

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'EGYPTE

**EXCAVATIONS
AT GÎZA**

THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE OLD KINGDOM

VOL. VI—Part II

1934 - 1935

by

SELIM HASSAN

Excavations of

THE FACULTY OF ARTS, FOUAD I UNIVERSITY

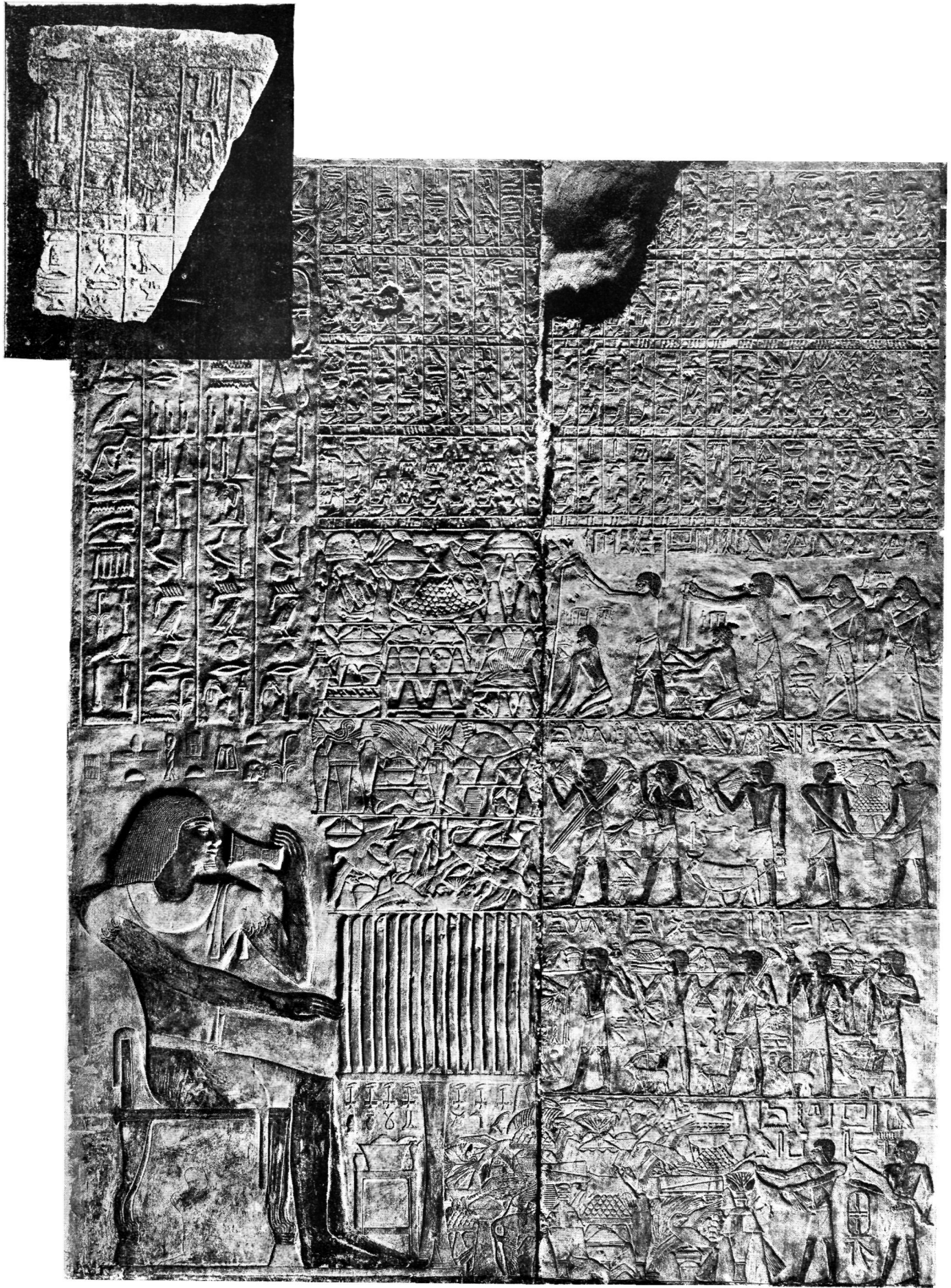


Government Press, Cairo
1948

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY PROFESSOR V. GOLÉNISCHEFF

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The Offering-List of Ptah-hotep in Sakkâra with its missing part

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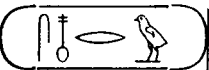












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









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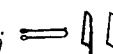


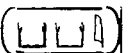




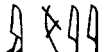



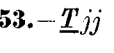
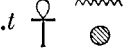


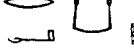


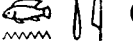

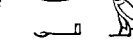
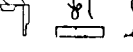
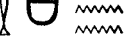
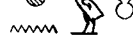



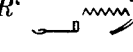



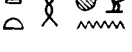
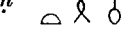
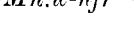
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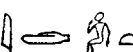








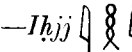
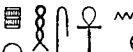



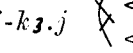
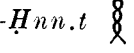
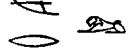

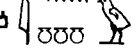
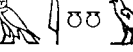
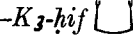



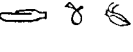
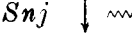





- 1.—Ms-s₃  2.—Hwtj  3.—Snfrw-snb  4.—S₃t-htp 
- 5.—Nfr-njswt  6.—Stw  7.—K₃-nj-njswt  (A SON OF KING Snfrw)
- 8.—S₃m-nfr  9 AND 10.—H₃j-f-Hwfw  11.—Dbh₃nj 
- 12.—QUEEN Mr.s-'nh III  13.—K₃-m-nfr.t  14.—jh.t-htp 
- 15.—R'-mrrj-Pth  16.—Hw-wj-Pth  113




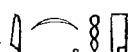






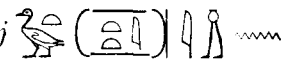
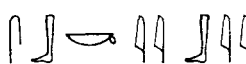

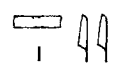
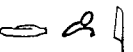

THE LISTS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY :

- 17.—Ns-m-n₃.w  18.—K₃j  19.—K₃-nj-njswt II 
- 20 AND 21.—S₃m-nfr  22.—K₃j-swd₃(w) I  23 AND 24.—Nj-'nh-R' 
- 25, 26 AND 27.—Hnmw-htp  28.—K₃j-swd₃(w) II  29.—Nfr-'irit-n.f 
- 30.—'nh-'irj.s  31.—W₃s'-Pth  32 AND 33.—Tsn  (OR : Itsn)
- 34.—Mrs-w-'nh  35.—Wr-h₃w  (OR Hw₃-wj-wr) 36.—Irw 




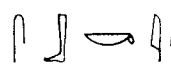


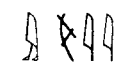
- 37.—*Tjj*  38 AND 39.—*Wsr-ntr*  40.—*Nfr-b3.w-Pth* 
 41.—*K3-k3.j-nh*  42.—*Shm-k3.j*  43.—*In-k3.f* 
 44.—*In-k3.f*  45 AND 46.—*K3.j-sud3.w III*  47.—*Ij-mrjj II* 
 48.—*N-hft-k3.j*  49.—*Htp-hr-3h.t.j*  50.—VIENNA NO. 3
 51 AND 52.—*'nh-m'-k3.j*  53.—*Tjj*  54.—*Nj-'nh-M3.t* 
 55.—*K3.j*  56.—*Shm-'nh-Pth*  57.—*K3.j-pw-R'* 
 58.—*K3-dw3*  59.—*Šdw*  60.—*Intj*  61.—*Dfdj* 
 62.—*K3.j-m-R'*  63.—*W3š'-Dw3w*  64.—*Nfr-htp* 
 65.—*Hmw*  66.—*Hnw*  67.—*M3-nfr* 
 68.—*Pth-htp-Ijj-n-'nh*  69.—*Pth-htp II*  70.—*Nj-M3't-R'* 
 71.—*Sšm-nfr*  72.—*Nj-k3.w-R'*  73.—*Itj*  74.—(?)
 75.—*H'-mrrw-Pth*  76.—*Hr-k3w-Nbtj*  77.—*Hwj-n-Pth* 
 78.—*Nfr-hr-n-Pth*  79.—*Mn.w-nfr*  118

THE OFFERING-LISTS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY :



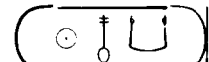
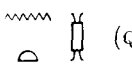


- 80.—*Htpj*  81 AND 82.—PRINCESS *Idw.t*  83 AND 84.—*K3.j-gmw.nj* 
 85.—*Nb-k3.w-Hr*  86.—*Injj*  87.—*K3r* 
 88.—*Idw*  89.—*'nh-m'-Hr*  90.—*M3-hrw-Pth* 
 91 AND 92.—PRINCE *Nfr-sšm-Sš3.t*  93.—*Ihjj*  94.—*S'nh-Pth* 
 95.—*N-hft-k3.j*  96 AND 97.—*K3.j-m-'nh*  98.—*Wrj* 
 99.—*Mrr-wj-k3.j*  100.—*Hnn.t*  101.—*Mrw* 
 102.—*S3bw*  103.—*M3nw*  (VAR. ) 104.—*K3-hif* 
 105.—*K3-pw-Pth*  106.—*K3-m-snw*  107 AND 108.—*Špss-Pth* 
 109.—*Dgm*  110.—*Snj*  111.—*Ppjj*  112.—*Sn.t* 
 113.—*Pnw*  114.—*Mhj*  115 AND 116.—*Nj-'nh-Ppjj* 

- 117.—*K₃-i^r*  118.—*Bjw*  119.—*Sb₃k_w* 
 120.—*Hw.t-i^h*  121 AND 122.—*Ppjj-^{nh}hrj-i^b*  PEPY-ANKH THE MIDDLE
 123.—*Mrrj-Rⁱ-nfr*  124.—*Hnmw-^{nh}*  125.—*Mrr.j* 
 126.—*Ds^{rj}*  127.—*S^mst.j*  128 AND 129.—*S₃.t-iⁿ-Ttj* 
 130.—*Sbk.jj-Bjj*  131.—*Ppjj-Nnj*  132.—*S₃jj* 
 133.—*Idi²*  134.—*Ppjj-i^m₃*  136

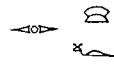
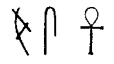




LISTS OF THE LATE SIXTH DYNASTY WHICH FOLLOW THE TYPE OF THE ROYAL LISTS :

- 135.—*Bjw*  136.—*Mnj*  137.—*Hb-sd-Nfr-k₃-Rⁱ* 
 138.—*Sbkjj*  139.—A FRAGMENTARY LIST OF AN UNKNOWN PERSON 140.—*Idi²*
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- 143.—*Wnⁱs*  144.—*Ttj*  145, 146 AND 147.—*Nfr-k₃-Rⁱ* 
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PREFACE

THE aim of this volume is to put before the reader a complete record of all the offering-lists of the Old Kingdom known up to the present day.

