# ZEITSCHRIFT $F \cup R$ 

# ÄGYPTISCHE SPRACHE UND 

## ALTERTUMSKUNDE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON FRITZ HINTZE

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Ich umschreibe die Gliederung:

Dies ist nun die Gliederung des zweiten Teils der "Loyalistischen Lehre". Wir haben nur die einfachen Einheiten notiert. Es dürfte aber dem Leser freigestellt gewesen sein, unter gewissen Aspekten die ersten großen Strophen zu kombinieren zu 48 Versen: 6 mal 8, oder die letzten beiden großen Strophen zu 42 Versen: 6 mal 7.

Ohne jeden Zweifel ist die Gliederung der „Loyalistischen Lehre" ungleich komplizierter als die der „Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn". Das bestätigt unsere Annahme, daß die relative Schlichtheit der Aufeinanderfolge von vier Strophen zu je neun Versen in jener Lehre mit bedingt ist von den Fähigkeiten, die man von einem vergleichsweise schlichten Publikum erwartet hat.

## Henry George Fischer

## Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom

Hierzu Tafel I

## 1. Sportive allusions to personal names

The accompanying inscription, published here for the first time (Fig. 1), appears on the right (southern) reveal of the entrance to the chapel of $\Rightarrow \square$ at Giza, which cannot be earlier than the reign of Sahure, early in Dyn. V, and is probably not much later ${ }^{1}$. The left reveal is identical, and is preserved to about the same extent. Although the name has generally been read Nśwt-ntr-pw or the like, Ranke, PN II, 301, 25, transliterates ntr(.j)-pw-nswt "der König ist (mein?) Gott" ${ }^{2}$. For this interpretation he compares a Middle Kingdom name 9 (PN I, 214, 13), but the correctness of his conclusion is more clearly demonstrated by $\downarrow \square$ (PN I, 339 [12]) and other names of the pattern $K 3(. i)$-pw-NN; the last is attested in Junker, Gîza III,, p. 141, and is also written $\not \subset\}$ (ibid. II, pp. 112, 117). Since the position of the word $k 3$ is rarely affected by honorific transposition, this comparison confirms Ranke's sequence of $n t r$ and nśwt.

[^0]

Fig. 1
The inscription shown here first invokes "Anubis, Who Presides over the Divine Booth"; one would expect this mention of the god to be preceded by ḥtp-di-nśwt, and the formula is evidently to be restored at the top, or the upper right corner ${ }^{3}$. The following lines continue the offering formula: "(to) One Who is Mighty and Noble" with the King and the God in the Place of Reverence", $N \operatorname{tr}(. i)-p w-n s \neq t ., "$

As in the case of other early Old Kingdom inscriptions that are presented in short undivided columns, it is not immediately evident where the inscription continues downward and where it continues horizontally, but there can be no doubt about the sequence. It is equally clear that, in this particular case, the arrangement of the signs intentionally contrives to bring together the group $\neq \square$ in the first phrase and the group $\ddagger$ Fin the name. Since this is a graphic device, the word for "king" precedes the word for god in both cases, even though it was actually the last element in the name and is "honorifically transposed" 6 .

[^1]For a comparable sportive allusion to the name, the closest parallel that comes to mind is that of * his offering niche ${ }^{7}$. Here again there is a reduplication of two hieroglyphs and it is probably not coincidental that his tomb chapel is located only a few meters from the first, being separated from it by only a single mastaba.

## 2. The request of a wife to her husband: an unusual expression of asseveration

In one of the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapels at Meir the owner, $H n y$, stands upon a papyrus skiff in the marshes, a throwstick poised to bring down a bird from the flock that hovers over an adjacent thicket (Fig. 2). His wife points out her own preference and says: "Oh Magistrate get me this


Fig. 2. (After Blackman and Apted)

[^2]gnw-bird." To which he obligingly replies: "I'll do so and get it for thee" ${ }^{8}$. Another of the Sixth Dynasty chapels at Meir, that of Ppy- $n h$ the Middle, shows the wife making a similar gesture while her husband harpoons fish, but here there is no dialogue ${ }^{9}$. At least part of the same dialogue was repeated, however, in one of the Twelfth Dynasty chapels (Meir B 4) ${ }^{10}$.

A slightly earlier example of this detail occurs in the tomb of $M r r-w i-k 3 . i$ at Saqqara, where the wife again addresses her husband (Fig. 3) ${ }^{11}$. Here the wall is only partly preserved, so that it is uncertain whether the wife received any reply, and some of her own words have been lost. Despite this drawback, the statement concludes in such an interesting way that it seems useful


Fig. 3

[^3]to consider how it may be completed. The opening words are clear enough: "O Mri, would that thou might give me. .." ${ }^{12}$. The next signs before the substantive for emphasis ${ }^{13}$; the form $t f 3$, rather than $t f$, is unexpected before the Middle Kingdom, but it does not seem very likely that represents the beginning of the following substantive, since the other inscriptions in the same tomb avoid dividing a word between one column and the next. To judge from the context, and the similar statement from Meir, this substantive must be a feminine term for fowl. As shown in my drawing, the traces favor $3 p d(w) t$, a collective that is known from another chapel at Saqqara ${ }^{14}$; a modifier such as nfrt 'beautiful" is required to fill the remaining space.
The vertical traces that follow must belong to the stem of ' $n h$, for there does not seem to be any other possibility that suits a verb ending in $-n h$ and that does not require a determinative. The entire statement is therefore: (1) "O Mri, would that thou might give me those (2) [goodly (?) fowl]; as thou livest for me!"

Whatever may be said of the restoration of the words in brackets (and it seems convincing), there can hardly be any question about the final clause, which, to use the terminology of John Wilson's "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," is "an assertion of emotion" ${ }^{15}$. This example, not cited by him, is unusual in that Old Kingdom oaths involving the verb ' $n h$ otherwise involve the king (his examples $22,63,86)^{16}$, or (as more often later) a god ${ }^{17}$. At the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, however, one of the Hatnub graffiti invokes the local prince: "As Nhri, son of $K m i$, lives for me" (Wilson's example 3$)^{18}$, and this provides a somewhat closer parallel, albeit a much later one. Thus far, however, the example from the chapel of Mrr-wi-k $3 . \hat{i}$ is the only one in which a wife is known to invoke her husband ${ }^{19}$.

[^4]Finally it should be noted that statements of asseveration normally precede a request or affirmation, rather than follow it. This consideration suggests that the wife's words may have continued into part of a third column, filling as much as five quadrants of space in the slightly wider interval between the preceding pair of columns and a much wider column of larger signs, facing in the opposite direction and comprising the principal caption of the scene. The wife's extended index finger probably touched the borderline of this caption, indicated by the line at the extreme left. To
 livest for me, [give them to me]," but this tomb chapel provides scarcely any evidence for an inscription that is arranged so unevenly, with the last line only partly filled ${ }^{20}$. For this reason it seems very doubtful that such a restoration should be assumed.

## 3. An Overseer of Dwarfs

In the summer of 1925 , between two of Cecil Firth's seasons of work at Saqqara, three Old Kingdom monuments were brought to light by some construction work near his excavation headquarters, all of them found within a foot of the surface. The most interesting of these is a limestone offering basin, the inscription of which was carefully copied by Gunn; my Figure 4 is based on this copy, which is to be found in his Notebook 13 at the Griffith Institute and is reproduced with their kind permission. The top is $35.5 \times 53 \mathrm{~cm}$., the height 16 cm .; the exterior sides slope inward, from a point 4.5 to 5 cm . below a flat edge, to the base, which is $15 \times 29 \mathrm{~cm}$.


