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FÜR
ÄGYPTISCHE SPRACHE
UND
ALTERTUMSKUNDE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
FRITZ HINTZE UND SIEGFRIED MORENZ

93. BAND
ERSTES UND ZWEITES HEFT

FESTSCHRIFT
RUDOLF ANTHERS ZUM 70. GEBURSTAG
I. TEIL

1966

AKADEMIE-VERLAG · BERLIN
IN ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT MIT J. C. HINRICHS VERLAG · LEIPZIG

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Mit 9 Tafeln und 53 Abbildungen im Text

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INHALT

Grußwort an den Jubilar	V—VI
Baer, K.: A deed of endowment in a letter of the time of <i>Ppjj</i> I?	1—9
Baumgartel, E. J.: Scorpion and Rosette and the Fragment of the Large Hierakonpolis Mace Head	9—13
Beckerath, J. v.: Die Dynastie der Herakleopoliten (9./10. Dynastie)	13—20
Blumenthal, E., und S. Morenz: Spuren ägyptischer Königsideologie in einem Hymnus auf den Makkabäerfürsten Simon	21—29
Brunner, H.: Die „Weisen“, ihre „Lehren“ und „Prophezeiungen“ in altägyptischer Sicht	29—35
Černý, J.: A Note on the Chancellor Bay	35—39
Clère, J. J.: Notes sur la stèle d'Antef fils de Myt du British Museum	39—42
Cooney, J. D.: On the Meaning of $\overline{D} \mid \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \circ \end{array}$	43—47
Edel, E.: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan	48—55
Federn, W.: „... As does a potter's wheel“	55—56
Fischer, H. G.: An Old Kingdom Monogram.	56—69
Habachi, L.: Three Monuments of the Unknown King Sehetepibre Pedubastis	69—74
Helck, W.: Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest	74—79
Hermann, A.: Magische Glocken aus Meroë	79—89
Katznelson, I. S.: Kambesweden et Khababash	89—93
Morenz, S., s. Blumenthal, E.	
Müller, W.: Kleopatra Berenike III. — <i>ΘΕΑ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ</i>	93—96
Nims, Ch. F.: The date of the dishonoring of Hatshepsut	97—100
Otto, E.: Die Geschichten des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als „lehrhafte Stücke“	100—111
Parker, R. A.: King <i>Py</i> , a Historical Problem	111—114
Posener, G.: Une réinterprétation tardive du nom du dieu Khonsou	115—119
Rieke, H.: Ein Hausmodell im KestnERMuseum zu Hannover	119—123
Schulman, A. R.: <i>Mhr</i> and <i>Mškb</i> , Two Egyptian Military Titles of Semitic Origin .	123—132
Vandier, J.: Quatre variantes ptolémaïques d'un hymne ramesside	132—143
Wessetzky, V.: Bildhafte Ausdrucksweise und Wortbildung im Ägyptischen . . .	144—146
Berichtigung	146

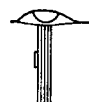
is used, for instance, in Pap. Anast. IV, 10, 2 to characterize the abnormal weather in which the order of the seasons seems to be reversed; in the Teachings of Amenemope, 12, 19, it refers, in my opinion⁵, to the mutually independent movements of the eyes of the chameleon.) What prompted the metaphor and was considered by the Egyptian poet to be specifically characteristic of the turning of the potter's wheel was, therefore, not its swiftness, but rather the ease with which it changed its direction.

As this statement may surprise admirers of Longfellow's "Kéramos"⁶, I want to point out that the easy reversability of the movement of a potter's wheel appeared to be its characteristic quality likewise to the author of the Iliad, when he used the same metaphor to describe the circling of the Cretan Labyrinth dancers in lines 600–601 of Book 18: "Quite easily, as when a potter sits and tests a wheel that fits his hands to see if it will run."⁷ Here again the meaning of the metaphor is not immediately apparent, and indeed the anonymous author of the ancient scholia to the Iliad thought that the point of comparison was to the extreme swiftness of the circling⁸. But seventy-five years ago, Otto Benndorf⁹ showed convincingly that the movements of the Cretan Labyrinth dance alternated between clockwise and counterclockwise circlings, and that what Homer had in mind was a potter who "testingly sets the wheel going, that is, repeatedly makes it spin forward and again forward"¹⁰. (The pedal-driven wheel, of course, was a much later invention.)¹¹

To sum up: The translation: "The land turns round as a potter's wheel does" must *not* be changed. The point of comparison is the reversal of the social order into its very opposite, as Gardiner¹² already perceived, even though the precise force of the metaphor may have escaped him.

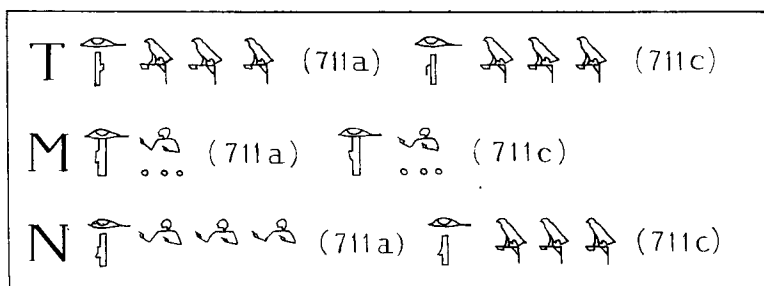
HENRY G. FISCHER

An Old Kingdom Monogram:



Hierzu Tafel IV

The funerary texts in the Sixth Dynasty pyramids at Saqqara employ an obscure and interesting term in describing the crew that row the bark of Re and enable him to circumnavigate the horizon (Spell 407). It appears as follows in the versions of Teti (T) Merenre (M) and Pepy II (N):



⁵ To be defended elsewhere.

⁶ Turn, turn, my wheel! Turn round and round

Without a pause, without a sound:

So spins the flying world away!

⁷ 'Ρεῖα μάλ', ὥς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσιν Ἐζόμενος, κεραμεὺς κε θέσιν·

⁸ Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem rec. E. Maass (1887) II, 282: τό παράδειγμα πρὸς τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ τάχους· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀξύτερον εἰς μεταφορὰν τροχοῦ κεραμικοῦ.

⁹ Sitz. Ber. Phil.-hist. Classe d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. 123, 1890 (1891) III, 53.

¹⁰ Wie der Töpfer die Töpferscheibe probierend andreht, d. h. mehrfach im Kreise vorwärts und im Kreise wieder rückwärts laufen läßt.

¹¹ A. Rieth, Die Entwicklung der Töpferscheibe (1939).

¹² Admonitions, p. 10/11.