We do not claim to have succeeded in collecting all the material from all the world museums, but we have gathered many hitherto unpublished lists from our own excavations at Gîza and Sakkâra, as well as others from the excavations of Dr. Reisner at Gîza.

Neither do we claim to have dealt fully with every item in the offering-list, for to do so would necessitate a comparative study of all the offering-lists ranging over the entire period of the Pharonic regime—and this is outside our scope.

We have contented ourselves with discussing the material for the Old Kingdom as fully as our present limited knowledge of the Ancient Egyptian language will allow.

One of the greatest difficulties to overcome was the accurate rendering of the hieroglyphic signs and their variants, especially the determinatives, which so often formed valuable clues for the identification of an item. This difficulty was increased by the fact that for some lists we were forced to rely upon printed or hand copies, as the reader will see. Anyone who has access to the originals of these will understand upon what precarious ground we were working.

But at any rate, an attempt has been made, and we think that we have advanced a little way further on the road to the comprehension of the offering-lists; but it will be left to future scholars to correct and supplement this work in the light of later knowledge.

Not a light share of the production of this volume fell upon the shoulders of the staff of the Government Press. The reader will notice how much new and special hieroglyphic types have been made in our attempt to secure accuracy in the writing of the entries, and thus preserve the aspect of the originals as far as possible. In this respect I wish to tender my grateful thanks to Hamed Khadr Bey, the Director-General of the Government Press and his staff—especially to William Abdel-Said Eff. and his collaborators and to Zaki Barsum Eff., who cut the new hieroglyphic type with the greatest care and accuracy; also to Hassan Munib Eff. for carefully reading the first proof-sheets.

SELIM HASSAN

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FOREWORD

IN the first part of Vol. VI of this work, we have treated the question of the Solar-boats, a unique subject, and one to be dealt with by itself.

In the present part we have continued the study of the offering-lists, which we began in Vol. V. Although this subject had been treated by Maspero and others (as we have mentioned elsewhere), it has never been studied in the light of recent excavations.

In addition to those offering-lists of the Old Kingdom which are already known from various publications, we have no less than twenty-six new lists which came to light in our excavations in Gîza and Sakkâra, as well as other unpublished material, some from the excavations of the late Dr. Reisner at Gîza. For permission to use this, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Frank Allen, of the Harvard-Boston Expedition. Thus, we have a total of thirty-four new offering-lists to add to those already known to Egyptologists.

The reader will see that by the help of this additional material, many new and interesting facts will be brought to light by their comparative study, particularly the correct readings of the many items wrongly copied by the early savants, and of which only hand-copies are now available.

In compiling this volume, I have gathered together a total of one hundred and fifty-six offering-lists of the Old Kingdom, all the material at present accessible to me, and ranging in date from the early Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Sixth Dynasty; lists drawn from royal, princely and private tombs. In making the plates for these lists, I have tried as far as possible to have an accurate copy of the form of the signs in the original, whether they are from the actual monuments, tracings, or hand-copies.

Thus, the study of these lists will, I hope, serve as a basis for those who wish to make further researches into the question of the offering-lists of the Middle and New Kingdoms, an important branch of the study of Egyptian funerary customs.

In my opinion, it is the study of such branch subjects as these, which leads to the development of our knowledge of life and thought in ancient Egypt, especially in the light of new discoveries. It is this system of comparative study that I have employed in Vols. IV, V and VI (Part I) of my "*Excavations at Gîza*"; and which had been employed by the late Dr. Reisner in his newly published work on the Gîza necropolis and also by Prof. Junker in "*Gîza*" (Vols. I-VI).

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SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS AT GÌZA, 1934-1935

THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE OLD KINGDOM

The Old Kingdom Funerary Offering, from the Evidence
of our Excavations at Giza

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENCE OF OFFERINGS IN PRIMITIVE EGYPTIAN GRAVES.—THE PRIMITIVE EGYPTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE FUTURE LIFE.—WERE THERE TRADITIONALLY FIXED OFFERINGS? POSITIONS OF OFFERINGS, AND OFFERING RITES.—SPECIALIZED OFFERING-PLACES PROVED FOR THE ARCHAIC PERIOD.—MODEL OFFERINGS PLACED IN PRE-DYNASTIC GRAVES, A PROOF OF AN EARLY BELIEF IN MAGIC

FROM the remotest time of which we have tangible evidence, we know that the Egyptians were in the habit of burying their dead with a material equipment consisting of food, vessels, ornaments, weapons, etc. At first, these objects seem to be few in number and of a very simple character in so far as we have evidence. But as civilization developed, so also this funerary equipment increased. Naturally, the quantity and quality of the objects buried with the dead varied with the rank and means of the deceased and his family; nevertheless, there seems to have been a rough traditional standard of articles required for this purpose, and this standard was probably modelled upon what was considered necessary for the health and comfort of an individual in daily life. The nature of these early grave-offerings we shall refer to again later (*see* p. 46). Thus, these objects which were regularly buried with the dead are the first funerary offerings of which we have evidence, and they are of supreme interest in the study of the development of human thought, for these offerings are concrete evidence of early man's belief in a future life. Primitive man is never an idealist⁽¹⁾; he would not waste weapons and equipment valuable to the living by burying them with the dead, unless he was firmly convinced that they were of vital importance to him in some future state. By the very nature of this material equipment, we may know that the primitive Egyptian visualized his future destiny as being something very like his life upon this earth. There, as here, he would eat and drink, hunt game in the desert or the marshy swamps and fight and slay his enemies. Moreover, throughout all the Pharaonic regime the general idea of the Paradise of the dead was but a heavenly reflection of life upon this earth. Perhaps we may consider the Egyptians to be the most sincere patriots in the world, for their idea of Paradise was but a replica of the Egypt that they knew and loved, the motherland from which they had sprung and in which they could ask nothing better than to dwell for eternity. As we shall see later,

⁽¹⁾ Especially in Egypt, where the people have always been very concrete in their thinking. This trait is due to the fact that they pass their lives in a clear atmosphere under a blazing sun, which shows every object in stark clarity, and leaves little or nothing to the imagination.

there is a relationship between the Prehistoric grave-offering and the items of the early dynastic offering-lists; but whereas we know that from the Old Kingdom onwards funerary-offerings were presented to the dead by special priests and officials, and were accompanied by fixed ceremonies and rites, we have no absolutely certain evidence in regard to the Pre-dynastic usages. Were the objects interred with the primitive Egyptians simply placed around the body at random, or wherever space was most convenient, or were they, as sometimes seems to have been the case, set in a special place, and to the accompaniment of special utterances and rites according to local custom?

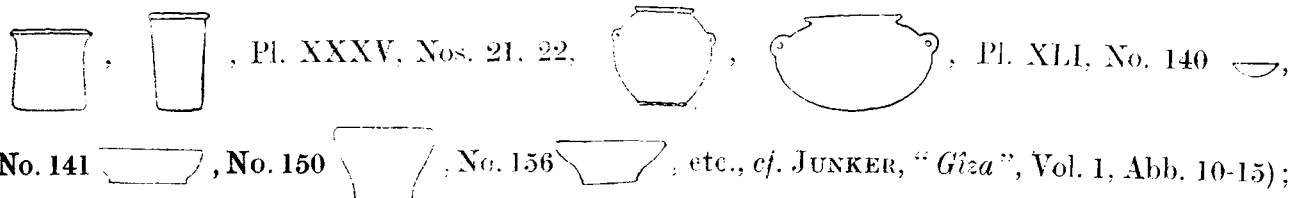
That is a question to which we have yet to find a satisfactory solution. These primitive graves are inarticulate, and the material for their study is at present too scanty and unreliable for us to retrace back to a definite conclusion whether there was a rigidly fixed tradition as to the kind, and number of the objects in the graves; but as we shall see later, there is evidence that some special order or arrangement of the offerings was observed, and as an instance we may mention here that in many cases where the eye-paint is found in the graves, it is often powdered and contained in small leather bags of the form γ , the 'rf' (1) of the later offering-lists, and is held in the hand of the deceased, with the slate palette for grinding the raw mineral for the paint placed close by (see below, p. 48). Here, at least, is something which is clearly a set tradition. Another question concerning the offerings in the Prehistoric burials which for the present must remain obscure, is: Was there a secondary offering made at the exterior of the tomb, and if so, were these offerings renewed at regular intervals? One is inclined for several reasons to assume that simple food and drink offerings were made at the exterior of the grave, and probably at a definitely fixed place. For one thing, we have the hieroglyph — meaning an 'offering', which represents a loaf of bread placed upon a reed-mat. In the earliest offering-scenes that we have, which date from the Second Dynasty, bread is the offering *par-excellence*, and is the only article placed upon the offering-table set in front of the deceased, although other food items are represented or have their names inscribed near by; (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 86, ff.). This importance given to bread speaks of a long traditional usage, which must have extended back to far beyond the First Dynasty. Junker also mentions instances where offerings have been found intact at the exterior of the primitive grave. But these instances are rare, owing to the very flimsy superstructure of these burials; while both the loaf and the reed-mat are of a too inherently perishable nature to survive for any length of time in the open air. Nevertheless, we do find evidence of reed-matting being laid down in the early graves. In the First Dynasty Tomb of *Hm3-k3*, almost all the offerings in the magazines were laid upon reed-matting (EMERY, "*The Tomb of Hemaka*", pp. 12-15, magazines: N, Y, Z, AA, BB, etc.). Likewise we have no definite evidence that the prehistoric Egyptians recognized a special offering-place at their tombs, and this is because of the absence of a built superstructure, by means of which we might gain some definite knowledge of a fixed offering-place, such as we see in the dynastic graves.

