

Edward BROVARSKI

TWO OLD KINGDOM WRITING BOARDS FROM GIZA

[Extrait des ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ, t. LXXI, 1987]



LE CAIRE
MCMLXXXVII

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

TWO OLD KINGDOM WRITING BOARDS FROM GIZA

Edward BROVARSKI

Both the writing boards from Giza published herein have previously been mentioned in print. Jacquet-Gordon utilized the toponyms inscribed on them in her magisterial study of funerary estates in the Old Kingdom⁽¹⁾. Several scholars have taken an interest in the abbreviated king-list in the board from G 1011⁽²⁾, of whom Wildung is most recent⁽³⁾. However, the writing boards deserved to be studied in detail, and since recent collations by Suzanne E. Chapman and the author have resulted in a number of new readings, it was thought appropriate to include them here in honor of Dr. Abdel Aziz Saleh whose own multitudinous researches have led him to excavate in the Giza necropolis⁽⁴⁾.

I. — THE WRITING BOARD FROM G 1011 (Pl. I, a-c).

The first writing board to be discussed⁽⁵⁾ was found by Reisner and the Hearst Expedition of the University of California at Giza in 1904 in mastaba G 1011, pit C⁽⁶⁾. The mastaba belonged to the King's Acquaintance, Inspector of the Strong of Voice of the Treasury, Keeper of the Stores of Gold, Mesdjeru and his wife (?) Hetepnefert⁽⁷⁾. However,

⁽¹⁾ Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *BdE* 34, Cairo 1962.

⁽²⁾ Eduard Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, Berlin 1904, p. 136; Helck, *ZDMG* 103, 1953, p. 355, n. 3; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 57, 1958, p. 95, n. 3; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 164; Gardiner, *Egypt*, p. 415, n. 1.

⁽³⁾ Dietrich Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt* I, Munich and Berlin 1969, p. 39-40 and passim.

⁽⁴⁾ See Abdel-Aziz Saleh, « Excavations Around Mycerinus Pyramid Complex », *MDIAK* 30, 1974, p. 131-153.

⁽⁵⁾ Cairo JE 37734. The board measures 69.6 × 12.3 cm.



⁽⁶⁾ See Reisner, *ZÄS* 48, 1911, p. 113-114.

⁽⁷⁾ The lintel from G 1011 is published by Fischer, *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51, 1972, p. 80, n. 25, and fig. 9. *Ḥmt-f rḥt nswt Ḥtp-nfirt* is inscribed over the figure of a seated woman before an offering table on the tablet of a false door found in G 1011 (Museum of Fine Arts neg. C 11756; cf. Dennis, *PSBA* 27, 1905, p. 33 (5); *PM III*², p. 178). Opposite is a seated male figure; he is entitled *rḥ nswt* but the name which follows is destroyed. In this article we follow the practice of Baer, *Rank and*

pit C, which is in the southwestern corner of the mastaba probably contained a subsidiary burial. The corridor type of mastaba to which G 1011 belongs (Reisner's Type (5)) is, at Giza, of Dyn. 5-6 ⁽¹⁾. Since the last royal name in the king-list is Neferirkare of the early Fifth Dynasty, the writing board may be as early as Neferirkare and is probably no later than Dyn. 6 ⁽²⁾.

The burial in the pit had been disturbed by thieves and the fragments of the board lay scattered in the sand which had drifted into the pit. The wood of the board had rotted entirely away, leaving only a white plaster coating about 1-2 mm. thick. The surface of the board is divided into five divisions of unequal width, separated from each other by vertical ruled lines ⁽³⁾. In addition, the first two divisions were somewhat taller than the others, as is evident from the remaining parts of ruled horizontal lines visible at the top of the board. Divisions 1 to 3 are themselves subdivided into columns to receive a text but the first two remain blank. On the contrary, divisions 4 to 5 are divided into compartments by horizontal lines. Each compartment in the fourth division contains a bird and, in the fifth division, a fish. These are drawn in red in contrast to the rest of the text which is in black and green ⁽⁴⁾.

The third division, in the middle of the writing-board, is composed of 43 columns. These contain 11 different lines of text, the first 10 repeated each four times and the last only three times. These are further divided by subject matter into three sections.

The first section consists of a single column (repeated 4 times) containing the names of six kings in cartouches arranged in an inversed chronological order. They are Neferirkare and Sahure of Dyn. 5, Khafre and Djedefre of Dyn. 4, (Djoser-)Teti of Dyn. 3, and Bedjau of Dyn. 2 ⁽⁵⁾. After the last name comes a quadrangular sign which seems to divide this section from the following ⁽⁶⁾. James has noted the use of m^s () as a space filler at the ends of lines of title sequences ⁽⁷⁾. Although the platform or pedestal, phon. m^s () is utilized, a similar principal may be operative here and in

Title, p. 164, retaining the reading $rh\ nswt$ and the interpretation as «king's acquaintance» purely for convenience. On this much discussed title, see recently Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 26-28; Brunner, *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 55-60; Berlev, *JEA* 60, 1974, p. 109; Martin, *MDIAK* 35, 1979, p. 217, n. 20.

⁽¹⁾ Reisner, *o.c.*; id., *Giza* I, p. 256-260, especially p. 257, fig. 157.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Reisner, *ZÄS* 48, 1911, p. 113-114.

⁽³⁾ For the description of the board which follows, cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 259-260.

⁽⁴⁾ Reisner, *o.c.*, p. 114; Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 358.

⁽⁵⁾ Wildung, *o.c.*

⁽⁶⁾ Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 259.

⁽⁷⁾ T.G.H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, *ASE* 30, 1953, p. 13.

ll. 13-15, perhaps also in ll. 9-12⁽¹⁾. As a space filler 𐎛 is used in an inscription in the late Old Kingdom tomb of 'Inhrt-ikr/'Ikr-itw at Naga-ed-Dêr (N 41)⁽²⁾.

The next section has three columns of text (each repeated 4 times) with the names of 26 gods. The exact number is difficult to determine because of the lacunae. Each divine name was represented by an ideogram, sometimes accompanied by phonograms. The preserved gods are as follows :

1. SOKAR (*Zkr*). Originally Sokar was a god of the Memphite necropolis, a division of which, Saqqara, still recalls his name⁽³⁾. His original nature is obscured both by a paucity of data and by his close relations with Ptah and Osiris from an early period, but the outstanding feature of Sokar during the Old Kingdom was his character as a craftsman and patron of craftsmen, particularly metalworkers⁽⁴⁾. In the Old Kingdom, Sokar was represented as a falcon, with⁽⁵⁾ or without⁽⁶⁾ a human body. In the Pyramid Texts, Sokar and his boat are so closely linked that the boat sometimes serves as an ideogram for the divine name, as it does here⁽⁷⁾. A surprising omission is that of the antelope head on the upturned prow⁽⁸⁾.

Lit. : Roeder, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 1119-1134; Holmberg, *o.c.*, p. 123-139; *RÄRG*, p. 723-727; Gaballa-Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38, 1969, p. 13-34; Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, *OBO* 37, Göttingen 1981, p. 185-189; Brovarski, in *LdÄ* V.

2. NEMTY (*Nmty*). Berlev reads the ideogram *Nmty* and translates 'Wanderer'⁽⁹⁾. Otto thinks Berlev's attempt to read *Nmty* in every instance and to do away with the

⁽¹⁾ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* p. 541, notes that the Old Kingdom form of the platform can have squared ends (e.g., Boeser, *Leiden* I, pl. 5) but often tapers from right to left (e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetehetep* I, p. 17, no. 393). Both forms appear on the writing board. It is impossible to be sure that the platform or pedestal stood at the end of ll. 9-12, because of discoloration of the plaster surface, but traces may remain in l. 9.

⁽²⁾ See PM V, p. 28. This example was seen in the excavation records of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (EG 487), and in a photograph generously provided by Bernard V. Bothmer

(BVB 162.2).

⁽³⁾ See e.g., Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 449; Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 102.

⁽⁴⁾ Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, p. 49-50, and 124.

⁽⁵⁾ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. 25.

⁽⁶⁾ *Pyr.* 620 c [M], 990 c [N], 1256 c [N], 1712 c [M], 1968 a [N], 1998 c [N], 2042 a [N], 2069 a [N].

⁽⁷⁾ *Pyr.* 1013 c [P, M, N], 1289 c [N], 1429 c [P], 1826 b [N], 2240 b [N].

⁽⁸⁾ For the *henu*-bark of Sokar, see Kitchen, in *LdÄ* I, p. 622.

⁽⁹⁾ Berlev, in *Вестник*, 1969, p. 1 ff.

traditional rendering Anti ('*nti*) goes too far⁽¹⁾. The earliest examples of the ideogram show a falcon standing on a curved element⁽²⁾. Already in the Old Kingdom the curved element rests on a frame which is strengthened by three to four legs⁽³⁾. However, frequently the frame is simplified and the legs are omitted⁽⁴⁾. As the falcon-god of Mam (*M'm*) in U.E. nome 12, where he was the counterpart of the goddess Matit, Nemty was only of local importance⁽⁵⁾. Notwithstanding, he occurs in the personal name of Kings Merenre I and II: *Nmty-m-z3:f* «Nemty is his protection»⁽⁶⁾, a circumstance that is perhaps explained by the close connections of the royal family of Dyn. 6 with that district⁽⁷⁾. The nome ensign of U.E. 18 was also written with an identical ideogram in early times⁽⁸⁾. The estate name *'Irt-Nmty* occurs twice in the writing-board from G 1011⁽⁹⁾.

Lit.: Berlev, in Вестник 1969, p. 1 ff.; Barta, in *LdÄ* IV, p. 453.

3. SOPED (*Spd*). In the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir, Soped appears as a god in human form with the beard and yellow complexion of an Asiatic, his hair tied back by a ribbon, wearing two tall plumes upon his head⁽¹⁰⁾. Over his skirt he has the peculiar *shesmet*-girdle⁽¹¹⁾. He leads two Asiatic captives and receives the epithet 'Lord of

⁽¹⁾ Otto, in *LdÄ* I, p. 319.

⁽²⁾ Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* III, pl. 28, fig. 72 = Emery, *Hor-aḥa*, p. 32, fig. 35; *Hierakonpolis* I, pls. 19 (1), 26 C (5), 34 (1); also later, see e.g., Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 204; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 61.

⁽³⁾ E.g., Duell, *o.c.*, I, pl. 62; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 297-298 (D 44) and CG 123; *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II, pls. 21, 24.

⁽⁴⁾ E.g., Duell, *o.c.*, I, pl. 99; II, pls. 113, 180; *Sinai*, pl. 7; A. Labrousse, J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, *BdE* 73, 1977, fig. 99; Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 61. Cf. *Qau and Badari* I, pl. 18.

⁽⁵⁾ *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II, p. 43; Emery, *o.c.*, p. 33.

⁽⁶⁾ *Pyr.* 8 a-f; Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, p. 55, fig. 32; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, p. 150 (4) and fig. 12; Mariette, *Abydos* I, pl. 43, no. 39. Cf. Barta in *LdÄ* IV, p. 453. For other Old Kingdom personal names compounded with

Nemty, see Labrousse-Lauer-Leclant, *o.c.*; *Sinai*, pl. 7; Gunn, *ASAE* 29, 1929, p. 92; Duell, *o.c.*, I, pl. 99; CG 1525; Mariette, *o.c.* and CG 123; Junker, *o.c.*, VI, fig. 101; XI, fig. 61. Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, p. 69, 16 - 70, 7.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. *Deir el-Gebrâwi* I, p. 28-31; Stock, 1. *Zwischenzeit*, p. 6-13; Fischer, *JAOS* 74, 1954, p. 32-33.