As Sethe observed (Kommentar III, 307), this writing combines an eye and $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$ (*is*), and the second of these signs calls to mind another, more usual term for "crew", namely $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \\ \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$, *is.t*. He also noted that the same combination of signs reappears in two Old Kingdom titles (sections 5 and 8 below). In the meantime several additional examples have come to light, nearly all of which are illustrated in Fig. 1; they are identified by reference to the number of the following sections. The context of these appears to elucidate the term in question, although it unfortunately does not explain why the term is used in connection with Re's celestial voyage. Apart from the Pyramid Texts, all of the evidence derives from the Giza necropolis, and it is almost as restricted in date as it is in provenance: none of it appears to be older or very much later than the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

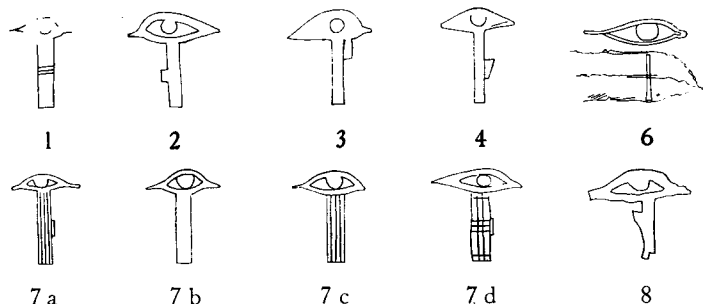


Fig. 1

1. The inscription of the dog 'bwtjw

The most illuminating example of the monogram under discussion unexpectedly came to light during a re-examination of Cairo J. d'E. 67573, the text published by Reisner under the title "The Dog which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (BMFA 34 [1936], 96–99)¹. The inscription is complete and self-contained, on a single block of limestone (Fig. 2) and it describes

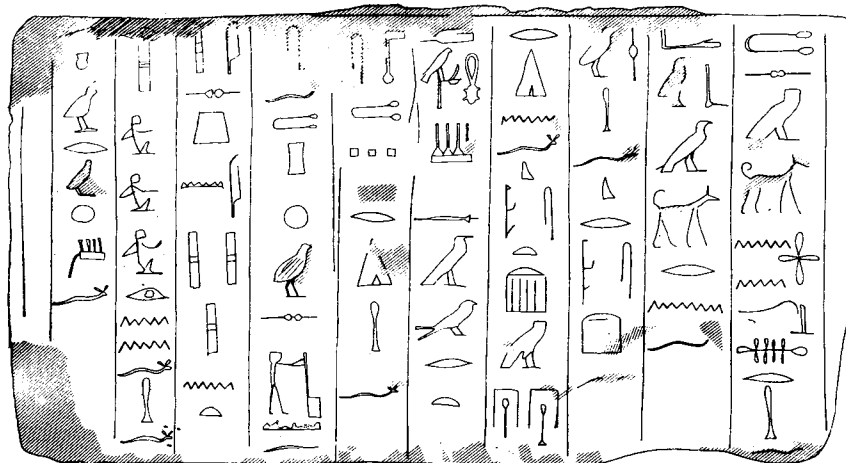




Fig. 2




the funerary equipment exceptionally provided for "the dog who used to keep watch² over His Majesty, 'bwtjw by name: His Majesty ordered that he be buried, that a sarcophagus be given him from the treasury, and exceedingly much fine cloth, incense and scented oil³: His Majesty had a tomb constructed for him by the crews of $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \\ \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$. His Majesty did this for him that he might be a 'revered one'".

¹ Recently republished in Brunner's Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie, Pl. 2.

² Cf. Edel, Altäg. Gramm. § 650, 3 who suggests the emendation *wnnj* (*hr*) *štp* *z3* or *wnnj* *štp* (*.f*) *z3*.

³ I assume that *šft* (at the top of col. 7) and *rdi hm.f* (at the bottom of col. 6) have been transposed. Otherwise one must translate, as Reisner does, "His Majesty (also) gave perfumed ointment, and (ordered) that a tomb be built . . ."

As far as it goes, the above translation does not differ substantially from Reisner's, but the word which I have left in hieroglyphs was read by him as *ikdw* and translated "builders", the  having apparently been overlooked. This part of the sign is, in fact, almost obliterated but it is nonetheless certain, and can be recognized on the photograph Reisner published. Furthermore the element  would be placed too low in relation to the uppermost signs of the other columns if there were nothing above it.

It will be observed that the lower part of  is identical to the sign  in the preceding words *is* "tomb" and *is.t* "crew". Although the signs for *is* and *kd* are sometimes rather similar, and although a late version of the *is*-sign is in fact used in place of *kd* in and after the Eighth Dynasty⁴, there is little likelihood that such a substitution has been made in the present case⁵. Since the same alternative must be carefully considered for each of the other occurrences of , however, some of which have likewise been taken to contain the sign *kd*, it may be well to compare the two hieroglyphs in some detail before going further (Fig. 3)⁶. The *kd*-sign, representing a wooden plasterer's

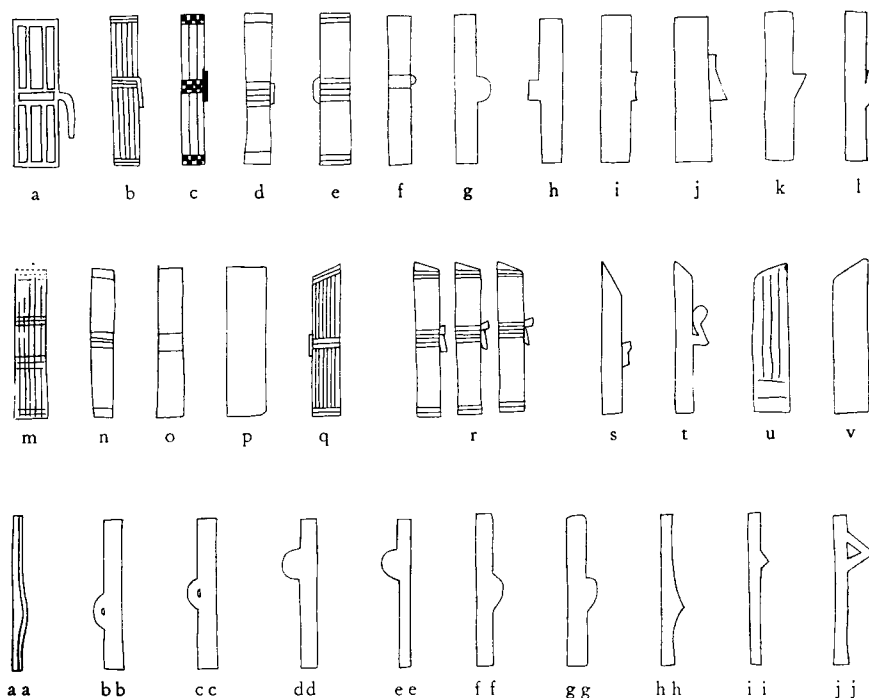
























Fig. 3

⁴ Polotsky, *Inscr. 11. Dyn.*, § 17; Fischer, *Inscr. from the Coptite Nome*, 72. In the Third Dynasty tomb of *Hsy-r'* the *kd*-sign conversely replaces *is* in the title *smšw-is* (cf. Fig. 3aa).