Coming to the Archaic Period, we are fortunately in possession of concrete evidence which proves that there was in existence a traditional series of objects which should be offered to the dead, and also that there was a stated place at the grave where these offerings should be put. As in the Prehistoric Period, the bulk of the funerary equipment was placed actually in the grave with the corpse; or in the case of the great, rich tombs, where the funerary equipment was too abundant to

(1) GARDINER, "*Egyptian Grammar*", p. 511.

be contained in the same chamber with the body, it could occupy special chambers or pits in the body of the mastaba (see EMERY, "*Hor-aha*", p. 15; and "*Hemaka*", p. 10, *ff.*). But more than that, we now have evidence that offerings were presented outside the mastabas, and at a specially determined spot, namely an exterior niche or false-door, a little to the south of dead centre in the eastern façade of the superstructure. This special niche was often characterized by the addition of such distinctive features as a wooden floor (PETRIE, WAINWRIGHT and GARDINER, "*Tarkhan I and Memphis V*", p. 13, Tomb No. 1060); or a white plastered floor (PETRIE, "*Gîzeh and Rîfeh*", p. 3, Mastaba V). In this latter example at Gîza a pottery vessel was found still *in situ* in front of the specialized niche. Quibell found similar examples in the case of the archaic cemetery at Sakkâra (QUIBELL, "*Excavations at Sakkâra, 1912-1914*", *Archaic Mastabas*", Pl. XVI, 2). In the case of the archaic royal tombs at Abydos, the offering-place was marked by a carved and sometimes inscribed stele. In the case of King K^c, the purpose of these stelæ is proved by the presence of a number of stone vessels placed near by, one of which was inscribed for "the Priest of the temple of K^c" (PETRIE, "*The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*" Vol. I, p. 6). (For a fuller discussion of this subject, see "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. V, p. 70, *ff.*).

Concerning the traditional series of objects to be offered to the dead, we see that in the Prehistoric Period, the offerings placed around the corpse were objects associated with the needs of daily life, and we find the graves containing stone and pottery vessels, many of the shapes of which persisted into the Old Kingdom (see PETRIE, "*Prehistoric Egypt*", Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 12, 13,



weapons, consisting of harpoons with one or more barbs (PETRIE, *ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII); spears (*ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII); arrows, plain or barbed (*ibid.*, Pl. XXXI); stone maces (*ibid.*, Pl. XXVI); knives (*ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII); furniture: beds with bull's legs (*ibid.*, p. 43); boxes (*ibid.*, p. 43); linen (*ibid.*, p. 43); personal ornaments (*ibid.*, pp. 27, 42, 44, 30, 31, 50, etc.). Among the food-offerings, we find beer, model garlic (*ibid.*, p. 43); model corn (*ibid.*, p. 44); and also copper tools (*ibid.*, pp. 25, 26, 47); games (*ibid.*, pp. 32, 33). Now, from among these items (and of course, the above list is by no means exhaustive, or even complete), there are very few which survived to take their places in the canonical offering-list as it appeared at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, but this may be due to the fact that many of the items in the canonical list consisted of food of a very perishable nature, and had this occurred in the early graves, it may well have decayed without leaving a trace, or have been completely devoured by insects. Some of the items survived until the lists of the early part of the Fourth Dynasty, such as linen and the stone vases; while in the great lists of the end of the Third Dynasty (*H'j-b'w-Skr*, MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. I), there were preserved the boxes and furniture; and until the end of the Sixth Dynasty, the royal lists continued to include the weapons, clothing, and ornaments, while in actual fact, almost all the Prehistoric equipment appears sporadically in the private tombs until the end of the Old Kingdom.

A point of vital interest in the study of the early offerings is the presence of funerary models. In the Cairo Museum are some small figures of oxen and some miniature boats, roughly modelled of clay, and dating from the early Pre-dynastic Period. In a Prehistoric grave at Hierakonpolis were clay models of two forked lances and a knife (QUIBELL and GREEN, "*Hierakonpolis*", Vol. II, p. 51). Model weapons in clay and wood are mentioned by Petrie in "*Prehistoric Egypt*" p. 25, model ostrich eggs of clay, and model heads of garlic were also found (*ibid.*, p. 43).

The presence of model offerings in Pre-dynastic graves may be interpreted in the same manner as those found in the dynastic tombs (and they appear in large quantities in the mastabas of the Second and Third Dynasties at Sakkâra (see QUIBELL, "*Archaic Mastabas*", pp. 21, 23, 26, 42, etc.)). From the examples in the Old Kingdom mastabas, we know that the model offerings had a magical purpose. Animated by the special utterances of the funerary priests, they served as real food and drink for the dead. Therefore, we may assume that they served the same purpose in the earlier tombs. This being so, they further suggest that there was a performance of special rites that took place at the presentation of the funerary offering. Petrie is also of the opinion that the offering ritual was established in the Prehistoric age, for he says: "The funeral system was developed as a formal ritual, as indicated by the positions of the offerings in the graves being usually in the same order. There was a firm belief in the future life, shown by the fine and valuable offerings placed in the grave; and there was no dread of the return of the dead, as they are furnished with weapons. It was, therefore, affection and reverence for the dead which prompted the offerings" (PETRIE, "*Prehistoric Egypt*", p. 48).

Thus, the bulk of the evidence that we have to hand for the Pre-dynastic period, seems to show that at a very remote time the dead were buried with a material equipment of offerings laid around them in the grave, and that probably additional offerings were made at the exterior of the grave. These offerings were probably chosen from a traditional selection of articles, and perhaps the presentation was accompanied by the performance of special rites, and that the belief in the power of magic had already developed.

THE OFFERING IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

SOURCE OF EVIDENCE.—THE NATURE AND POSITION OF THE ARCHAIC FUNERARY OFFERINGS

With the beginning of the First Dynasty we are at once faced with the earliest examples of the written names of some of the offerings, these being chiefly the names of some of the oils (see below, p. 49, ff.). These names are found upon wooden and ivory labels, and also upon oil-jars (see below, p. 50). For actual offerings for the First Dynasty we have ample evidence from the royal tombs of Abydos, Naqâda, the Mastaba of *Hr-ḥs* at Sakkâra, and that of *Hms-k3* also at Sakkâra, as well as a cemetery of middle-class private tombs at Sakkâra. Sakkâra also supplies our evidence for the Second and Third Dynasties, supplemented by the mastabas of the southern ridge at Gîza; while a large Archaic cemetery has recently come to light on the Royal Estates at Helwan, where, up to 1942, no less than 141 intact tombs had been located (1).

At first it seems as though the offerings in the great royal tombs of the First Dynasty only differed from what had gone before in the splendour and abundance of their equipment. But careful examination will show that several types of vases had disappeared, as far as we know, the most notable being the painted vases decorated with figures of men, women, animals and boats. On the other hand, certain types of vases tended to become more firmly established, and to continue in use as funerary equipment throughout the Old Kingdom (see p. 27). In the great mastabas of the First Dynasty, all the offerings seem to have consisted of real objects; (the pottery rhinoceros horns in the tomb of *Hms-k3* are not to be considered here) but dummy cylindrical vases are found in the private tombs, and the finding is recorded of dummy cylindrical vases of red pottery in the graves of the middle class cemetery at Sakkâra (MACRAMALLAH, "*Une Cimetière Archaïque de la Classe Moyenne du Peuple à Sakkâra*", p. 12). In these last examples it would seem that economy was one of the chief factors which led to this type of offering (2).

(1) See "*The Royal Excavations at Sakkâra and Helwan*", p. 26.

(2) Model granaries of pottery and unglazed clay were found in tombs of the First Dynasty in the Royal Excavations at Helwan (see "*Royal Excavations at Sakkâra and Helwan*", p. 26).

By the time of the Second and Third Dynasties, the model vases of alabaster, such as we find in the later tombs of the Fourth Dynasty and onwards, are well established. In reality, the offerings for the dead may be divided into two classes: (1) The material equipment placed in the burial-chamber with the dead; (2) The offering which was at first placed outside the tomb, in front of the special offering-niche, and finally inside the chapel, and which, during the Old Kingdom, was renewed on stated feast-days. In the earliest times, the first class of offering was undoubtedly the most important, as we may see by the amount of objects found surrounding the body in the Pre-dynastic and Archaic graves. That offerings were placed at the exterior of the tomb in the Pre-dynastic period may be deduced from examples found at Badâri (CATON THOMPSON, "*Badârian Civilization*", p. 42) and at El-Omari (P. BOUVIER LAPIERRE, "*Compte Rendus, Congres Internationale Geographique*", Tome IV, p. 278). We have also the specialized offering-niches at Sakkâra (QUIBELL, "*Archaic Mastabas*", Pl. XVIII, 2), and at Giza (PETRIE, "*Giza and Rifeh*", p. 15). So also at Reqaqnah offering-pots were found *in situ* in front of the enclosed recess of Tomb No. 80 (GARSTANG, "*The Tombs of the Third Egyptian Dynasty at Reqaqnah and Bêt Khallaf*", p. 42, Pl. 23 (top) which is dated by Garstang to the end of the Third Dynasty (*ibid*, p. 44). But still the bulk of the offerings are being placed in the burial-chamber or the subterranean rooms. In the great Third Dynasty Tomb of *Hsjj* at Sakkâra, we have what seems to be a new departure. Here the offering-chambers have been greatly reduced, and though, of course, the tomb had been plundered, very few fragments of equipment were found, except some stone and pottery vases. But on the eastern wall of the exterior corridor of the mastaba, which faces the row of false-doors of the Palace-façade panelling, is painted a complete funerary outfit, including furniture, such as we see in actual fact in the royal mastabas of the First Dynasty (QUIBELL, "*The Tomb of Hesy*"). This brings us to a certain stage in the development of the funerary-offering.

Up till now, as we have already seen, the greater importance was given to the offerings placed in the burial-chamber. It was perhaps thought that these were near at hand to the dead, and it was hoped that they would remain with him in safety, even if his descendants neglected to renew the offering at the exterior offering-place. But during the Third Dynasty there seems to have been another idea afoot, and that is that the offerings in the underground chamber were not alone of importance, but also those at the exterior offering-place were being brought into prominence. This is clearly seen in the above-mentioned tomb of *Hsjj*. It may also be this idea that led to the elaboration of the false-door, as we see in the Third Dynasty tomb of *Hj-b3.w-Skr* at Sakkâra (MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Pl. I, Vol. I) and that of his wife, *H.t-Hr-nfr-htp*.

