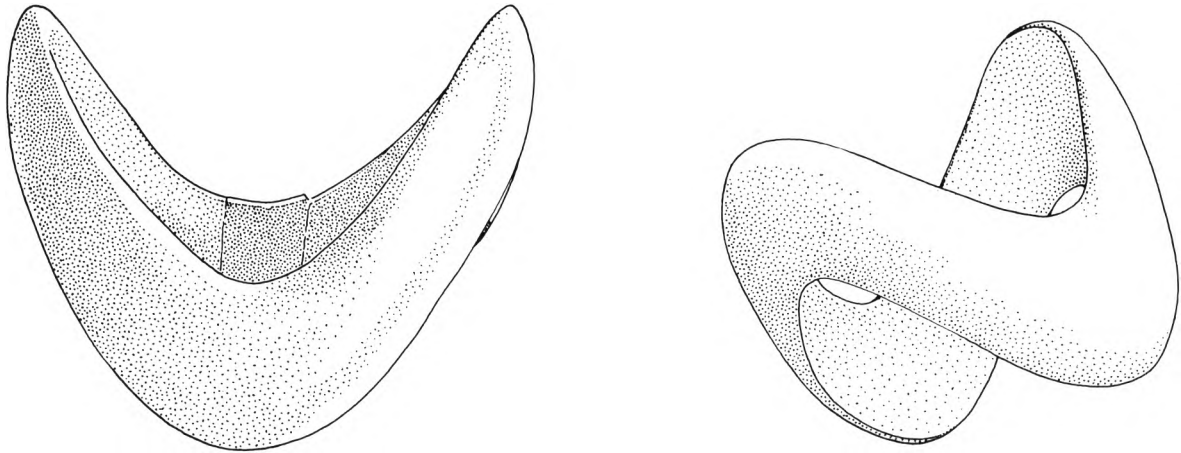


Figure 5. Armband from Shellal burial, and oblique view of same.

In view of these considerations, I think there is little doubt that the peculiarities of the Helwan figure are to be explained as Nubian or Puntite characteristics, indicating that the individual came from one of the southern lands. If so, this representation is a remote antecedent of the First Intermediate Period stelae which, more than 500 years later, depict the Nubian inhabitants of Gebelein and Rizaqat in such a way as to show their foreign origin.¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that the later representations of Puntites or Nubians show some features that are lacking in the archaic example. Most of them wear a fillet around their hair,²⁰ and have a short beard,²¹ a broad collar²² and a knee-length kilt. In the Fifth Dynasty the kilt is bound with a belt that is knotted at the back and a sash that is knotted in front, with two short ends hanging downward.²³ In the Intermediate Period the sash is much longer and evidently hangs over a belt which is again tied at the back.²⁴ The absence of the fillet, collar and beard is perhaps not significant, since details of this kind might understandably be omitted.²⁵ Nor does it seem possible to draw any conclusions concerning the type of kilt that the Helwan southerner may be wearing, since — despite the delineation of a belt — the greater part of his body is evidently covered by a long leopard-skin mantle such as regularly appears on other stelae of the same period;²⁶ the existence of this garment is suggested by a projecting edge on the left shoulder, at

¹⁹ The subject of an article in *Kush* 9 (1961), 44–80.

²⁰ Lacking in only one case, reference (b).

²¹ Lacking only once, reference (g); the beard is indistinguishable from that customarily worn by Old Kingdom men of rank.

²² Lacking in (f) and (g); indistinguishable from the usual Egyptian broad collar.

²³ For the belt see (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f). For the sash see (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f). In the case of (g) the pendant ends of the sash appear to form a loop.

²⁴ Details are given in *Kush* 9 (1961), 62–75.

²⁵ All of these details are included, and sometimes omitted, in representations of the Egyptians themselves. The fillet is presumably intended to bind the hair, but it occasionally appears on the heads of Egyptians whose arrangement of hair would otherwise be interpreted as a short wig, and in some of these cases it may be merely ornamental (e.g. Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu* II, Pt. 2, p. 5, and Pls. 38–40; Abubakr, *Giza* I, p. 49, Fig. 36; Junker, *Giza* VI, Fig. 40, p. 127; IX, Fig. 86, p. 187; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* I, Pl. 9; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, Pls. 92–93). On the subject of ornamental fillets, see also Ebba E. Kerrn, *Acta Orientalia* 24 (1959), 161–188.

²⁶ Cf. the other plates of Zaki Saad's *Ceiling Stelae* and in Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie* I, 753 ff. No belt appears in any of the other niche stelae, but it sometimes occurs in Old Kingdom reliefs showing the owner wearing a shorter leopard-skin mantle (Junker, *Giza* XI, Figs. 72 b, 74 b; Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 2; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², Pl. 3 (BM 1168); Hassan, *Giza* II, Figs. 232–233; Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, Fig. 6); although all of these examples involve a standing figure, the individual is seated before an offering table in at least one case (Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, Pl. 38).

the point where a long ornamental knot would be expected, and by the level of the horizontal edge across the legs. But the form of the belt is difficult to explain in terms of any variety of the distinctive Nubian sash, and one can only surmise that the latter may be concealed beneath the mantle. It must also be pointed out that the inscription on the Helwan stela apparently does not preface the owner's name by the epithet *Nḥś(y)* "the Nubian," as is sometimes the case in later examples.²⁷ The intact signs above his head might be read . . . ś 'Isi rather than Śisi, and the preceding broken sign is conceivably *h*, but it does not seem possible to find a place for *n* above the latter or among the remaining traces, all of which may belong to a short list of offerings.

²⁷ Quoted and discussed in *Kush* 9 (1961), 56-62, 75-76.

6. A Frequently Copied Scarab



Figure 1.

The scarab illustrated in Fig. 1 and Pl. IV a-c was purchased from a Beirut dealer in the spring of 1948. It is made of baked clay which is reddish within and olive green on the surface. The dimensions are: length 2.9 cm., width 2.1 cm., height 1.4 cm. While the details of the back and underside look authentic,¹ the sides have a shiny faceted appearance indicating that they were shaped with the blade of a knife. This technique, as well as the material, is characteristic of a number of spurious amulets and shawabty figures made around the turn of the century, and discussed by Heinrich Schäfer in 1906.² They were soon carried to every corner of the globe by the travellers who bought them, and it was not long before their destination and provenance had become confused. Thus the chief subject of Schäfer's discussion is an "angebliche Figur aus Rhodesia," and a duplicate of one of the examples he illustrates for comparison,³ recently acquired from a New York dealer, bears a typewritten label with the information: "Dug from ruins in Mexico" (Pl. IV b-c).

Within the next few years after my earlier acquisition, I noted a total of five other examples of the same scarab among objects brought in to the University Museum, Philadelphia, for identification. In one case the owner had three specimens that were identical to the one I had purchased in Lebanon, and were evidently manufactured at the same time, for they showed accidental protuberances at the points indicated by stippling in Fig. 1, one protuberance obliterating the knees of the left-hand ape, the other obliterating the right end of the vulture's outstretched wings. The tail of the right-hand ape was likewise missing. A second visitor not only produced another clay copy of the same kind, but also possessed an example that was apparently made of stone. Since the design of the latter was identical in all respects, but was more clearly incised, I concluded that it may have been the original from which the others were cast.

¹ At the top (right to left) are what appears to be the *bnbn*-fetish, a seated figure of Seth, a second seated divinity, and the hieroglyphs *ḥ* *o* *ḥ*. Below this are a pair of baboons flanking a sun disk, each holding a lotus blossom. A vulture with outstretched wings fills the space at the bottom.

² *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 38 (1906), pp. 896-904.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 12 (1 and 2). This figure (in the Berlin Museum) is stated to be 18 cm. in height whereas my duplicate is 16.5 cm., but every detail is identical, including the inscription on the kilt.

More recently a New York dealer has shown me several sealings of reddish-brown clay, both sides of which are impressed with one or another of the reduplicated scarabs, showing indentations that correspond to the aforementioned protuberances; the impressions have been considerably reduced in size, owing to the shrinkage of the material (Pl. IVa).⁴

Curious as these forgeries may be, they would hardly deserve this amount of discussion were it not for the fact that another copy — this time made of a material described as “pâte de verre” — has been said to derive from “les ruines gallo-romaines de Mandeure,” on the eastern border of France, about 40 miles west of Basel (Pl. IVd).⁵ Although the design is relatively sketchy in this case, and has probably been retouched, the orientation is the same as in Fig. 1, as are the kneeless ape on the left and his tailless companion. The border line, on the other hand, has been relocated at a slightly greater distance from the rest of the design, and the length and breadth of the scarab are correspondingly somewhat larger.⁶

Long before the Mandeure scarab was published a “brown pot” version of the same thing had already been illustrated in Petrie’s *Buttons and Design Scarabs*,⁷ where the term “pot” is explained as the “white pottery basis of glazing.”⁸ Since the details of the Mandeure scarab were “soulignés avec de la couleur brune,” it seems possible that the material is identical in both cases.

No details have been provided concerning the circumstances in which the Mandeure scarab was found, and it is therefore difficult to explain how it may have made its way into the local ruins, but the scarab is clearly to be classed among those forgeries whose provenance is as misleading as their form. In this particular case, however, it seems likely that the form is at least an echo of a genuine original.