⁵ The evidence to the contrary presented by Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit I*, 433, is based on an incorrect reading of a jar inscription from the Step Pyramid. Jean-Philippe Lauer has kindly supplied the adjacent facsimile, and notes that Lacau read the name following the title  not as              

float or brickmaker's striker, consists of a relatively thin vertical element with a hump or loop on one side (usually in front) and situated towards the lower or upper end, less frequently at the center; the means of securing this handle is not indicated, but the earlier representations (such as Fig. 3aa) show that it originally was part of a laminated strip of wood or strap of leather that extended along the entire length of the object⁷. The *is*-sign, on the other hand, is usually wider, representing a bundle of reeds bound together transversely at bottom, top and center, with the binding at the center showing a projecting tie (again usually in front). Some or all of these details may be omitted, and the projecting tie takes a variety of forms. The sloping top, which is known as early as Dyn. IV but remains uncommon before the Sixth Dynasty, apparently does not occur in the monogram under discussion, even when the two constituent hieroglyphs do not quite come together, as Sethe indicates in some of the Pyramid Text writings that have just been mentioned.

Assuming, then, that the monogram  is made up of *ir* and *is*, we may justifiably surmise from the context that the men designated as    are "crews of tomb-makers", *iswt nt iri(w)-is*. In support of this interpretation there is, first of all, the fact that the verb *iri* is frequently used in connection with building tombs, as in the phrase *iri.n.i is pn* "I made this tomb" and *hmwt nbt iri n.i is pn* "all the craftsman who made this tomb me"⁸. Secondly, there are several other occupational designations of the *iri(w)-is* pattern; it is true that these are much less frequent in the Old Kingdom than later⁹, the common examples being limited to , , .

e Borchardt, Re-Heiligtum Ne-woser-re III, Pl. 2 (Dyn. V)

f Reisner, Hist. Giza Necrop. I, Fig. 257 (Dyn. IV)

g Hassan, Giza 7, Fig. 55

h Hassan, Giza 2, Fig. 219 (Dyn. V)

i Borchardt, Re-Heiligtum Ne-woser-re III, Pl. 2 (Dyn. V)

j Junker, Giza 3, Fig. 29 (Dyn. V)

k Junker, Giza 6, Fig. 15 (early Dyn. VI)

l Junker, Giza 9, Fig. 39

m MMA 09.180.18 (Dyn. V)

n Reisner, Hist. Giza Necrop. I, Fig. 257 (Dyn. IV)

o Cairo J. d'E. 67573 (Dyn. V?)

p Reisner, Hist. Giza Necrop. I, Fig. 257 (Dyn. IV)

q Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, Pl. 20 (Dyn. V)

r Capart, Rue de tombeaux, Pl. 105 (late Dyn. V)

s Junker, Giza 8, Fig. 91

t Ibid., Fig. 43

u MMA 04.2.4 (Dyn. IV)

v AJA 46 (1942), p. 513, Fig. 4 (early Dyn. IV)

aa Quibell, Excav. Saqqara 5 (1911-12), Pl. 32 (Dyn. III)

bb Borchardt, Grabd. Šaḥu-re II, Pl. 54 (Dyn. V)

cc Loc. cit. (Dyn. V)

dd Hassan, Giza 2, Fig. 219 (Dyn. V)

ee Loc. cit. (Dyn. V)

ff Junker, Giza 2, Fig. 22

gg Loc. cit.

hh Junker, Giza 6, Fig. 25



ii Junker, Giza 7, Fig. 50












jj Hassan, Giza 5, Fig. 42


⁷ Cf. also the example in the inscriptions of *Mtn*, Berlin 1105 (Äg. Inschr. I, 74, col. 7). A Twelfth Dynasty example from Bersha (Griffith, Hieroglyphs, no 186) shows a wood-grain pattern and a much shorter strap; for a Sixth Dynasty example showing the wood-grain pattern see Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, Pl. 19. The nature of the implement is discussed by Alexander Badawy, JNES 15 (1956), 177-179.


⁸ A few examples of *iri-is* are collected by Janssen, Trad. Eg. Autobiografie I, II, F 8-10; For this and the second phrase see also Abubakr, Giza I, 73; Hassan, Giza II, 173.

⁹ A dozen later examples are given by Gardiner, Onomastica II, 282, none of which relates to building activities of any kind.


“doer” of hair, teeth and nails¹⁰. But the same pattern was sometimes extended to the “making” of things, as in the case of  “maker of *ht* bread” and  “maker of beer”, both of which appear in the early Dyn. VI tomb of *Hnty-k3.i* (James, Khentika, Pl. 9 [42], [39])¹¹.


Against the explanation of  as “tomb-builder”, it may be objected that  is a somewhat unconventional writing of  “tomb”. This word is known to occur in the form  however¹², and it is understandable that a monogram could not include the complete writing, but only the most essential part of it. The following writings of two common titles may also be compared; O. K. , M. K.  (Wb. I, 127): O. K. , M. K.  (ibid.). For the fusion of  and  one may compare the late Old Kingdom writing of  “Osiris”¹³.


Another objection that might be brought against the translation “tomb builder” is the possibility that, in this particular case, the men ordered to build the tomb may not have been tomb builders by profession, but individuals who were ordinarily employed at a quite different task. Here we have the support of the other occurrences of , where the context consistently shows that the term in any case designates a worker of the necropolis. Since the point of the dog’s inscription appears to be that he received precisely the same burial honors that the king customarily awarded to men of the court, it is most probable that the necropolis workers who constructed the tomb were those regularly engaged in such work.

The verb *hwšī*, which is used instead of *kd* to express the action of building, is certainly close to the latter in meaning, though at the same time distinct from it. In the Dyn. VI biography of the chief builder *Nḥbw*, the two verbs are used side by side with the determinative  in common (Dunham, JEA 24 [1938], Pls. 1, 2). In that instance, as also in Pyr. Oubjebten, Fig. 16, *hwšī* is applied to the building of a temple.