⁽⁸⁾ Otto, in *LdÄ* I, p. 318 and n. 3.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 262, no. 11; p. 263, no. 25.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Borchardt, *Sahure* II, p. 19, pl. 5.

⁽¹¹⁾ Newberry, in *Griffith Studies*, p. 316-318. Cf. a Middle Kingdom representation from Wadi Gasûs, near the Red Sea, where Soped, similarly garbed, is called «Lord of Shesmet-land»; Samuel Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London 1880, pl. 4, opposite p. 269; Gardiner, *JEA* 5, 1918, p. 222; Newberry, *o.c.*, p. 321.

Foreign Lands', a regular attribute of his in the Old Kingdom⁽¹⁾, but one which he possessed in common with Thoth and Horus⁽²⁾. At Abusir Soped is also depicted in the guise of a griffin, with the body and legs of a lion and the head and wings of a falcon⁽³⁾. On the writing-board, however, and frequently in the Egyptian script, Soped is portrayed as a mummified falcon, a crouching cult idol or fetish tightly swathed in wrappings and wearing two plumes⁽⁴⁾. Falcons have a beak with a sharp tooth on the upper mandible on either side and a corresponding notch on the lower mandible⁽⁵⁾, a circumstance which is probably sufficient to explain Soped's epithet 'Sharp of Teeth'⁽⁶⁾.

Lit. : Roeder, in *RE* 8, p. 2433-2457; *RÄRG*, 741-743; *Sinai*, p. 42-43; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 329.

4. HORUS (*Hr*). Sky-god in the form of a falcon, Horus was incarnated in the person of the king⁽⁷⁾. Already in the Pyramid Texts and in contemporary monuments, there were numerous Horus gods⁽⁸⁾.

Lit. : Meyer, in Roscher, *Lexikon* I, p. 2744-2748; Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, Grafton 1942; *RÄRG*, p. 307-314; Schenkel, in *LdÄ* III, p. 14-24; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 79-95.

5. ? . A bird is represented, but the ideogram is badly damaged. Although divinized, the length of the legs seems to exclude the pelican (*hnt*) from consideration⁽⁹⁾. Another possibility is Geb(eb), the Heliopolitan earth-god⁽¹⁰⁾. The identity of the

⁽¹⁾ Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 8; Peter Kaplony, *Die Rollsigel des Alten Reichs* II, *MonAeg* 3 Brussels 1981, pl. 134 (21914, 21933), cf. pl. 42 (21805). By the Middle Kingdom, Soped bears the epithet «Lord of the Eastern (Desert)», and is definitely connected with the eastern border and foreign lands; see Newberry, *o.c.*, p. 321-322; *Sinai*, p. 29.

⁽²⁾ Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 12; *Sinai*, p. 29, 60, pl. 6 (10).

⁽³⁾ Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 8.

⁽⁴⁾ Junker, *ZÄS* 75, 1939, p. 70 = Maspero, *Etudes Egyptologiques* II, p. 298; Lauer-Leclant, *Pyramide à Degrés* IV, p. 18, pl. 22 (121, 122); *Pyr.* 148 d [W], 201 d [W, N], 480 d [W, M, N], 994 e [P, N], 1863 b [N].

⁽⁵⁾ See R. Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds of Egypt* II, London 1930, p. 366.

⁽⁶⁾ *Pyr.* 201 d [W, N]. Cf. Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 44.

⁽⁷⁾ See e.g., Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, p. 110-111; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 308; Schenkel, in *LdÄ* III, p. 14-15.

⁽⁸⁾ Mercer, *o.c.*, p. 106, 110-113, 117 ff.; Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 322-323.

⁽⁹⁾ Bissing, *ASAE* 53, 1956, p. 331, 335, pls. 12, 18; Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der «Weltkammer» aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre*, *NAWG* 1961, p. 232 f., p. 239-243, figs. 9, 10; *NAWG* 1963, p. 182 f., 184, 194; Edel and Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re*, Berlin 1974, p. 21, pls. 10, 11.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See e.g., *Wb.* V, p. 164, 6; Sethe, *ZÄS* 43, 1906, p. 147-149; Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, pl. 51 (237); Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, New York 1916, p. 36; Assmann, *JEA* 65, 1979, p. 61, n. 65;

gbb-bird is uncertain, but an Old Kingdom example in CG 1578 looks like a spoonbill⁽¹⁾.

6. BATY (*Br(y)*). Mummified ram-god worshipped in the guise of a recumbent cult idol or fetish. Baty is the archetype of the good shepherd⁽²⁾, known principally from the Song of the Shepherds ('Hirtenlied') inscribed in certain tombs of the Old Kingdom above the traditional representation of the sowing of grain and the treading of seed into the ground by sheep. The god apparently lacked a priesthood, but is also known as an element in personal names. The mother of Semerkhet in the Cairo fragment no. 1 of the Palermo Stone is *Bt(y)-ir(y)·s*⁽³⁾, and the name $\text{H}^{\text{c}}\text{-b}^{\text{3}}\text{w-Bt}(y)$ is twice attested⁽⁴⁾. Both the writing-boards from Giza contain the estate-name *'Irt-Bt(y)*⁽⁵⁾.

Lit. : *RÄRG*, p. 82; Kaplony, *CdE* 44, 1969, p. 27-59; id., in *LdÄ* II, p. 1224.

KRI II, p. 135, 13. Cf. Te Velde, in *LdÄ* II, p. 428-429.

⁽¹⁾ *Platalea leucorodia*. The bird is rarely portrayed in Egyptian art (Meinertzhagen, *o.c.*, p. 66; Patrick F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster, England 1986, p. 33-34). For the spoonbill in nature, see *ibid.*, p. 434, fig. 64. Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 404, following *Wb.* V, p. 164, 5, conflates the *gb*-duck and the *gbb*-bird. In the bird-procession in *LD* II, p. 61 (Rashepses, LS 16), the *gb*-duck resembles its fellows, and Vandier has identified it as a teal («sarcelle» (?)). Since the name of the god could be written as *Gb* or *Gbb* (see last note), it is possible the Egyptians themselves confused the birds. If the *gb*-duck was a shoveler (*Spatula clypeata*) with its large spatulate beak (Meinertzhagen, *o.c.*, p. 473-474), rather than a teal, the confusion would be more readily understandable. Within the limits of Egyptian convention, it would have been necessary to show the spatulate beak from above. This is not the case in the Rashepses depiction where, perhaps, the artist was more interested in indicating its affinity with the other ducks. Stele CG 1578 belongs to a woman with a highly unusual series of titles and epithets, including *sst Gbb*; see Fischer, *JAOS* 76, 1956,



p. 105. It may be appropriate to draw attention here to a spoonbill-headed goddess on a relief fragment from Deir el-Bahari in Brussels seen in Oriental Institute neg. 21961.

⁽²⁾ Erman, *Reden, Rufe, und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches*, *APAW* 15, Berlin 1919, p. 19-20; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 190-191; Goedicke, *WZKM* 54, 1957, p. 46-50; Peter Siebert, *Die Charakteristik, Teil 1 : Philologische Bearbeitung der Bezeugungen*, *ÄA* 17, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 57 ff.; Kaplony, *CdE* 44, 1969, p. 27-59; id., *CdE* 45, 1970, p. 240-243; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 122; Altenmüller, *CdE* 48, 1973, p. 211-231; Kaplony, in *LdÄ* II, p. 1224.




⁽³⁾ Cf. Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* I, p. 473-474. Klaus Baer informs me that Wilfried Seipel in his unpublished doctoral thesis, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Königen*, Hamburg 1980, p. 56, reads the name as *Bt-rsw*.

⁽⁴⁾ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 593 = Paule Posener-Kriéger and Jean-Louis de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 5th series, London 1968, p. 63, 36; Lopez, *RdE* 19, 1967, p. 52, fig. 3.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 260, n. 1; p. 264, no. 3; cf. p. 175, no. 60.

7. THOTH (*Dḥwty*). Although in stance the ideogram resembles more the black ibis ()⁽¹⁾ than the sacred ibis ()⁽²⁾, the god Thoth is probably intended. In the Pyramid Texts, Thoth acts as helper of the dead king and as an advocate of Osiris before the tribunal of the gods, as friend and protector of Horus and of his eye, and as arbitrator between the two litigants, Horus and Seth⁽³⁾. He is probably already identified with the moon⁽⁴⁾. Thoth was worshipped principally at Hermopolis (*Hmnw*) in U.E. 15⁽⁵⁾, where his temple was named *Hwt ibt*⁽⁶⁾, but also had a cult-center, *Hry Dḥwty*, near Latopolis in the Delta⁽⁷⁾. He was the special patron of Maghârah on Sinai⁽⁸⁾, where he played a distinct role as lord of foreign lands and peoples⁽⁹⁾. During the Old Kingdom his priests were often queens and princes⁽¹⁰⁾. His feast was one of a series of feasts at that time at which the deceased might anticipate funerary offerings⁽¹¹⁾.

Lit. : R. Pietschmann, *Hermes Trismegistos*, Diss. Leipzig 1875; Rusch, in *RE* 4, p. 351-388; Pietschmann, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 825-842; Roeder, in *ibid.*, p. 842-863; Patrick Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, Oxford 1922; Otto, *Orientalia* 7, 1938, p. 69-79; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 190-197; Kurth, in *LdÄ* VI.

8. SAK (*S3k*). Not Sobek⁽¹²⁾ but *S3k* of *Št·wy* (?). The ideogram is the crocodile with inward curved tail ()⁽¹³⁾ not the crocodile cult image or fetish () that is invariably used for the god Sobek in Old Kingdom inscriptions⁽¹⁴⁾. Pepy I is 'beloved of ' on a large bronze cylinder seal in the British Museum⁽¹⁵⁾. Sak is one of numerous local

(1) On the black ibis, *Plegadis falcinellus* L., Egn. *gm(t)*, see Keimer, *ASAE* 30, 1930, p. 20 ff.; Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 26-27.

(2) Keimer discusses the sacred ibis, *Ibis religiosa s. aethiopica*, Egn. *hb*, in *ibid.*, p. 21-23; see also Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 28-30.

(3) Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 21-22.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 63-68.

(5) Borchardt, *o.c.*, p. 99 and 101, pls. 20-21; Anthes, *Hatnub*, p. 81-90.

(6) Borchardt, *o.c.*; *Sheikh Said* I, p. 32, pl. 28; *GDG* IV, p. 48; Montet, *Geographie* II, p. 150.

(7) Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21; *Pyr.* 1271 c [P]; Junker, *Die Sehende und Blinde Gott*, p. 56-58; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 446, no. 39, with n. 2; Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, *TAVO* 19, 1978, p. 193-194.

(8) *Sinai*, p. 28-29.

(9) Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 194-195.

(10) Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 103; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 190-191 and 196.




(11) Parker, *Calenders*, p. 176 ff.; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 196.

(12) Pace Smith, *o.c.*, p. 358; Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 260; Wildung, *o.c.*, p. 32, n. 2.

(13) Cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 25, 6 ff.

(14) Claudia Dolzani, *Il Dio Sobk, Atti della acc. naz. Lincei, Cl. di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Series VIII, vol. X.4, Rome 1961, p. 167-169.