Post Scriptum: After the foregoing remarks had been written in their present form, they were sent to Professor Jean Leclant, who had shown interest in the Mandeure scarab. He very kindly informed me that l’Abbé Drioton had already provided him with three additional examples, none of which is included in my own documentation: one is in the Mustaki Collection, London; another, reported by J. Leibovitch, is in Jerusalem; and the third was reported to Drioton by the Islamic Museum in Cairo. The sketches that accompanied his notes show the upper figures facing left in the case of the last two specimens, but I do not know if this orientation occurs in the scarabs themselves or if it derives from an impression. In any case, these two specimens undoubtedly belong to the same series of reduplications, for one of the pair of apes (on the left, as would be expected from the reversal of the design) lacks a tail and, unlike his partner, shows a space beneath his legs. Although the sketch of the Mustaki example does not indicate these distinctive features, it is not certain that they are lacking in the original or that they have not been retouched. Drioton himself evidently did not consider the possibility that any of the specimens were forgeries, but was primarily concerned with the cryptographic meaning of the design, which — as already stated — is probably of ancient origin.⁹ Professor Leclant also states that he has taken an interest in Schäfer’s series of shawabties¹⁰ and has discovered a

⁴ The length of the impression is 2.4 cm.

⁵ Robert Bernard, *Revue Archéologique de l’Est et du Centre-Est* 6 (1955), pp. 349–350 and Fig. 112; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 27 (1958), 101 and Pl. 12 (Figs. 16–17).

⁶ Length 3 cm.; width 2.3 cm. The height is 1.2 cm.

⁷ Pl. 6 (no. 1035 A), described on Pl. 23. The back is type F 58, illustrated in Petrie’s *Scarabs*, Pl. 62.

⁸ *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, p. 4.

⁹ It is not possible to give all the details of his decipherment, which was arrived at by applying the principle of acrophony and by a slight rearrangement of the signs. The sign I compared to the *bnbn*-fetish is read *i* from *ib*, “draughtsman;” the god Seth is taken to represent *m* from *Mdy* (*Wb.* II, 177.21) or *Mg* (*ibid.*, 164.8); the second god, identified as Amun, is read *r* from *rhny* (*ibid.*, 441.1). In combination, this group yields the verb *mri*. The next group of signs is read *i(r)* “uraeus,” *m(r)* and *n(w)* “see,” i.e., ‘*Imn*. The whole of the proposed interpretation is *Mri-Imn-r mri dw sw* “Amon-Rê aime celui qui l’aime et celui qui le prie.” For Drioton’s other interpretations of enigmatic inscriptions on scarabs, see Janssen’s *Annual Egypt. Bibliog.*, nos. 1751, 3835, 4508, 57153, 59172, 59176.

¹⁰ Cf. his remarks on the alleged Rhodesian example in *BSFE* 21 (1956), 32–33.

comparable example in the Tangiers Museum, Morocco. This was obtained some years ago and is said to come from a tomb of the Roman Period. Many other such cases doubtless exist, and should be investigated; in fact, the entire subject of antique forgeries might profitably be reexamined.¹¹

¹¹ The topic is virtually as old as Egyptology itself. For some early evidence see C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry*, 221–224.

7. The Stelae of Den and Other Rulers of the Archaic Period

As a result of the helpful comments I have received from three colleagues, it is now possible to draw up a more complete and accurate list of archaic royal stelae than the one presented in *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), 53–54. Professor A. J. Arkell and Dr. Rosalind Moss have provided the present location of nos. (1) and (12) of the following series, and Professor Arkell has made it possible to reproduce a photograph of the former (Pl. VIb). By drawing my attention to the fact that the monument of Den in Brussels is a stela (no. 6 below), Professor Van de Walle has cleared up a long-standing confusion, and I wish to express thanks to him as well as to M. Arpeg Mekhetarian, who made the photographs shown in Pl. V and to M. Pierre Gilbert, who has permitted me to publish them.

- (1) Narmer (?) fragment. Limestone. University College 14278. Petrie, *Abydos I*, p. 8 and Pl. 13; cf. *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), p. 85, Fig. 24. A photograph is shown in Pl. VIb below.
- (2) Djer. Limestone. Cairo J. d'E. 34992. Mentioned by Petrie in *Royal Tombs II*, p. 32. Photograph published in *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), p. 52, Fig. 6.
- (3) Djeter. Limestone, Louvre 11007. Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895–96), p. 244, Fig. 63 and Pl. 42; for other publications see Porter-Moss, *Bibliography V*, pp. 82–83.
- (4–5) Mert-neith. Limestone. Intact stela Cairo J. d'E. 34550; other stela presumably left in situ. Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pp. 11, 26, Frontispiece and Pl. 64 (no. 6).
- (6) Den. Grano-diorite. Brussels E 562. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions*, p. 2 (no. 12), where it is said to derive from Amélineau's excavations of 1895–1896 (Catalogue de vente no. 186). Photographs in Pl. V below.
- (7) Semerkhet. Basalt (?) Cairo Cat. 14633. Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895–96), p. 245, Fig. 65; Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, Fig. 21; Porter-Moss, *Bibliography V*, 85.
- (8) Qa-a. Basalt (?) Cairo Cat. 14631. Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895–96), p. 245, Fig. 64; Porter-Moss, *Bibliography V*, 86.
- (9) Qa-a. Basalt (?) University Museum, Philadelphia, E 6878. Petrie, *Abydos I*, p. 6 and Pl. 5 (top only); bottom half formerly Cairo Cat. 14632; both parts shown together in *University Museum Bulletin* 15, nos. 2–3, p. 36, Fig. 15.
- (10) Ra-neb. Red granite. Metropolitan Museum acc. no. 60.144. *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), pp. 45–46 and Figs. 2, 10.
- (11) Peribsen. Gray granite. British Museum 35597. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, Pl. 31 and cf. p. 33; *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), p. 52, Fig. 7.
- (12) Peribsen. Gray granite. Cairo J. d'E. 3526. Maspero, *Guide* (1915), p. 300 [3068].

In his *Recueil des inscriptions* Speleers includes the fragmentary monument of Den among “stèles archaïques en calcaire provenant d'Abydos.” Although this heading disguises the material, the nature of the monument might still have been recognized were it not for the existence of a very old error perpetuated by the entry in Porter-Moss, *Bibliography V*, 83, which cites Speleer's description but identifies the object in question as the better-known “granite mortar of [the] king.” This is a bowl-shaped object at Mariemont that bears a

serekh almost exactly like the one on the stela save for the fact that in this case the serekh is completely intact.¹ About a third of the mortar, which was found broken in several pieces, is missing from the side opposite, and Amélineau assumed that on this side “il y avait les mêmes signes qu’on a retrouvés sur l’un des fragments.”² Although it seems surprising that he could have misinterpreted the shape of the Brussels piece to this extent, the latter is known to derive from his excavations and it is evidently the same inscribed fragment that he attributes to the missing portion of the mortar. This oversight led to a second error, which reappeared in Legge’s initial discussion of Amélineau’s results.³ Legge states that “a blank stela in pink granite, polished but unworked” was found in the tomb of Den, and adds: “This [stela] was, as I have mentioned, found blank, but its place is supplied by a huge mortar in grey granite . . . bearing upon one of its sides the hawk-crowned rectangle.” The blank stela was apparently one of the red-granite slabs with which the burial chamber was paved, and Legge himself makes no further allusion to it in a subsequent discussion, where he again describes the mortar.⁴ To add to the confusion, Petrie says: “the stela of Den was probably of limestone, like those of Zer and Zet, as the back of a limestone stele with rounded top, 21.6 inches wide, is lying in the tomb of Den.”⁵ Unless one accepts the unlikely possibility that the two stelae of Den were made of different kinds of stone, this fragment must belong to the monument of some other individual and is perhaps of much later date. It must be emphasized, however, that the location of Den’s second stela remains uncertain, despite the “royal stela” at Cairo listed by Porter and Moss, with a reference to Maspero’s *Guide* (1914), p. 285 [3053]. His “stèle du roi Douni(?) de la III^e dynastie,” cannot be located⁶ and is probably due to a misprint (carried over from the 1912 edition, same page) of “Houni,” in which case the monument in question might be the red granite monument of this king which was discovered by J. E. Gautier at Assuan in 1909 and bears the J. d’E. number 41556.⁷

As may be seen from the intact position of the right edge of Den’s stela, there is no trace of the raised margin that occurs in virtually all of the other First Dynasty examples. In place of this, an equally exceptional rectangular frame tightly encloses the falcon and serekh, with the result that a disproportionate amount of space has had to be left around the design to accommodate the rectangle to the curve beneath which it is placed. The other royal stelae of the first two dynasties display the name on a much larger scale and so much more effectively that one suspects that the design of Den’s serekh was borrowed from another monument to which it was more appropriate, namely the round-bottomed flat-rimmed mortar which bears exactly the same design.

The similarity between the stela and mortar is not confined to the design but also extends to the material, which, in the case of the stela, has been identified as grano-diorite,⁸ as well as to the style of workmanship. In both cases the interior background has been hammered out, but, as seen from the photograph shown in Pl. V (right), the details have been only superficially and rather carelessly scratched on the surface. One would suppose that these scratches were made with relative ease on a surface with a hardness of somewhat

¹ This detail appears in Amélineau, *Fouilles* (1895–1896), Pl. 41 (cf. pp. 121, 243, 245). The entire mortar was initially illustrated in Collection Raoul Warocqué, *Antiquités Égyptiennes, Grecques et Romaines* (1904), p. 3 (101); both are shown in *Les Antiquités . . . du Musée de Mariemont* (1952), Pl. 1, with a description by B. van de Walle on p. 17. Here the mortar receives the catalogue no. E. 1.