Fig. 4

[^5]The top and left side of the rim bear an offering formula，as follows：＂An offering that the king gives，and Anubis，Who Presides over the Divine Booth，a burial in the necropolis in the western desert 〈for〉（One Who Belongs to）the dwarfs ${ }^{A} \overleftarrow{S} d y .{ }^{, 1}$

The right side and bottom bear a dedication：
＂The Overseer of Dwarfs of the God＇s Palace ${ }^{\text {C }}$ Sdy；it is his eldest son，One Who Belongs to the Dwarfs $N b(. i)-m$－Innt，${ }^{\text {D }}$ who acted for him when he was buried in the necropolis after many years．＂${ }^{\text {E }}$

A third inscription is located below the offering formula，probably along the upper edge of the sloping interior of the basin：
＂Libation basin with which the invocation offering is made ${ }^{\text {F }}\langle$ for $\rangle$ One Who Belongs to the Dwarfs $S d y . "$

## Comments：

A．Gunn has made squeezes of two examples of this unusual word，both reproduced in Figure 5 （a is from the horizontal line at the bottom；b is from the right－hand column），but is unable to suggest any explanation beyond the fact that the determinative＂looks rather like a dwarf．＂His


Fig． 5
observation is confirmed by Cairo CG 1652，and the present examples enable me to correct my remarks on that inscription in Chronique d＇Egypte 43，1968，pp．310－312．From the new evidence it is clear that the group mam min mion which heads a series of personal names in the second column，at the extreme left of the Cairo inscription，is a title belonging to the first－or perhaps all－of the names that follow it，i．e．＂Who Belong（s）to the Dwarfs of the God＇s Palace＂．And the incomplete title preceding the owner＇s name，at the upper right，almost certainly ends with the same word for dwarf，written $\bigcap_{\substack{3 \\ \hline \multirow{2}{*}{.}.}}^{\text {．As I have previously noted，the first sign，of which only a trace is preserved，could equally }}$ well be $\int$ or $\ldots$ ，and it is now evident that the first choice is preferable to the restoration $\left[\begin{array}{ll}8 \\ 8\end{array}\right]-\infty, ~$ 角．The new examples also quite clearly eliminate Kaplony＇s explanation of the group in question as＂Statuen＂（Kleine Beiträge，p．95）．

The reading of the new word for dwarf remains uncertain beyond the initial $\dot{s}^{21}$ ．Whatever the reading may be，it is at any rate clear，from the variant in CG 1652 that lacks it，that $\bigcap_{\text {is }}$ phonetic and cannot be regarded as an odd writing of the terminal sign in $\prod^{\prime \prime}$ ，for which see Junker， Gîza V，p．12．Conceivably，however，ค fin and gin might both represent a nisbe derivative of $\dot{s} s ̌ r$ ，somewhat on the order of English＂clothier．＂

I do not know of any further instances of fis that can be identified with certainty．One pos－ sibility is the mysterious designation of the two owners of a Twelfth Dynasty stela published by

[^6]M．Cassirer in ASAE 52，1954，41－44．ी but it is difficult to explain the object that is held in the hand；it resembles $\sigma$ but might perhaps represent $\gamma\left(\dot{s} s s_{r}\right)$ ．A second possible occurrence of the new word is to be found in the caption of a group of three dwarfs represented on a block from the Bubastite temple of Osorkon II；above each figure is a single hieroglyph： $\left(\dot{s}^{\prime} \dot{s}_{5}\right)^{24}$ ．It seems rather unlikely that dwarfs would be enlisted to serve as police，however，and they carry staves rather than the short clubs of the $\left.s s_{s}^{3}\right\}$ of the New Kingdom ${ }^{25}$ ．Perhaps，then，these are $\dot{s}$＿＿－dwarfs，including the chief of the same（ $h 3 t$ ）and all the rest who are＂numerous＂or＂ordinary＂ （ ${ }^{s} 3$ ）；or else＂chiefs of numerous $s$＿＿＿－dwarfs＂${ }^{24}$ ．

The form of the title $N y-s^{\prime}$ is also unusual．The nisbe $n y$ is known from titles and epithets，but more commonly the latter．All of the following are adjuncts to titles rather than titles in their own right：

1）$N y-i b-n-n b . f$＂who belongs to the heart of his lord＂
2）Ny－mrwt＂possessor of love＂
3）Ny－nst－hntyt＂possessor of a preeminent place＂
4）$N y-h b-R^{e}$＂who belongs to the festival of Re＂
The third of these regularly follows the titles $\underline{d}-m r$ or $w r m d w-S m w^{\circ} w^{27}$ ，and the fourth follows $w r \operatorname{hrp}(w) h m w t{ }^{2 x}$ ，while the others are somewhat more variable．The term $n y-d t$＂who belong to the funerary estate＂${ }^{29}$ is about the only one that might be called a title，and which is therefore comparable to the title under consideration ${ }^{30}$ ．

Yet another unusual feature is the use of the plural sign ooo in this inscription as well as in that of CG 1652 ；while the plural is sometimes explicitly indicated in Old Kingdom titles，it is seldom indicated in reference to a plurality of persons and hardly ever by means of 000 or 111 rather than鲜訨通 ${ }^{31}$ ．

22 That identification is not supported by the adjacent large－scale seated figures，but these are probably conventional＂determinatives，＂which，in the case of so stereotyped minonument as this，would not necessarily reflect even so striking a peculiarity as dwarfism．
${ }^{23}$ University Museum，Philadelphia，E 226：E．Naville，Festival Hall，pl．20， 5.
${ }^{24}$ Ibid．，p． 30 and Wb．Belegstellen to IV，55， 15.
${ }_{25}$ N．de Garis Davies，Tomb of the Vizier Ramose，pl． 32 ；Oriental Institute，Chicago，Medinet Habu III，pl． 169 （ $=$ Mariette，Abydos II，8－9）．Cf．Gardiner，Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I，p．93＊．The form of these clubs is discussed in＂Notes on Sticks and Staves，＂$\$ 7$（Metropolitan Museum Journal 13）．
${ }^{26}$ Cf．the three men labeled $\stackrel{0}{ }$
27 Fischer，Dendera，p．99，n． 451.
28 Wb．III，58， 4.
${ }^{29}$ Wb．II，196， 5.
$30 N y-h w t-3 t$ is attested once in Davies，Deir el GebrâwiII，pl．11，but the mum may be an error，for the title in question is elsewhere written of this necropolis；see Fischer，Dendera，p．72，n． 294.