(15) BM 5495 : Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 110, pl. 5 (11); Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum* I, p. 264-265, no. 2685. Goedicke, *MDIAK* 17, 1961, p. 82-83, pl. 19 (14).

gods who appear with similar epithets in seals of the reign of Pepy I ⁽¹⁾.  is also associated with Pepy II on a cylinder seal in Brooklyn ⁽²⁾. The proposed reading of the toponym is based on  and  in the tomb of Metjen ⁽³⁾, where the locality is given as the nome of Mendes (L.E. 16) ⁽⁴⁾. Paton identified the animals as ichneumons ⁽⁵⁾, Maspero as hyenas ⁽⁶⁾, Lefebure as dogs ⁽⁷⁾, and Breasted as hunting dogs ⁽⁸⁾. Goedicke ⁽⁹⁾ thinks *št* an older word for ichneumon, probably to be equated with later *ḥštrw*, Copt. $\omega\lambda\theta\omicron\gamma\lambda$. Fischer notes that the ears of the animal are upright in the first of the parallels from Metjen but tablike on the second ⁽¹⁰⁾. He thinks the tablike ears are probably more characteristic, for this detail occurs in G 2097, the mastaba of Nimaatre ⁽¹¹⁾. The pair of *št*-animals from the hunting scene in G 2097 are reproduced as Fig. 1 ⁽¹²⁾.

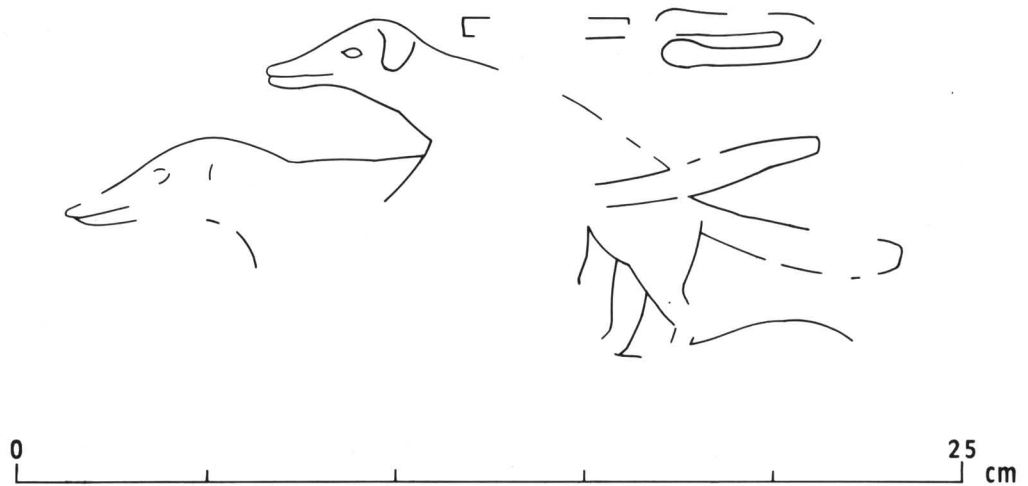


Fig. 1.

⁽¹⁾ Fischer, *ZÄS* 86, 1961, p. 22 with n. 1; Goedicke, *o.c.*, p. 69 ff.

⁽²⁾ Fischer, *o.c.*, Goedicke, *o.c.*, p. 83, n. 3; T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn 1974, p. 32, no. 78, pl. 29.

⁽³⁾ LD II, 5; Goedicke, *MDIAK* 21, 1966, p. 27, pls. 5, 7.

⁽⁴⁾ Fischer, *o.c.*, Goedicke, *MDIAK* 17, 1961, p. 83. The god Ha is Lord of *Št* in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* III, pl. 63, but it is uncertain if this place is identical with *Št-wy* in Metjen.

⁽⁵⁾ David Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt*,

Oxford 1925, p. 23 (E 56).

⁽⁶⁾ *JA* 1880 = *Etudes* III, p. 193.

⁽⁷⁾ *Sphinx* 2, 1898, p. 66.

⁽⁸⁾ *BAR* I, § 174.

⁽⁹⁾ *O.c.*, p. 83, n. 6.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Fischer, *o.c.* See Paton, *o.c.*, p. 31 (E 76), p. 35 (E 78); Lefebure, *PSBA* 7, 1885, p. 194 ff.; Brunner-Traut, *Spitzmaus und Ichneumon*, p. 150 ff.; id., *LdÄ* III, p. 122-123.

⁽¹¹⁾ Fischer, *o.c.*

⁽¹²⁾ On the hunting scene in G 2097, see *PM* III², p. 70; Smith, *o.c.*, p. 170. Timothy Kendall reproduces a gaming scene from the mastaba in

The identification of the animal remains uncertain, but the tail seems too short for an ichneumon, the body too stout and thickly built ⁽¹⁾. Perhaps the ratel or honey badger is intended or some allied genus ⁽²⁾.

Lit. : Goedicke, *MDIAK* 17, 1961, p. 82; Fischer, *ZÄS* 86, 1961, p. 22 with n. 1.

9. NEITH (*Nt*). The goddess of Sais in L.E. nome 5. In early times this area was inhabited by a predominantly Libyan population, and it is possible that Neith was of Libyan origin ⁽³⁾. The ideogram (𓏏) represents two bows tied together in a package ⁽⁴⁾. Neith, in fact, had two emblems. The most usual explanation of the other emblem (𓏏) is that it represents a buckler or shield supported on a staff and crossed by arrows, in reference to Neith's character as a hunting and war goddess ⁽⁵⁾. However, Keimer has convincingly demonstrated that Neith was venerated under the first dynasties in the

Passing through the Netherworld, The meaning and play of senet, an ancient Egyptian funerary game, Belmont, Massachusetts, 1978, p. 12-13, fig. 6. *PM* III², p. 70 mistakenly assigns 62097 to Isesimernetjer. The scenes in the chapel definitely belong to Nimaatre; Isesimernetjer merely inserted his figure, titles, and name in a blank panel at the center of the former's false door. I would like to thank Jacqui Crowley, Reisner Archaeological Fellow in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1984-1985, for the drawing of the animals from the hunt scene reproduced herein.

⁽¹⁾ See e.g., the ichneumon from the mastaba of Mereruka reproduced by Keimer, *Etudes d'Égyptologie* IV, Cairo 1942, fig. 3.

⁽²⁾ *Mellivora capensis*. On the ratel, see Keimer, *ibid.*, p. 11-14 with figs. 7-9; Störk, in *LdÄ* II, p. 130, and the popular account in Rev. J.G. Wood, *Animate Creation*, rev. ed. Joseph B. Holder, New York 1885, p. 297-299 with figure on p. 297. According to Wood and Holder, the ears of the ratel are extremely short. This is definitely the case with the animals in G 2097, who are shown in association with two zorillas

(*Ictonyx Libyca Ehrenberg Poecilictis Libyca*), Egn. *gsfnw* (Edel, *Weltkammer*, *NAWG* 1963, p. 175, 181-182, 184), members of the weasel family like the ratel. On the *Mustelidae* in general, see e.g., Dale J. Osborn and Ibrahim Helmy, *The Contemporary Land Mammals of Egypt (including Sinai)*, Fieldiana n.s. 5, Chicago, 1980, p. 395-406.

⁽³⁾ Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt, A Cultural Topography*, Chicago and London 1961, p. 185; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 118.

⁽⁴⁾ See Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 35-36 with figs. 14, 15. Cf. Bonnet, *Gräberfeld bei Abusir*, p. 19, fig. 12; Emery, *Tombs of the First Dynasty* III, p. 31, pls. 23, 39; Lacau-Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés* IV/1, p. 4, no. 17, pl. 3; p. 14, no. 77, pl. 16; IV/2, p. 7, no. 17; p. 37, no. 77. According to Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 380, in a colored example on CG 1415, the bows are yellow outlined in red, the case white with red stripes.

⁽⁵⁾ Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 16, § 20; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 125. Bissing (*Re-Heiligtum*, I p. 12, n. 87) thought it was a question of a hide crossed or pierced by arrows.

guise of a beetle ⁽¹⁾. The central element in that case symbolizes the beetle, the fetish of Neith. This emblem is known since earliest times ⁽²⁾. Variants consist of : a shaft and crossed arrows (𐎃) ⁽³⁾, the crossed arrows upon a divine standard (𐎃𐎎) ⁽⁴⁾ or the crossed arrows alone (𐎃𐎃) ⁽⁵⁾. However ⁽⁶⁾, the emblem with the bows tied in the package is preferred in Dyns. 5-6. Occasionally, the package and the crossed arrows jointly determine the divine name ⁽⁷⁾.

Neith played a significant role in early times, as the numerous occurrences of her name in theophoric personal names attest ⁽⁸⁾. Three of the earliest known queens (Neithotep, Merneit, and Herneit) have the name of Neith as part of their names ⁽⁹⁾. Her temple at Sais is depicted on a wooden label of Hor-aha ⁽¹⁰⁾. From there her worship spread to Memphis and beyond ⁽¹¹⁾. Her priests are women ⁽¹²⁾ with few exceptions ⁽¹³⁾.

Since Neith was represented by or inhabited a beetle, it is not altogether surprising to find her regularly coupled in the Pyramid Texts with Selket, whose fetish was another invertebrate, the scorpion ⁽¹⁴⁾. The way she came to be the mother of the crocodile-god Sobek is another question ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Lit. : Rusch, in *RE* 16, p. 2189-2218; Drexler, in Roscher, *Lexikon* III, 433-443; Mallet, *Le culte de Neit à Saïs*, Paris 1889; *RÄRG*, p. 512-517; Ramadan el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, *BdE* 69, Cairo 1975.

10. ? .

11. ? .

⁽¹⁾ *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr. Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 1931, p. 145-186, especially p. 153. Arrows and fetish were perhaps bound to the shaft by the fillet which is often seen on the emblem; e.g., Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, Frontispiece.

⁽²⁾ Hilda Petrie, *Egyptian hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties*, London 1927, pl. 33, nos. 769-776.

⁽³⁾ Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 7 (17).

⁽⁴⁾ E.g., Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 105; Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 70, pl. 27 (2); VI³, fig. 146; William Kelly Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* IV, Boston 1980, fig. 43, pl. 56 b.

⁽⁵⁾ E.g., *LD* II, 83 b; Clarence S. Fischer, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*, Philadelphia 1924, pls. 44 (2), 49 (1); *Pyr.* 510 a [W].

⁽⁶⁾ At least in the Pyramid Texts, see *Pyr.* 489 c

[W, N]; 1314 a [P]; 1375 c [P, M, N], 1521 b [P], 1547 c [P], and cf. *Pyr.* 510 a [W], 606 d [W].

⁽⁷⁾ E.g., *Mariette, Mastabas*, p. 201 (CG 1415), p. 307-308 (CG 1484); Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, New York 1976, p. 5, fig. 4.

⁽⁸⁾ Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 95; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 111 with n. 1.

⁽⁹⁾ Emery, *o.c.*, p. 126.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 51, 126, fig. 12.

⁽¹¹⁾ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 111-115.

⁽¹²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

⁽¹³⁾ Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 1 (17).

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Pyr.* 606 d [T], 1314 a [P], 1375 c [P], 1547 c [P].

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Pyr.* 489 c [W, N], 510 a [W]; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 514; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 187.

12. ? .

13. ? .