THE OFFERINGS IN THE FOURTH DYNASTY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT-CHAPEL OF THE TOMB.—THE GROWTH OF THE CULT OF THE KA AND THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE BULK OF THE OFFERINGS FROM THE BURIAL-CHAMBER TO THE CULT-CHAPEL.—LUXURIOUS TOMBS OFTEN CONTAIN PALTRY OFFERINGS

By the time of the Fourth Dynasty it is clear that the offerings placed in the burial-chamber were of secondary importance to those made at the false-door. At the same time the inscriptions prove to us that rich endowments were being made to guarantee the regular supply of these external offerings, and provisions were made for funerary priests to carry out the ceremonies and offering rites in front of the false-door. At this time we find the exterior offering-niche developed into a cult-chapel, a feature nearly attained by *Hsjj* with his covered corridor. Leaving aside the rich tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs*, who was the wife and mother of two great and powerful kings, we find

that even in the princely tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, the funerary outfit in the burial-chamber was simple to the point of paltriness. For this point we have the invaluable evidence afforded by two absolutely intact mastabas belonging to a son and daughter of *H'j.f R'*, which I had the great pleasure of locating during our seventh season's excavations at Giza. A third intact burial for the Fourth Dynasty, belonging to a lady of obviously high rank, had come to light during our second season's work (see Vol. II of this work, pp. 141, ff.). The contents of these burial-chambers will be discussed below. What seems to have happened is that there was a steadily increasing belief that after all, the offerings placed with the dead in the burial-chamber were not of so much importance, and the really important offerings were those made at the external offering-niche or in the chapel. In other words, the cult of the Ka was gaining a greater importance. In the great mastabas the walls of the chapels were adorned with reliefs and inscriptions, all of which were of magical value to the Ka. We have remarked elsewhere how the offering-list was taken from the chapel and carried down to the burial-chamber (see below, p. 73), so now we must note a process by means of which the offerings have been brought up from the burial-chamber to the chapel. Thus, from the Pre-dynastic period to the Third Dynasty the bulk of the real offerings were placed in the underground chamber with the dead. In the Tomb of *Hsjj*, the offerings in the burial-chamber were seemingly scanty, but a beautifully painted outfit is executed on the wall of the corridor above ground. Sometimes, however, the intact tombs of the Third Dynasty are found to be entirely devoid of offerings in the burial-chamber (see JUNKER "Bericht über die Grabungen auf dem Friedhof in Turah", p. 4). This poverty of offerings has sometimes been ascribed to the oppression and impoverishment of the private persons by the kings. But this theory has rightly been exploded by Junker, in "Giza", Vol. I, p. 102. Indeed, its falsity may be clearly seen by the fact that large and well-built tombs, often having sumptuously decorated chapels, may and do contain paltry equipments in their burial-chambers. In such cases, poverty is surely not to be blamed for the poor offerings. Moreover, at no other time than during the early Old Kingdom were there so many rich funerary endowments made for the upkeep of the private tombs.

Later, in the Fourth Dynasty, the offerings in the burial-chamber are reduced to a minimum of which a good percentage are models; while the chapel walls are adorned with representations of all the things needful for the welfare of the Ka. Naturally, the belief in the importance of the cult of the Ka, and its statue exercised a great influence on the form of the tomb, and led to the development of the offering-place into a chapel, or even a series of chapels, and also led to the institution of the tomb-endowments. This is, first of all, seen in the First Dynasty, when the kings had guaranteed their funerary rites being faithfully performed, by means of the endowment of estates for the upkeep of their funerary cults. This may be gathered from the very fact that their cults continued to be maintained in later times. This procedure was then followed by members of the royal family and the great nobles. But these endowments did not at first affect the offerings in the underground chambers, for, as we have seen, the tombs of the Second Dynasty continue to contain a large equipment of material objects; and it is not until the Third Dynasty that we begin to find burial-chambers devoid of offerings (see "Turah", p. 4). Garstang had observed the same thing at Reqaqnah, where in some of the late Fourth Dynasty tombs persons of note often had their burial-chambers less well-equipped than many a nameless corpse buried in a pot in the open desert (GARSTANG, "The Third Egyptian Dynasty", p. 51). In such instances, we cannot at all blame poverty for the lack of material offerings.

It is at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty that the costly decorated chapels, which the private persons built in imitation of the mortuary temples of the kings, began to come into general use⁽¹⁾. The development of the chapel in the private tombs can be traced in the Mastaba of *Hmion*, and other princely tombs in the western cemetery at Giza, and also the princely tombs at Meydum. Few of these persons had omitted to provide themselves with chapels actually incorporated in the plan of the mastaba, and executed in fine stone masonry. Often they were adorned with representations and inscriptions. Later, the idea of the solid superstructure was abandoned, and the tomb was occupied by one or more chambers serving for the cult of the dead. Nevertheless, some of the best-built mastabas, where the upkeep and funerary-rites were assured by the income from many villages and estates, might contain in their burial-chambers no better equipment than a few small and carelessly-made model vessels of alabaster, limestone or earthenware, and some copper model tools. That such poor gifts were the original equipment of the dead, and not things left as worthless by the plunderers, may be proved by their appearance in some intact tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, which, as I have already remarked, came to light in our excavations.

When discussing the question of the offering in the burial-chamber, Junker deplored the lack of intact tombs for the Fourth Dynasty, which left a gap in his evidence. That lack has now been remedied by our six intact burials for this period⁽²⁾. Two of these tombs, which came to light in our seventh season's work, have not yet been published, another has already appeared in the second volume of this work (*see below*, p. 9). The former tombs I propose to treat somewhat fully, as we shall have occasion to refer to them again later.

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF A PRINCESS, DAUGHTER OF *H'j.f-R'*

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER.—THE CONTENTS OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

Seemingly the earliest of these intact burials is that of an unnamed Princess, a daughter of *H'j.f-R'*. In this mastaba, the entrance to the burial-chamber is reached by means of a sloping passage, measuring 5.16 metres long, which was blocked by four huge plugstones of limestone. Wedged between one of these plugstones and the wall of the passage was a fine alabaster head-rest. It was broken by the pressure of the stone, but we were able to repair it. Its presence in this place is something of a mystery, as its proper situation is inside the sarcophagus, where it is usually found to be a little to the right of the head of the deceased (*see below*, p. 9). However, we do sometimes find offerings intentionally placed in the filling of shafts, (*see below*, p. 19), and this head-rest may have been deliberately left in the place in which we found it.

The burial-chamber, which measures 4.0 × 2.10 × 1.55 metres high, was found to be filled from floor to ceiling with Nile mud, which must have entered with the flood-water from an abnormally high Nile or heavy rain(?). After carefully clearing away the mud, we were able to reveal the contents of the burial-chamber, which except for the above-mentioned flooding,

⁽¹⁾ I have recently proved that the mortuary temple of *H'wfw* was decorated with finely-executed reliefs, some fragments of which came to light during our tenth season's work.

⁽²⁾ We have also some others for the Fifth Dynasty, *see below*, p. 14, *f.*)

was absolutely intact. The sarcophagus, cut from a massive block of limestone, measured $2.45 \times 1.05 \times 0.85$ metres high. It lay in a great recess cut in the western wall of the chamber. Despite the fact that the lid was mortared into place on the coffer, the mud-laden water had penetrated through the more porous material of the mortar, and when we removed the lid, the sarcophagus was found full of dried mud. This we removed flake by flake, and finally revealed the skeleton of the Princess, which lay with the head to the north and the face to the east. The body was clad in an outfit of golden jewellery, consisting of the following items:—

- (1) A golden fillet adorned with golden ribbons.
- (2) A necklace of steatite beads threaded upon three strands of gold.
- (3) A necklace of gold and faience beads, fastened by heavy golden clasps.
- (4) A copper belt plated with gold; this was found around the waist of the deceased.
- (5) Bracelets of thin sheet-gold.
- (6) Anklets of thin sheet-gold.
- (7) Golden finger-tips.

Lying in the middle of the chamber, and facing north-west, was a finely-sculptured portrait head of the Princess. It is of white limestone and measures 27.8 centimetres high. As these portrait-heads are a distinctive feature of the Fourth Dynasty tombs, we were able by this means to definitely date the burial. Scattered on the floor of the chamber, to the east of the sarcophagus were a number of pottery vessels, which may, however, have been floated from their original places when the tomb was flooded. These vessels consist of the following types:—


(1) A damaged pot of red-polished ware, with a rolled rim and an oval body tapering to a pointed base. Reisner grades this form of jar as Type II, and identifies it as a receptacle for wine, beer or water (“*Mycerinus*”, p. 206, Fig. 62, No. 1).

(2) Six jars of a peculiar form. They have flat rims, wide and high shoulders, and slightly concave sides tapering to a somewhat narrow and flat base. They measure 9.5 centimetres high and 13.5 centimetres in diameter at the widest part. They are made of polished red-ware, and four are perfect, but two are damaged (for the use of these jars, *see below*, p. 32).

(3) A damaged flat-bottomed bowl of dark red-ware. Height 9.5 centimetres.

(4) A drinking-bowl of red-polished ware, having a re-curved rim and a rounded bottom. It was smashed to fragments, and this was probably done intentionally for ritualistic purposes (*see below*, p. 92).

(5) Other bowls of red-polished ware were also found in a fragmentary condition. One of them bore traces of smoke-blackening, proving that it had been in practical use.

(6) Distributed about the chamber were joints from half a carcass of a sacrificial ox. The head lay in the north-east corner; in the middle of the chamber were the ribs, these being four in number, and severed in such a way as to resemble the sign  which is used as a determinative for No. 142 of the offering-list, *spr* = ribs of beef. Near the sarcophagus lay the foreleg, *hps'*—No. 138 of the offering-list; while the hind leg and the shoulder-blade were scattered about the room.

(7) To the south of the sarcophagus were twenty-two model implements of copper, embedded in the mud, and seemingly in their original places. These consist of four knife-blades, two axe-blades, eight adze-blades and eight chisels.

Perhaps there were others that had perished from corrosion.