² Amélineau, *op. cit.*, 246.

³ *PSBA* 21 (1899), 184–185; cf. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, 124–125.

⁴ *PSBA* 32 (1910), 225.

⁵ Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, p. 10.

⁶ *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), p. 54, n. 23.

⁷ Goedicke, *ÄZ* 81 (1956), 22.

⁸ I am greatly indebted to Professor van de Walle and Dr. Constant De Wit, who have arranged to have the stela analyzed by a petrologist and have given me the results of his investigations pending the receipt of a final report. Professor van de Walle’s description of the mortar in the Mariemont catalogue (cited in note 1 above) identifies the material as “Roche cristalline, microgène, foncée (diorite à plagioclases ou basalte?).”

less than 4 on the Mohs scale, but I am assured that the stone in question is in fact considerably harder.⁹ While pursuing this possibility, however, I decided to request additional information regarding the hardness of the basalt stela of Qa-a in Philadelphia. To my surprise, Mr. Eric Parkinson¹⁰ replied that the upper and lower fragments of the stela were so different in this and other respects that he wondered if they could belong to the same monument. Since there can be no doubt on that point, his findings are a remarkable demonstration of the alterations that can be produced in so durable a material within a period of 5000 years. While the upper section is uniformly dark and fine-grained, and has an apparent hardness of 7 or more, parts of the lower half are lighter in color, seemingly of coarser texture and considerably softer, varying from about 5 (on the right side) to somewhat less than 4 (on the left). When tested with acid, the lower left edge, which is brown in hue, effervesced slightly at a point where Mr. Parkinson had scratched away the surface, indicating the presence of a calcareous deposit. These variations indicate that the changes were produced after the stone had been broken and the fragments had been scattered in different places. The degree of softening is particularly interesting, for while most of those who handle Egyptian monuments are doubtless aware of considerable variations in the hardness of limestone, I doubt if it is so generally realized that an igneous rock such as basalt need be no harder than a compact sedimentary rock like schist.

Mr. Parkinson has also conceded that a more detailed analysis might, as in the case of the Brussels stela, indicate that the stela in Philadelphia could be described as grano-diorite rather than basalt, and in this connection it is significant that the expert who examined the Brussels stela initially thought it might prove to be basalt, until further analysis disproved that assumption. In any case it is clear that Den initiated the use of hard stone in royal monuments, and that his immediate successors used either the same material or something that very closely resembles it.

Since the limestone stelae of Mert-neith (4-5) belong to the earlier tradition, I have given her precedence over Den in the present list. The choice of material would, in fact, bear out Lauer's recent suggestion that Mert-neith is probably not the wife of Den, but is his mother, and the wife of his predecessor Djed.¹¹

⁹ In Dr. De Wit's words it is "much more than 4 on the Mohs scale" but "not as hard as quartz because it contains chlorite."

¹⁰ I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Parkinson, Chemist of the University Museum, for the interest he has taken in my inquiries, and for the time and care he has given them.

¹¹ *Histoire monumentale des pyramides* I, 28.

8. A First Dynasty Wine Jar from the Eastern Delta

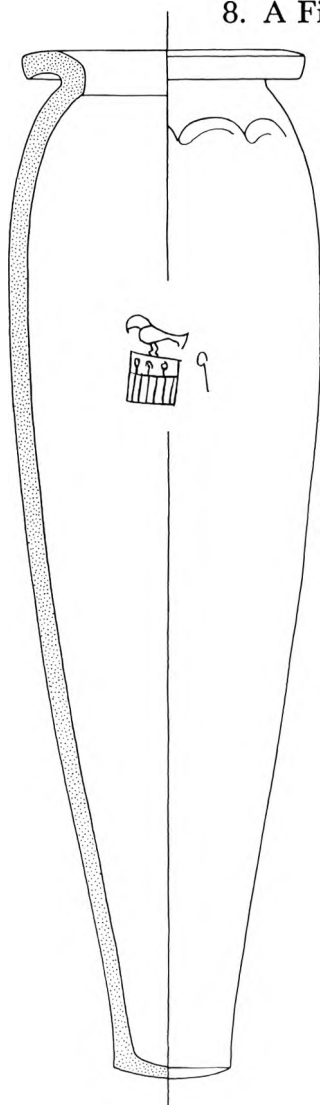


Figure 1. Scale 1/5.

The tall wine jar illustrated in Fig. 1 and Pl. VI c has recently been donated to the Metropolitan Museum by Mr. Ernst Kofler of Lucerne.¹ It is one of the many archaic objects which have been channeled through a dealer in Hehya during the past twelve years, deriving from chance finds and illicit digging at nearby sites in the eastern Delta.² One of these sites, Kufur Nigm, about 10 km. north of Hehya, has at length been excavated by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, raising hope that the archaic material in this area will now be given the attention it merits.³ In the present case the provenance — despite its vagueness — is of particular interest because other jars of the same type have previously been found at El-Beda, more than 100 kilometers further to the north-east, along the route from Lower Egypt to Palestine.⁴ The scalloped design on the shoulder, consisting of a series of curved ridges made by the thumb, also occurs in several Upper Egyptian jars of the same type, all of which belong to the First Dynasty, and more particularly to the earlier reigns of that Dynasty.⁵ Some of the oldest specimens, including those from El-Beda, are considerably wider than the one illustrated, but this feature may not be significant for the dating, since a considerable difference in girth may be observed in two particularly comparable jars from Tarkhan, both of them bearing a distinctive serekh of Narmer (Fig. 2),⁶ and the same is true of two jars from Helwan, both of which bear the serekh of the Horus Ka.^{6a}

The more slender of the two jars from Tarkhan shows the same device, resembling $\hat{\imath}$, which accompanies the serekh in the present case, and a rather similar device also appears on the El-Beda jars. As may be seen from the detailed photograph in Pl. VI a, the serekh itself is firmly and definitely incised, and the archaic form of the falcon is therefore a true indication that it belongs to the First Dynasty, and is not merely the chance result of a hasty ineptness that typifies the jar inscriptions of Semerkhet, the seventh and penultimate ruler of his line.⁷ Nor does the straight top of the serekh exclude a date as early as the very first rulers, although this detail characteristically shows a pronounced downward curve in the earliest examples, including those on the jars from El-Beda. The latter also differ from the present example in that they replace the single falcon by a confronted pair,⁸ but they present an even more striking point of similarity — in both cases the serekh is evidently anonymous.

There does not, in fact, seem any possibility that the three upright elements shown in Pl. VI a can be identified with the only Horus name of the Archaic Period that bears the slightest resemblance to them — the afore-

¹ MMA 61.122. Height 68.5 cm. Reddish buff ware, slip showing diagonal marks left by fingers in smoothing surface.

² *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), 86–87. For other archaic objects from this source (in the collection of Mamdouh bey Riaz) see also Leclant, *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 244 and n. 16. Two additions are to be made to my enumeration of Delta sites where early material has been found (*Artibus Asiae*, loc. cit. and Addendum, p. 88): (1) a Second Dynasty grave at Wardan, in the neighborhood of Abu Ghalib, near the western slope of the desert, about 50 km. northwest of Cairo (Hjalmar Larsen, *Orientalia Suecana* 5 [1956], 3–11); (2) archaic stone vessels at Khudariya, near Horbeit (Labib Habachi, *ZMDG* 111 [1961], 439; cf. Leclant, *Orientalia* 32 [1963], 84).

³ Described by Nicholas B. Millet in a letter dated July 30, 1961 (*ARCE Newsletter* 43 [Sept. 1961], 3) and by Wm. K. Simpson, *COWA Survey, Northeast Africa*, Area 9, No. 2 (1962), 3. From these two very brief accounts, it would appear that the work was undertaken by Mr. Iskander Assad under the authority of Dr. Nagib Farag, then chief inspector of antiquities for Lower Egypt; in both cases the excavations are said to have disclosed “a small but apparently quite rich cemetery of small tombs of the First and Second Dynasties, containing the usual burial equipment of pottery, flint knives, and hard stone vessels.”