14. NEKHBET (*Nḥbt*). 'She of Nekheb', the metropolis of U.E. 3, modern el-Kab⁽¹⁾. Nekhbet was also called 'the White One of Nekhen', Gr. Hierakonpolis and modern Kom el-Ahmar, on the west bank opposite⁽²⁾. As mistress of the Upper Egyptian shrine (*pr-wr*) at Nekheb⁽³⁾, Nekhbet was tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt⁽⁴⁾ and counterpart of Wadjet, mistress of the Lower Egyptian sanctuary at Buto⁽⁵⁾.

Nekhbet was both protectress and nurse of the king. Hovering protectively over the king in the form of a vulture⁽⁶⁾, she adopts a warlike mien, along with the epithets « outstretched of arm, who binds together the foreigners »⁽⁷⁾. Assuming a more pacific aspect and the form of a woman with vulture crown, the goddess is shown in mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom suckling the king⁽⁸⁾.

The temple of Nekhbet at el-Kab had a full complement of priests and other officials by the late Old Kingdom⁽⁹⁾. There is also mention of an « upland temple » in the Sixth Dynasty graffiti at the site⁽¹⁰⁾, perhaps a forerunner to the desert temple built by Amenhotep III⁽¹¹⁾. Ostraca found by Zaki Saad in tombs at Helwan identify women who were priestesses of the *pr-wr* sanctuary in the temple of Nekhbet⁽¹²⁾. Although the temple at

⁽¹⁾ Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 98; Montet, *Géographie* II, p. 43-44; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 8*; Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reichs*, TAVO Beih. B/19, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 117-119. Occasionally, the goddess is *ḥntt Nḥb* (*Hierakonpolis* I, pls. 36, 37) or *nbt Nḥb* (Quibell, *El Kab*, pl. 4 (1)).

⁽²⁾ E.g., Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pls. 18, 46, 70; Labrousse-Lauer-Leclant, *o.c.*, Doc. 85; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. 55. Zibelius, *o.c.*, 119, observes that Nekheb and Nekhen formed a unity, which corresponded to the twin cities of Pe and Dep in Lower Egypt.

⁽³⁾ E.g., Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 18; Palermo Stone, vs. 3, 1; Jéquier, *o.c.*, III, pl. 34. Cf. *Wb.* I, p. 517, 2.

⁽⁴⁾ She also presided over the '*h-nṯr Šm'w* « god's keep of Upper Egypt », see e.g. Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 8; Palermo Stone, vs. 2, 2. Cf. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, p. 279.

⁽⁵⁾ *Pr-nw/pr-nzr*: e.g., Borchardt, *o.c.*, I, p. 52, fig. 58; II, pls. 21, 70; Palermo Stone, vs. 2, 2; 3, 1; Jéquier, *o.c.*, II, pl. 18; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, p. 77, fig. 20. Cf. *Wb.* I, p. 517, 5; p. 518, 1. She was the first of the « Two Ladies » of the royal *nebty* name, as Wadjet was the second (Emery, *o.c.*, p. 125-126).

⁽⁶⁾ See e.g., *Hierakonpolis* I, pls. 15 (7) Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* III, pl. 5 (5), 26 B.

⁽⁷⁾ *ḫwt-ꜥ dmꜣt pꜥ(w)t*: Borchardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 83-84, pl. 8; Jéquier, *o.c.* Cf. *Wb.* I, p. 5, 6; V, p. 52, 1.

⁽⁸⁾ E.g., Borchardt, *o.c.*, pl. 18.

⁽⁹⁾ Quibell, *o.c.*, pls. 3 (1) [Univ. Mus. E. 16160], 4 (1), 18 (55); CG 650; PM V, 190 (a-b); Janssen, *JEOL* 12, 1951-1952, p. 163-170.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See Fischer, *JARCE* 3, 1964, p. 26.

⁽¹¹⁾ PM V, p. 188-189.

⁽¹²⁾ Fischer, *Orientalia* 29, 1960, p. 187-190.

el-Kab was her principal cult-place, Nekhbet had a chapel in the Mansion-of-the-Prince in Heliopolis⁽¹⁾. Various priests who served her cult were buried in the Memphite cemeteries⁽²⁾. Only rarely does she appear in personal⁽³⁾ or estate names⁽⁴⁾.

Lit. : Capart, *Quelques observations sur la déesse d'Elkab*, Brussels 1946; *RÄRG*, p. 507-508; Heerma van Voss, in *LdÄ* IV, p. 366-367.

15. ? . I am unable to identify this male figure in human form with upraised arms and yoke. Jacquet-Gordon suggests Miniou (?) (*mniw*)⁽⁵⁾. On the basis of the ideogram, other possibilities might be *hnw*⁽⁶⁾, *rwi*⁽⁷⁾, and *šm(š)w*⁽⁸⁾ which, like *mniw*, also utilize the ideogram or determinative of the man with stick and bundle on shoulder (𓂏).

16. KIS (𓂏). The god of Kis (var. 𓂏sy) 'Cusae', the modern town of el-Qūṣīyah in U.E. nome 14⁽⁹⁾. More detailed examples of the ideogram (𓂏)⁽¹⁰⁾ show a personage dominating long-necked panthers like those on the palette of Narmer or the Two Dog Palette in Oxford⁽¹¹⁾. Both the motif of the 'master of the animals' and the long-necked panthers in antithetical arrangement are un-Egyptian, but are at home in Mesopotamia⁽¹²⁾,

⁽¹⁾ *Pyr.* 1451 b [P, P, M]. On the Mansion-of-the-Priest, a very ancient structure attached to the sun-god's temple at Heliopolis, see *GDG* IV, 127; *CLEM*, p. 422; Meeks, *ALex.* I, 1977, p. 233; II, 1978, p. 235; III, 1979, p. 182.

⁽²⁾ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 270-271, 303; Daressy, *Mastaba de Mera*, p. 569; Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 23, fig. 16; II, p. 85, fig. 89. Two such were *hm-nṯr Nḥbt*, *nbt 'h-nṯr šm'w* (see n. 4, p. 37) : Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, p. 279, pl. 79 (52); Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 228 (Ptahshepses at Abusir).

⁽³⁾ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 171, 15; CG 1700.

⁽⁴⁾ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 479.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁽⁶⁾ *Wb.* III, p. 286, 17.

⁽⁷⁾ *Wb.* II, p. 406, 2-4.

⁽⁸⁾ *Wb.* IV, p. 470, 7 ff. Also reminiscent of the ideogram is the naked figure of a girl with upraised arms, evidently a statuette forming the balance of a pair of sciaes in the Saqqara tomb

of Ka-irer (Smith, *Art and Architecture*, p. 77, pl. 51 A).

⁽⁹⁾ Gauthier, *o.c.*, V, p. 164-165; Montet, *o.c.*, II, p. 141-142; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 77*; Zibelius, *o.c.*, p. 239-240; Beinlich, in *LdÄ* V, p. 73-74 (c).


⁽¹⁰⁾ E.g., *Meir* II, pl. 17, nos. 4-6. Nos. 7-8 resemble in form the sign on the writing board. The phonetic value of the sign was established by Pleyte, *ZÄS* 4, 1866, p. 15-17.

⁽¹¹⁾ Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pls. F, K. The animals are not giraffes, as commonly supposed (e.g., Blackman, *Meir* I, p. 1, n. 3). It is interesting to note, however, that in the Egyptian milieu they are reinterpreted as giraffes as early as Gerzean times (Petrie, *o.c.*, pls. C, D).

⁽¹²⁾ Alexander Scharff, *Die Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens*, 1941, H. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, Bloomington, Indiana 1951, p. 124-126.

which probably indicates an ultimate foreign origin for the ideogram ⁽¹⁾. Kis appears in theophoric names at Meir ⁽²⁾. He appears to have been a god without cult or priesthood.

Lit. : Kees, in *RE* 11, p. 2231-2232; *RÄRG*, p. 412.

17. SELKET (*Srkt*). The ideogram () omits the tail and its venomous sting ⁽³⁾. Other examples are much more complete ⁽⁴⁾. An example, from the tomb of Wernunu in the Teti area at Saqqara, shows the lower extremities of the scorpion wrapped in cloth folded over and over, ending in a strip hanging straight down in front, with an 'nh-sign pendant from one of the legs ⁽⁵⁾. Selket is closely connected with poisonous snakes; in the Pyramid texts she is the mother of the Nehebkau-snake and the *djeser*-snake and occurs in two snake-charms ⁽⁶⁾. According to Moret and Gardiner, Selket's role is an exemplification of the ancient axiom *venenum veneno vincitur* : poisons like those of scorpions and snakes are overcome only by counterpoisons of like nature and potency, or by deities who have these at their command ⁽⁷⁾. In early times, Selket was known by the fuller name Selket-hetu 'she who releases the wind-pipe' ⁽⁸⁾. This possibly reflects an awareness of the neuro-toxic nature of the poison of certain scorpions which may result in suffocation and death ⁽⁹⁾. Her priests were often physicians and professional magicians ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Lit. : Roeder, in *RE* 4, p. 651-655; id., in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 651-656; Gardiner, *PSBA* 39, 1917, p. 36-42; *RÄRG*, p. 696-697; von Känel, in *LdÄ*, V.

⁽¹⁾ See further, Raymond Weill, *Recherches sur la I^{re} dynastie et les temps prépharaoniques* II, *BdE* 28, 1961, p. 329-333. Excluding the occurrence on the writing board, the earliest example of the ideogram belongs to the reign of Isesi, see Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 308 (8).

⁽²⁾ Blackman, *Meir* III, p. 18; IV, p. 15; Ranke, *PN* I, p. 157, 28; p. 189, 15; p. 191, 15, etc.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Henry G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy: A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs*, New York 1979, p. 32.

⁽⁴⁾ Hans Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka: ein Grab in der Wüste*, Hannover [1964], p. 37, 70, cited by Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 53-54.

⁽⁵⁾ Drioton, *ASAE* 43, 1943, p. 500, fig. 67;

Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 54, fig. b. Cf. Gardiner, *PSBA* 39, 1917, p. 38-39.

⁽⁶⁾ *Pyr.* 227 [W], 489 [W, N], 673 d [T]; see Gardiner, *o.c.*, p. 39-40.

⁽⁷⁾ Moret, *RHR* 52, 1915, p. 223; Gardiner, *o.c.*, p. 36.

⁽⁸⁾ *Pyr.* 606 d [T], 673 d [T], 1375 c [N]; Gardiner, *o.c.*

⁽⁹⁾ See the two incidents involving scorpions related by Dows Dunham, *Recollections of an Egyptologist*, Boston 1972, p. 29-30.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Gardiner, *o.c.*, p. 31 ff.; Junker, *ZÄS* 63, 1928, p. 65-66; Hassan, *Giza* II, p. 15, 20, 25-29, 112-113; Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 82-84; *Sinai*, p. 18; Frans Jonckheere, *Les Médecins de l'Égypte Pharaonique*, Brussels 1958, p. 127-128.

18. SOBEEK (*Sbk*). The crocodile god is represented as a recumbent cult image or fetish, tightly swathed with only his head protruding from the wrappings⁽¹⁾. Although Sobek appears as a god in human form with crocodile head in Old Kingdom temple reliefs⁽²⁾, it is this fetish form that occurs in the Egyptian script. The Faiyum is the earliest attested cult center of Sobek⁽³⁾, but Sobek of Irut (*'Irwt*), near el-Hibeh in U.E. nome 18⁽⁴⁾, also enjoyed a certain prominence in the Old Kingdom⁽⁵⁾. In the Pyramid Texts, Sobek is a water and fertility god, associated with the Nile and its all important flood⁽⁶⁾, and credited with an ability to cause plants to grow⁽⁷⁾. However, there is also a rapacious and violent side to Sobek evident in these texts⁽⁸⁾. Already in this oldest corpus of Egyptian funerary literature, Sobek is considered the son of Neit⁽⁹⁾.