31 A possible example is $\grave{i m y}-r$ wdpw＂overseer of butlers＂with det．Wi II，Hassan，Gîza V，p．256，but the date may be slightly later than Dynasty VI；the monument in question，a false door，is in the Cairo Museum， J．72253．See too the Eighth Dynasty examplos of sing iquoted in Fischer，Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome，p．37．At Dendera the det．$V^{\circ} \circ{ }^{\circ} \circ$ follows the epithet $r s$－tp $r$ wdlt sirw＂vigilant concerning what the officials order＂on an Old Kingdom architrave of late Dyn．VI or VIII（Petrie，Dendereh，pl． 11 A；Fis eher，Dendera， p．114）．Some later titles referring to 解解＂army＂at the same necropolis evidently antedate the Eleventh Dynasty（ibid．，fig．31，and 164），and from that time onward plural strokes were used much more frequently in this context．I do not believe that $\frac{\prod_{0} 0_{0}}{}$ refers to people（＂assistants＂）in the titles discussed by Junker， Gîza VI，pp．209－210，and Weta und das Lederkunsthandwerk，Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akad．， ph．－hist．K1．231／1，1957，pp．16－17．See the following excursus．
4 Zeitschr，für Agypt．Sprache，105．Band
B. Ranke, PN I, 331, 16, gives no examples of the name $\check{S} d y$ earlier than the Middle Kingdom, although $\grave{S} d i$, with final $\AA$, is known earlier $(331,15)$; for the latter see J unker, Gîza V, fig. 20, p. 85.
C. The term ' $h$ ntr is known from three inscribed vessels from the step pyramid of Djoser, where, in every case, the name of an official is accompanied by the phrase 110 "second time of filling the palace of the god"-presumably with offerings ${ }^{32}$. It occurs again in the Fourth Dynasty, when mention is made of the festival of Apis in the mer $\square, 33$. Temples of the New Kingdom were also, on occasion, called "palace of the god" or "divine palace" ${ }^{34}$. In the Old Kingdom, however, this term was usually specified as "an "the god's palace of Upper Egypt." The Fifth Dynasty annals of the Palermo Stone mention a "god's palace of Upper Egypt" as the abode of Nekhbet ${ }^{35}$, of $\mathrm{Re}^{36}$, or of the gods in general ${ }^{37}$; in the first case it is paired with the Lower Egyptian pr nw of Uto. Two Memphite high priests of the same dynasty describe themselves as "entering upon the roads of the god's palace of Upper Egypt in all festivals of appearance" ${ }^{38}$. And the same designation appears in some Old Kingdom titles; an "overseer of the god's palace of Upper Egypt" is known", as well as an "inspector" (shd $\underline{)})^{10}$ and "scribe" of the same"t.
D. The name $N b(. \hat{i})-m-\underline{T} n n t$ is not attested in Ranke, PN, but cf. $K 3(. \hat{i})-m-\underline{T} n n t$, which is well known from the Old Kingdom (PN I, 340, 1). For Old Kingdom names of the pattern Nb(.i)-m-X (place name), see Fischer, Dendera, p. 32 and n. 137.
E. The phrase rnpwt ' $83 t$ is known from several other Old Kingdom dedications; at least six examples in all may now be quoted (Figure 6) ${ }^{12}$ and they follow two basic patterns:
I. (1-4) in NN ir $n . f(n w) \dot{s} k \dot{s} w\left\{\begin{array}{l}h \underline{h} w \\ k r s w\end{array}\right\}$ (mhrt-ntr) rnpwt "šst "It is NN who acted for him (or "made this") when he passed on (or "was buried") in the necropolis after many years."

32 Lacau and Lauer, Pyramide à Degrés V, nos. 10, 43, 91.




34 Wb. I, 214 (21); the two examples may be found in Kitchen, Ramesside Tnseriptions I, 164, 15 and

 rather than "divine palace."

35 Urk. I, 242, 1.
36 Urk. I, 244, 1.
37 Urk. I, 242, 5.

${ }^{39}$ Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 135: Mrr-w(. $\left.\vec{i}\right)-k 3(.2)$.
40 Berlin 71: Aegyptische Inschriften J, p. 58.
4 False door of 'Isi in the Louvre. Note also, in Mariette, Mastabas, p. 322, $<0$ mum 1 *. An $\$$ dian of property of the treasure of Horus." A similar title, referring to an "overseer of nwd bbz and every festival scent in the god's palace of Upper Egypt" is to bo found in Geoffrey Martin, Tomb of Hetepka (forthcoming), pl. 24, 27.

亿2 (1) Present example. (2) Statue from Giza tomb 1171; MTO 7, 1960, 301. (3) Basin, Cairo CG 57007 ; Kaplony, MIO 14, 1968 , p. 203 and pl. 10 (fig. 17). (4) Architrave formerly in Michailides Collection, Cairo; the titles are translated in Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts 51, 1972, p. 80, n. 26; the name $Z$ is otherwise unknown in the Old Kingdom (the reference in PN II, 383 [to 278, 21] is incorrect). (5) A. M. Moussa and F. Junge, Two Tombs of Craftsmen, p. 24 and pl. 4, a. (6) Junker, Giza VI, p. 99, fig. 32, and pl. 8 a.
 when he passed on (or "was buried") in the necropolis after many years."

The regularity of this use of rnpwt ${ }^{\prime} \check{s} 3 t$ leaves little doulbt that example 5 conforms to the general pattern and is not, as Moussa and Junge have translated: "I acted in favor of my father when the ka was asked for after his having been buried. May the tomb of S'hntyw endure in the necropolis many


Fig. 6
years." It is true, as the translators point out, that the name $K 3(. i)-d b h$ (or $D b h-k 3 .{ }^{\prime}$ ) does not appear
 which occurs in Hassan, Gîza V, figs. 67, 70, pp. 215, 217. For these related forms cf. Whm-k3.í (PN I, 83, 23; 339, 3) and $K_{3}^{3}(. i)-w h m . n . i$ (PN II, 321, 3); also H3mw-k3(.i) (PN I, 425, 19-20; II, 404) and $K_{3}^{3}(. i)-h 3 m . n . i ́ ~(P N ~ I, ~ 340, ~ 14) . ~$

I also doubt that rnpwt "š3t exemplifies the absolute use of an indication of time, for the meaning would then be "for many years," as Moussa and Junge have interpreted it $/ 4$, and not "after many years (of life)," which is clearly the meaning"t'. The solution is to take "š3t as an old perfective, so that the literal sense is "the years (of life) being many." This conclusion throws considerable doubt upon the transcription of example 6 in Junker's Gîza. It seems highly probable that $\lll$ is a misreading of , and the fault is probably to be attributed to the modern copyist ${ }^{45}$.
F. The term $\frac{1}{1} \triangle \int$ is noteworthy, as is the addition of man found in Wb.IV, 398, 10-11, as a term for a libation basin, but none of the references is earlier than the New Kingdom. There is evidence, however, that this sort of basin was, in the Old Kingdom, sometimes regarded as a miniature pool beside which the spirit of the deceased could sit beneath the trees along its margin, and on which he could row up and down. One such basin (Cairo CG 1330) is

[^7]inscribed with the word nht"sycamore" at each corner; its sides specify the levels of the three seasons and the bottom bears the words 4 ? 0 ing slab has a pair of basins flanking the top of $\bumpeq$, one of which is labeled 1 mmm mm, the
 following $n$ is the indirect genitive, i.e. "pool of water," "pool of beer" (specifying the nature of the pool) 48, "basin of water," "basin of beer" (specifying the contents of the basin) ${ }^{\prime 9}$, or-most probably-"basin for water," "basin for beer" (objective genitive) ${ }^{50}$.

The second word of the phrase $\check{s} l b h \nmid$ is evidently the infinitive of the verb meaning "make libation" (Wb. V, 27, [2-4]). There is a comparable mention of $\square$ in the Abusir Papyri, where it is first in a series of equipment following the word $k b h w$ "libation" (P. Posener-Kriéger, Les Archives, p. 19). In the present case this combination is linked to another infinitive, $p r(t)-h r w$, by the indirect genitive, which again is to be regarded as objective: "for making invocation offerings therewith." Although it is evidently the first occurrence of $n+p r t h r w i m$. $f$ that has yet been noted, one might compare $r$ prt hrw im, which is well attested ${ }^{51}$.

The date of the offering basin cannot be determined with certainty. Judging from its form and formulae, it can hardly be later than the Old Kingdom, but at least two features suggest that it must belong to the end of that period, i.e. the last years of the Sixth Dynasty or even slightly later. First, there is the form of the name $\$ d y$, with terminal 44 rather than 4 ; secondly, the use of the plural sign $00 \circ$ in the titles.