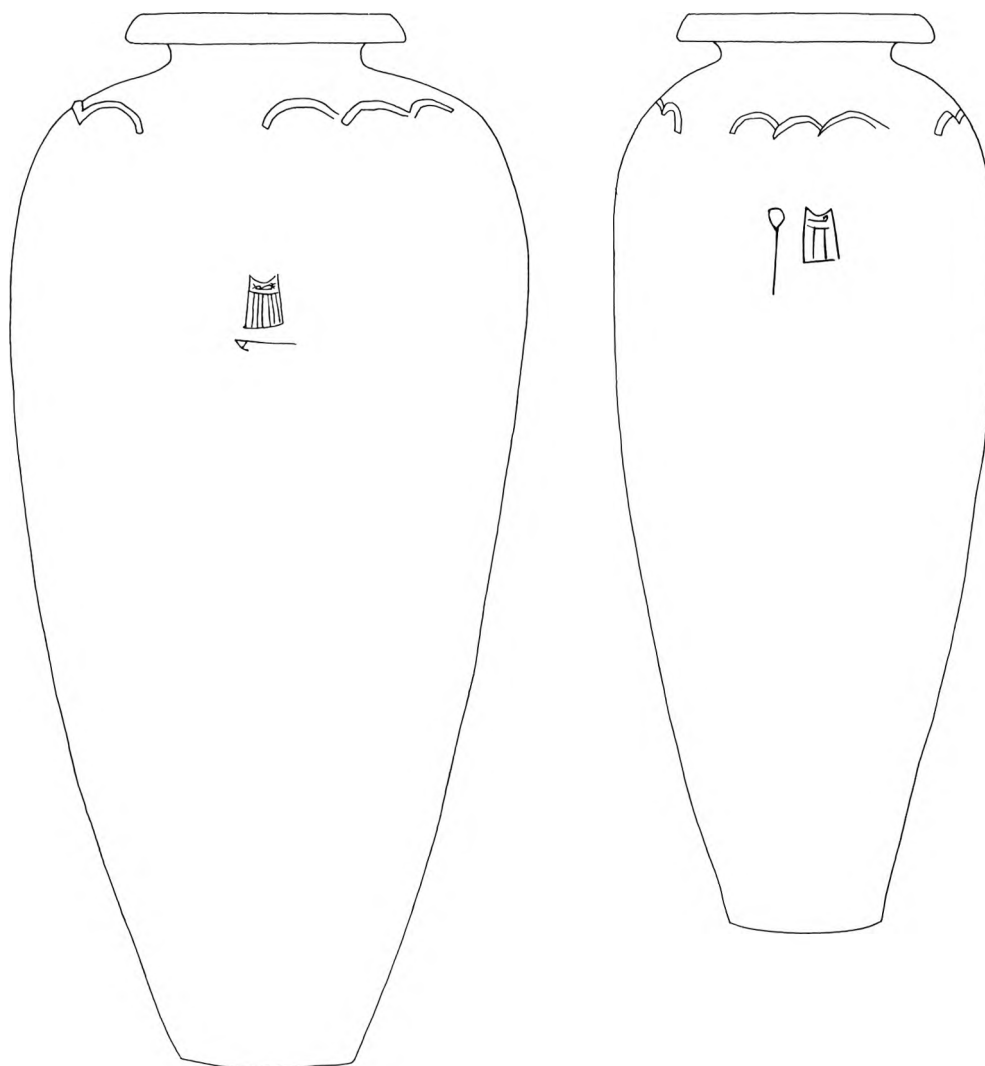


Figure 2. Scale 1/5.

⁴ J. Clédat, *ASAE* 13 (1914), 119–120; cf. *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), 85 and Fig. 23; the jar bearing the inscription illustrated therein is Ismailiya Museum no. 1928.



⁵ A. Klasens, “Excavations . . . at Abu Roash,” *OMRO* 39 (1958) 37, Fig. 13 (E 22); Zaki Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1945–1947)* Pl. 71; *idem*, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941–1945)* p. 111, figs. 11–12 on p. 112 and pl. 60; Junker, *Bericht . . . Turah*, p. 31, Fig. 37 (Types I–II); Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pls. 20 (25), 55 (75 s, u, v), II, Pl. 30 (74 b); Reisner, *Naga ed-Dêr I*, p. 91, Fig. 165 (3); Petrie, *Abydos I*, Pl. 38 (28); Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, p. 29 and Pl. 40 (8) (for the mark on the side cf. II, Pl. 13 [96]). Petrie’s examples from Tarkhan and Abydos are also illustrated in his *Corpus of Proto-dynastic Pottery*, Pls. 18, 21.

⁶ Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, Pl. 30 (74 b).

^{6a} Z. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941–1945)* p. 111, figs. 11–12 on p. 112 and pl. 60.

⁷ Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pls. 44–46.

⁸ Another example of this kind, occurring on the same type of jar, is published in Junker, *Bericht . . . Turah*, p. 47, Fig. 57 (5); discussed by R. Weill in *Recherches sur la Ier dynastie*, I, 293–294.

mentioned Semerkhet. His name is usually written , and even if the variant  is also attested,⁹ it remains unlikely that the *ht*-sign would be written vertically rather than horizontally.¹⁰ Another objection to the interpretation of the three vertical elements as individual hieroglyphs is the fact that all of them are connected with the line beneath them. They accordingly seem to form a pattern that is integrated with a stylized representation of panelling at the bottom. This conclusion is even more apparent in view of the occurrence of a very similar serekh on precisely the same type of wine jar from Junker's southern cemetery at Tura (Fig. 3, a-b).¹¹ Here the shapes surmounting the vertical lines are somewhat more regular, and their roundness is emphasized by three circles which are repeated beneath the frame. The latter feature, as well as the absence

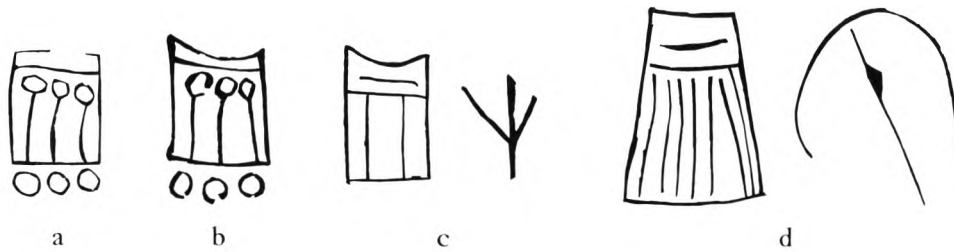


Figure 3.

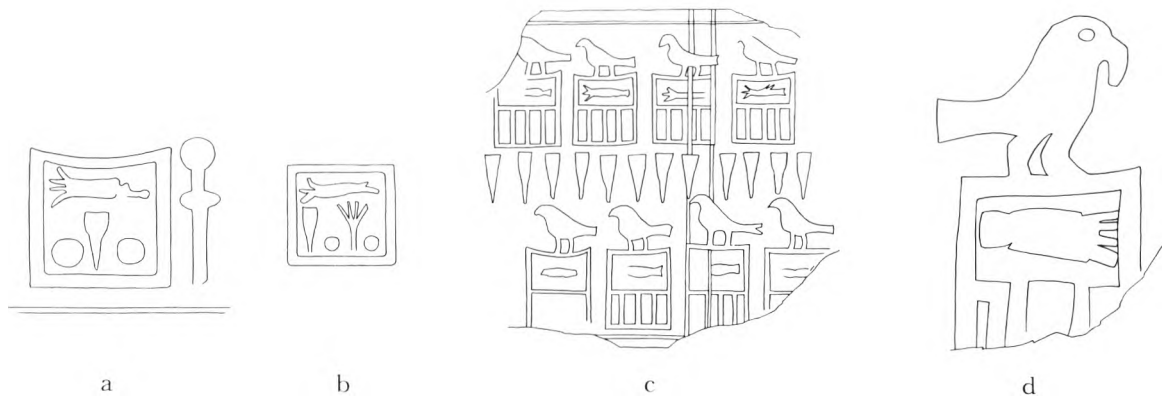


Figure 4.

⁹ E. Naville et al., *Cemeteries of Abydos I*, Pl. 8.

¹⁰ In at least one case (*Royal Tombs I*, Pl. 45 [72]) the name does indeed take the form of three more or less upright signs, but this is clearly the result of carelessness; cf. also *loc. cit.*, nos. 71, 73, 81, 85.

¹¹ Junker, *Bericht . . . Turah*, pp. 46-47 and Fig. 57; discussed by R. Weill, *ibid.* (supra n. 8), 296.

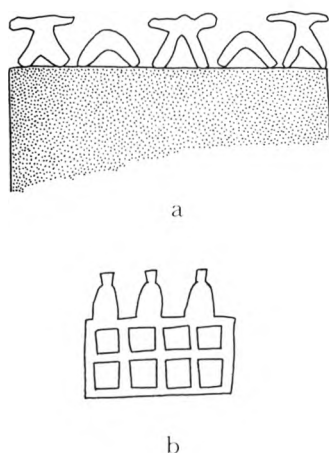



Figure 5.

of the falcon, is reminiscent of some of the numerous variations in the serekh of Narmer (Fig. 4, a-b),¹² and a connection with Narmer is also suggested by the elongated compartment at the top; the Tura examples in Fig. 3, c-d locate a horizontal stroke within a like compartment, and if the two Tarkhan serekhs in Fig. 2 are in turn compared, it seems evident that this line is a rudimentary writing of the *nr*-sign. The absence and presence of the line is a very essential distinction, of course, and it should also be emphasized that both the Tura examples that have this feature belong to a relatively wide-shouldered jar such as those from El-Beda (Junker's Type I), whereas the two that lack it occur on narrower jars like the one in the Metropolitan Museum (Junker's Type II). It nonetheless seems likely that these jars likewise belong to the reign of Narmer, although it would be hazardous to say to what extent — if any — the serekh embodies his name. The upright elements might conceivably have originated in a series of *mr*-signs like those repeated beneath the serekh in Fig. 4c, or in a single *mr*-sign between two panels (Fig. 4d), all of which have been mutually assimilated to the same form.¹³ Again, one might consider the possibility that they are a linear simplification of the three tall counters displayed in some of the earliest writings of the sign  (Fig. 5),¹⁴ which is much more convincingly attested in the serekh of a small decorated palette in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁵

¹² The references for Fig. 4 are as follows: (a) seal impression, Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pl. 2 (3); (b) same, *ibid.*, Pl. 2 (1); (c) same, *Royal Tombs II*, Pl. 13 (91); (d) relief on vase, *ibid.* I, Pl. 4 (2). For other examples of the last see also Godron, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 220–221.