Lit. : Kees, in *RE* 4, p. 540-560; Roeder, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 1093-1119; Höfer, *ibid.*, p. 1580-1590; *RÄRG*, p. 755-759; Claudia Dolzani, *Il Dio Sobk, Atti della acc. naz. dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Series VIII, vol. X.4, Rome 1961; Brovarski, in *LdÄ* V.

19. ? . Only the lower part of a standing figure is preserved in col. 15⁽¹⁰⁾. The vertical line suggests the ribbon pendant from the cap crown of Min, and it is possible that this deity was represented.

20. Onuris (*'Inhrt*). Onuris, the city-god of Thinis, is probably intended by this ideogram with plumes and staff. The god is associated with Pepi I on a cylinder seal in the British Museum that otherwise provides the earliest evidence for his existence⁽¹¹⁾. The

⁽¹⁾ On this fetish form, see Brovarski, in *LdÄ* V.

⁽²⁾ Borchardt, *Neuserre* III, figs. 68, 70, 71; Brovarski, *o.c.*, fig. 4.

⁽³⁾ Sobek of Shedet, the capital of the Faiyum (modern Medinet el-Faiyum), was the principal manifestation of the god in the Old Kingdom; see *Pyr.* 416, 1564 b [N]; Kaplony, *o.c.*, pl. 122 (50); Borchardt, *o.c.*, p. 92, fig. 70; Jéquier, *o.c.*, III, pl. 21; Brovarski, *o.c.*, with n. 15, fig. 4.

⁽⁴⁾ Kuentz, *BIFAO* 28, 1929, p. 170 ff.; Kees, in *Studi Rosellini*, p. 145; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, « On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motif », *Horae Soederblomianae* 3, Uppsala 1953, p. 46-55; Zibelius,

o.c., p. 279-281; Brovarski, *o.c.*, with n. 18.

⁽⁵⁾ *CG* 1307; Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* I, p. 497, pl. 150 (185).

⁽⁶⁾ *Pyr.* 507 a [W], 508 a [W].

⁽⁷⁾ *Pyr.* 508 b [W], 509 a [W].

⁽⁸⁾ *Pyr.* 510 [W].

⁽⁹⁾ *Pyr.* 489 c [W, N], 510 a [W].

⁽¹⁰⁾ Another ideogram may have stood at the head of the column; however, if the figure here was on the scale of Onuris who follows, this need not have been so.

⁽¹¹⁾ BM 29061 : Newberry, *o.c.*, p. 110, pl. 5 (10); Hall, *o.c.*, p. 264; Goedicke, *o.c.*, p. 78-79; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, pl. 100.

determinative of Onuris in one of the Cairo statues of the Dyn. 6 nomarch of U.E. 8, Gegi, is a figure with plumes on his cap crown and a spear or harpoon (𓏏) ⁽¹⁾.

There was a temple of Onuris at Thisis by the late Old Kingdom with a full complement of priests and other officials ⁽²⁾. However, in the tombs of these functionaries, Osiris is the « great god, lord of this (viz. the Thinite) nome » ⁽³⁾. Onuris was not a funerary deity, for prayers were addressed to Osiris or to Anubis. He is not attested in either the Pyramid Texts or the Coffin Texts. Onuris' prominence is coincident with the rising fortunes of his town of Thisis in the late Old Kingdom. Outside the Thinite nome, he is virtually unknown before the Middle Kingdom ⁽⁴⁾.

Lit. : G. Hölscher, in *RE* 8, p. 531-534; Drexler, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 919-922; Hermann Junker, *Der Onurislegende*, *DAWW* 59, Abh. 1-2, 1917; *RÄRG*, p. 545-547.

21. SESHAT (Sš3t). The goddess is shown with her symbol on her head but without the leopard skin which is her characteristic dress ⁽⁵⁾. The symbol (𓏏/𓏏), a conventionalized palm tree (?), surmounted by the month sign (𓏏) and a pair of feathers, is quite clearly drawn in the Third Dynasty tomb of Khabausokar ⁽⁶⁾.

From early times, Seshat was considered patroness of writing and building. The 'stretching of the cord' ⁽⁷⁾ by a priest of the goddess for a temple or royal edifice is

⁽¹⁾ Caroline Nestmann Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1962, p. 136-137, n. 1.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 135 with n. 4.

⁽³⁾ E.g., N 81, the tomb of Šm3 (Museum of Fine Arts neg. EG 485). At the Memphite cemeteries, Osiris is « lord of the Thinite nome », see e.g., Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 148-149, 341 (= Herta Therese Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti*, London 1943, p. 33, 87); Junker, *o.c.*, VI, fig. 95; William Kelly Simpson, *Giza Mastabas II: the Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, Boston 1976, p. 24, fig. 38; *id.*, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1976, p. 5, pl. A. Cf. Ahmad Kamal, *ASAE* 15, 1915, p. 257.

⁽⁴⁾ Exceptions are *Deir el-Gebrâwi* I, pl. 18; Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish III*, Sydney, Australia 1982, fig. 27.

⁽⁵⁾ See Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 174 with n. 4. Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 359, considered that the ideogram represented Seshat as a male figure. In fact, a male counterpart of the goddess occurs in *Pyr.* 426 b [W, T, P]. Note that the scribe has drawn the body of Meret with the same simplified outline, as well as nos. 15, 20, and 22. Only Onuris and the eponymous hero of Kis are provided with legs. However, Seshat is provided with a divine beard in addition, so Smith's suggestion is not without merit.

⁽⁶⁾ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 39 (51). Cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. A. On the evolution and degradation of the sign, see Wainwright, *JEA* 26, 1940, p. 30-40 and figs. 1-4. For a green faience pendant of Early Dynastic date with the symbol in a circle, see Zaki Youssef Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan* (1945-1947), *CASAE* 14, 1951, p. 34, fig. 13, pl. 39 a, b.

⁽⁷⁾ See Bernadette Letellier, in *LdÄ* II, p. 912-914.

recorded in the annals of the First Dynasty on the Palermo Stone ⁽¹⁾. On a pink granite doorjamb of Khasekhemui of Dyn. 2 from Hierakonpolis, the same ceremony is performed for a new temple by the king and Seshat ⁽²⁾. In the Pyramid Texts, where she is identified with Nephthys, Seshat is « mistress of builders » ⁽³⁾.

In royal funerary temples of the Old Kingdom, Seshat is represented writing, keeping count of the booty brought back by the king from foreign lands ⁽⁴⁾. In her capacity as keeper of records, she was in charge of the archives of divine decrees ⁽⁵⁾, of the king's acquaintances ⁽⁶⁾, of the *hmnsw*-functionaries ⁽⁷⁾, and the bureau of foreigners ⁽⁸⁾.

In the Old Kingdom, a limited number of priestly titles attest to a cult of Seshat ⁽⁹⁾. She had a special shrine on a sledge which appeared at Neuserre's *sed*-festival (labelled *nš*) ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Lit. : Roeder, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 714-724; Wainwright, *JEA* 26, 1940, p. 30-40; *RÄRG*, p. 699-701; Dia' Abou-Ghazi, *Das Altertum*, Berlin 15, 1969, p. 195-204; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 173-177; Helck, in *LdÄ*, V.

22. KHENTYAMENTIU (*Hnty-imntyw*). Not Osiris ⁽¹¹⁾, but « Foremost of the Westerners », the god of Abydos ⁽¹²⁾. In early inscriptions, it is customary to find that Khentyamentiu has the Upper Egyptian « white crown » while Osiris does not ⁽¹³⁾. The Upper Egyptian crown is not usual in the determinative of Osiris until the Heracleopolitan Period ⁽¹⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Rto. 3, 7 (Den?). In another year of the same reign a statue of the goddess was fashioned (rto. 3, 13).

⁽²⁾ Engelbach, *JEA* 20, 1934, p. 183-184, pl. 24. Cf. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II/1, Cairo 1961, p. 97, fig. 91; Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 1 (2) (see Borchardt, *ZÄS* 61, 1926, p. 30, pl. 2 A, etc.).

⁽³⁾ *Pyr.* 616 b [T, M].

⁽⁴⁾ E.g. Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pls. 1, 5; Jéquier, *o.c.*, II, pls. 36, 38; III, pl. 5; Labrousse-Lauer-Leclant, *o.c.*, p. 91, Doc. 40.

⁽⁵⁾ *Hntt pr mdšt-nfr* : Borchardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 76, pl. 1.

⁽⁶⁾ *Hntt pr-mdšt rh-nswt* : Borchardt, *Sahure* II, p. 76-77, pl. 11; p. 97, pl. 19; Reisner, *Giza* I, pl. 17 a = Smith, *AJA* 16, No. 1, Spring 1963, p. 2, fig. 1; Montet, *Kêmi* 1, 1928, p. 84-85, fig. 2 = Ward, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 17, 1964,

p. 37-46, pl. 1; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 28; Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* I, p. 370.

⁽⁷⁾ *Hntt pr-mdšt hmnsw* : *Berl. Inscr.* I, p. 62; Borchardt, *Sahure* II, p. 77-78; Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* I, p. 370.

⁽⁸⁾ *Hntt hwt rwtw* : Borchardt, *Sahure* II, p. 77, pl. 1.

⁽⁹⁾ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 173, 177.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Wainwright, *JEA* 25, 1939, p. 104.

⁽¹¹⁾ Pace Smith, *o.c.*, p. 358; Jacquet-Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 260; Wildung, *o.c.*, p. 39, n. 2.

⁽¹²⁾ *Abydos* II, p. 41, pl. 17; p. 42-43, pls. 19, 21 = Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, p. 37-40, fig. 3; p. 81-86, fig. 7; *CG* 1431 : Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, New York 1977, p. 141-143, figs. 58-59.

⁽¹³⁾ Fischer, *JAOS* 76, 1956, p. 101, n. 11.

⁽¹⁴⁾ At Naga-ed-Dêr the determinative of Osiris first has the Upper Egyptian « white crown » in

In an inscription of the late Sixth Dynasty from Saqqara a standing mummiform figure with the Upper Egyptian crown determines the name Khentyamentiu⁽¹⁾. Other examples of Khentyamentiu as a mummified figure belong to the early Middle Kingdom⁽²⁾.

In origin, Khentyamentiu was theriomorphic and conceived as a jackal⁽³⁾. In the Pyramid Texts, where he has an independent existence as a god of the dead who provides food offerings for the deceased⁽⁴⁾, his name is sometimes determined with the jackal⁽⁵⁾. From mid-Dyn. 5, the god appears in the offering formula in private graves⁽⁶⁾. His iconography and function were thus similar to Anubis', and already in the texts in the pyramid of Unis, he was identified with the latter in the dual aspect of Anubis Khentyamentiu⁽⁷⁾. The identification of Osiris with Khentyamentiu is a feature of the later Pyramid Texts⁽⁸⁾.