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF PRINCE *HNMW-Bj.F*

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER.—THE CONTENTS OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

Our second intact tomb for the Fourth Dynasty lay a little to the north of the preceding one, and belonged to Prince *Hnmw-bj.f*, a son of *H'j.f-R'*. Here also the burial-chamber is reached by means of a sloping passage measuring 4.10 metres long, and blocked by four massive plugstones of limestone. At the end of this passage, four rock-cut steps led down into the burial-chamber which measures 4.35 × 3.0 × 3.0 metres high, and which is very finely cut. Here also, the flood-water had penetrated, but not to the extent that it had done in the burial-chamber of the Princess, and the mud deposit only amounted to a very thin layer covering the floor. Lying near the western wall of the chamber was a great limestone sarcophagus measuring 2.35 × 2.05 × 1.10 metres high. Arranged upon the lid of the sarcophagus were four magnificent necklaces composed of beads of gold, carnelian, turquoise, steatite, hæmatite and ivory, with golden spacers and clasps. It is most unusual to find the jewellery thus displayed upon the lid of the sarcophagus for it is usually found adorning the corpse. But in this case the body of the Prince, which lay in an inner wooden coffin, was entirely devoid of ornaments. To the east of the sarcophagus lay half of a carcass of a sacrificial ox cut into the traditional joints. There were also four canopic jars of red pottery with white limestone lids. These still retained their original contents. Near these jars was a set of eight copper model implements, among which were a model ewer and basin, four vases, two small basins, four rectangular knives, each of which has four cutting edges, three axe-blades, some knives, chisels and a quantity of adze-blades (*see below*, p. 42). To the south of the sarcophagus was a full-sized practical ewer, also of copper, which seems to have fallen from a rock-cut shelf in the western wall of the chamber, and upon which we found a full-sized copper basin, obviously appertaining to the ewer. It is very interesting to find these articles of practical and model form occurring in the same tomb.

THE INTACT BURIAL-CHAMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF SHAFT No. 294

THE CONTENTS

(For a full description of this tomb, see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. II, p. 141 *ff.*)

Apparently this tomb, of which all the inscriptions are lost, belonged to a lady of wealth and rank. The body lay in a limestone sarcophagus; near the head was an alabaster headrest. The corpse was furnished with a magnificent set of jewellery, consisting of the following articles:—

- (1) A massive golden crown.
- (2) A necklace consisting of fifty golden pendants, each in the form of a *Coleoptera* beetle.
- (3) A necklace of gold and faience beads.
- (4) A pair of golden anklets.
- (5) A pair of golden bracelets.

The body was clad in a robe of faience beads, from the hem of which were suspended six cones of gold-plated copper. No inscriptions had survived in the chapel which would allow us to identify the owner of the tomb, which was large and well-constructed. But despite these obvious signs of wealth, the equipment of the burial-chamber consisted principally of model vessels of alabaster, and a few practical vessels of pottery. There were also two legs of beef lying with the hooves towards the west, and the skeleton of a goose. Although the model vases were finely finished, they were hardly what one would expect to find buried with a person of such obvious importance and means as the owner of this tomb seems to have been.

OTHER INTACT BURIALS OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY

K3R, 3H.T-HTP, K3-PR.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STATUE IN THE TOMB.—REPRESENTATIONS ON THE CHAPEL WALLS.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STONE CHAPEL FROM THE MUD-BRICK CULT-ROOM

K3r (see Part III of this work, Shaft No. 3060).—In the intact burial-chamber of this shaft, the only offering was a single alabaster vase, placed to the south-east of the body.

3h.t-htp (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. I, pp. 84, 85).—In the burial-chamber of *3h.t-htp* who was an important official of the Fourth Dynasty, and a priest of *Hwfw*, the only offering placed with the tomb-owner was a drinking-bowl of red pottery, placed between the legs of the corpse.

K3-pr (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 158).—Here the untouched burial-chamber contained nothing at all except the corpse, and the same was observed in the case of *Hwt3*, a priest of *Mn-k3.w-R*, and his wife (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, p. 46). Thus, we may confidently rule out poverty as being the prime factor for a poor tomb-equipment, and seek for another reason; namely that as we have already seen, the cult rites of the chapel were gradually ousting out of importance the rites of the burial-chamber, and the Ka was assuming greater importance than the body. Certainly the ceremonies performed in the chapel were still considered to be of the greatest value to the dead; but the actual corpse in the sarcophagus dwindled in importance, compared with the statue, which was animated by the Ka. In many cases the Ka-statue in the serdab stands directly behind the principal offering-place—the false-door. In our excavations we have the following serdabs which are situated behind false-doors: *Ffj*, (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 282), *Shm-nh-Pth* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 41), *K3-hr-njswt* (*ibid*, II, p. 68). *Ijj*, (*ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 103, 104), *Njsw-kd* (Vol. II, p. 99). In the Tomb of *Mrsw-nh* (*ibid*, Vol. I, p. 113) the serdab lies behind the offering-list, which is inscribed upon the northern wall of the chapel, and in proximity to the false-door. The list of *Nfr-hr.n-Pth*, (No. 78) is inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel, behind which lies the serdab, the squint occurring in the midst of the enumeration of the seven holy oils. The slot of the serdab was used as a direct connection between the statue and the chapel (for the question of the serdab and the cult of the Ka, see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 45, ff.).

From the time of the late Third Dynasty, the importance of the statue is very clearly seen, as in the Tomb of *Mtn*, where a scene representing priests burning incense before the statue of the deceased is inscribed: “*ntwt*”=‘for the statue’; thus leaving no doubt as to the purpose of

the rite. The cult of the chapel is also clearly indicated by the importance given to the false-door as the place from which the dead emerged in order to partake of the offerings, and for this reason we find the portrait of the tomb-owner sculptured upon it. In the central niche of the false-door of *Tstj* (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 151) is a large figure of the deceased in a walking attitude, as though about to step into the chapel; but in the same situation on the false-door of *Ftj* (*ibid*, Vol. I, p. 99) the tomb-owner is represented as though about to partake of his meal. There are also the fine false-doors in which a statue of the deceased occupies the central niche, as in the case of *Ittj* (MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. XIX), and *Mrr.wj-k3.j* (CAPART, “*Memphis l’Ombre des Pyramides*”, p. 334).

Finally, the walls of the chapel were adorned with representations of the deceased, his family and household, and all the activities of his daily life. Here also were depicted the offering-bearers bringing their gifts to the tomb, and the important offering-scene itself (for this and the companion scene of the festal banquet, *see below*, p. 107).

All these representations were capable of being animated, and of taking on a semblance of real life, and thus the pictured offerings became a real sustenance for the Ka.

For the dominance of the cult of the above-ground offering-place in comparison with that of the burial-chamber, we have first of all the austere type of mastaba of the early Fourth Dynasty, in front of the monumental stone superstructure of such tombs, stood a room built of mud-bricks, which served as a cult-chapel. Here the offerings placed before the tomb-stele became more important than the equipment in the burial-chamber, which at this time contained little except model objects. Reisner found several such mud-brick chapels, where the offering pots were still *in situ* before the offering-niche, where they were set upon a low mud-brick platform (REISNER, “*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*”, Vol. XIII, p. 233). The mud-brick cult-chapel continued in use so long as there was no developed false-door and no statue, although in some instances statues have been found in mud-brick chapels, some of which were discovered by Dr. Reisner. Reisner further points out that the serdab, the real home of the Ka-statue, did not begin to appear until the late Fourth Dynasty, and then only in mastabas having interior chambers⁽¹⁾. Dr. Reisner also states that in his concession these mastabas, having a mud-brick chapel, do not have a stone false-door, but only a single rectangular limestone stele, thus similar to the stones set above the offering-niches in the archaic mastabas. But as soon as the monumental false-door and the Ka-statue appeared as regular features, it was necessary to build a stone chapel to protect them, as it was perhaps thought that the mud-brick structures were too flimsy and short-lived. Nevertheless, a form of these mud-brick rooms seems to have survived into the Fifth Dynasty, as we may see in the case of *Nj-k3w-Ht-Hr* (*see* “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. VI, Part III). In the eastern cemetery at Gîza, great niches of white limestone were constructed to house the statues. The same thing is seen in the Mastaba of *Hmîwn* where the fine inner chamber has two false-doors and two serdabs. It seems, however, that the mud-brick room did not immediately disappear with the advent of the stone chapel, but reverted to its original (?) use as a store-room (*see* REISNER, “*A. S.*”, Vol. XIII, p. 243). Perhaps the mud-brick construction of *Nj-k3w-Ht-H* ought rather to be included here (?).

(1) But on the other hand, there is the serdab of King *Dsr* of the Third Dynasty, which is situated against the casing near the north-eastern corner of his pyramid at Sakkâra (FIRTH AND QUIBELL, “*The Step Pyramid*”, Vol. 1, pp. 50, 51).

A further proof of the importance of the chapel and its cult-ceremonies is shown by the fact that during the Fourth Dynasty many of the burial-chambers were paved and cased with white limestone slabs (1), while the entrance was plugged by massive blocks of limestone (*see above*, pp. 7, 9). This latter feature is very significant, as it was the only connection between the burial-chamber and the outside world. On the other hand, in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties the burial-chambers were left unpaved and uncased, and in many instances they were roughly cut, while the entrance was blocked by a wall of masonry. At the same time, the cult-chapel, now included in the superstructure, was built or cased with fine stone, adorned with reliefs, and provided with one or more false-doors, and contained a serdab in which to house the Ka-statues. On the other hand, some of the tombs at Meydum, dating from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty have the entrance to the burial-chamber closed by a masonry wall, while the superstructure contains a false-door and a statue-chamber.

But it is significant that in the Giza mastabas the chapel was simple, and considered to be of secondary importance to the burial-chamber during the Fourth Dynasty. While on the other hand, in the later mastabas the reverse was the case, and we have the perfection of the chapel allied to the neglect of the burial-chamber. These facts clearly show how the two beliefs, namely the importance of the cult of the burial-chamber and that of the cult of the chapel exercised an influence on both the construction and equipment of the tomb. The reason why in even the finely constructed burial-chambers of the Fourth Dynasty we find such relatively poor material offerings, is because the important food for the dead was already being laid in the upper offering-place before the tomb-stele, where the deceased was represented before his offering-table.

THE POSITION OF THE OFFERING IN THE TOMB

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFERINGS IN THE BURIAL-CHAMBER OF THE PRINCESS.— THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFERINGS IN THE BURIAL-CHAMBER OF SHAFT NO. 294

Concerning the position of the offerings in the Fourth Dynasty tombs, we have a certain amount of reliable evidence afforded by the intact tombs in our excavations. As mentioned above, the position of the pottery in the burial-chamber of the Princess is open to doubt, owing to the flooding of the tomb, but the water can have only percolated into the chamber, as the plugging of the sloping passage would have prevented any sudden rush of water, therefore the heavier objects would be unaffected, and are almost certainly in their original places. In the case of Prince *Hnmw b, f*, the flooding was certainly much less, and it is doubtful if any of the objects were displaced with the exception of the large copper ewer, which seems to have fallen from the rock-cut shelf upon which its basin still stands. As the flood-water certainly never reached to this height,

(1) None of the Fourth Dynasty tombs in our concession has paved floors, nor are they cased, but Reisner found examples in his mastabas (*Annales du Service*, Vol. XIII, p. 233). Thus, it seems to be another case of a custom restricted to a certain part of the necropolis. As a general rule, the quality of the rock in that part of the Giza plateau in which our concession lies, is fine and hard, and it may be for this reason that a casing and paving for the rock-cut burial-chambers was considered unnecessary.

the ewer may have been shaken down during some earth-tremor. Taking the burial-chamber of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* as a model, we find the offerings disposed in the following manner:—

- (1) The sarcophagus in the west of the chamber.
- (2) Practical copper basin and ewer (?) on a rock-cut shelf in the western wall of the chamber, near the feet of the deceased.
- (3) To the east of the sarcophagus and close to its side were the four canopic jars, and beside them the copper model implements.
- (4) The joints of meat were further to the east, and were distributed from north to south.