¹³ The form would be unusual for the *mr*-sign, but an example is to be found in Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pl. 31 (68); this is an ink inscription on a pottery jar (the jar is shown *ibid.*, Pl. 56).

¹⁴ Fig. 5 (a) is taken from a seal impression of Narmer (Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, Pl. 13 [93]); (b) is from the back of an inscribed tablet of Aha, the sign in question being executed in red and black paint (*ibid.*, Pl. 11 [3]).

¹⁵ MMA 28.9.8; *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), p. 73, Figs. 19–20. Both illustrations have subsequently appeared in H. Asselberghs' *Chaos en Behersing*, Figs. 26, 170 on p. 200 and Pl. 96.

9. Some Occurrences of the Emblem of U.E. Nome 2

Although the wall-paintings of *Ny-ḥ-Ppy* at Hieraconpolis have been described and illustrated in several places,¹ the illustrations have been confined to two relatively well-preserved scenes on the east and west walls of the tomb, and the descriptions fail to note that at least some of the paintings cover traces of earlier decoration.² This matter deserves closer investigation, and a complete publication of the tomb is in

¹ The reading of the name is discussed in *ÄZ* 86 (1961), 30. The tomb is described by Weigall, *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 315–316; Wreszinski, *Bericht*, p. 81 and Pl. 41 (south end of west wall); Kees, *Studien zur äg. Provinzialkunst*, 4–16 and Pls. 1 (south end of west wall), 2 (north end of east wall); W. S. Smith, *Sculpture*, 2nd ed., pp. ii, 234 and Fig. 230, p. 349 (based on the preceding illustrations).

² My notes refer to the false door in particular; this is situated in a banked recess at the north end of the west wall. In response to a request for further information on this point Dr. Charles Nims has kindly examined the color slides he has made of the paintings and has sent me one of them, showing evidence of earlier decoration on the south wall; the detail in question represents two yellow animals resembling panthers, the right part of which has flaked away to reveal red and blue traces that do not fit into this representation.

any case desirable. For the present, however, I only wish to draw attention to the reveals of the entrance, which seem to confirm the possibility that *Ny-nht-Ppy* usurped his tomb from a predecessor. On the south side (Pl. VII left) the standing figure of the owner is in very low and flat relief, the details of which have been erased, as have some of the contours of a smaller female figure who stands before the owner and probably faces him. On the north side (Pl. VII right) the relief is very heavy, as it tends to be throughout the southern nomes from the end of the Sixth Dynasty onward,³ and one leg shows clear traces of an earlier half-erased outline corresponding to that of the opposite figure. Thus the south reveal apparently represents the original owner of the tomb. Unfortunately the left edge of this surface is totally missing, and the rest is badly defaced not only by erasure but by a multitude of faults, chips and cracks. Furthermore there are several remnants of crudely scratched inscriptions that face the owner and were probably added by various individuals who wished to be associated with him.⁴ Notwithstanding these impediments, however, it is still possible to recognize a few clearer and larger hieroglyphs which are oriented leftward, as he is, and may well contain his name. It is in fact possible, although by no means certain, that the common name $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'Itti⁵ is to be recognized in the first line.⁶ Since the end of a second line is also preserved, one would rather expect the owner to be identified here; the remaining signs do not conform to any personal name that has previously been attested, however, but are clearly recognizable as *Wtst Hr*, referring to the second nome of Upper Egypt (Fig. 1).⁷ Nor is there any certainty that the inscription did not originally continue beyond this point.

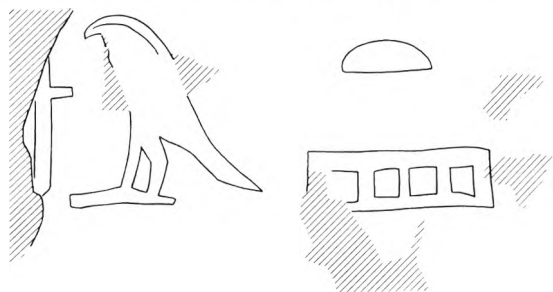


Figure 1.

Despite the lack of any context, the mention of the second nome of Upper Egypt in a tomb of an official at Hierakonpolis, the capital of the third nome, is highly interesting, the more so in view of the fact that both these provinces were conjointly governed by a somewhat later Hierakonpolite nomarch, *nhty.fy* of Moalla.⁸ This occurrence is also of interest from the standpoint of the orthography, which suggests a date within the Sixth Dynasty. The earlier writings of the nome emblem (Fig. 2, a-b) similarly have the feminine ending *t*; example (a), from a nome list in the sun-temple of Neuserre,⁹ lacks the elongated *špt*-sign, but this feature appears twice on the false door of *Krr* of Edfu, dating to the reign of Merenre

(b).¹⁰ In the present case the projection at the right of the stem of the *wtst*-sign may, if it is not accidental, indicate that the form of this sign is 𓂏 rather than 𓂏 . Examples (c) and (d) derive from inscriptions arranged in columns, the first dated to the reign of Nefer-kau-hor, of the Eighth Dynasty,¹¹ the second belonging to a

³ Cf. Petrie, *Dendera*, *passim*; Vandier, *Moalla*, Pl. 6.

⁴ The group 𓂏 may easily be distinguished in one of the graffiti.

⁵ Frequently attested in the Old Kingdom: Ranke, *PN* I, 52.16.

⁶ The preceding signs are possibly 𓂏 , and if so, might belong to a name containing an initial *Ny-šw* or a terminal *n.š*; the writing of the group would be unusual however (Ranke, *PN* II, 17, cites a single very late Old Kingdom example, Jéquier, *Tomb. part.* 31, Fig. 38).

⁷ One such possibility would be $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *Wtst.t-Hr*. Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 184 (19, 21, 23) and *Nb.i-m-Hnm-nšwt* (*JAOS* 81 [1961], 424-425), *Nb.i-m-Ipw* (Jéquier, *Mon. fun. Pepi II*, III, Fig. 24, p. 41; but in such cases the last element is customarily the name of a city, not a nome. It also seems doubtful that *Wtst.t-Hr* might be a personal name on the pattern of those discussed in *WZKM* 57 [1961], 77).

⁸ Vandier, *Moalla*, Inscr. no. 2, p. 163 (Iα 2 — Iβ2) and titulary, *passim*.

⁹ From a photograph of Cairo Cat. 57118; cf. Kees, *ÄZ* 81 (1956), 36.

¹⁰ From a photograph of Cairo J. d'E. 43370 (lower lintel; cf. Sethe, *Urk.* I, 253.4); the second example, on the upper lintel, is virtually the same (J. d'E. 43371, *Urk.* I, 254.3).

¹¹ From Sethe's hand-copy in *Urk.* I, 301; the same form apparently occurs on Cairo J. d'E. 43053 (=Weill, *Décrets royaux*, Pl. 12 [2]).

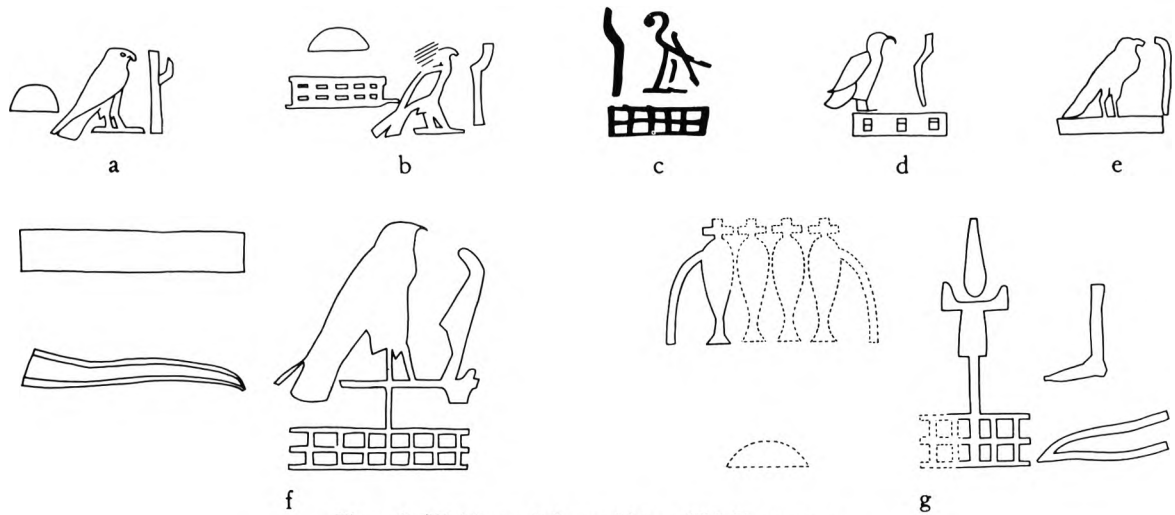








Figure 2. Writings of the emblem of U. E. nome 2.