Lit. : Meyer, *ZÄS* 41, 1904, p. 97-107; *RÄRG*, p. 144-145; Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, *GOF* IV/1, 1973, p. 7-9; Grieshammer, in *LdÄ* I, p. 964-965; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 50-52.

23. MERET (*Mrt*). The name of each of a pair of goddesses who are characterized as 'Meret of Upper Egypt' (*Mrt Šm'w*) and 'Meret of Lower Egypt' (*Mrt Mḥw*)⁽⁹⁾. In depictions of the ritual race of the *sed*-festival, a Meret goddess is often found, standing on a low pedestal, or on the gold sign (☰) as here⁽¹⁰⁾, arms lifted (only one is indicated) in address or song to the approaching king⁽¹¹⁾. She is usually dressed in a long, tight

a Blue Group coffin published by Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 99-110, and in a Polychrome Group coffin from N 4003 (Brovarski, in *LdÄ* IV, p. 308 and n. 108) and is frequent in inscriptions thereafter; both groups date to Dyn. 9, see *ibid.* p. 308-309.

⁽¹⁾ Wilson, *JNES* 13, 1954, p. 249 (f), pl. 18 A.

⁽²⁾ Silverman, *BiOr* 37, 1980, p. 230.

⁽³⁾ *Abydos* II, 29, pl. 12 (278); Meyer, *ZÄS* 41, 1904, p. 97-98.

⁽⁴⁾ *Pyr.* 474 [W, N].

⁽⁵⁾ *Pyr.* 592 [M, N].

⁽⁶⁾ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 15, 229; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 50.

⁽⁷⁾ *Pyr.* 57 [W, N], 220 [W, T, M, N].

⁽⁸⁾ *Pyr.* 1665 [M, N]; cf. *Pyr.* 2020-21 [M, N].

⁽⁹⁾ Gardiner, *Adm.*, p. 59.

⁽¹⁰⁾ E.g., Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pl. 22; Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pls. 12, 32 B; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. 8, 10, 12, 16, 20; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, New York 1971, no. 16. On the connection between Meret and the «mansion of gold (*ḥwt-nbw*)», see Kees, *Opfertanz*, p. 107; Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* III, 7; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 87 with n. 26; *RÄRG*, p. 457; Erika Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, p. 31-36; 9, 1974, p. 33-38; Berlandini, in *LdÄ* IV, p. 82 and n. 33.

⁽¹¹⁾ For the gesture in question, see Müller, *MDIAK* 7, 1937, p. 69; Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 1938, p. 86; id. *Eg. Gr.*, p. 445 (A 26); Berlandini, *o.c.*, p. 81 with nn. 18-20.

fitting dress with strap(s), her long hair in a braid with curled-up end. On her head is the vulture crown worn by queens and goddesses⁽¹⁾. The determinative of Meret $\overline{\text{m}}$ is that which in the Old Kingdom accompanies the verb *hs* 'sing', and which indicates the pantomimic gesticulation or hand movements in chironomy⁽²⁾, so it is likely that the Meret-goddesses were singers from the outset⁽³⁾. They were the patron deities of singers, and their priests (*hrp Mrt*, *hm-ntr Mrt*, *hm-ntr Mrt Šm'w*, *hm-ntr Mrt Sm'w Mhw*)⁽⁴⁾ were singers or supervised singers (*imy-r² hsww*, *shd hsww*, *hrp hsww*, *w' m wrw hsww dt*)⁽⁵⁾.

Lit. : Kees, *Opfertanz*, p. 104 ff.; Otto, « StudAeg I », *AnOr* 17, 1938, p. 25 ff.; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 87 with n. 26; *RÄRG*, p. 457; Gardiner, *Adm.*, p. 59-60; Berlandini, in *LdÄ* IV, p. 80-88; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 225.

24. KHERTY (*Hrty*). A mummified ram-god like Baty (No. 6), Kherty is known since Dyn. I⁽⁶⁾. He was 'lord of Nezat', an unlocated place, seemingly in the Memphite region⁽⁷⁾, but his worship was also established at nearby Letopolis (*Hm*, later *Shm*), where he was identified with Horus of Letopolis (Khenti-irti)⁽⁸⁾. In the Pyramid Texts, Kherty exhibits a dual personality. On the one hand, he transports the dead as a ferryman across the waterways of the netherworld⁽⁹⁾. On the other hand, he is an object of terror, for he lives on the hearts of men⁽¹⁰⁾. Clergy of Kherty are known in Dyns. 2-3⁽¹¹⁾. Personal and estate names which contain the god's name are uncommon⁽¹²⁾.

Lit. : Weill, *Misc. Gregoriana* VI, p. 381-391; *RÄRG*, p. 135; Kaplony, in *LdÄ* I, p. 944-945.

(1) See e.g., Brunner-Traut, in *LdÄ* II, p. 515; Sourouzian, *MDIAK* 37, 1981, p. 445-455.

(2) Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83, 1958, p. 96-127.

(3) Gardiner, *Adm.*, p. 60.

(4) Junker, *Giza* I, p. 150, pl. 23; II, p. 189, fig. 34; *PM* III², p. 157 [MFA 21.955]; Firth-Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 90 (7).

(5) Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, AV 5, Mainz 1971, p. 14-16, 49-50.

(6) Kaplony, in *LdÄ* I, p. 944 with nn. 2-3. On a sealing of Khasekhemui, he appears in human form with ram head (id., *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* III, pl. 129 (782)). Cf. the Middle Kingdom representation in *Sinai* II, pl. 43.

(7) See Zibelius, *o.c.*, p. 127, *pace* Sethe, *Kommentar* II, p. 227; Weill, *Misc. Gregoriana* VI, p. 385, who locate *Nzšt* near Buto.

(8) Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 100 with n. 7; Kaplony, in *LdÄ* I, p. 944, n. 7.

(9) *Pyr.* 445 a [W], 545 a [T].

(10) *Pyr.* 1905 a-b [N]; cf. *Pyr.* 350 a [T].

(11) Firth-Quibell, *o.c.*, p. 122 (7), pl. 90 = Gunn, *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 163, pl. 3; Peter Kaplony, *Steingefässe mit Inschriften der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, no. 19; Raymond Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynasties*, Paris 1908, p. 257-258, pl. 5; Helck, *ZÄS* 106, 1979, p. 129-130.

(12) Ranke, *PN* I, p. 277, 3; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 191 (43), 310 (1).

25. SHESMU (*Šzmw*). God of the wine press and viticulture. His name is written ideographically by means of the hieroglyph for the wine press⁽¹⁾. In conjunction with the grape harvest in the mastaba of Ptahhotep, a group of youths plays a harvest game in his honor⁽²⁾.

In the Pyramid Texts, Shesmu, like Kherty, has a dichotomous nature. The friendly Shesmu brings wine for the dead king, whereas in the « Cannibal Hymn » (*Pyr.* 403 a), he acts as butcher, cutting up the gods to be put into the cauldron⁽³⁾. Shesmu is linked in the same body of texts with *Knmt*⁽⁴⁾, with some probability the oases of el-Khârga and el-Dâkhla, i.e., the *Oasis Major* of classical geographers⁽⁵⁾. However, the suggestion has been advanced that Shesmu originally came from Letopolis because of the close association in certain documents⁽⁶⁾ between him and Kherty, who was at home there from an early date (*supra*)⁽⁷⁾.

Fragments of a diorite bowl belonging to a priest of this god found near the Step Pyramid⁽⁸⁾, attest to a cult of Shesmu under the first dynasties⁽⁹⁾. Shesmu also possessed a sacred boat, the *nwd(t)* 'oil-press bark'⁽¹⁰⁾; a carpenter of the bark is known⁽¹¹⁾.

Lit. : RÄRG, p. 679-680; Ciccarello, in *Hughes Studies*, p. 43-54; Helck, in *LdÄ V*, p. 590-591.

26. ANUBIS (*'Inpw*). The early associations of Anubis are with Abydos⁽¹²⁾ and Saqqara⁽¹³⁾, where his name occurs in inscriptions of the first dynasties written with the recumbent jackal. The Anubis-jackal also figures in the annals of the reigns of Hor-aha, Djer, and

⁽¹⁾ *Pyr.* 403 a [W], 1552 a [M]; Davies, *Ptah-hotep and Akhetetep I*, pl. 23; see Ciccarello, in *Hughes Studies*, p. 43 with n. 4.

⁽²⁾ Davies, *o.c.*, p. 9, pl. 22; Ciccarello, *o.c.*, p. 44.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁽⁴⁾ *Pyr.* 545 b [T].

⁽⁵⁾ GDG V, p. 204-205; Montet, *Géographie II*, p. 97; Fakhry, in *LdÄ I*, p. 907, 967; Ricardo A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe*, Oxford 1977, p. 36; Zibelius, *o.c.*, p. 244-245.

⁽⁶⁾ E.g., *Pyr.* 545 b [T] and the writing board from G 1011.

⁽⁷⁾ Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühz.* I, p. 622; *id.*,

MIO 11, 1965, p. 160, n. 90; Ciccarello, *o.c.*, p. 52-54.

⁽⁸⁾ Firth-Quibell, *o.c.*, p. 122 (7), pl. 70 = Gunn, *o.c.*; Helck, *o.c.*

⁽⁹⁾ Ciccarello, *o.c.*, p. 44.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Pyr.* 545 b [T]; see Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 108.

⁽¹¹⁾ Newberry, *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 139 = *Urk.* I, p. 231.

⁽¹²⁾ Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 29 (86); II, pls. 11 (1), 12 (5), 17 (134), 25 (27).

⁽¹³⁾ Emery, *Tombs of the First Dynasty II*, p. 121 (30), fig. 172; 126 (50), fig. 193; III, pls. 38 (11, 16) (?); 83 (12); 162 (65).

Semetkhet⁽¹⁾. On the writing-board the jackal-god is represented by a cult image or fetish, lying on the ground, tightly swathed with only his head protruding from the wrappings. This form is also known from the Wepemnofret stela, with bright red wrappings and yellowish hide⁽²⁾.

In the Pyramid Texts, Anubis is the embalmer god⁽³⁾ and, along with the king, the donor of funerary offerings⁽⁴⁾. He is the only god known in the offering formula in Dyn. 4⁽⁵⁾. The *wty 'Inpw* «embalming-priest of Anubis» is sometimes depicted in the funeral services on the tomb walls of the Old Kingdom, and the title is fairly common⁽⁶⁾. His priesthood is otherwise well attested⁽⁷⁾ and he appears in both personal and estate names⁽⁸⁾.

Lit. : Pietschmann, in *RE* I, 2645; Meyer, in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV, p. 386-387; Kees, in *RÄRG*, p. 40-45; id., *MIO* 6, 1958, p. 157-175; B. Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* I, p. 327-333; Spiegel, *o.c.*, p. 42-49; Meeks, *RdE* 28, 1976, 86-92.

The second section contains 28 place names inscribed in 7 columns (each repeated 4 times). In their composition and the elements they include, the place names resemble the names of the funerary estates found in the tombs of the Old Kingdom⁽⁹⁾. In fact, three of the names (*tp-th* (?), *t³rt Hpr*, *grgt*) are found in identical form among the funerary estates⁽¹⁰⁾. There is little to be added to the treatment by Jacquet-Gordon⁽¹¹⁾. Smith has pointed out that No. 2 incorporates perhaps the earliest drawing of the fly (in an

(1) Heinrich Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altäg. Annalen*, *APAW* 1902, p. 15, 17; Gauthier, in Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* III, Cairo 1915, p. 39, 44. The Anubis fetish, the skin of his animal dangling from a pole is likewise met with from Dyn. 1 (e.g., Petrie, *RT* II, pls. 3 (4), 10 (2), 11 (2), 15 (109), 17 (135); *Abydos* I, pls. 4 (12), 11 (2); de Cenival, *BSFE* 44 (Dec. 1965), p. 15. Cf. U. Köhler, *Das Imiut*, *GOF* IV/1, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 1-6.