The Arrangement of the Offerings in the Burial-Chamber of the Princess :—

- (1) The sarcophagus in the west of the chamber.
- (2) The limestone portrait-head in the middle of the room, facing north-west. It was probably originally set upright and facing due north, but toppled over during the flooding of the tomb.
- (3) Pottery vessels to the east of the sarcophagus.
- (4) An ox-head in the north-eastern corner.
- (5) Ox-ribs near the centre of the eastern side of the sarcophagus, also the forelegs.
- (6) The hind legs and shoulder-blade further out into the room, but still to the east.
- (7) Copper model implements to the south of the sarcophagus.

The Arrangement of the Offerings in the Burial-Chamber of Shaft No. 294 :—

The burial-chamber of Shaft No. 294 had entirely escaped the flood-water, and there can be no doubt at all as to the order in which the objects lay. Here we have the following arrangement:—

- (1) The sarcophagus in the south-west of the chamber.
- (2) Eighty model vases of alabaster to the east of the sarcophagus. These were simply 'dumped' down in a heap, and neither arranged in any order, nor even placed with their right sides uppermost.
- (3) In the south-eastern corner of the tomb were four practical pottery vases, one of which has a copper lid, while another has a mud sealing.
- (4) In a niche in the southern wall of the chamber were five bowls of fine red pottery, two of which had been intentionally broken; the stone by which they were smashed having been left lying above the fragments (for this ritualistic breaking of the pottery, *see* below, p. 92).
- (5) On the floor to the south of the sarcophagus were two legs of a bull, with the hoove to the west.
- (6) The skeleton of a goose, also to the south of the sarcophagus.
- (7) A circular offering-table of alabaster, 15 centimetres in diameter, with traces of some kind of offering upon its upper surface. Junker ("Giza", Vol. 1, p. 105) records the finding of four loaves of bread upon an alabaster dish.

We have, of course, other tombs of the Fourth Dynasty in our excavations, but they had all been plundered, with the exception of those mentioned on p. 6, above, and so are valueless for evidence. These intact tombs show us that the majority of the gifts were placed to the east of the sarcophagus. Here they would be immediately before the face of the deceased, which usually lay in the sarcophagus with the head to the north and the face to the east. The same custom of placing the offerings to the east of the body was observed by Garstang at Reqaqnah (*"The Third Egyptian Dynasty"*, Pls. XXII. 54, XXIV. 88, XXV, XXVI. 55).

Later it became the custom to inscribe the offering-list on the inner eastern side of the sarcophagus, or on the eastern wall of the burial-chamber. Also, it was on the north-eastern end of the wooden coffins where were carved the two great eyes that enabled the dead to look out into the burial-chamber (1). The eastern situation of the offerings is also in conformation with the eastern situation of the exterior offering-place and the cult-chapel.

THE INTACT BURIALS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY

SSM.W, SHAFT NO. 585.—'NH-Ḥ3.F, SHAFT NO. 626.—THE MASTABA OF SHAFT NO. 559.—THE MASTABA OF NH.T-K3.—WT-ḤTP, SHAFT NO. 306.—ŠPSS-K3.F-'NH, SHAFT NO. 1.—SHM-'NH-PṬ, SHAFT NO. 418.—SHAFT NO. 419.—NJSW-KD, SHAFT NO. 366.—ḤWT3, SHAFT NO. 546.—SHAFT NO. 133 IN THE TOMB OF R'-WR.—SHAFT NO. 16 IN THE TOMB OF R'-WR.—SHAFT NO. 39 IN THE TOMB OF R'-WR.—NJ-K3.W-ḤT-HR, THE WIFE OF ḤT-ḤTP.—SŠM-NFR.—POTTERY FOUND IN THE FILLING OF INTACT SHAFTS.—SHAFT NO. 249.—SHAFT NO. 254.—SHAFT NO. 1311.—SHAFT NO. 39.—OTHER OFFERINGS FOUND IN SHAFTS AND SLOPING PASSAGE

Let us now examine the intact burial-chambers of the Fifth Dynasty and see if this distribution of the offerings is maintained. From our excavations we have the following examples:—

Sšm.w, Shaft No. 585 (*"Excavations at Giza,"* Vol. III, p. 83, ff.).—The sarcophagus is almost in the middle of the chamber. Between it and the eastern wall is a rubble platform upon which were the following objects:—

- (1) Ten potteryjars, with clay lids. They measure about 24·5 centimetres high.
- (2) Ten similar jars, about 11 centimetres high.
- (3) Four canopic jars.
- (4) The tibia and fibia from the legs of two oxen.

North of the sarcophagus, and in the north-eastern corner of the chamber were about eighty model implements and vessels of copper. The corpse was adorned with a golden necklace and beads of gold, carnelian, turquoise, diorite, faience and shell (?).

'nh-Ḥ3.f (*"Excavations at Giza"*, Vol. III, p. 139 ff.).—The sarcophagus was in the middle of the chamber, and on its lid were the following objects:—

- (1) A small limestone vase of a peculiar form (*see* below, p. 31).
- (2) A limestone head-rest. This is most unusual, as its proper place is inside the sarcophagus a little to the east of the head of the deceased.

(1) For another explanation for these two eyes, *see* CAPART, *"Les Yeux Magiques"*, *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 41 pp. 32, 33.

East of the sarcophagus, on a platform 40 centimetres high, were the following:—

- (1) Three large pottery jars, about 37·5 centimetres high.
- (2) A set of sixty-eight model tools of copper.
- (3) The tibia and fibia of an ox.
- (4) A drinking-bowl of red-ware, 23 centimetres in diameter.

The following objects were set out on a shelf cut at a height of 60 centimetres from the floor in the eastern wall of the chamber:—

- (1) An alabaster tablet for the seven holy oils.
- (2) A shallow copper bowl, 13 centimetres in diameter.

In the south-east of the chamber lay the following:—

- (1) A large jar of red-polished ware.
- (2) Four white limestone canopic jars and their lids.
- (3) A jar of pink-ware.

The body was adorned with a necklace of gold wire on which was threaded beads of gold carnelian and faience.

Shaft No. 626 (ibid, p. 142).—The second shaft in the same tomb, which belonged to an important male member of the family of 'nh-h3.f, contained the following:—

The sarcophagus lay near to the western wall of the chamber. To the north of the sarcophagus are:—

- (1) Eleven model vessels of copper and other fragments of copper models.
- (2) Thirty-nine model dishes and vessels of limestone, bearing traces of having originally been painted yellow. Wainwright records the finding of small jars with a corpse at Meydum, each of which contained a small quantity of yellow clay.

(PETRIE, MACKAY and “WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum and Memphis*”, III, p. 12.)

East of the sarcophagus lay the following:—

- (1) An alabaster slab for the seven holy oils.
- (2) Four white limestone canopic jars with lids.
- (3) Three broken vases of red pottery.
- (4) Decayed ox-bones.

The corpse was adorned with a flat golden bracelet, and to the east of the head was an alabaster head-rest.

The Mastaba of Shaft No. 559 ("Excavations at Giza," Vol. III, p. 242, ff.).—Near the western wall: an extended body, clad in an outfit of golden jewellery. It originally lay, with the head to the north in a wooden coffin, which had decayed around it. To the east of the body lay the following objects:—

Ninety model implements and vessels of copper; these were all grouped near the head and shoulders of the corpse, which was that of a boy of about 12 years of age. No other offerings were found, and perhaps this set of copper models were considered comprehensive. Among them were two ewers and basins, and this accords with the two ewers and basins in the offering-scenes on the chapel walls (see *Wsr-ntr*, MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, Pls. XXI, XXIII; *Pth-š'pss*) (*ibid*, Pl. XXIX; *Tsn*, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, Fig. 125, etc.). Also we have seen that Prince *Hnmw-bš.f* had two ewers and basins, one, a real set and one a miniature model (see p. 13). In the plundered burial-chamber of Shaft No. 648 was a model ewer and basin of limestone, carved in one piece.

The Mastaba of Nht-kš (our seventh season's excavations).—The body, which lay in a sarcophagus cut in the floor of the chamber, near the western wall, seems to have been adorned with strips of gold, and a necklace of faience beads. Actually inside the sarcophagus with the corpse were the following objects:—

- (1) Four alabaster model vases.
- (2) Six copper model objects too badly corroded to identify.
- (3) The decayed support of a wooden head-rest.
- (4) A gold-plated stick (along the eastern side of the sarcophagus).
- (5) To the east of the sarcophagus, and leaning against the southern wall of the chamber, was a hand-made offering jar, still preserving the mud cap which closed it.
- (6) A similar vase was found fallen down behind the blocking of the entrance to the burial-chamber, that is to say, also to the east of the sarcophagus.

Wtt-htp, Shaft No. 306, (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 3).—On the floor of the burial-chamber of this tomb were two thighs of an ox, and some small model vessels of limestone, but as this burial had been disturbed, we cannot say where their original places had been.

The example of *Nht-kš* (seventh season) where the offerings were placed actually inside the sarcophagus, seems to be a feeble echo of the primitive custom of placing the offerings in direct contact with the corpse. This custom was also met with at Turah (see JUNKER, "Turah", Ic, Grave 1516, Pl. XXIV).

In the tomb of *Idw II*, (JUNKER, *Giza*", Vol. I, p. 102) were found seven walking-sticks and two rolls of linen, placed at the feet of the corpse in the sarcophagus. Wainwright found copper model implements, ox-bones and the skeletons of poultry, inside the sarcophagus in Mastaba No. 17, at Meydum, (PETRIE, "Meydum and Memphis, III", p. 14). In the sarcophagus with the body were wooden model insignia, consisting of a mace and two crooks, the latter being painted yellow. This burial had been plundered, but the above-mentioned objects seem to have been in their original places. In another tomb at Meydum, in the northern peribolus group, six small pottery vases

were found in the coffin with the body, (*ibid.*, p. 12). These examples, and especially that of the intact burial of *Nht-kz*, prove that some persons did, to a slight extent, continue to place offerings actually with the corpse until as late as the Fifth Dynasty. The following are intact burials from our excavations, which contain few offerings, or even none at all. These examples are shafts belonging to mastabas, and are not late intrusive burials:—

Špss-kz.f-nh, Shaft No. 1 (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 30).—This is the principal shaft of the tomb, but the burial-chamber contained nothing but the body lying in a rock-cut sarcophagus.