doorjamb of *Hw* of Edfu,¹² who was apparently the predecessor of the aforementioned *nhṯy.fy* as nomarch of U.E. 2. The same arrangement (e) is found in the tomb of *nhṯy.fy* himself, even though the inscription in this case consists of horizontal lines as well as columns.¹³

The next oldest example of the emblem of U.E. nome 2, from the shrine of Sesostri I at Karnak (Fig. 2 f)¹⁴ presents several unusual features that require further explanation. In the original publication of the shrine, Lacau has attempted to relate this to the normal writings of the nome emblem, but does not come to any definite conclusions.¹⁵ Montet, on the other hand, regards it as a new and completely independent appellation which he translates literally as “côté du lac d’Horus.”¹⁶ There is no question, however, that Lacau’s assumption is correct, although a second factor must also be given consideration, namely the assimilation of analogous features in other parts of the same list. Montet’s “lake” evidently derives from the *špt*-sign, the last of the three elements    that regularly appear in all of the earlier examples except (a). In the list of Sesostri I this group has undergone three changes, all of which have resulted from its assimilation to the form of the emblem of L.E. 3. In consequence of that assimilation the group  received a perch which in turn required a nome-hieroglyph to serve as a base, for this last feature occurs throughout the list wherever it was possible to introduce it. Like the emblem of L.E. nome 3, that of U.E. 2 now resembled the hieroglyph for “west,” and the idea of “west side” was made explicit by the addition of the word *gš*. The same logic was applied to the emblem of L.E. 14 in the list of Sesostri I, where the second sign in the group   was likewise mounted upon the nome-hieroglyph and was similarly accompanied by *gš* to express the idea of “eastern side” (Fig. 2g).¹⁷

In short the alleged “lake” sign is the only element in the original writing of the nome emblem of U.E. 2 that has not been modified in the list of Sesostri I. Evidently the lack of inner detail and the squared-off ends prevented the scribes of Sesostri I from recognizing it as the same sign they had added (in its current form) at the bottom of the altered emblem. This superfluous nome-sign is abandoned altogether in the later lists.

¹² From M. Alliot, *Fouilles de Tell Edfou* (1932), Fig. 1, p. 2.

¹³ From Vandier, *Moalla*, Pl. 21 (left); another example in a horizontal inscription occurs in line IV 3 (Pl. 19). For occurrences in columns see lines Ia1, Ia2, Ib1, etc. (all on Pl. 15).

¹⁴ From Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne*, 2ème partie, p. 30.

¹⁵ Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostri Ier à Karnak*, 221–222; cf. also Kees, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1958, 435.

¹⁶ Montet, *ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

¹⁷ Cf. *JNES* 18 (1959), 136–137.

10. The Land of *Srr*

In his *Beziehung Ägyptens zu Vorderasien in 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wolfgang Helck mentions a foreign name which occurs in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Ki-ḥpr*, published by me in *JNES* 18 (1959), 233 ff., and which has not been attested from any other source. On the advice of Dr. Hans Goedicke, he asserts (p. 24 n. 39) that my Plate 8 shows that a sign must be missing at the juncture of two blocks, where traces indicate

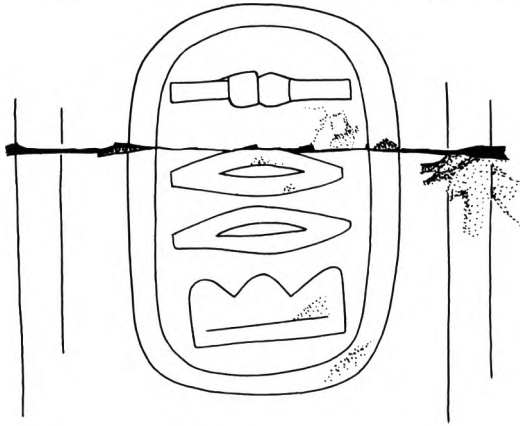


Figure 1.

that an *f* is to be restored. Thus the name is initially quoted as *S(f)rr* on p. 16, after which it appears with increasing inaccuracy as *Sfrr* (p. 17) and *šfrr* (index, p. 637). For the time being, the matter is of little importance, but it may ultimately be useful to point out the objections that I wrote to Dr. Goedicke in 1960, when he asked me to comment on his suggestion. My combination of the inscribed stones on the plate in *JNES* 18 is based on separate photographs that could not be adjusted to precisely the same scale, so that an excessive amount of space appears between the upper and lower sections. If the edges are brought together, as they should be, there is still a relatively large amount of room between *s* and *r*, but hardly enough for the conjectural *f* (Fig. 1). Furthermore a close examination of the original photograph, under strong magnification, shows no traces within this area except at the extreme right, where the surface is slightly broken.

11. *Bst* in the New Kingdom

For the unusual occurrence of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ quoted by Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* V, 64, and mentioned in my discussion of the capital of U.E. nome 7 (*JARCE* 1, p. 15, n. 61),¹ I should have compared $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$, which is listed among other names of cities on an inscribed block of Amenophis I.² Nims suggests that the latter is perhaps to be identified with *Bstyw*, mentioned in the Ramesseum Onomasticon between Dendera and Hu.³ This equation is favored by the circumstance that *Bstyw* is apparently not attested later than the Thirteenth Dynasty, but it remains uncertain in view of the fact that the earlier occurrences are consistently written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$, supplying the ending *.tyw* instead of *.t* and omitting the *bst*-emblem.⁴ Perhaps the omission of the emblem is not significant, for it is hardly possible that *Bstyw*, which fairly certainly belonged to the nome of *Bst*, has no connection with the latter. For the moment, however, it may be preferable to regard the



¹ The epithet in which the name appears ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$) is also unusual, for only gods are normally *hnty* "foremost of" a specific place. Since both of the identical occurrences derive from the same tomb (*Urk.* IV, 945, 957), I have considered the possibility that *hnty bst* is miscopied from a badly written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$ in the original hieratic. The latter epithet is itself very rare, however; one example occurs on an Eleventh Dynasty stela, *JNES* 19 (1961), Fig. 1, facing p. 258, line 5; and two additional examples are MFA 25.180, line 3 (to be published in *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, No. 43) and Dryoff-Pörtner, *Äg. Slg. München*, Pl. 2, no. 3.


² Nims, *JEA* 38 (1952), p. 45 and Fig. 3, p. 38.

³ Gardiner, *On.*, Pl. 2 (208); more precisely, it is preceded by *'Iwnt* and *Šst*, both belonging to the Denderite nome.

⁴ For the other occurrences see Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, p. 31, and Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, no. 43, line 6. The last example belongs to the mid-Eleventh Dynasty.

New Kingdom occurrences of the city *Bst* as an alias of Hu (i.e. *Hwt-šhm*) and perhaps an archaizing allusion to what was thought — rightly or wrongly — to have been the original name of the nome capital.

My discussion of *Bst* also neglects to mention the existence of an Eighteenth Dynasty epithet  “one who assumes the *bst*-emblem.”⁵ This is probably a paraphrase of the old title , and it is significant that, contrary to what Grdseloff’s hypothesis would lead one to expect,⁶ the extensive titulary of the same individual makes no specific reference to judicial matters.⁷

Another New Kingdom term  which, like the preceding, is cited by Faulkner in his *Concise Dictionary*, p. 77, does not have any connection with *Bst* although he transliterates it as *bstyt* and translates “devotee of Hathor (?)” The word in question is evidently *šhmyt*, i.e. “sistrum player” (*Wb.* IV, 252.9), and in this particular case is applied to a “sistrum player in the temple of Karnak.”

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

List of Plates

Frontispiece (top) Painted block from the serdab of *Nhbw*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(bottom) Bottom of false door of *Nfr-hw*, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Pl. I Limestone statuette from Gebelaw, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Pl. II Painted block from the serdab of *Nhbw*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Pl. III Painted block from the serdab of *Nhbw*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Pl. IV a. Spurious scarab and mud impression showing same design.

b. Facets made by knife blade on spurious scarab and figurine.

c. Spurious figurine “dug from ruins in Mexico.”

d. Scarab found in Roman excavations at Mandeure, France.

Pl. V Stela of the Horus Den, Musées Royaux, Brussels.

Pl. VI a, c. First Dynasty wine jar, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

b. Fragment of limestone stela, University College, London.

Pl. VII a. South side of entrance, tomb of *Ny-nh-pyy*, Hieraconpolis.

b. North side of entrance.

⁵ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, Pl. 8, line 31.

⁶ *ASAE* 40 (1940), 185–202; contested in *JARCE* 1 (1962), p. 13, n. 42.


⁷ The epithet *šdm šdmt wʿ* (Davies, *ibid.* p. 15) has been translated in this sense, but probably means no more than that the official in question had private access to the king, to whom *wʿ* (in this case at least, det. ) apparently refers: “one who hears the hearing of One.”