The last consideration is equally applicable to Cairo CG 1652. Although the owner's wig shows the sort of detail that is typical of the Fifth Dynasty, this is scarcely less true of a representation of the dwarf $S^{K} b^{52}$, whom Junker dates towards the end of the Old Kingdom. The persistence of Fifth Dynasty iconography seems to be characteristic of some very late Old Kingdom monuments at Giza ${ }^{53}$, and that in turn suggests that Giza is the provenance of the relief in question. If so, however, it is all the more remarkable that $\underset{\substack{3 \\ 0.0}}{ }$ is written so exceptionally in the same unusual title on two monuments, one of which comes from Giza, the other Saqqara.

$$
\text { Excursus: } \frac{\mathbb{T}}{000}
$$

H. Junker, in the discussion cited above, p. 49, n. 31, eites a title in Copenhagen and compares it to another in his Gîza VI:
A (1) $\underset{\sim}{\leftrightarrows} \underset{\square 00}{\infty}$ (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg AEIN 943) ${ }^{54}$


[^8]These are translated 'zugehörig (i $\quad$ rj) zu den Gehilfen des Königs" and "Vorsteher der Gehilfen der königlichen Urkunden." Further examples of each may be quoted, two of which contain an interesting variation:
(3)

$$
\stackrel{\overbrace{1}^{0}}{\stackrel{0}{0}} \underset{0}{\infty}
$$ (BMFA 32, 1934, fig. 5, p. 5) ${ }^{55}$

(4)
 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 13.4352) ${ }^{56}$
(5)
 (Berlin 1138; Aegyptische Inschriften I, p. 27).

As Junker has noted, the term $\frac{\pi}{000}$ also appears in an inscription from Saqqara describing the manufacture
阿 Iazuli."

It will be noted that the plural sign 000 is used in all cases but 5 and the exception is cortainly acciden-
 of the plural appears in the term for dwarfs discussed earlier, it is not otherwise known to be applied to persons in Old Kingdom titles, and the dwarf titles cannot be much earlier than the very end of that period. These is also a late Sixth Dynasty example of Kingdom titles in which 000 occurs include:

B(1)

(2)
 (tomb of $H 3$ - 2 št.f, near pyramid of Unis, Saqqara)
(3) $\qquad$ (Davies, Ptahhetep II, pl. 32) ${ }^{59}$
(4) $\qquad$

55 Here the group $\not \approx \frac{\square}{\sim}$ is to be interpreted as $\nrightarrow \xrightarrow[\sim]{\square}$, showing a displacement of the sign $\varnothing$ that occurs in the writing of $\frac{11}{\sim}$ in place of writing of $\rightarrow$ (iry) cf. title C 6 below, and the inscription discussed in part 5.

56 I am indebted to $W \mathrm{~m}$. K. Simpson for permission to quote this title, which appears twice on the doorway of the secondary offering room of $3 h-m r w t-n s w t$ (cf. Porter-Moss-Málek, Bibliog. IlI², Pt. 1, pp. 8081). The same title is less visible above the false door: Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl. 69.

56a One may note that the copy of title 5 in LD II, 152 b , shows a space beneath $[\bar{X}]_{-}$, so that it is quite possible that oo was originally intended. Dr. Wenig has kindly confirmed the presence of this space, as well as the absonce of the plural sign.

57 Cairo CG 73; cf. the later inseription on an axehead: 9 , 40 (MMA 26.7.834; Hayes, Scepter of Egypt II, fig. 126, p. 213) The form of fiy suggests that the date is Dyn. VIII or Heracleopolitan Period. Cf. E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, Die Axt, pp. 62, 133, 15. Here, as elsewhere, the reading of the name should be corrected to Hwin.s (PN I, 268, 12; II, p. 381).

58 Cf. Silverman, JNES $32,1973,472-473$, and fig. 5, p. 476 . I suspect that the title on the statue (Oriental Institute 14054) is incomplete, and that $i m y-r$ (or $s h(\underline{d}$ ) was meant to precede it, on the front of the seat.

59 This and other titles referring to Hetepka (forthcoming), pls. 23, 22; 24, 27-29; 34, 99.
${ }^{60}$ Mrht lacks o o o in other titles: Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 298, 322, and title C 3 below.
(5)


These are (1) "overseer of sweets," (2) "overseer of all trees of sweets," (3) "overseer of nwd-ointment of the royal treasure," (4) "supervisor of oil of the Great House," (5) "overseer of the house of fat," (6) "director of the mansion of faience." In these six cases the series of pellets seems more specifically appropriate and not merely the equivalent of $1 \quad 1 \quad 163$.

Even if o o o were not as specifically appropriate in the case of $\frac{\prod_{0}}{000}$, the use of this determinative in all but one of the titles speaks against the translation "helpers," and it also speaks against the equation of this term
 use of iry in two of the five titles referring to $\frac{\prod_{0}}{000}$. As a rule the Old Kingdom titles beginning with iry refer to objects rather than persons, e.g.:
$\mathbf{C}(1) \longleftrightarrow \square \stackrel{\sim}{\sim}($ Borchardt, Grabdenkınal Sashu-re II, pl. 17)
$(2)<4$ (Hildesheim, no. 3235)

(4) $\longleftrightarrow\left(\right.$ Wm. K. Simpson, Offering Chapel of Sokhem-ankh-Ptah, fig. 8, p. 15) ${ }^{65}$
(5) $<\overbrace{\text { min }}^{\sim} 0$ (Hassan, op. cit., fig. 130, p. 138; other variations in fig. 126, p. 135)
(6) $\longleftrightarrow \downarrow$ (BM 1143; James, Hieroglyphic Texts $I^{2}$, pl. 18,2) ${ }^{60}$
(7) $\longleftrightarrow \square$ (Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, Pt. 2, fig. 283, p. 5) ${ }^{67}$
$(8) \longleftrightarrow \mid \square($ BM. 130; James, o. c., pl. 14)
$(9) \longleftrightarrow \bigcap_{0}(J u$ uker, Gîzu VI, fig. 83, p. 215)

61 Also A. M. Moussa and F. Junge, Two Tombs of Crafismen, pp. 33-34.
62 But tlent lacks $\circ \circ \circ$ in a later Old Kingdom title: Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers, pl. 29.
${ }^{63}$ Perhaps also ${ }^{\text {Panded }}$ "Leiter der Zedernholz-Expeditionen," although the critical sign is damaged (Hildesheim 2406).

64 Junker, Weta, pp. 16-17. The second example (Hildesheim no. 1) is misquoted; the title is continued from the front of the seat onto the base. Wm. K. Simpson has kindly informed me of a further discussion of these titles by Rosemarie Drenkhahn, Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten, to which I have not yet had access. On pp. 15-16 she concludes that $[\Delta]_{0}$ here means "Aktenbehälter," a solution which Junker rejects (rightly, I believo), because the determinative is lacking in both instances; this determinative normally appears in scribal titles that refer to the document-case; cf. Junker, Gîza III, pp. 9, 222; Borlin 1140, 1201 (Aegyptische Inschriften I, p. 53); Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, Pt. 2, fig. 283, p. 5; Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis I, fig. 241, foll. p. 423. This objection would, of course, apply even more seriously to the five examples of $\frac{[\square]}{000}$.

65 See also the article in Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts 51, 1972, p. 73, and n. 27; other examples are numerous.