2. List of witnesses in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfr.t*

In the tomb of *Wp-m-nfr.t* (Hassan, Giza 2, Fig. 219 foll. p. 190), a will providing for the burial equipment of an eldest son is recorded, ending with a statement that the document was handed over in the presence of “numerous witnesses”. The names and titles of 15 persons accompany this statement, all of them of modest rank, all of them probably attached to the necropolis in some capacity, and at least half of them workmen, craftsmen, and supervisors of workmen: in the last category are a “youth”¹⁴, a “builder”, a “painter”, a “sculptor”, a “craftsman”, a “stonecutter” and a “director of a crew”, and with these we should probably include a  named *Wr.t*. The other witnesses are a “doctor,” an “eye doctor,” an “overseer of the house,” an “inspector of funerary priests,” a “funerary priest,” a “sealer” and an “embalmer.” The occupations of the witnesses listed in the much-discussed “Hauskaufvertrag” from the Giza necropolis, actually almost certainly a deed of purchase for a tomb¹⁵, are similarly “builder” (two), “foreman of the

¹⁰ Murray, Index, Pls. 17–18; for *irīw ibh* see also Junker, ÄZ 63 (1928), 69–70. In one case the two elements of *irīw n.t* appear to form a monogram like the one under discussion:  (Hassan, Giza II, 67).


¹¹ It should be noted that Sethe also surmised that  might possibly represent *irj. — — —* “— — — macher?” (Pyr. Komm. III, 307) but, lacking any other indications of a reliable nature, he did not pursue this interpretation further.




¹² Two occurrences in the mastaba chapel of *R'-m-k3.i* (MMA 08.201.1).

¹³ Cf. Sethe, *ibid.* and Gunn, Teti Pyr. Cem., 150.

¹⁴ *Idw*; discussed OMRO 41 (1960), 7–13.

¹⁵ Urk. I, 157; discussed WZKM 57 (1961), 62–63.



phyle" (two), "butcher," "stonecutter" and "funerary priest" (three). It is natural that these two legal documents both name workers of the necropolis as witnesses, and the context of titles in *Wp-m-nfr.t*'s list accords well with the mention of a "tomb-builder," if it does not, in itself, throw much further light on the meaning of .

Although Hassan did not initially offer any explanation for the title under consideration, the final index to his Giza series lists it as _[sic] *irj kd(w)* "Doer of Outline(s) (Draughtsman of Outlines)." ¹⁶ A comparison of the forms used elsewhere in the same inscription shows that the lower part of the sign is in fact the same as *is* in the title   (Fig. 3 h), having a thick stem and rectangular projection, whereas the *kd*-sign twice displays a thinner stem and a rounder and higher projection (Fig. 3 dd, ee). The accuracy of the figure in respect to these details is confirmed by the clear photograph in Plate 75 of the same volume.


3. Statue of *Hi-nfr*

A badly proportioned limestone statuette, scarcely more than a foot in height (Pl. IV a), is illustrated in Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, Pl. 7 B, with the description "figure of Res-he-nofer." Nothing is said about the precise circumstances of its discovery, but it appears on one of two plates illustrating a group of tombs on the ridge south of the Moslem cemetery, not far from the Valley Temple of Mycerinus. Despite the inferior quality of the statuette, there is no reason to think any of the inscribed material from these tombs is later than the Fifth Dynasty, the date suggested by Petrie.

The statuette is now in Manchester (no. 4171) and thanks to the Keeper of the Department of Egyptology and Classical Art, Mr. T. Burton-Brown, it has been possible to verify the fact that the first element of Petrie's "Res-he-nofer" is separated from the rest by the feet of the figure, and that it represents the title under discussion (Pl. IV b). In this example of the monogram the tie of the *is* sign is exceptionally high, giving the impression that part of the sign is eclipsed by the eye on top of it. The resultant name *Hi-nfr* is not attested elsewhere and is suspiciously similar to the *Nfr-ihy* (var. *Nfr-ih'i*) of example 8, but the latter is evidently an official of higher rank and his statues are incomparably superior in size, material and workmanship. It is still possible that the statuette is a badly written version of the same name, and may refer to a member of the same family, but neither supposition can be proved.


If it seems suprising that a mere "tombmaker" should have possessed even so poor a statuette as this, it may be pointed out that persons of exceptionally humble position were sometimes able to secure funerary equipment during the Old Kingdom. In some instances the equipment may have resulted from someone else's generosity, as was necessarily the case with the dog whose burial was provided by the king, and as also seems probable in the case of a statuette representing a naked boy named *Pth-nfrty* who has no other title than "craftsman" ; his statue, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, comes from a serdab which contained other statues representing the tomb owner, a certain *Msi*, and several members of his family ¹⁷. But it is more difficult to apply this explanation to a sizeable limestone seated statue of good quality in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no. 35/1907) that is inscribed for a man named *nḥ-wd.s* who has no other title than  and therefore appears to be an estate "chief" of the sort who is subjected to beatings

¹⁶ Giza 10, 67.

¹⁷ MFA 06.1881; see Wm. S. Smith, *Hist. of Eg. Sculp. and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 69, and Pl. 24 (d). For another statue (and offering stone) which similarly give  as sole title of the owner, see Wb. Belegst. III, autographierter Teil, p. 22 (83.7); the reference is given as "Kairo im Handel {31}AR "

and other indignities in scenes representing taxation¹⁸. The men who administered the beatings were scarcely of higher rank, yet at least one of them was able to provide an inscribed limestone lintel for himself and a woman who is presumably his wife¹⁹.

4. Statue of 'Iwf

An examination of the dyad statue of 'Iwf and his wife in the Cairo Museum, J. d'E. 49691, has yielded another occurrence of  in a title, an occurrence which is primarily of interest because it explains the sign of very peculiar form which is shown in Junker, Giza 9, Fig. 27, p. 68 and which, after discussion, was left "vorläufig unerklärt." The Porter and Moss Bibliography, Vol. III, 30, gives the title as "director of the fan" on the basis of the rather misleading version of the sign in hieroglyphic type that is given in Wiener Anzeiger 1926, 102. It should be made clear that J. d'E. 49691 is certainly the statue from which Junker's figure was drawn; in the Journal d'Entrée the Cairo statue is on record as having come from the Austrian excavations at Giza, and the now complete publication of those excavations mentions only one tomb belonging to an 'Iwf and only one statue belonging to this tomb. The photographs of this in Giza 9, Pl. 7d and Wiener Anzeiger 1926, Pl. 7b, tally with the Cairo statue in all respects²⁰. The differences

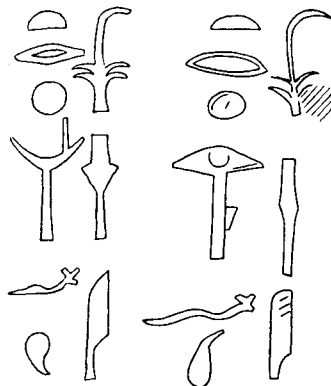





Fig. 4

between Junker's Fig. 27 and the accompanying tracing, made from the original (Fig. 4) are therefore to be attributed to the copyist, who evidently made a freehand drawing rather than an exact facsimile.

The statue is of considerably better quality than that of *Hi-nfr*, yet it is apparently of later date, the difference being due to the relative status of the two men.