Šhm-nh-Pth, Shaft No. 418 (*ibid.*, p. 45).—A body in a sarcophagus, but no equipment.

Shaft No. 419 (in the same tomb: *ibid.*).—A body extended upon the floor, no equipment.

Njsw-kd, Shaft No. 366 (*ibid.*, p. 102).—A body contracted upon the floor of the chamber. Near, but not under the head, was a white limestone head-rest of peculiar form, having a double support. This form of head-rest is to be seen in the paintings on the wall of the corridor of the Tomb of *Hsjj*, where it is supposed to be made of wood (QUIBELL, “*The Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. XXI, 57). The fact that we do not find the head-rest placed under the head of the corpse seems to suggest that it was regarded as an object of ceremonial rather than of practical use.

Hwtz, Shaft No. 546 (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, p. 46).—The body lay in a wooden coffin, there was no equipment.

Shaft No. 133 in the Tomb of *R'-wr* (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 44).—The body lay in a roughly cut sarcophagus, it was adorned with two necklaces of gold, faience and lapis-lazuli, with anklets and bracelets of the same materials. As this tomb was flooded with water, we cannot say if there were offerings present on the floor of the burial-chamber.

Shaft No. 16 in the Tomb of *R'-wr* (*ibid.*, p. 40).—The body lay in a rock-cut sarcophagus. In the chamber were two shells and a large tapering vase of red pottery, painted white.

Shaft No. 39 in the Tomb of *R'-wr* (*ibid.*, p. 46).—The corpse of a man was extended upon the floor; around the neck was a string of tubular faience beads. There were no offerings in the burial-chamber, but limestone model loaves were found under some slabs of stone paving the mouth of the shaft.

Nj-kw-Ht-hr, the Wife of *ih-t-htp* (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 85).—This burial-chamber contained nothing except the corpse of the dead woman; but in front of her false-door was a shaft containing a red pottery ring-stand.

Sšm-nfr, the southern burial-chamber (seventh season's excavations).—A mummy extended in a sarcophagus, to the south of which were two vases of red pottery, one being polished.

In addition to the model vases found in the tombs of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, there were also a number of practical vessels, as we may see from the material mentioned above; and of particular interest are the practical ewer and basin of Prince *Hnmw-bz.f*.

Pottery found in the Filling of Intact Shafts.—We sometimes find potsherds from large vases among the filling of intact shafts, a fact which seems difficult to account for, as the traditional filling for a shaft should be the clean limestone chips extracted during its cutting. Thus in the second shaft of 'n'ḥ-ḥs.f (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 142), we found many potsherds of red-ware, consisting chiefly of the long necks of large vases, some of which were decorated with a raised cord pattern; there were also parts of cylindrical vases. Reisner reports similar finds in his concession (*"The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts"* [Boston]; XIII, 31). Quibell (*"Archaic Mastabas"*, p. 41) records a layer of sherds of common red pottery, fifty centimetres thick, in the filling of the superstructure of Tomb No. 2452 at Sakkâra. In the case of intact shafts, these potsherds cannot possibly have been thrown down by plunderers. Furthermore, we have examples of intact shafts that contained whole, as well as broken, pottery and other offerings. These are as follows:—

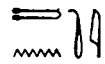
Shaft No. 249 (second season).—An oval jar of red pottery was found in the filling of this shaft.

Shaft No. 254 (second season).—This shaft was filled with potsherds and pottery of different forms. Four large and three small jars and a faience cup were found intact.

Shaft No. 1311—This intact shaft which leads to the burial-chamber of Nj-k3.w-Ḥ-thr was almost entirely filled with model vessels of pottery.

Other Offerings found in Shafts and Sloping Passages:—

Shaft No. 39 (in the tomb of R'-wr, see above) (*"Excavations at Gîza"*, Vol. I, p. 46).

Under the paving-stones covering the mouth of this shaft were some limestone model offerings, consisting of a round, conical, and oval loaf, ribs of beef, etc. (see Vol I, Pl. LXXVII, 2). See also Jequier's finds (*"Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pepi II"*, p. 29). In an intact shaft at Gîza, Junker found a cylinder-seal belonging to a certain \underline{Tntj} . As this was made of unbaked clay, and therefore, impossible to be put to practical use, we must class it among the model offerings placed in shafts (see JUNKER, *"Zwei Schein-Rollseigel aus dem Alten Reich, Melanges Maspero"*, Vol. I, p. 267. ff.). So also we have the alabaster head-rest of the Princess wedged in between the plugstone and the wall of the sloping passage leading to her burial-chamber. In the northern shaft of Ḥm'wn, Junker found two small alabaster vases under the heavy plugstone of the entrance. A similar thing was found by Petrie at Meydum (PETRIE, *"Meydum"*, p. 18). The shaft was intact, and after clearing down to the level of the top of the doorway, the excavators came upon a reed mat spread upon the debris. Upon this mat lay four alabaster bowls wrapped in a cloth, a broken red pottery dish, flint knives, also wrapped in a cloth, and other flints lying loose upon the mat. At the mouth of the doorway was a block of Nile mud, a red pottery dish, three shells and a number of copper needles. Sometimes stone vases are found *in situ* in front of the entrance to the burial-chamber (see PETRIE, *"Meydum and Memphis"*, p. 26, Tomb No. 50), where seventeen stone vases were found in their original positions before the great plugstone of the entrance; while inside the burial-chamber only three pottery vessels were found. In the burial-chamber of Itf, which had been slightly disturbed, (JUNKER, *"Vorbericht"*, 1928, p. 181) were a great number of broken pottery offering-stands, dishes and vases. Junker also records cases from the southern cemetery at Gîza where a niche is cut in the northern wall of the shaft, near the entrance to the burial-chamber, which in one instance was proved to contain offerings (*"Vorbericht"*, 1928, pp. 160, 167). We have found similar niches in our excavations, as for example in the mastaba of Tsn (*"Excavations at Gîza"*, V, p. 274), where two niches were cut in the western wall of Shaft No. 1084. From this we can see that some

at least of the broken pottery found in the filling of the shafts is the remains of vases, etc., placed before the entrance to the burial-chamber. For this there is a reason in the early mastabas. The offerings were laid before the entrance to the burial-chamber in order that the dead might find his food in readiness for him when he emerged from his dwelling, and for the same reason the food was placed before the false-door in the above-ground cult-chapel. But in the mastabas of the early Fourth Dynasty type at Giza, the false-door may be lacking, thus the entrance to the burial-chamber at the bottom of the shaft is the only connection with the outside world, and it is here that the portrait head of the deceased was placed. In these cases the employment of the shaft had a special meaning, and became a convenient place in which to lay the offerings for the dead. Further proof is afforded by the early Fourth Dynasty tomb No. 50 at Meydum, where Mackay found a thick deposit of ox-bones in the filling of the shaft, at a depth of 72 inches, (see "*Meydum and Memphis*, III," p. 26), and the niches cut in the walls of the shafts, such as that in the western wall of the shaft of Queen *Htp-hrs*, at a depth of 9 metres which proved to contain the skull and three legs of an ox, wrapped in a mat, and two beer jars (REISNER, "*B.M.A.*", Vol. XXV, p. 8, Fig. 7). In the southern shaft of *Hmion* was a niche above the entrance to the burial-chamber which contained the head of an ox. These may be a kind of echo of the offering-pits in the Archaic mastabas, and which were constructed to be in relationship with the underground chambers. (see GARSTANG, "*The Third Egyptian Dynasty*", p. 21, in regard to the Tomb of *Ntr-ht*: "... when a few wells for offerings above the chamber appeared at intervals along the middle line"). In our excavations we have a good example of an offering-pit which came to light during our first season's work (*ibid*, Vol. I, p. 46, Shaft 31). It measured only 1.30 metres deep, contained no trace of burial, and was entirely filled with intact model jars and dishes of red pottery. There was also the red pottery ring-stand in front of the false-door of *Nj-kw-Ht-hr*, which we have already referred to above. In these cases the offering-pit seems to be in relation with the false-door. In the Tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt* we found a large red pottery votive dish before the entrance to the tomb (second season's excavations). If this is its original situation, as it seems to be, it should be a further development of the idea of placing the offerings outside the entrance to the burial chamber, in the shaft, or before the false-door.







This has a different significance to the established offerings placed beside or even inside the sarcophagus, and which were intended to supply the corpse with food and drink. The offerings placed before the entrance to the burial-chamber, in the shaft, before the false-door, or, as in the case of *Wp-m-nfrt*, at the real entrance to the tomb, were designed to afford sustenance for the dead when on his way to and from the outer world. Thus, the whole purpose of the offering in the sarcophagus, burial-chamber, shaft, chapel, and entrance was for the one purpose of protecting the dead against hunger and thirst, either in his eternal house, the tomb, or on his journeys between it and the outside world ⁽¹⁾.

One should remark here that the deep dishes often found at the bottom of the shafts have no connection with the offerings; but their actual purpose is doubtful (see JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. I, p. 104).

⁽¹⁾ In some of the Archaic tombs at Helwan, a small shaft was dug from the ground-level to the ceiling of the burial-chamber. The lower end was closed with a limestone tablet bearing a representation of the deceased at his table of food (the well-known offering-tablet that was later incorporated into the false-door as the "panel scene"). This was placed with its sculptured side facing downwards. The object of these shafts and tablets seem to have been to afford the Ka a means of exit and entrance to and from the outside world, and at the same time the convenience of a meal when required (see "*The Royal Excavations at Sakhdra and Helwan*", p. 163).