66 Other examples, and discussion in ZÄS 90, 1963, 39.
67 For other examples of this see the reference in $\mathbf{n . 6 5}$ above, and for this and the next title see Metropolitan Museum Journal 10, 1975, p. 20 and n. 57.
$(10) \longleftrightarrow 』 \int \circ$（Cairo CG 1714 and Berlin 11664 ；Aeg．Inschr．I，p．60）${ }^{68}$
$(11)<8$（Drioton and Lauer，ASAE 55，1958， 234 and pl．20d）${ }^{69}$
These concern custodians of（1）＂weapons，＂（2）＂the dockyard，＂（3）＂oil，＂（4）＂documents，＂（5）＂gold of the royal treasure，＂（6）＂the headdress，＂（7）＂property of the Great House，＂（8）＂linen，＂（9）＂the treasure，＂ （10）＂the gangplank，＂（11）＂stores＂ 70 ．Virtually the only exceptions that come to mind are the archaic title $\longrightarrow_{\square}$ ，which is currently explained as $\dot{i r y}-p^{\circ} t$＂keeper of the patricians，＂ 71 and the more ambiguous

The passage concerning the inscribing of Sahure＇s false doors might suggest that the moaning of hryw－＇is ＂pigments，＂and the determinative 000 lends itself to that idea．Conceivably pigments might have been thought to be＂under the hand＂of the scribe，but that seems a curiously vague designation for them，and another term， drwy，is ordinarily used，this term specifically including lapis lazuli ${ }^{73}$ ．Furthermore，although the meaning ＂pigments＂agrees well enough with the mention of documents in titles A 2 and 3 of the $\frac{\prod_{0}^{00}}{000}$ series，it is less suitable in titles A 4 and 5 ，which refer to $\square$ ，probably meaning something like＂stoneworking＂${ }^{74}$ ．The same inscription that refers to Sahure＇s false doors also states that produced every day＂（Urk．I，38，17）．The best way of reconciling these difficulties might be to derive $\underline{\text { hryw．}}$－


 ted＂it wasn＇t because of there not being any authorized means＂ 76 ．But the same meaning is indicated re－

[^9] Mastaba des Uhemka，p．65．＇Iry－＇3＂doorkeeper＂also occurs in the Old Kingdom，but only in the Pyramid Texts（Pyr．520a，1157b，1252a）．The sign foes not occur in the Old Kingdom writings of $\dot{\imath} r y$ ，one of the earliest examples being $4 \longrightarrow$ 负 second from top）．For the same reason Junker＇s transliteration of y as ỉryt（Gîza V，p．56）is inadmissable； for the reading of this term see Fischer，Egyptian Studies I：Varia，p．72．My list does not exhaust the known repertory of $\dot{\imath} r y$－titles and does not include the more complex examples such as the one discussed in part 5 of this article．

71 See Gardiner，Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I，17＊．A First Dynasty example appears in the phrase $\xrightarrow[\sim]{\sim}$ pl．83，1）．

72 See Grdseloff，ASAE 44，1944， 287.
73 J．R．Harris，Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials，p． 157.
74 Cf ．Wb．IV，399，1，referring to this single example．For other possible occurrences in titles see Junker， Gîza V，p．12，n．2，and Černý，Inscriptions of Sinai，p．63，note d．If this interpretation is correct，it should probably also be applied to the title $\square \square$ ，which accompanies titles $A$（2）and A（5）（the latter in the Louvre reliefs of the same person）．
${ }^{75}$ ZÄS 83，1958，16－17．
${ }^{6}$ In all three cases one might still understand the 1st pers．suffix，as Edel supposes：＂my two statues of my authorized means，＂＂my tomb of my authorized means，＂＂．．any authorized means of mine．＂
gardless of whether $=-\frac{-\infty}{}$ is supplied, as is shown by the other uses of $\underline{h r-7}$. I therefore wonder if $\left.\frac{70}{000}\right]_{0}$ might mean "authorizations," which, in concrete form, would be small tags (to which the plural sign o o o would be appropriate) approving the exceution of a project. The passage referring to the false doors would then be translated: "His Majesty had authorizations applied to them, that they might be inscribed with lapis lazuli." And the related titles would mean:
(1) "Custodian of authorizations of the king" (reading iry hryw- $n(w)$ nswt.)
(2) "Overseer of authorizations of the royal decree(s)"
(3) "Custodian of authorizations of the royal decree(s)"
$(4,5)$ "Overscer of authorizations of the king for the stoneworking of the Great House" (The latter reading imy-r hryw-"n(w) nśwt $n$ š $p r{ }^{\text { }} 3$.)

## 4. Enigmatic epithets of a master butcher

Among the examples of the Old Kingdom title $k b h n m t{ }^{78}$ which I listed in Orientalia 29, 1960, 174, one of these, from Reisner's G 2191, is followed by some extremely unusual epithets (Fig. 7 and Pl. I a) ${ }^{79}$. They fill the second of two lines of text on an architrave above the false door of the tomb chapel, the first line of which contains the usual offering formula. The owner's other titles include $w^{\circ} b n \dot{s} w t, h m-n t r \underline{H} w f, r h-n s w t$ and $\dot{s} h \underline{d} \operatorname{hnty} w-s r^{〔} 3$, and on the basis of their sequence Klaus Baer has dated the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty ${ }^{80}$.


Fig. 7
The first epithet, hry śstz $n k k w$, is clearly "he who is privy to the secret of darkness." The next begins with a sign that is extremely difficult to identify. The form of the top evidently excludes $Q^{2}$ and $\mathcal{F}_{\alpha}$, and the latter would, in addition, have a flatter base. The Old Kingdom form of $\mathbb{J}$ is more similar, but does not yield a very satisfactory meaning; one would either have to rearrange the sequence of signs, reading s'w $\dot{\underline{d} \underline{d} \text { ("one who renews"), in which case the absence of an object seems }}$ unlikely; or one might take $\int \cap$ as a participle + the dependent pronoun siw referring to the deceased ("he is vigorous," or the like), but such a construction is hardly possible in the midst of a series of titles and epithets. It also seems unlikely that the sequence 0 could be interpreted as $w h . s^{\prime \prime}$ its pillar," referring to $n m t$. I am therefore inclined to interpret the three signs as $\Omega_{\Omega}$ 合 wbs s'w,

[^10]"who opens it" (the darkness) ${ }^{81}$. The projections at the base of the signs are somewhat unexpected, but those at the left are uncertain, perhaps belonging to a series of ridges left by the chisel in clearing the ground of the relief; and the projection at right may possibly be an accidental accretion. Moreover, a circle seems indicated within the base of the sign. For the altogether exceptional writing of F If as $\cap$ one might compare an Old Kingdom example of $\cap$ for the independent pronoun 7 ${ }^{2}$. 82 . In the present case such a substitution would be quite understandable in view of the cryptographic nature of the inscription, which becomes more evident in the succeeding phrases.

These phrases are, at first sight, indecipherable, but they are easily understood, when it is perceived that the sign ___ is to be read as $n$ in each of the two cases where it occurs. Evidently the substitution was suggested by the occasional use of $\sim \Omega_{\varnothing}$ for $m m$, and vice versa, which is attested as early as the Old Kingdom ${ }^{83}$, but the use of $\Omega_{\text {O }}$ is disguised by reducing it to a single arm: . Once this substitution is understood, one may read $m w s{ }^{n} 3 p d(w){ }^{84} n w z m w t$ "in strangling the birds of the desert regions."

Putting all this together, I suggest that the entire line means: "The Master Butcher of the Slaughterhouse of the Palace, He Who Is Privy to the Secret of the Darkness, Who Opens It (the darkness) in Strangling the Bird of the Desert Regions, $\underline{H} n m w$."

While these epithets are apparently without parallel, there can be no question that they allude to the apotropaic symbolism that was attached to the slaughter of cattle and fowl, these victims representing the enemies of Egypt and the forces of chaos. That association explains the reference to darkness ${ }^{85}$ as well as the designation of the fowl as belonging to the desert regions, which strikingly anticipates a reference to animals sacrificed in the Graeco-Roman temple of Edfu: "all animals ( $w w$ ) that are in the desert, namely all the forms of the accursed Seth" ${ }^{* 6}$. As Junker has pointed out, the connection with the typhonic god is also attested in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus which dates to the Middle Kingdom but doubtless embodies a much older tradition; here the decapitated heads of a kid and goose are identified as "the head of Seth" 87 . And Junker emphasizes how very specifically this sort of meaning is conveyed by the funerary attendant who presents a goose while wringing its neck-just as is shown by the determinative of wšn in the present inscription.