Although the lower part of the monogram resembles the Dyn. XVIII form of *kd* to which one has grown accustomed through its use in the Gardiner font, a comparison with the Old Kingdom forms of *kd* and *is* will suffice to show that *is* is intended: see Fig. 3 k, 1 and one of the examples of Merenre quoted from the Pyramid Texts at the beginning of this paper.

5. Tomb relief of 'Ii

The title that has proved to occur on the statue of 'Iwf is also attested by a relief formerly in the Leipzig Museum (no. 3120). The slab derives from Steindorff's excavations at Giza in 1903, and was found between his mastabas D 203 and D 204²¹. The owner is shown seated at an unfinished offering table, beyond which a funerary priest named *R'-wr* advances with an ibex, while another man brings an oryx. Above the table is the owner's name and title;   . Since the monument is no longer to be found, it is impossible to be certain of the exact form of the monogram²².

¹⁸ Cf. Junker, Giza 3, 90–93. Among the taxation scenes showing "chiefs," see Davies, Sheikh Said, Pl. 16; Wreszinski, Atlas 3, Pls. 68–69; Cairo Cat. 1541, etc.



¹⁹ The *s3-pr 'In-k3.f*, MIO 7 (1960), 300–301.

²⁰ This point has been confirmed by a clear photograph of the statue which Labib Habachi kindly made on my behalf.

²¹ I owe all of this information to notes that William Stevenson Smith made in Leipzig before 1939. For the location see the map in Porter-Moss, Bibliography III, 24.

²² It should be pointed out, however, that Dr. Smith's copy agrees with that of Sethe (Pyr. Komm. III, 307) in separating the two elements of the monogram and in giving the *is*-sign a pendant projection.

6. Drum lintel of *Nbw*

A further example of the group   is evidently to be recognized on a drum lintel published in LD II, 93, the only inscribed stone from Lepsius' Giza tomb 72. A somewhat simplified copy, omitting shading, is given in Fig. 5. The arrangement of the brief titulary that precedes the name *Nbw* leaves some doubt about the order in which the signs are to be read, for inscriptions of this kind, made up of short individual columns, sometimes show a horizontal sequence of two quadrants without following any consistent pattern²³. Two possibilities seem worth considering²⁴;

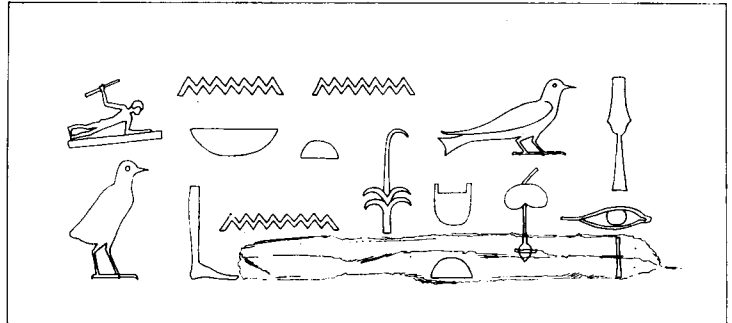
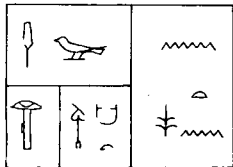
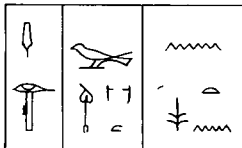


Fig. 5



















“Great director of tombmakers and craftsmen of the king”





































“Director of tombmakers and greatest of craftsmen of the king”













In either case the addition "of the king" probably applies to the preceding phrase in its entirety.




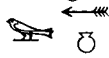


For the combination of  , in the first of these alternatives, there is a parallel in   
      “great director of every office divine and rightful (*n̄trt mtrt*)²⁵, this being
a variant of the more usual      (Murray, Index, Pl. 14). According to this alter-

²³ E. g. OMRO 41 (1960), 7; Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, 1; Junker, Gîza 3, Fig. 27, etc.

²⁴ A third possibility, suggested by the title  \Rightarrow  (var.   ) *imy-r ḥmwṯ (nt) mr* "overseer of craftsmen of weaving" (Junker, Giza 5, 12; 9, 173; and JARCE 3 [1964], 123) would be         


²⁵ Mar. Mast., 255. Margaret Murray's reading of this as      (Index, Pl. 19) is certainly mistaken, as is Helck's    (Beamtentitel, p. 103 n. 95). The *ist*-sign given by Mariette is to be compared with the Old Kingdom forms in Junker, Giza I, Fig. 23 b; Urk. I, 231.9. Furthermore the adjective *nbt* does not seem to occur after  ; Murray's second example (loc. cit.) from the inscriptions of Ššbw is not to be found. The supposed    is cited by Gardiner as proof that the meaning of *hmwt* in the high priest's title is "all crafts" (On. I, 38*), an argument which was in any case not conclusive, as shown by the title     (Mar. Mast., p. 113 = p. 451 = BM 682, Hieroglyphic Texts I², Pl. 17; variant   , the only writing given by Murray, Index, Pl. 44). Cf. also Maystre, JNES 8 (1949), 84.

native, then, *Nbw*'s title consists essentially of  and . *Hrp hmw*t in any form is known only from the titulary of the high priests who presided over the cult of Ptah at Memphis and were buried at Saqqara; besides their characteristic title , they have the title         


duced in type from an ink inscription on a Dyn. III bowl; the inscription is published in no other form and there is no mention of any context, but it seems likely that the pair of signs represents a title and that the following name was effaced³⁰. Another occurrence is perhaps to be found in the market scene on the south wall of the Unis pyramid causeway, at the end of a caption above a man selling dried fish: . To judge from comparable scenes from Old Kingdom mastabas the whole of this caption is an address to a potential customer who is buying fresh fish from a competitor: "good *bgt*-fish, O Greatest of Craftsmen"³¹. In other cases a vendor addresses a customer with the words  "O Craftsman"³². Conceivably *wr* is actually *wr(t)*, with the *t* inadvertently omitted ("very good *bgt*-fish"), but the group  is separated from the rest of the inscription in such a way as to suggest that it is a unit. Another question is whether the appellation might be a flattering epithet rather than a title. That such a title is possible, however, is shown by  "greatest of doctors" (Murray, Index, Pl. 37) and  "greatest of dentists" (Junker, ÄZ 63 [1928], 69), as well, perhaps, as a more unusual  "greatest of chief lector priests"³³ — all of which have a simpler equivalent, without the prefixed *wr*.

Nbw's pair of titles seems to make a distinction between "tombmakers" and "craftsmen," implying that the former were unskilled — or less skilled — workmen. In this case the position of the "tombmaker" might be analogous to that of the "stonecutter," who is likewise set apart from the "craftsman" in the following biographical statement: "As for every man who made this (the tomb) for me, he was never angry; whether a craftsman or a stonecutter (*ir imy hmwt imy hrtj-ntr*), I satisfied him"³⁴. In the following section the position of the tombmaker and stonecutter will be seen to correspond in another respect.