PLATE I

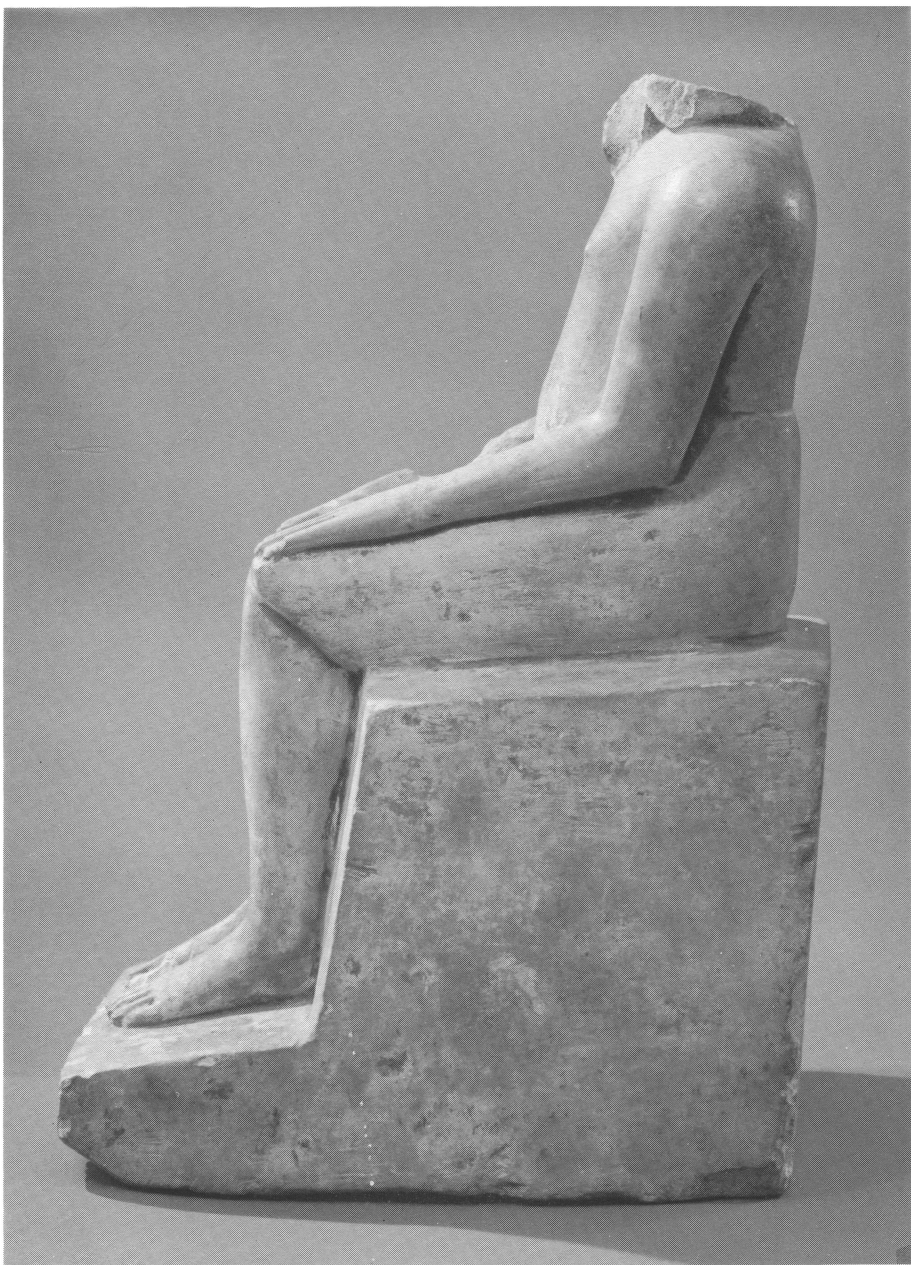
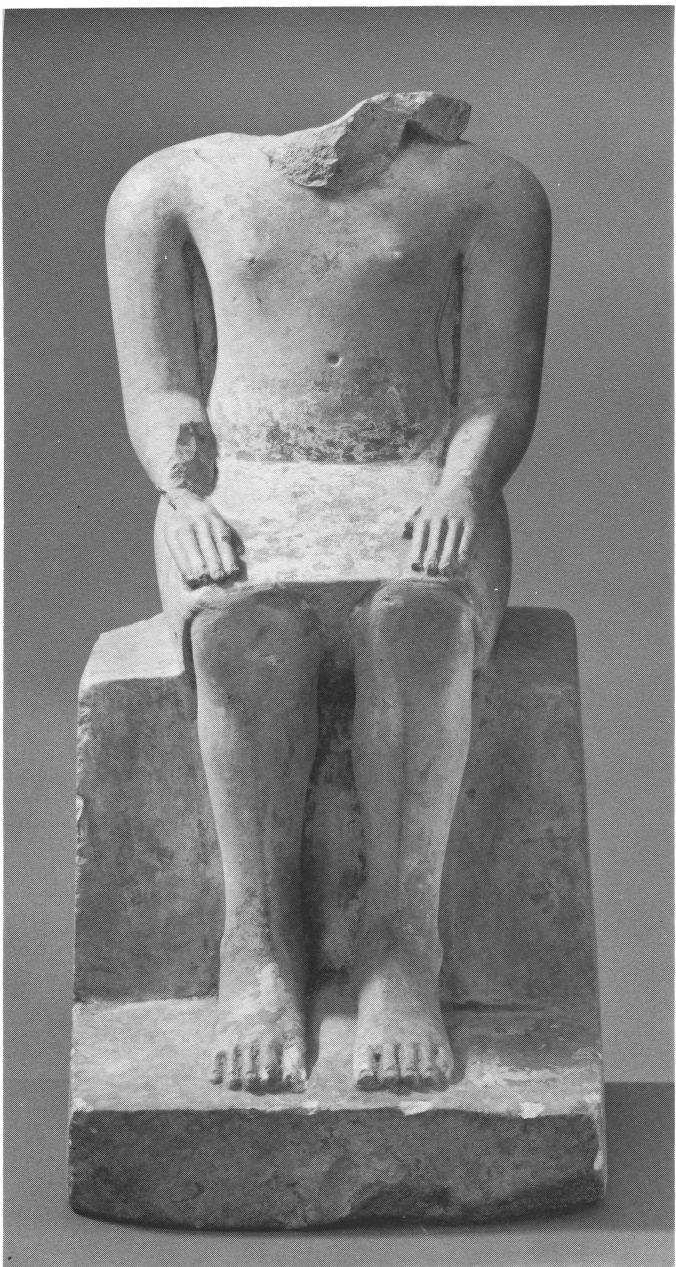
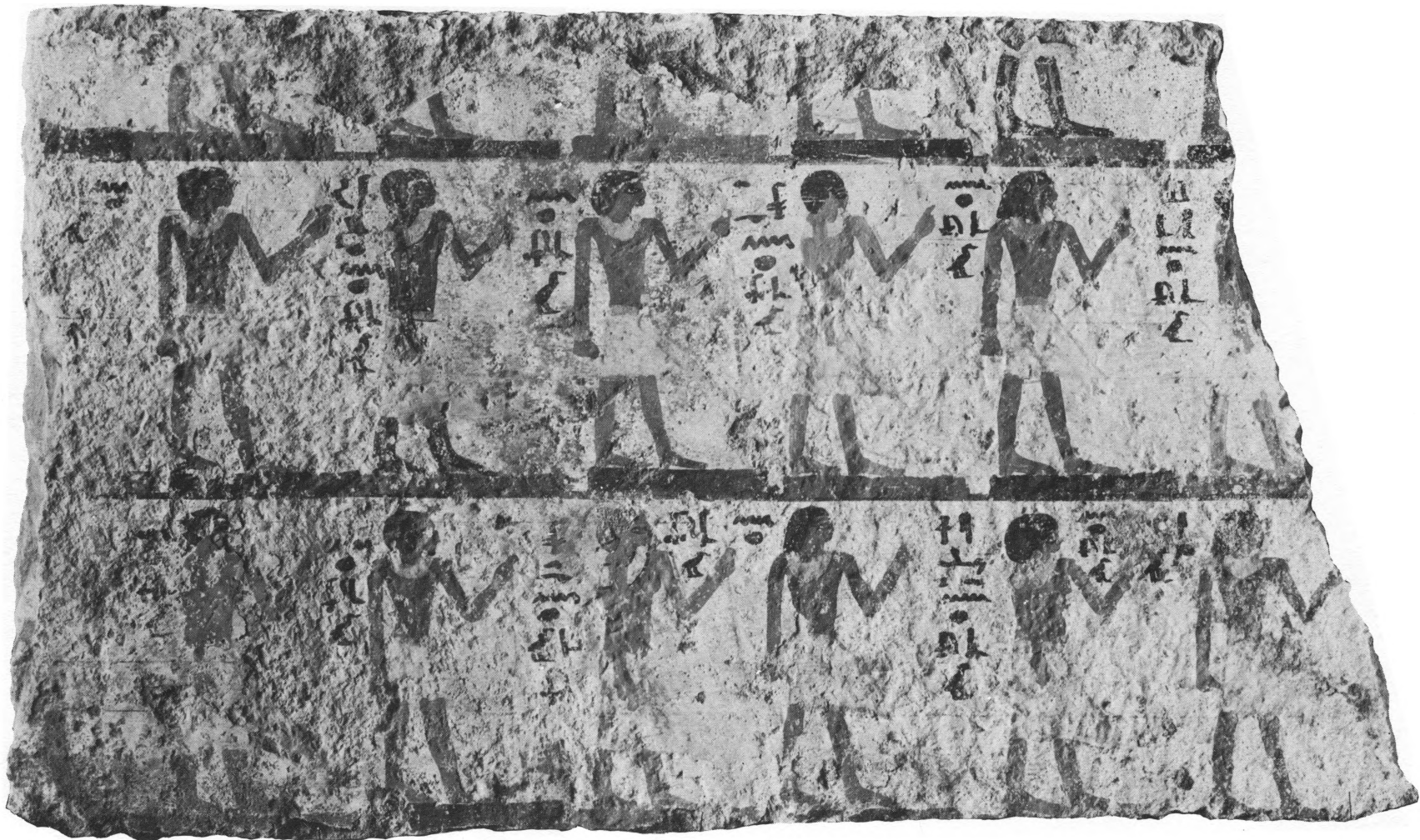