Apart from these associations the text is of interest because of the repeated use of __n, a sign which, in the Old Kingdom, invariably had the phonetic value ${ }^{\text {e }}$, in place of mm, which was the normal writing of $n$. So deliberate a replacement, involving two such common phonetic signs, can only be described as cryptographic-a device intended to enhance the mysterious nature of the butcher's role in ritualistic slaughter. This is not the first evidence of cryptography in a hieroglyphic text of the Old Kingdom, but it is much more subtle than the sole example that has previously been noted ${ }^{88}$.

[^11]
## 5. The reading of

One of the more familiar groups of titles of the Old Kingdom is $\%$, preceded by imy-r "overseer," hrp "director," or sthd "inspector." There can be little question that these titles are judicial, for the officials who hold them are frequently priests of Maat 89 and have other titles that
are related to the ministration of justice ${ }^{90}$. Because of these associations, it has long been assumed that they refer to "scribes concerned with petitions" reading $z \check{s}(w)$ $\operatorname{ir}(y w)-s p r(w)^{91}$. The Wörterbuch (IV, 101) unhesitatingly endorses the reading of $\approx$ as śpr in this context, although some doubt is expressed concerning $\hat{i r y} \dot{s} p r$. That reading is excluded, however, by the fact that not a single one of the Old Kingdom occurrences of $\dot{i r y} \dot{s p r}$ shows the normal form of $\dot{s} p r$, with the ends squared off rather than pointed ${ }^{92}$. The substitution of $\curvearrowleft$ for $s p r$ is not very common in this period, and should be expected in only a relatively small number of the many occurrences ${ }^{93}$. As it is, the writings are consistently similar to $\&$, the crescent moon, as it appears in the determinative of $i^{\circ} h$ and (by phonetic transference) in $w^{\circ} h$-fruit ${ }^{94}$. Some slight modifications, namely $\overbrace{}^{95}$ and ${ }^{90}$, appear in all three uses of the sign.

It should therefore come as no surprise that something very like the same reading has been definitely confirmed by a new piece of evidence. This is the schist palette shown in Fig. 8 and Pl. Ib. It is 29 cm . long and comes from the excavations of Hamada and Farid at Qatta in the winter of 1948-49, shaft tomb G 4, along with other objects belonging to the same person. Dr. Dia Abou Ghazi, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it, informs me that the palette, formerly Cairo Museum J. 88865, now belongs to the municipal museum of Port Tawfik.

Fig. 8
${ }^{89}$ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. $165,173,229,247,248,266,327,423,425 ;$ F. Bisson de la Roque, Fouilles Abou Roasch 1924, p. 58 and pl. 33 ; Junker, Gîza VII, fig. 89, p. 223; Hassan, Gîza V, figs. 101, 107, pp. 241, 249; Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyr. Cem., pl. 61.

90 The most frequent association is hrp wsht and one official is $10<$, perhaps, however, to be
 Musées de Frunce, Avril 1948, fig. 5, p. 55) ; cf. Marictte, Mastabas, pp. 229, 243, 247, 266, 320, 330. Several are imy-r hwt-wrt: ibid., pp. 165, 228, 425; Paget and Pirie, Ptahhetep, pl. 33. Other titles relating to $h w t-w r t$ : Junker, loc. cit.; Hassan, loc. cit.; Firth and Gunn, loc. cit. In one case the scribes in question are said to be "in the great council", as evidenced by the title of a director of such scribes who is


91 Sethein Murray, Saqqara Mastabas 1I, p. 18, 14; Junker, GîzaVII, p. 201; Helck, Beamtentitel, p. 73.
92 For Old Kingdom examples of $\Longrightarrow$ see Junker, Gîza III, fig. 28, foll. p. 166 (in the name Spr-r- ${ }^{〔} n h$ ); Cleveland 3939.20 (Collection de feu M. Jean Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire, Paris 1912, pl. 24, 284; name $N$-śpr) ; Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl. 9, 144.

93 One can gauge the rarity of this substitution from the writings of sprt collected by Hassan, Gîza VI, Pt. 2, pp. 354-356.
$9_{4}$ Cf. Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 144 , Weill noted the resemblance to this sign in discussing an carly example of the scribal title: IIe et IIIe Dynasties, p. 226.
${ }^{95}$ In the title: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 20; Mariette, Mastabas, p. 247. In with: Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi IT, II, pl. 87; Oriental Tnstitute, Mereruka, pl. 207.
${ }^{96}$ In the title: Cairo CG 17002 . Tn $2 ٌ h$ : Blackman, Meir IV, pls. 18, 19. In wh (hicratic): P. PosenerKriéger and J. L. de Cenival, Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 51, 2 c.

The left column contains the titles "chief of the estate," "liegeman of the king," "overseer of scribes of the Great Mansion" and "scribe of those concerned with $i$ "h." This series is terminated by the name " $3-k 3 w-P p y$. The right column repeats the first two titles and introduces the title "sole companion" between then, followed by the epithet "revered with the Great God " $3 i^{97}$, his good name being ' $I y$ ' ${ }^{98}$.

It will be noted that the Qatta inscription again provides the judicial association that is so often at-tested-in this case the Great Mansion, or law court-thus making it doubly certain that is the same title that occurs in the other instances. Furthermore the title fo ted to a certain $\eta \Longrightarrow$ in the dedication of his son $80 \| \square O$, again from Qatta (Cairo T. 13/7/49/1). These examples are particularly interesting because, to the best of my knowledge, they are further removed from the Memphite capital than any that have hitherto come to light, the only other non-Memphite example being Cairo CG 17002, an obelisk from Heliopolis which shows the rather similar form $\nrightarrow$. Qatta is not, to be sure, very remote from the Memphite area-scarcely more than 30 km . northwest of Giza by water, and these may have been officials at the royal Residence.

As so often happens, however, the clarification of one difficulty has faced us with another. If it is quite certain that the reading of - in these titles is $i \%$, the precise meaning of this word is more obscure than ever. Important as monthly records were to the Egyptian scribe, it is difficult to believe that $\gtrless$ can mean "concerned with the moon" in this sense. If so, one would rather expect to find the word $3 b d$ "month." Furthermore the word for moon is invariably written with the initial $\}$ of $i \%$. The reading $i \not h$ is corroborated, however, by the Middle
 4-ـ \& $^{100}$. And in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus this title is twice associated with the moon-god Thoth ${ }^{101}$. Might the scribal and juridical associations of Thoth in turn help to explain the Old Kingdom title?

## Erik Hornung

## Struktur und Entwicklung der Gräber im Tal der Könige*

Im Jahre 1936 erschien als viertes Heft der „Leipziger Ägyptologischen Studien" von G. Steindorff und W. Wolf: Die Thebanische Gräberwelt - eine Zusammenfassung von bleibendem Wert, die bis heute der beste Leitfaden durch die verwirrende Vielfalt der thebanischen Nekropolen

[^12]
a) Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

b) Courtesy Cairo Museum


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ For other references to the tomb see Jaromír Málek, 2nd ed. of Porter-Moss, Topographical Bibliography IIL, Pt. 1, p. 278.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. also Reisner, Hist. Giza Necropolis I, p. 314, who similarly reads Neter-puw-nesuwt.

[^1]:    3 Jean and Helen Jacquet have kindly reexamined the upper edge of both reveals, and they report that a clear trace of 0 is visible above the nose of the large jackal on the opposite reveal; in both cases the blocks are unevenly broken at the top and may well have been originally higher than the present lintel and roof, both of which have been entirely restored.