7. The tomb chapel of *Nfri*

The inscriptions in the chapel of *Nfri*, which was discovered by Abubakr during his excavations in the westernmost sector of the Cheops cemetery, contains four occurrences of , some of which are more detailed than any of the other available examples and strongly support the proposed identification of the lower element of the monogram. The thickness of the sign, the presence of vertical divisions (Fig. 1, 7a, c, d) and horizontal bindings (d), the flat rectangular shape of the projection (a, d) and its absence in two cases (b, c) are all attested in the Old Kingdom variations of the sign *is*, as demonstrated in Fig. 2, and these details absolutely preclude the identification of this element, as either *rs*, as proposed by Abubakr³⁵, or *kd*, as proposed by Kaplony³⁶.



³⁰ Cf. Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit*, 663.

³¹ Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), Pl. 96 foll. p. 520, and W. S. Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), 519. Note that the writing of  (*hmwtj*: attested in the M. K. and N. K., according to Wb. III, 86) also occurs in Urk. I, 23.8, as well as Hassan, Giza 2, Fig. 218 and 219, foll. p. 190, Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, Pl. 17.


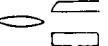










³² Montet, *Scènes*, 325.












³³ Oriental Institute, Mast. Mereruka, Pls. 201, 203, 204, 205, 206 (burial chamber). Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Gem.*, 134, takes  as a separate title, but in every one of the several instances where it appears it consistently precedes *hry-hbt hry-tp*. Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 16, 17, 19.










³⁴ Urk. I, 23, lines 6–9.

³⁵ Giza 1, 68. It is particularly difficult to accept the idea that the top of  would be omitted "to avoid the awkward connection of an inclined element with the horizontal .

³⁶ *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit*, 861; the entire monogram is read *iqdw* and translated "Bauarbeiter", based on the mistaken reading of an archaic inscription discussed above, footnote 5.






In each of the four occurrences the monogram is preceded by   and the excavator is doubtless right in assuming that this is part of the same title. In the first place, it does not seem likely that the titulary of a high ranking official such as *Nfri* would include so lowly a designation as , even if he were taking pains to recapitulate the earliest part of his career. Secondly, the association of  and craftsman is known elsewhere in the Old Kingdom. It is attested in the analogous title   , where "stonecutters" replaces "tombmakers"³⁷. This is apparently equivalent to the well-known Middle Kingdom title     , which may, however, have been subject to reinterpretation, for *gs-pr* is regularly replaced by *gs*³⁸.







Although *gs.wy-pr* is known to refer to the two "sides" of the Delta, east and west³⁹, and *gs-pr* in the singular may therefore refer to one side of Lower Egypt, the term is also used in a more restricted sense. In two cases it is attached to *hwt* or *pr*, both of them meaning "district" or "estate." The Royal Carpenter and Overseer of Works *Nḥbw* says in his tomb biography: "His Majesty sent me to direct the building of the *k3*-houses of His Majesty in Lower Egypt, the *gs-pr*, of an estate (    ); northward my authority was in the City of Lakes and in Chemmis-of-Horus; southward my authority was in the pyramid 'Pepy Abides and is Beautiful'"⁴⁰. He adds that the king rewarded him with gold and provisions "because I was more excellent in his esteem than any other royal carpenter whom His Majesty sent thusly (*hft*)   to a *gs-pr* of the royal estate." The fragmentary inscription of the Memphite high priest *Š3bw* also refers to the "*gs-pr* of a house," but the size of the preceding lacuna obscures the context considerably: "Indeed the like was not done for any 'greatest of the directors of craftsmen' in the time of [any king (namely that some request was granted that involved)] the [stonecut]ters (?) of the *gs-pr* of an estate (   ), as a wish of mine, by His Majesty"⁴¹.

The term *gs-pr* is associated with the king in other cases. Roughly incised on the back of one of the big alabaster basins in the sun temple of Neuserre are the words     ⁴². This phrase probably does not indicate the destination of the basin, as von Bissing thought, but rather its origin; "workshop of the royal *gs-pr*". A relief representing a steer led by a herdsman shows a painted inscription on the flank of the animal: above is the group     "*gs-pr* of the royal estate," below which is the number 43⁴³.



³⁷ LD II, 34 (= Mar. Mast., 538).

³⁸ Three references in Wb. Belegst. 5, 196 (13). The second (Berlin 1203) is Dyn. 12, not Dyn. 18. Also BMMA 17 (1959), 146, Bergmann, Rec. trav. 9 (1887), 33–36.

³⁹ The clearest evidence is Urk. I, 101. 10–12: "His Majesty made an army of many tens of thousands from Upper Egypt in its entirety, southward from Elephantine, northward from the Aphroditopolite nome; and from Lower Egypt   in both the two sides in their entirety." Also the title   


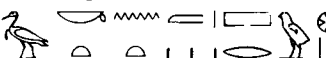
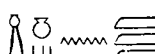
  "overseer of the nomes (? or *grgw* "settlements") of Lower Egypt in the two sides." (Borchardt, Grabd. Ne-user-re', 113). This official is also  , and the title   similarly seems to be associated with the Lower Egyptian nomes on the stela of 'Isi in Copenhagen (Koefoed-Petersen, Cat. des bas-reliefs et peintures, Pl. 24 [17]; cf. Junker, Giza 5, 48; 8, 71). These two cases strongly suggest that the title *imy-r gs-wy-pr/gs-pr* at least sometimes refers to the Delta, if they do not prove it conclusively.


⁴⁰ Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), Pls. 1, 2 and p. 2. Dunham translates *gs-pr n hwt* as "Administration," as does Gardiner, JEA 30 (1944), 57.

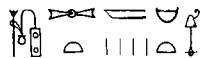
⁴¹ Urk. I, 85. Sethe suggests "ob  ?" for the incomplete sign, but I do not understand how *wts* would fit the context; the area in question has flaked away and cannot be re-examined. If my restoration of the sign is correct, one must probably understand the following  as a plural genitive (cf. Edel, Altäg. Gram. § 325).

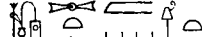
⁴² Von Bissing, Re-Heiligtum Ne-woser-re, I, 48.

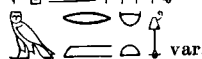

⁴³ Berlin 1115, Äg. Inschr. I, 5.

The Shipwrecked Sailor speaks of "oil, spice (?) and incense of the  wherewith the gods are propitiated"⁴⁴. Another Middle Kingdom text, a tomb biography at Rifa, says the deceased "filled the treasury ... as (? or with?)  revenues of the *gšw-prw*"⁴⁵. And the instructions for the vizier in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire state: "it is he who makes exaction of the  produce of the *gšw-prw*"⁴⁶.