(2) LMA 6-19825 : Reisner, *Giza* I, pl. 17 a; Smith, *Archaeology* 16, No. 1, Spring 1963, fig. 1; Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. A.

(3) E.g., *Pyr.* 574 [T, P, M, N], 1122 [P, N], 1257 [P, N], 1995 [N], 2013 [N].

(4) E.g., *Pyr.* 806 c [P, M, N], 807 a [P, M, N], 1019 a [P, M, N], 1723 a [M, N].

(5) Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 8, 15.

(6) Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, p. 203-205, 208, 213; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 51-52; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 27.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 19-20, 27. Add to the titles discussed a *s(t)m Inpw* on a vessel of the early dynasties from Abydos (Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 25 (27); for two possible occurrences of the same title at Saqqara, see Emery, *Tombs of the First Dynasty* III, pl. 38 (11, 16). The reading of the fourth priestly title at the top of Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 19 is *hm-ntr Inpw Inr-ty* «priest of Anubis of Gebelein», see Posener-Kriéger, *RdE* 27, 1975, p. 218.

(8) Begelsbacher-Fischer, *o.c.*, p. 28, 31.

(9) Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 260.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 260-262, nos. 7, 13, 16.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 260-263.

early use of the name of the fly, 'ff')⁽¹⁾. No. 10, rendered *tft Hnm* by Jacquet-Gordon⁽²⁾ also deserves comment. The hairy long-legged ram with horizontal horns (*Ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*)⁽³⁾ employed by itself signifies either *b³* 'ram' or *Hnmw* 'Khnum'⁽⁴⁾. Unaccompanied by phonetic signs this can lead to confusion. The name of the owner of Giza's mastaba G 5230 (LG 40) for example, sometimes transcribed *Hnm-b³:f* is better read *B³-b³:f*; in certain of his inscriptions⁽⁵⁾ the first element in the name is determined with the cup or lamp (☐/☐)⁽⁶⁾. In No. 14, *irt Hnm*, the stone jug with handle, phon. *hnm* (𓆎), used in conjunction with the ram defines the word 'Khnum'. There it follows the ram ideogram which, properly speaking, is its determinative. In No. 10 a sign follows the ram in like manner and perhaps defines a divine name. The sign resembles the butcher's block, phon. *hr* (𓆏), but is distinguished from it by a diagonal line and three long ticks. I cannot identify the sign. Considering the ticks, it might be simply an error for the cup or lamp, in which case the ram-god Ba (of Mendes) might be intended. It has proven possible to make out the initial sign in No. 26; still incomplete, the toponym begins : *ḥ-m-...*

The drawings of six different birds in division 4 are too schematic to assure identification in any one instance. The outlines are confidently drawn but taxonomic features such as color or character of feathers which distinguish the species from one another are necessarily abbreviated on so small a scale. In spite of the fact that it has neither crest nor wattle, the overall feathering of the first bird allows the possibility that a Sennar Guinea-fowl is depicted. The absence of a wing outline also differentiates this bird from the succeeding⁽⁷⁾. The relative size of the other five birds suggests three geese followed

(1) Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 358.

(2) *O.c.*, p. 262.

(3) Scharff, *MDIAK* 1, 1930, p. 132; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 152*; Gaillard, *RT* 24, 1902, p. 44-76; Keimer, *ASAE* 38, 1938, p. 297-331; Störk, in *LdÄ* V, p. 522-524.

(4) Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, p. 459 (A 10/11).

(5) E.g., Junker, *Giza* VII, figs. 64, 65; MFA 24.603, Obj. Reg. 14-11-78, 84; 33-2-173. Ram alone : MFA 21.931, 953, 955; 34.235, 1461; Obj. Reg. 14-11-79, 80; *MMA Eg. Exp. publ.* 64.66.1, 2. Cf. PM III², p. 156-157.

(6) Cf. already, Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 117 [399].

(7) On the Sennar Guinea-fowl, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, p. 469 (G 21); Chevrier, *ASAE* 30, 1931, p. 92, fig. 4; L. Keimer, *ASAE* 38, 1938, p. 253-263; id., *ASAE* 41, 1942, p. 325-332; Davies, *JEA* 26, 1940, p. 79-81; Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 82-83. The form of the *nh*-bird shows inconsistency at all times (*Ibid.*, p. 80, figs. 1-10). Davies' fig. 1, for example, has neither crest nor wattle; cf. also the examples published by Keimer (*o.c.*, p. 326-329, figs. 63, 64) from the causeway of Unis and the mastaba of Smenkhuptah (PM III², p. 42) at Saqqara. On the other hand, the red-wattled Guinea-fowl, which does not bear the tuft of stiff hair and the horny crest (Davies,

by two ducks. On the basis of tail-profile alone, the fourth bird might be a greylag⁽¹⁾ or white-fronted⁽²⁾ goose. Considering the slightly longer central rectrices of the penultimate fowl, a pintail duck might be represented⁽³⁾.

The compartments in division 5 contain three different fish (repeated 2 times). Even though he has done better by the fishes than the birds, the scribe has erred in several particulars. While the posterior dorsal fin is suppressed, the silhouette of the body, as well as the pinous anterior and rounded caudal fins of the first fish, argue that a Nile perch is depicted⁽⁴⁾. The body of the second fish is stream-lined like a mullet rather than deep-bodied like *Barbus bynni*, but the placement of the dorsal fin near the middle of the back with the anal fin about under it on the lower side of the body, the pectoral fin behind the head placed rather low, and the forked caudal fin suggest this species of carp is intended⁽⁵⁾. The third fish, *Tilapia nilotica* with its dorsal fin of strong spines and soft rays and its rounded caudal fin, is difficult to mistake⁽⁶⁾.

o.c., p. 79), rather than the Tufted Sennar Guinea-fowl (G 21), may be intended.

⁽¹⁾ Egn. *sr* : *Wb.* IV, p. 191, 17; Junker, *Giza* IV, pl. 7 (= Davies, *JEA* 32, 1946, pl. 1); VI, fig. 16, pl. 2 e; Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 404 (*Anser anser*); Meinertzhagen, *o.c.*, p. 457-459; Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 54-56.

⁽²⁾ Egn. *trp* : *Wb.* V, p. 387, 6; Junker, *Giza* IV, pl. 7 (= Davies, *o.c.*); VI, fig. 16; Wild, *Ti*, III, pl. 169; Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqara*, London 1977, pl. 17 (19); Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 403 (*Anser albifrons*); Meinertzhagen, *o.c.*, p. 62-63, 458-459; Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 57-59.

⁽³⁾ Egn. *zt* : *Wb.* III, p. 407, 16; Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 16; Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 169; Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 83 (Berlin 1108); Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 403 (*Anas acuta* L.); Meinertzhagen, *o.c.*, p. 64, 468-469; Houlihan, *o.c.*, p. 71-73. In fact, the representation resembles rather more the *hp*-duck as portrayed in Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 169; Martin, *o.c.*, pl. 17 (19); Alexander Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, and Kaemnofret*

at Giza, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1976, fig. 20, pl. 20; Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 403. The two kinds of ducks are closely related but the *hp*, as of yet, unidentified.

⁽⁴⁾ Egn. *'h3* : G.A. Boulenger, *The Fishes of the Nile*, London 1907, p. 452-458, pl. 84; Claude Gaillard, *Recherches sur les poissons représentés dans quelques tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, MIFAO 51, 1923, p. 81-84, figs. 48-49; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 13, 88-90; J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *Studien an subfossilen Tierknochen aus Ägypten*, MÄS 40, Berlin 1982, p. 44-47, 112 (*Lates niloticus* L.).

⁽⁵⁾ Egn. *hmf* : Boulenger, *o.c.*, p. 163-167, pl. 27, fig. 1; Gaillard, *o.c.*, p. 39-43, figs. 26-27; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 9, 37-38; Boessneck-Driesch, *o.c.*, p. 39, 102. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956, ed., s.v. « Fishes ».

⁽⁶⁾ Egn. *int* : Boulenger, *o.c.*, p. 523-528, pls. 93-94; Gaillard, *o.c.*, p. 85-89, figs. 50-51; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 13, 24-27, 53-54, 109-113.

II. — THE WRITING BOARD FROM CEMETERY 2000 (Pl. II).

The second writing board was found by Lythgoe working on behalf of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition in the street to the east of the great anonymous mastaba G 2000 (LG 23) in 1905-6⁽¹⁾. It contains only place names. Each of the ten columns is different and there is no such repetition as upon the board from G 1011⁽²⁾. As is the case with the latter, the wood of the board had rotted entirely away and the inscriptions were preserved upon a layer of plaster about 2-6 mm. thick⁽³⁾.

The initial column presents no difficulties. The first toponym in col. 2, read *hwt m³f* by Jacquet-Gordon, is perhaps better to be read *hwt m³sd*, if indeed the first sign is the rectangular *hwt*-enclosure and the last the tail of a cobra rather than a damaged determinative. *M³sd* is a *hapax*, perhaps to be connected with *m³sd*, *msdt* « part of the body of man or mammal », « haunches »⁽⁴⁾. The first sign in the second toponym is clearly not the rectangular enclosure⁽⁵⁾. It is rectangular and has the proportions of the letter *p*, but with a small circle at its center⁽⁶⁾. However, *pisfh* is unparalleled. The first toponym in col. 3 is apparently *zpw*, although it is possible it formed a compound with what preceded. The succeeding place-name is compounded with *hwt*. A crack in the plaster obscures the sign inside, but traces suggest *hwt-ntr*, elsewhere attested as an estate name⁽⁷⁾. The fish name in the next toponym, *irt-...*, remains obscure; the feelers or barbels about the mouth imply a species of catfish⁽⁸⁾. The third sign in the last toponym in col. 4 is unquestionably *o* not *ø*, and the estate name definitely *s(w)nw* « the Fortress »⁽⁹⁾. The determinative of the last toponym in col. 7, *tp z³s* (?), is completely

(1) On the latter, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 68-69.

(2) Cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 359.

(3) The board is now in Boston, where it bears the acc. no. 13.4301. It measures 32.8 × 15 cm. Jacquet-Gordon based her reading of its toponyms on a facsimile copy by William Stevenson Smith. It is clear from the incomplete place-names, Nos. 6 (?), 17, 19 bis, and especially 22, that a portion of the board is missing at the top.

(4) *Wb.* II, p. 33, 5; p. 153, 1-2; Gardiner, *AEO II*, p. 243, 287.

(5) *Pace* Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 264, No. 5, who reads *hwt isfh* « Le château du délié (?) ».

(6) The variations in the sign *p* (■) are discussed by Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I*, New York 1976, p. 109-114, but this particular stylization is not included.

(7) Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 449, No. 4; p. 453, No. 9.

(8) Jacquet-Gordon, *ibid.*, p. 264, No. 6, has *hwt ... wh*, « Le château de ... Oukh (?) », but elsewhere (p. 102) evidently reads the name of the fish-god as *šsh*. The second sign may be other than *h*.