PLATE II



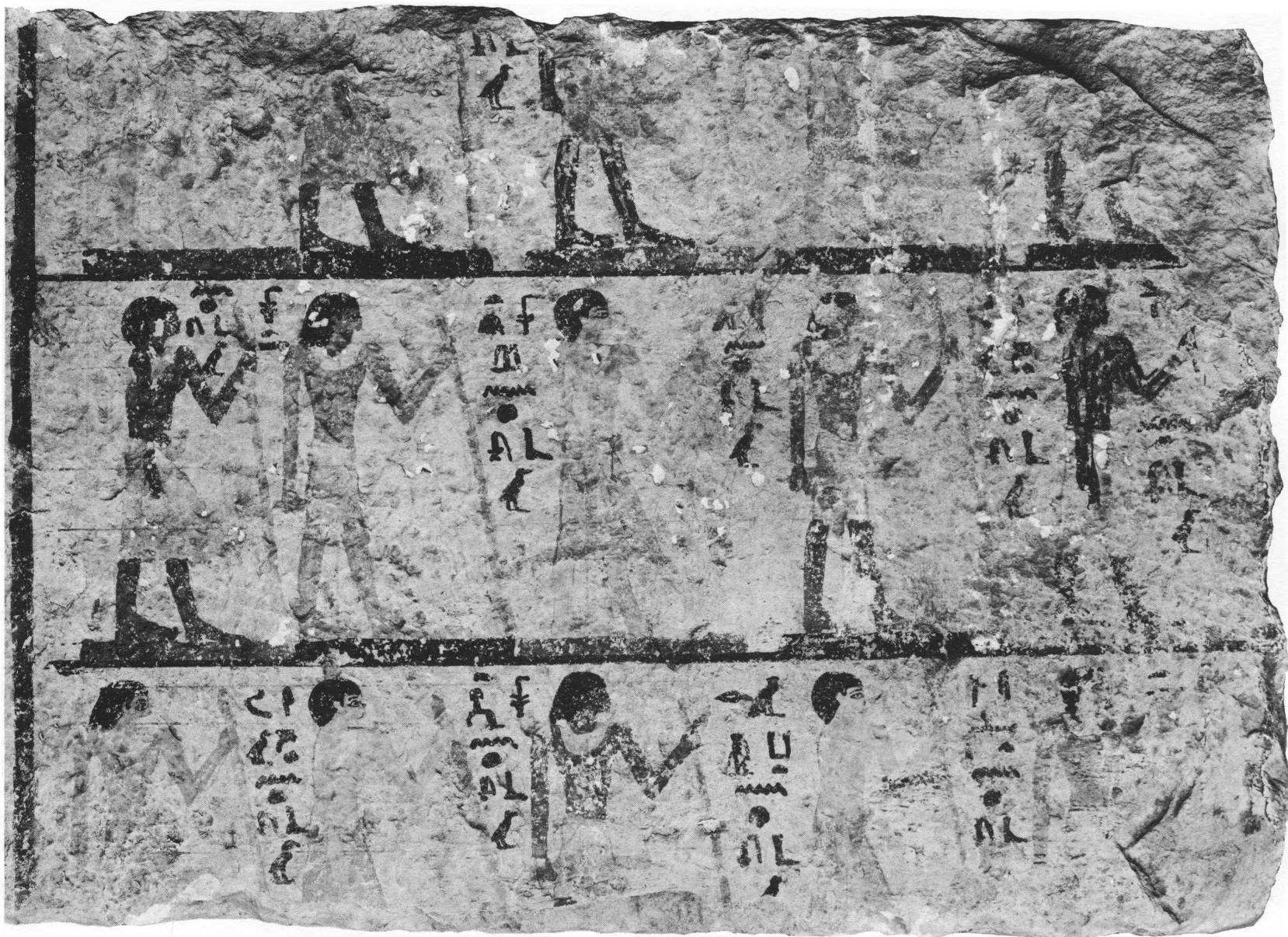


PLATE III

PLATE IV



a



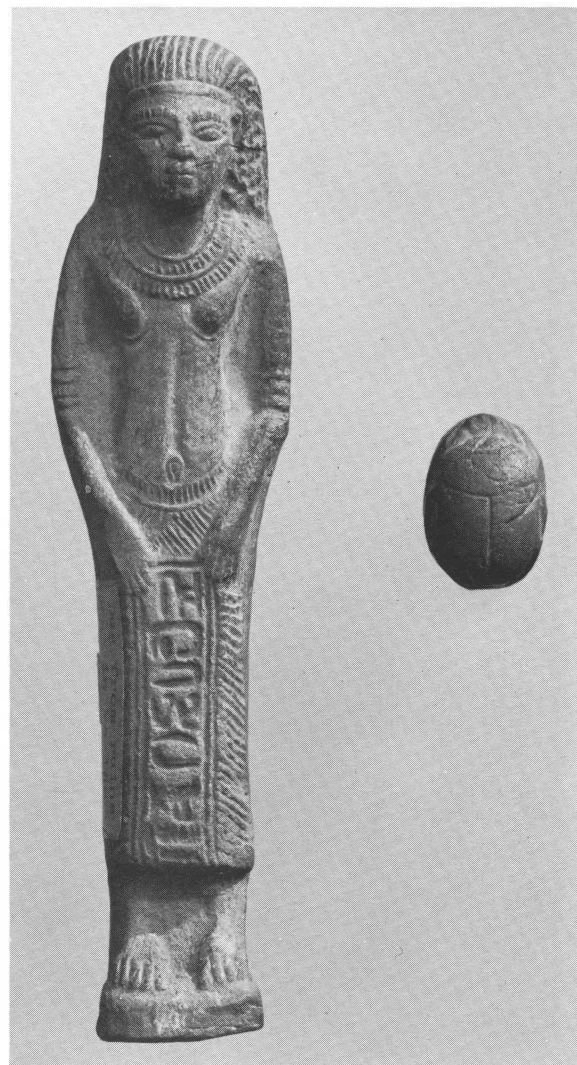
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b



b



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PLATE V





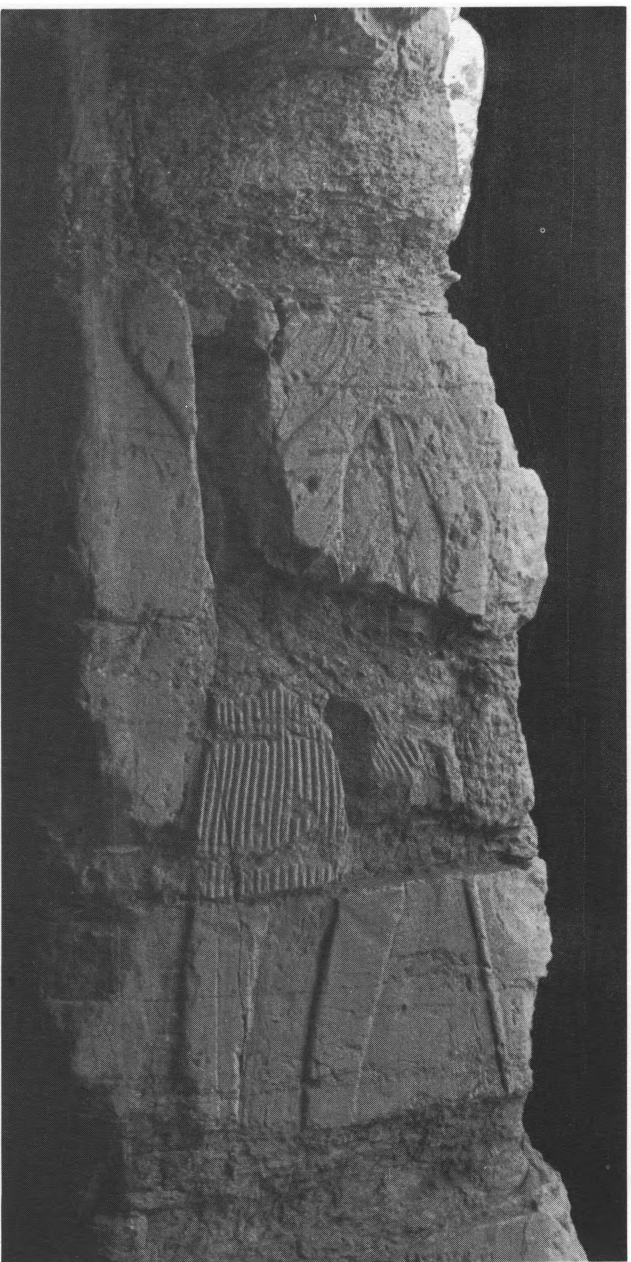
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a



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b



a