Putting all of this together, it is difficult to venture a more precise translation than "work center," as Gardiner has tentatively suggested in his translation of the Rekhmire text⁴⁷. Perhaps the expression literally means "troop-house," referring to the troops of workers employed in such a center. The phrase *gš ḥmw* "gang of workers" is attested at least three times in Old Kingdom titularies, and in none of these cases is *gš* ever accompanied by the sign ;


 "scribe of a troop of four gangs of workers" (Hassan, Giza 2, 99, and Pl. 29, 3).


 Berlin Inv. 20065, architrave of *Kdnš*

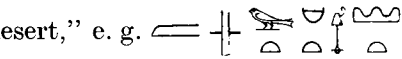

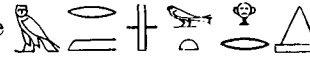
 var.  ASAE 53 (1955), Pl. 7 foll. p. 166 (seen from the original at Saqqara).

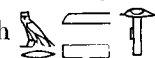
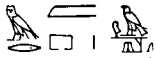
With these one may also compare the less explicit titles of some officials who are in addition, "overseers of the workshop";


 ASAE 53 (1955), Pl. 8 foll. p. 166: ASAE 55 (1958), 249–50.

 Giza tomb 4811, *Rdī.n-Pth* son of *nh-iri-Pth* (excavation records of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The same use of *gš* is apparently to be recognized in the quarry inscriptions discussed by Reisner, Mycerinus 277 and Plan 12. Most of the inscribed granite blocks of the Mycerinus pyramid contain the phrase  combined with one or more other signs identifying the particular

"gang of craftsmen of the eastern desert," e. g. , above which is the sign  (Na 3). Reisner sees a designation of this kind in the title  which again refers to the Mycerinus pyramid: "overseer of the *imy-wrt* gang of the great pyramid plateau"⁴⁸.

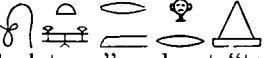
To return to our point of departure, *Nfri*'s title seems to show that, in addition to officials called *imy-r gš* who are "overseers of gangs" of craftsmen, officials called *imy-r gš-pr* may, on occasion, be "overseers of work places." If this same interpretation is placed on both  and , then the second of these titles need not be so very far removed in meaning from its Middle Kingdom counterpart, which replaces *gš-pr* by *gš*. In the list of officials that appears


⁴⁴ Line 141. Faulkner, Concise Dict., 291, follows previous translations in suggesting that *gšw-prw* may here refer to temples. Lortet, La Résine, 42–47, prefers to interpret it as the "régions désertiques qui flanquent, à l'est et à l'ouest, les deux côtés de la vallée égyptienne," and he extends this meaning to all other uses of the same term. His translation would agree well enough with the titles referring to tombmakers and stonecutters ("necropolis people"), but it does not seem to fit the passages that have been quoted from *Nḥbw*'s biography, nor does it suit the addition of *nswt* on the basin from Neuserre's sun temple. Furthermore one would at least occasionally expect a term for desert regions to contain the determinative .

⁴⁵ Griffith, Inscriptions of Siut and Dér Rifeh, Pl. 19, col. 18.



⁴⁶ Davies, Rekh-mi-rē, Pl. 28, col. 29.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 93: "places of industry (?)." Similarly Helck, Verwaltung, 38: "Wirtschaftsbetriebe".

⁴⁸ Mycerinus, 257. His view that *gš* means "workshop" has led to a less felicitous comparison, however; the phrase  in the biography of *Dḥn* (Urk. I, 18) probably means "the road beside the pyramid plateau," and not "to the works of the pyramid cemetery."

in *Wni*'s biography the  come at the very end of the list, and on this evidence alone it seems more likely that they were concerned with the administration of work centers than that they controlled the Delta, or even a half of it⁴⁹.

8. The statues of *Nfr-ʿIhy*

Two red granite statues of good quality, one seated and one in the cross-legged attitude of a scribe, were found by Steindorff in 1905, during his excavations east of the Cheops pyramid (Pl. IV c)⁵⁰. The seated statue Hildesheim 13, is inscribed on the right side of the seat as shown in Fig. 6 and Pl. IV d. The second statue, Leipzig 2687, bears a similar inscription on the front of the base, but the epithet  "revered (with) the great god" is crowded between the titles and name; on the kilt the name is repeated in the form .

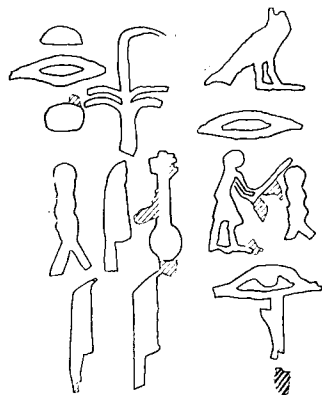











Fig. 6


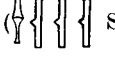



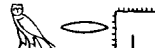

Sethe compared the initial title to the expression  "pounding in the mooring post"⁵¹, but it does not seem likely that the monogram is to be interpreted any differently than the examples that have already been considered. Although the lower element does resemble , it is essentially the same as no. 4, which is paralleled by the forms of the *is*-sign shown in Fig. 2 k, l.



I am completely unable, however, to explain what meaning  may have in connection with "tombmakers." If "tombmakers" is the object of a participial form of the verb *hwi*, the latter can hardly have any meaning but "beat" or possibly "drive," but I know of no titles mentioning "beaters" of persons. If, on the other hand, *imy-r* applies to each of the two following words in series, the range of possibilities becomes somewhat wider. The fact that there are several "directors of tombmakers" () does not, in fact, exclude the existence of  ⁵². But the only

⁴⁹ Kees, *Göttinger Nachrichten* 1933, p. 591, n. 1, also expresses the opinion that this very common title need not always refer to the administration of the Delta. A specific reference to the Delta also seems unlikely in the case of the title  (LD, 88a), where the addition "in the two domains" would seem to refer to Upper and Lower Egypt. Cf. also the New Kingdom variants of *imy-r gš*, which add  "of the royal wife" or  "of Amun" (Helck, *Verwaltung*, 107, 297, 362, 495); in these cases *gš-pr* is translated "Wirtschaftsbetriebe" or "Handwerksbetriebe"; cf. note 47 above.

⁵⁰ Wm. S. Smith, *Hist. of Eg. Sculp. and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 67, suggests that this tomb might be D 82, which is identified by the name *ʿIhy* in Porter and Moss, *Bibliography* III, 13. The illustration shown in Pl. IV (c) is reproduced from the Museum of Fine Arts expedition negative mentioned by Dr. Smith, and is published with his kind permission.

⁵¹ Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten III, 307, citing the Hildesheim statue. I have looked carefully for the plural signs (°°°) that he places at the end of the title, and am convinced that they do not exist. Sethe also cfs. , a title which I hope to discuss elsewhere.