    Similar offering formulae, with the figure of Anubis enlarged to very large proportions, are to be found on the entrances belonging to at least two other chapels at Giza, both dating to the Fourth Dynasty: (1) Daressy, ASAE 16, 1916, p. 258 (tomb G 7140, Hwfw-h. ${ }^{\circ} f$ ); (2) Dunham and Simpson, Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G 7530-7540, figs. 3 a , b.
    $4 W$ śr špśs hyr similarly in the case of Hwfw-hु.f (preceding note) followed by 8 "the Great God," whereas $M r . s{ }^{-} n h$ is $3 h t \begin{gathered}\text { špśst. }\end{gathered}$

    5 The phrase $m$ śt $\grave{i m} 3 \hbar$ is unusual; the Wörterbuch gives no references, but cf. $m$ śt $\mathfrak{i m} 3 \hbar$. $f$ "in the place where he is revered" (D avies, Sheikh Saīd, pl. 19), śwt nt im3hw "the places of the revered" (Petrie and Mackay, Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa, pl. 26), $m$ st $i m 3 h$ hbr ntr rmt "in the place of being revered with the god and with men'" (Hassan, Gîza I, pl. 64).
    ${ }^{6}$ Otherwise, perhaps, one might expect ntr to take priority over nśwt; cf. [ỉnk im3]hw m $3^{\circ}$ m $3^{\circ}$ hr ntr hrr nśwt (Junker, Gîza VIII, p. 133). But the king is sometimes mentioned first: im3hbw hbr ît.f nśwt hur nt̂r " 3 "revered

[^2]:    with his father the king and with the Great God" (Urk. I, 166, 6, from LD II, pl. 41 a); ink imshww hor nśwt,
     Ptah South-of-his-Wall" (Urk. I, 251, 17). Similarly LD II, pl. 8, has nb im3h hr ntr ${ }^{\text {c } 3, ~ n b ~ i m 3 h ~ h r ~ n b . f ~ " p o s s e s-~}$ sor of reverence with the Great God, possessor of reverence with his lord," whereas LD, pl. 89 c has im3hw $n$ $n b . f, n b i m 3 h h r n t r{ }^{\circ} 3$.
    ${ }^{7}$ Hassan, Gîza I, fig. 182, p. 109; cf. Sethe, Urk. I, 234, 17, who notes the "Witz auf den Namen."

[^3]:    ${ }^{8}$ A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pl. 28. Blackman, p. 35, translates the second statement "I will do my best to bring it to you," apparently taking int as the infinitive. While the infinitive may in fact be the object of $\hat{i} r \boldsymbol{\imath}$ (E. Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 902), that can hardly be true in the present case since the object of $i n t$ is a dependent pronoun. Thus $\rrbracket]$ represents the śdm.f form int.ỉ, and the preceding $\vec{i} \vec{\imath} . \vec{i}$ merely expresses assent, as in the common phrase $\hat{i} r \dot{\imath} . \vec{i} r \underline{h} s t . k$, of which this is an abbreviated form (see A. Erman, Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches, Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1918, Phil.-hist. Kl. 15, Berlin 1919, p. 7).
    ${ }^{9}$ A. M. Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir IV, pl. 7. A woman again points to the papyrus thicket in another comparable scene in a tomb chapel at the nearby cemetery of Deir el Gebrawi but again there is no dialogue (N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi I, pl. 5).
    ${ }^{10}$ A. M. Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir III, pl. 6; only the wife's statement is preserved, and it is identical.

    11 Oriental Institute, Chicago, The Mastaba of Mereruka, pl. 17; only shown in a photograph, from which my drawing has been traced. Two other unusual motifs likewise occur at Meir. One shows the owner's wife playing a harp to him while both are seated on a bed (compare Mereruka, pls. 94-95, and Meir V, pl. 45); the other motif shows the owner as an old man supported by two younger officials (Mereruka, pls. 104, 154, and Meir V, pl. 16).

[^4]:    ${ }^{12}$ Cf. Edel, Altäg. Gramm., $\S 476 \mathrm{ce}$, where this much is quoted.
    ${ }^{13} \mathrm{~Wb} . \mathrm{V}, \mathrm{p} .297$ (Belegstelle 2), interprets the present case in this manner, without making it clear whether $t / 3$ is regarded as an early example of the Middle Kingdom form, or whether it is $t j+3$, the latter belonging to the following substantive. Wb. I, p. 507 (Belegstelle 5) cites various passages from the Pyramid Texts for the emphatic initial position of this demonstrative; cf. Edel, Altäg. Gramm. § 185.
    ${ }^{14}$ N. de G. Davies, The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. 5. For the form of this collective see Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 250. It should be noted, however, that Mereruka, pl. 53, shows the masculine plural T D the hieroglyphs used in my restoration are taken from this source.
    ${ }^{15}$ JNES 7, 1948, 134.
    ${ }^{16}$ Urk. I, 119, 6; 180, 8; 158, 2. An example recorded by Drioton and Lauer, ASAE 55, 1958, 240, is rather different: $m r \bar{\imath}, \underline{t} n$ " $n \vec{b} n \dot{n} w t d[d . t w]$ "us you desire that the king live, so may ye say . . ."
    ${ }^{17}$ Urk. I, 223, 18; this is cited by Wilson in conjunction with his example 22.
    18 R. Anthes, Die Felseninsehriften von Hatnub, p. 49 (Gr. 22, lines 19-20); the date, generally assumed to be late Heracleopolitan Period, is disputed by W. Schenkel who assigns it to the early Twelfth Dynasty (Frühmittelägyptische Studien, § 33).
    ${ }^{99}$ It is probably not pertinent to compare Old Kingdom personal names like 'nh-n.ś-Ppy "Pepy lives for her" or "nh-n.f-it.f "His father lives for him"' (Ranke, PN I, 65, 12; 65, 2, and PN II, p. 347, correcting Vol. I, 64, 21), since they refer to a third person, whereas the statements of asseveration show the first or second person suffix as the object of $n$. The most comparable example is $\frac{\square}{\square}$ mun (PN I, 64, 22), and this is almost certainly to be read $N y$-nh-Pth (PN I, 171, 11); for the retrograde sequence see Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 100.
     4 does not appear in those of the pattern $N y-k 3(w)$-NN (JEA 59, 1973, 45 with note 8) and that exception may explain this present example. The same alternative is applicable to Ranke's 'nbl-n.i-Ppy (PN II, 271, 6), as he himsolf recognizes in this case; the next entry ( $\mathrm{p} .271,7$ ), is $R^{c} h \rho^{\circ} \mathrm{nh}$ (Giza tomb G 7948), while the supposed 'nhl-n.n-Ppy (271, 15) is again $N y-n h-P p y$, as discussed in ZÄS 86, 1961, 30. There a peculiar
    
    

[^5]:    "nh-Mryr" rather than "nlb n.n Mryr" "Mryr" lives for us." But in the absence of further examples of mm for ny, it may be safer to retain the second alternative. This name occurs on a fragment of funerary texts (Berlin 7730; Aegyptische Inschriften I, pp. 3,266) from a burial chamber that is almost certainly later than the Old Kingdom, despite the allusion to a ruler of the Sixth Dynasty.
    ${ }^{20}$ In Mereruka, pl. 23, C 3, the last line of the caption is incompletely filled, but here rn.f nfr Mry has been erased, as in pls. 8, 3; 46, 4; cf. Nims, JAOS 58, 1938, 640.