(9) *Wb.* IV, p. 69, 3.

unintelligible to me ⁽¹⁾. The place name determined by the goat in the next column is perhaps *sin* « clay » ⁽²⁾ or *sinw* « courtiers » ⁽³⁾. In either case, it is difficult to explain the goat, unless the scribe had *siḥ* for *s'ḥ* « dignitary » ⁽⁴⁾ in mind but wrote *sin* instead. The letter *n* is clear, although it lacks the vertical scorings visible in the other example of the letter on the board at the head of col. 5. The fish that follows is not carefully drawn but probably stands for *int* rather than *ḥst*; *int* enters regularly into estate names, whereas *ḥst* is unknown before the Middle Kingdom ⁽⁵⁾. The first preserved place-name in col. 9 is *grgt mztī-ḥtp* « the foundation of *Mzti-ḥtp*, the latter a theophoric personal name ⁽⁶⁾. The god *Mzti* occurs in unpublished reliefs from the pyramid complexes of Isesi and Unis ⁽⁷⁾. He is also known in the Old Kingdom in the personal name *Ny-Mzti* ⁽⁸⁾. The last toponym is evidently *ḥst*, rather than *ḥmnt* ⁽⁹⁾; compare the writing of *ḥšwt* in col. 5.

The two writing boards from Giza are seemingly the oldest preserved examples of their kind ⁽¹⁰⁾. Inasmuch as they could be repeatedly wiped clean, writing boards were employed extensively for any sort of record that did not require to be permanent: rough copies, preliminary drafts, notes, memoranda, and the like ⁽¹¹⁾. They possessed yet another advantage over papyrus — they could be used standing or on the move, like modern clipboards ⁽¹²⁾. Together with other scribal utensils, writing boards appear in the *frises*

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps, it represents an hieratic original; however, it does not seem to correspond to any of the signs in Möller, *Pal. I*.

⁽²⁾ *Wb.* IV, p. 37, 11 - 38, 2.

⁽³⁾ *Wb.* IV, p. 39, 11-12.

⁽⁴⁾ *Wb.* IV, p. 40; p. 50-51, 13.

⁽⁵⁾ *Wb.* III, p. 360. Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 266 and n. 1. For place names compounded with *int*, see *ibid.*, p. 458-459.

⁽⁶⁾ The name *Mzti-ḥtp*, like the other putative personal names in Nos. 11, 13, 14, 23, is unparalleled.

⁽⁷⁾ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 84; PM III², p. 418. For the reading of the divine name, cf. *Wb.* II, p. 136; Hornung, *Amduat II*, p. 27-28, 172.

⁽⁸⁾ William Kelly Simpson, *Giza Mastabas IV*, Boston 1980, p. 32-33, pl. 56, fig. 43; Quibell-Spiegelberg, *Ramesseum*, pl. 33. The first is *hrp*

šms and the latter *shd šms*; the similarity in titles may reflect a familial relationship between the two individuals, if not identity.

⁽⁹⁾ Pace Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 266, No. 24.

⁽¹⁰⁾ M. Weber, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Schrift- und Buchwesens der alten Ägypten*, Diss., Cologne 1969, p. 21.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Ibid.*, Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 294. On the function of writing boards, see further: Posener, *RdE* 18, 1966, p. 45-65 and especially p. 51; Barns, *JEA* 54, 1968, p. 71-76; Černý-Parker, *JEA* 57, 1971, p. 127-131; Vernus, *RdE* 31, 1979, p. 117-119; id., *RdE* 33, 1981, p. 89; id., in *LdÄ V*, p. 703-710.

⁽¹²⁾ See e.g., *LD II*, p. 47, 51, 69. A servant figure from the tomb of Djehutynakht at Bersheh (Tomb 10 A) depicts a standing scribe with

d'objets on coffins of the Middle Kingdom⁽¹⁾. They were especially popular in the Middle Kingdom and many examples of that date survive⁽²⁾. The Egyptian name for the writing board was 'n⁽³⁾. An etymological connection between 'n « writing board » and 'n « limestone » has been suggested⁽⁴⁾ and we possess, in fact, several tablets in limestone⁽⁵⁾.

Often the product of the schoolroom, writing boards were used by students as their « slates » or composition books⁽⁶⁾. Indeed, William Stevenson Smith saw the writing board from G 1011 as a copy book for the scribe, with lists of difficult signs for the learner to copy. He was, however, undecided whether it represented a sample original to serve as a guide or a student's practice tablet⁽⁷⁾. The signs are carefully drawn, the penmanship sure and confident, which may argue for the former alternative. Master or apprentice scribe, it is possible that this example of his work was placed in the grave to accompany him into the afterlife⁽⁸⁾.

It has already been noted that the latest cartouche on the board is Neferirkare's. In discussing his reign, Smith called attention to the apparent increase in the production of detailed records in the Fifth Dynasty. The detailed biographical texts inscribed in the porticos of private tombs of the period, the account books of the temple of Neferirkare, the royal annals of the Old Kingdom inscribed in this reign or at least soon afterwards, the elaborate portrayal of the jubilee celebration which appears a few years after Neferirkare's death in the sun temple of Neuserre, but especially the almost encyclopaedic lists of the names of animals, birds, and plants in the remarkable representation of the different seasons of the year in the « Weltkammer » of the same edifice are symptomatic of this tendency toward fuller record⁽⁹⁾. The contents of the writing board from G 1011 — the names of kings in cartouches, the three lists of various gods, the seven lists of place names, and the drawings of different kings of birds and fish — seem to reflect a similar interest in classification.

writing board and palette under his arm, see New Orleans Museum of Art, *Eye for Eye, Egyptian Images and Inscriptions*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 1977, cat. no. 1 (MFA 15-5-593).

(1) Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 266; Weber, *o.c.*, p. 23.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 21 with n. 133.

(3) *Wb.* I, p. 187, 13-14; Weber, *o.c.*, p. 21.

(4) Van de Walle, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, p. 119, n. 2;

Weber, *o.c.*, p. 21-22.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 21-23; Vernus, *RdE* 31, 1979, p. 119, n. 35; id., in *LdÄ* V, p. 703, nn. 5-7.

(6) Barns, *JEA* 54, 1968, p. 7; Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 294.

(7) Smith, *Sculpture*, p. 358.

(8) Cf. William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, p. 17.

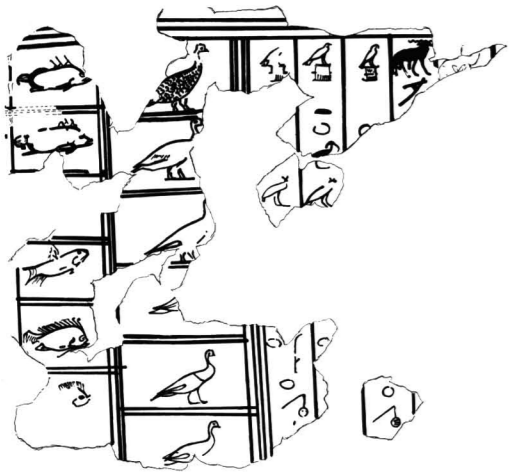
(9) Smith, in *CAH* I/2, p. 184, 204.

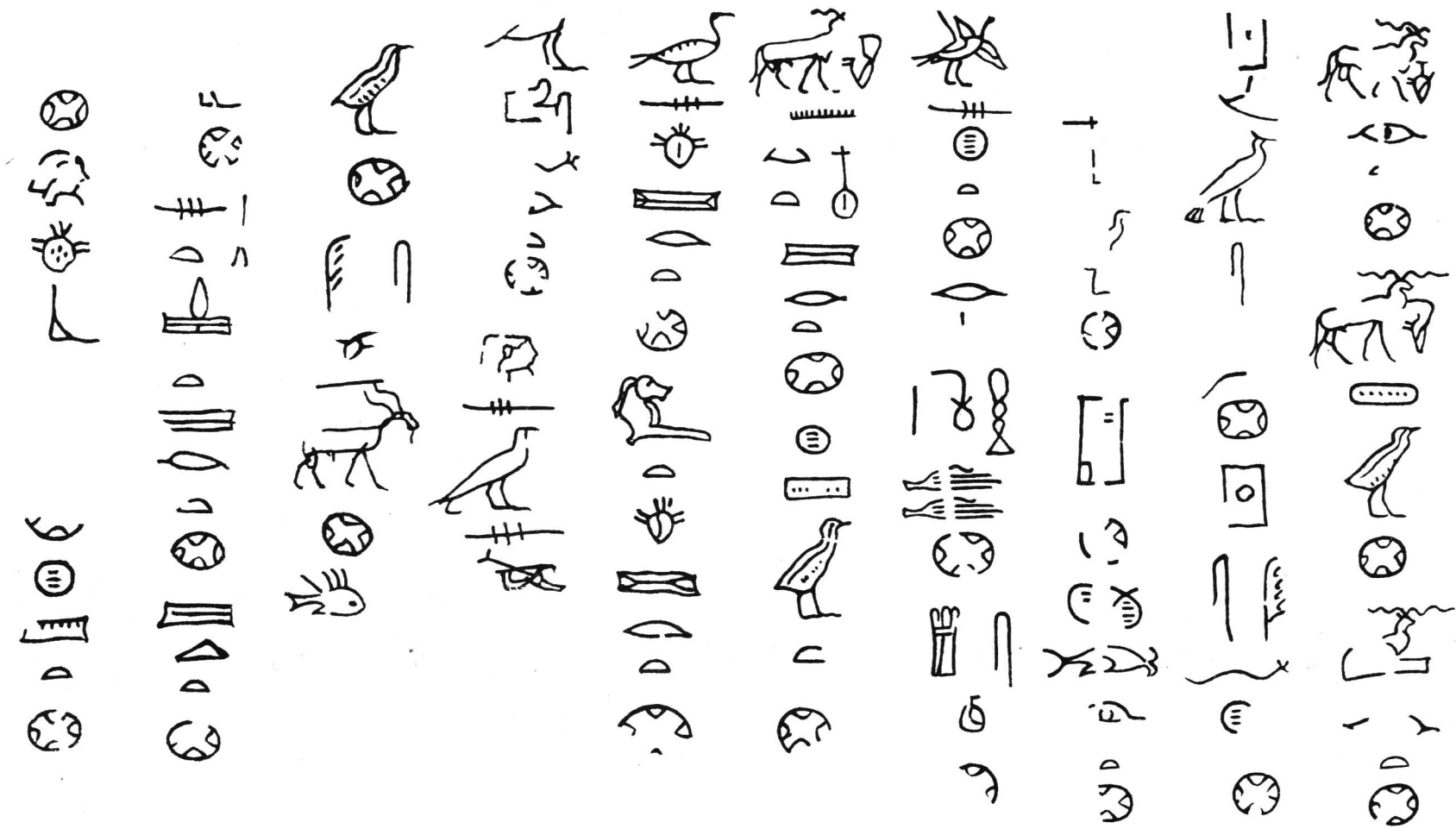
The evident concern with classification raises the possibility that the board from C G 1011 represents an early, if rudimentary, onomasticon or taxonomic list, like the compositions studied by Sir Alan Gardiner ⁽¹⁾. This is patently not true of the second writing board from Cemetery 2000 which contains only place names, and whose purpose may have been, more strictly speaking, didactic.

⁽¹⁾ Gardiner, *AEO I*, p. 1-5.



The writing board from G 1011.





The writing board from cemetery 2000.