⁵² Cf. for example  (Murray, *Index*, Pl. 20) and  (Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 67), the latter more usually in the form  (Murray, *Index*, Pl. 43). Also  and , which occur together, as do  and  (Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 33–34).

title that resembles  is , perhaps meaning "overseer of washermen⁵³." It may be that an entirely new application of the verb *hwi* is involved here, to be added to the many other uses that are already known.

To sum up, the monogram under discussion is incontestably a combination of *iri* + *is*. In support of the translation "tombmaker," there is an inscription in which troops of individuals so designated are actually said to build a tomb (1), a list associating the alleged "tombmaker" with other necropolis workers of humble status (2), a titulary that links the titles "director of tombmakers" and "greatest of craftsmen" (6), and a title that apparently means "overseer of the work center of tombmakers" (7) and is paralleled by a similar title referring to stonecutters. Despite his lowly position, one "tombmaker" was able to acquire a statue, albeit a poorly fashioned one (3). But as would be expected, the remainder of the evidence from titularies concerns "directors of tombmakers" (4, 5, 6) or other types of supervisors (7, 8). If none of this evidence suggests why, in Pyr. 711, the "tombmakers" are said to man the bark of Re, it is at least apparent that they were sufficiently able-bodied to perform that service. Perhaps they were sometimes called upon to assist their fellow "necropolis-people," the stonecutters, by rowing the boats that brought their stone across the Nile.



It seems a pity to offer my former teacher so small a glimmer of illumination in a field in which his own researches have been so far-reaching and profound, but the thanks and good wishes that go with it are no less heartfelt than if Re himself conveyed them.

LABIB HABACHI

Three Monuments of the Unknown King Sehetepibre Pedubastis

Hierzu Tafeln V und VI

Few systematic excavations have ever been undertaken in the extensive ruins of Memphis¹, the last of which were carried out by Prof. R. Anthes in the name of the University of Pennsylvania². It was hoped that these operations would be continued for some seasons, but owing to circumstances beyond the excavator's control, they were carried on for two seasons only in

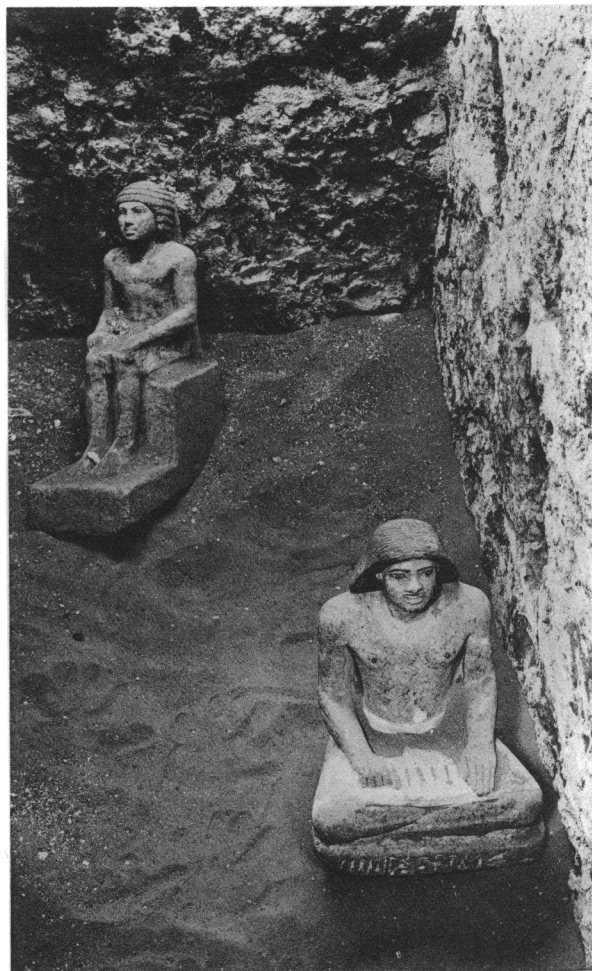
⁵³ C. Fisher, Giza, 135 and Pl. 52 (3). For this translation, suggested by Rowe, one might compare the following phrase in the titulary of *Šnw* at Giza: , var.  (the latter in *Orientalia* 22 [1953], Pl. 17, JEOL 13 [1953-54], Pl. 62); the curved line in the terminal sign represents a striated stream of water. These titles apparently mean "He who belongs to the King's affairs, washerman of the god" and "he who belongs to the god's affairs, washerman of the god."

¹ The city, as reported by Diodorus, I, vi, was 150 stadia in circumference, which was estimated by Flinders Petrie as 24 1/2 miles, see *Memphis I*, p. 1. If this is right, the area to which Diodorus refers must include the suburbs and the cemeteries of this great city.

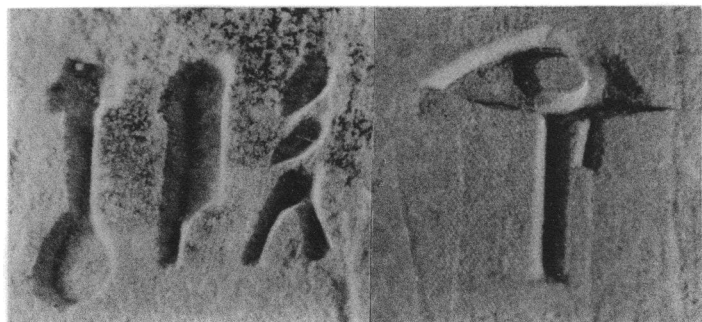
² Before him Petrie and others worked at Memphis for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and Egyptian Research Account dividing their time between this site and others more or less in the same vicinity; for their successive six seasons starting in 1908, see *Memphis, I-VI*; then Clarence Fischer worked there for the University of Pennsylvania in the years 1915-1919 and 1921-1923, but published only preliminary reports in *The Museum Journal* 6 (1915), 63-84 and 8 (1917), 211-237. As stated by Schulman, in these excavations Fischer found 14000 pieces, some of which are quite important. We hope to see in the near future the catalogue of these objects by Schulman, as he promised (*Year Book of the American Philological Society*, 1963, pp. 595ff.). Ahmed Badawi and Mustafa El-Amir worked later for the Cairo University (*ASAE* 42, pp. Iff. and 44, pp. 181ff. and *JEA* 34, pp. 51ff). I myself made a few soundings in 1949 (*AJA* 53, 41 and *Orientalia* 20, pp. 345f. and figs. 16-18). Recently the Antiquities Department has been doing some further soundings, *ibid* 32, p. 80.



a Statuette of *Hi-nfr*, Manchester 4171



c Statue of *Nfr-Ihy*



b Inscription on statue of *Hi-nfr*



d Inscr. on statue of *Nfr-Ihy*, Hildesheim 13