[^6]:    21 The only obvious possibility to be found in the lexicons is the much later sbla meaning＂be small，＂which is cited by Erichsen，Demotisches Glossar，p．422，along with the Coptic equivalent cbor．Budge，
     any reference．

[^7]:    43 Kaplony, loc. cit., refers to Edel, Altäg. Gramm., § 303, as they do, but to no purpose, since he correctly assumes that the sense is "seit vielen Jahren."

    4 Evidently this meaning is close to that of fif $f$, which follows the same words in the funerary formula, "having reached a good old age," and fif actually occurs at the end of at least one dedication: śk św ǩrśw m $\underline{h r t-n t r} \mathfrak{Z} 3{ }^{2} w w n f r$ (Hassan, Gîza III, fig. 104, p. 117). Although the dedications using $\hat{i} r i$ without object might be interpreted as "acting for someone for many years," that interpretation seems precluded by those that have $i r i n w$.

    45 For other problems of this nature in the same series see ZÄS 93, 1966, 62 and fig. 4 ; JEA 60, 1974, 247 and fig. 1; Fischer, Egyptian Studies I: Varia, New York 1976, p. 72 and fig. 1.

[^8]:    46 For $\vec{\imath} 3 t$ see Wb. I, 26, 6. Cf. Junker, Archiv Orientální 20, 1952, 185-189, where the inscription quoted here is, however, omitted. Also Vandier, RdE 11, 1957, 150-151 and pl. 11.

    47 Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 218, 3.
    48 Cf. Edol, Altäg. Gramm., § 327.
    49 Cf. ibid, § $329 . \quad 50$ Cf. ibid., § 330.
    51 Clère, Mélanges Maspero I, 771-773.
    ${ }^{5} 2$ Junker, Gîza V, fig. 22, p. 89.
    53 Cf. two other examples: JNES 18, 1959, 272, and fig. 27, p. 271; Boston MFA 27.444 (Fischer, Egyptian Studies I: Varia, p. 50, and fig. 14, p. 47).

    5 See Koefoed-Petersen, Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens, no. 11, pl. 16. I have considered it possible that another occurrence is to be seen in ANN 1549 (Les Stèles égyptiens, pl. 6), but Dr. Jaromír Málek assures me that this monument is the same as the rubbing of Ka-em-medu mentioned by Rosalind Moss in JEA 27, 1941, p. 10, and that the rubbing clearly shows that the title is "overseer
     Two Tombs of Craftsmen, p. 33, with notes 130-133.

[^9]:    ${ }^{68}$ Of．Grdseloff，ASAE 42，1943，121－125．
    ${ }^{69}$ Other examples in Metropolitan Museum Journal 6，1972，fig．22，p． 13 and n． 25.
    ${ }^{70}$ In one of the other cases that might be mentioned $\grave{\imath r y}$ has a rather different meaning：iry rdwy nśwt is literally＂one who is at the king＇s feet，＂i．e．＂attendant＂（OMRO 41，1960，13；cf．iry rdwy $m$ st $p-z z$ ，Hassan， Gîza，VI，Pt．3，fig．188，p．189）．Another title of this kind，cited by Junker，Gîza V，80－81，is to be eliminated； \＆号 $\left.2 \int\right]$－is not iry－$d b w$ but mniw $\underline{D} b^{\circ}$＂the herdsman $\underline{D} b^{\circ}$ ，＂as rightly interpreted in Hans Kayser，

[^10]:    ${ }^{77}$ Edel, Altäg. Gramm., §775, where, however, the $\left.\bar{X}\right]_{0} \circ \circ$ of Urk. I, 39, 2 is again translated "Gehilfen."
    ${ }^{78}$ Kaplony, Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit TI, p. 1054, inverts the order of the two signs in this title and reads $n m t$ as $p r-q b h$ (or $q b h t, h w t q b h$ ). The reading $n m t$ is confirmed by my other Old Kingdom evidence, however, as well as by variants in the Coffin Texts where nmt is paralleled by $\square$ (CTI, 283; V, 257). This
     reading of $k b h$ is confirmed by the writing $\triangle J \int_{\square}^{\square}$ in A. M. Mo uss a and F.J unge, Two Tombs of Craftsmen, p. 33, (and pls. 10, 14), where the first of the CT references is also cited. Cf. also Kaplony, Kleine Buiträge, p. 159, where the reading qbh nmt is admitted "wenigstens für das spätere A. R."
    ${ }^{79}$ I am indobted to the late William Stevenson Smith for the photographs on which my drawing is based, and to William Kelly Simpson for permission to use them.

    80 Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, pp. 117, 398; 242; 261; range VI B-G (Teti, year 10, to end of Dynasty).

[^11]:    81 For Old Kingdom examples of the sign see Davies, Deir el Gebrâwi I, pl. 13; Oriental Institute, Mereruka, pl. 168; Blackman and Apted, Meir V, pl. 22; BM 994 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts $\mathrm{I}^{2}$, pl. 25, 3); Cairo C. G. 1435 (22).

    82 Cairo CG 45, discussed in JARCE 2, 1963, 24-27.
    ${ }^{83}$ For $\Omega_{0}$ in place of mm see Hassan, Gîza III, pl. 37, and Pyr. 1468 b (P), both cited by Edel, Altäg. Gramm., §757; for mam in place of $\quad$ _ see ASAE 43, 1943, 510, quoted by Edel, op. cit., § 1079.

    84 For the use of the plural indirect genitive after an apparent singular see JAOS 76, 1956, p. 103 and n. 20.
    8. I know of only one other case where kkw "darkness" is mentioned in an Old Kingdom title or epithet:解 $\longrightarrow$ 而 dark (dispels it?), priest of Horus Who Beholds the Lamp"; for the first element cf. the titles from another Giza mastaba quoted in ZÄS 93,1966 , p. 69, n. 53 . The second element (which is repeated Abu Bakr, o. c., p. 59, fig. 39) might alternatively be translated "who beholds Horus, priest of the lamp."
    ${ }^{* 6}$ Quotod by Junker in "Die Schlacht- und Brandopfer und ihre Symbolik im Tempelkult der Spätzeit," ZÄS 48, 1910, 72, from Piehl, Inscriptions II, 119; PM VI, 161, 310-311.

    87 "Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chasechem-Statuen und die Darstellung von geopforten Tioren" in Ägyptologische Studion Hermann Grapow, Berlin 1955, 173, citing Sethe, Dramatische Texte, p. 153 (and (f. Sethe's comments p. 155 [to 47 a$]$ ).
    $8^{8}$ E. Drioton, "Un rébus de l'Ancien Empire," Mélanges Maspero I, pp. 697-704.

[^12]:    ${ }^{97}$ Cf. Ranke, PN I, 58, 17; II, p.345. In two of these oxamples (Dyn. XI and later) ${ }^{\circ} 3 \hat{i}$ is a hypocoristicon of $S b k-3$; in the present case it is similarly an abbreviation of ${ }^{\circ} 3-k 3 w-P p y$, and it is interesting that this in turn was replaced by 'Iy.
    ${ }^{98}$ The names are cited by Ranke, PN II, 337 in reference to PN I, $8,8$.
    ${ }^{99}$ Not in Ranke, PN, but cf. $i_{i}$-sn.f, PN, I, 10, 19.
    100 Wb. IV, 101 (18); discussed by Sethe, Dramatische Texte, p. 140. Note that the example in Spiegel-
     The full writing occurs in Cairo CG 20160, cited by Stcindorff, who gives the correct reading in ASAE 36, 1936, 173 (10).

    101 Sethe, ibid. and p. 190 (lines 34, 80).

    * Wiedergabe eines Vortrags, der beim Symposion anläßlich der Wiedereröffnung des Ägyptischen Museums der Karl-Marx-Universität am 13. Mai 1976 in Leipzig gehalten wurde.