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF OFFERINGS

REAL FOOD PLACED IN BURIAL-CHAMBERS. MEAT OFFERINGS.—BREAD OFFERINGS.— ROLLS OF LINEN.—MODEL MEAT

While the greater part of the food-offerings which were given to the dead were contained in vessels of a type that was in daily use, and which might be either real or models, there were also other kinds of food offered, principally joints of meat and poultry. Unfortunately the extensive plundering of the tombs has destroyed much of our evidence, but we have always the examples of the few intact tombs in our excavations. In both *Hnmw-b3.f* and the Princess, half an ox was provided for the banquet of the dead. That is to say, the choice portions of half a carcass, the head, ribs, foreleg, shoulder and haunch. With the exception of the head, all these joints figure in the offering-lists as *spr*   = ribs, *kps'*  = foreleg,  *iw'* = hind leg. The head itself often appears as a determinative for the offering of cattle, and also appears among the represented food in the scenes showing the dead partaking of his funerary meal as in the case of *K3-dw3*. In the burial-chamber of Shaft No. 294 were two legs of bulls, including the hooves. This coincides with the complete legs of beef carried by the offering-bearers in the butchery and offering-scenes. There was also the complete skeleton of a goose in the burial-chamber of this same tomb, and as we shall see later, the presence of the offering of the goose and a foreleg of beef are needed for the performance of the   *hnkt*-rite, which is also an item in the offering-list.

From the tombs of the Fifth Dynasty we have two legs of a bull in the burial-chamber of *S3'mw*, of *'nh-h3.f*, and a member of his family (Shaft No. 626); while in Shaft No. 306 of *Wtt-h3p*, two thighs of a bull were found actually inside the sarcophagus with the dead. In the tomb of Queen *yhj.t-R'* (see Part III of this work), bones of the leg of a young ox lay upon the lid of the sarcophagus, but as this tomb had been plundered, these bones may not have been in their original places. As we have seen, Junker records the finding of an ox-head in the Tomb of *Hm3wn*, in the northern shaft, and in Tomb No. V were the shoulder and two thigh-bones of a bull. In the shaft of the great Mastaba I of the southern site at Giza, were the horns of a bull among the debris of the shaft (JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1928, p. 155). In the burial-chamber of *Idw* was a complete head of a bull ("Vorbericht", 1914, p. 37). Strangely enough in the Tomb of *K3-hr-Pth* was found a tortoise! (*ibid*), and before the Mastaba No. 316 (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 105), among the alabaster vases, were the leg and shoulder bones of oxen, as well as the bones of other animals.

As we have seen, the custom of placing the flesh-offering with the dead goes back to the Prehistoric times, and is found as late as the tombs of Nubia, an example of a long survival of an ancient custom. (see A. SCHARFF, "Das Vorgeschichtliche Gräberfeld von Abusir el-Maleq", p. 76; and JUNKER, "Die Entwicklung der Vorgeschichtlichen Kultur in Ägypten" in *W. Schmitt, Festschrift*, p. 827. See also, JUNKER, "Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von El Kubanich-Nord, Winter, 1910-1911", N., p. 80, ff.; "Toschké", p. 70).

Concerning the Third Dynasty, we have some evidence from Meydum:—

In Mastaba No. 17, bones of oxen and poultry lie in front of the sarcophagus (PETRIE, "Meydum and Memphis III", p. 14). Also animal bones were found in a special shaft in Tomb

No. 50. (PETRIE, "*Medum*", p. 17); while as we have already seen, the filling of the shaft of Tomb No. 50 contained a thick deposit of ox-bones, and in the niche in the side of the shaft of Queen *Htp-hrs* were some flesh offerings (*see above* p. 19).

There is some doubt as to whether these offerings were placed in the tomb as joints of meat, or as unfleshed bones. Before a certain answer can be given to this question it would be necessary to examine all the existing specimens from an anatomical point of view. From those examples found in our excavations, I can say that the meat-offering in the burial-chamber of the Princess had flesh adhering to the bones at the time when it was deposited in the tomb. In the case of the ribs, these had dried up and were well-preserved. On the other bones only fragments of flesh remain. But it is not to say that this was a general practice, and it is possible that in some cases unfleshed bones were offered, just as unfleshed bodies were found in many burials (*see* PETRIE, "*Meydum and Memphis*", pp. 19, 20). In the case of the models of meat-offerings, those from our excavations certainly show the flesh, as do those found by Jequier at Sakkâra (*see above*, p. 18).

Concerning the question as to whether the practical and model vessels in the tombs contained real offerings, such as wine, beer, etc., it is difficult to give an exact answer. In our examples from Shaft No. 294, we have four large jars which still retain their original contents. These contents were analysed by M. A. Lucas, but owing to the absence of the necessary apparatus it was not possible to identify this material with certainty. (For the report of Mr. Lucas on the contents of these jars, see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. II, pp. 145-147.) Dr. Junker found four small loaves of bread upon an alabaster offering-table in Tomb No. 316 and we found traces of some kind of food on an alabaster offering-table in the above-mentioned Shaft No. 294. Therefore, we may conclude that real food was employed to a certain extent as offerings in the burial-chamber, but we are not in a position to say in what quantity these real offerings were employed. The presence of a box of linen in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs*(¹), and the rolls of linen in the Tomb of *Idw II* suggest that in some cases at least the dead were equipped with cloth, a fact which is to be expected in view of the importance given to the linen lists of the Archaic and early Fourth Dynasty tomb-tablets.

THE FUNERARY UTENSILS

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.—ORIGINALLY THE VESSEL WAS PRIZED MORE THAN THE CONTENTS.—

REAL AND MODEL OFFERINGS.—REAL OFFERINGS EXERCISE A DIRECT INFLUENCE UPON THE MODELS

By far the greater part of the offerings found in the tombs consist of vases, jars, dishes, etc., employed for storing and serving the food of the dead. Originally these vessels had no importance in themselves, and they were valued only on account of their contents (2). However, at an early date this valuation seems to have been reversed, and the gift of the vase itself was equally acceptable to the dead if offered full or empty. Evidence for this was afforded by Petrie, who found that the wavy-handled jars which originally contained oil, were afterwards filled with mud mixed with oil. Gradually the mud-content was increased, to the exclusion of the oil, or the jar might be presented

(¹) In reality this linen was the curtains which were hooked onto the upper bar of the frame of the Queen's gold-plated bed-canopy.

(²) In the archaic cemetery at Helwan several vases were found which proved to have been broken and mended. In some examples a new patch had been put in so skilfully that it is difficult to see where the reparation had been made (*see "The Royal Excavations at Sakkâra and Helwan"*, p. 27).

without any contents at all (PETRIE, “*Diospolis Parva, the Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898-1899*”, p. 15; “*Naqáda and Ballás*”, p. 11, 13). Similar importance of the jar in relation to its contents can be furnished by many other types, and a real filling became the exception rather than the rule. So also the vase list of *H'j-bi.w-Skr* and his wife, and that of *R'-htp.* of Meydum mention the type and material of the vase, but not its contents (see BALCZ, “*Die Gefassdarstellungen des Alten Reiches, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*”, 1935, p. 14). As some commodities were habitually contained in vessels of a fixed type, this would be recognizable to all persons, and therefore mention of the name of the contents would be as unnecessary to them as to label a tea-pot “TEA” would be to us.

This state of affairs may also have been due to a growing belief that it was unnecessary to offer real food to the dead, and it was sufficient to provide him with a set of vases and dishes which the recitation of the magical utterances would fill with food and drink. In this way the importance of the real food and drink decreased and a burden was removed from the performance of the offering-rites, while at the same time it also became a matter of little importance whether real or model vessels were employed. As we have already seen (see above, p. 4), these models were in use as early as the Second Dynasty at Sakkâra. But by the time of the Fourth Dynasty the vases form two distinct groups: (1) real, practical household utensils, and (2) miniature models, which were often mere solid “dummies” and would not have held even a small portion of food or drink. This practice of diminishing the real offering and increasing the models gave rise to some different theories. We have already seen how poor was the average equipment of the Old Kingdom burial-chambers, even when the tomb-owner is of royal birth, and the tomb itself large and costly. And this is explained by the fact that the cult of the offering in the burial-chamber had decreased in favour of the cult of the offering made before the false-door; and these offerings contained a certain percentage of real food, for the regular supply of which rich persons instituted funerary endowments. In this we have a contradiction, namely that in the cult of the chapel and the false-door real food was offered, while the offering presented in the burial-chamber might consist of models. This contradiction does not disprove the soundness of the explanation given above, and we must always remember that the Egyptians themselves, out of sheer religious conservatism, would follow contradictory ideas and customs. Furthermore, when the offering was made in the chapel, the dead was supposed to come forth from his false-door and partake of his meal, which was also shared by those members of his family who gathered at the tomb on feast days. Therefore, it is certain that real food was employed on such occasions. But when the offering was placed in the burial-chamber where the corpse lived a kind of shadowy existence, it was sufficient to provide a model equipment.

In reality, the importance of the offering in the chapel had contributed to the neglect of the tomb-equipment, because the significance of some parts of this equipment had suffered some change, particularly the promotion of the model vessels, which gave them the same value as the real funerary utensils (see below, p. 24). How safely we can rely on these ideas is shown by the fact that the real offerings in the chapel had a direct influence on the model offerings, and the real vessels of the chapel may be represented by miniature models in the burial-chamber, where they were supposed to function in place of the real articles.

Later, even these model offerings were discarded, and through the medium of an inscribed stele, the dead asked the passer-by to recite for him the funerary formula, while at the same time the equipment in the burial-chamber became richer.



THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE OFFERINGS

FUNERARY VESSELS MAY BE OUTMODED FORMS OF TYPES USED IN DAILY LIFE.—REAL AND MODEL VESSELS OF THE SAME TYPE MAY OCCUR TOGETHER IN ONE TOMB

In theory, the dead ought to be provided in the tomb with all the necessities of daily life. What that equipment was thought to consist of during the Third Dynasty may be seen by the offering-lists of *H'j-bw-Skr*, and *R'-htp* (MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. I and PETRIE, “*Medum*”, Pl. XIII), where the items are in some cases arranged under headings denoting the materials from which they were made, such as gold, silver, alabaster, lapis-lazuli, granite, (bony, etc. Unfortunately very few intact tombs of the Fourth Dynasty have survived for us to study, by means of which we could come to a definite conclusion. The few intact tombs we have, show some variation in their equipment, even among those of members of the same family. Nevertheless, by the study of these tombs, plus the remains of objects scattered about in the debris filling the burial-chambers, shafts and chapels of plundered tombs, we can have a general idea of what this funerary equipment ought to consist. Although it was desirable for the dead to have with him all the necessities of daily life, it would appear that it was not incumbent that these objects should have the same form as similar articles employed by the living. That is to say, it is quite possible that the vessels in a tomb of — let us say the Fourth Dynasty — are of a form that was employed in daily life in a previous period, but which with changing fashion, had been abandoned for the use of the living, but retained as a traditional form for the use of the dead (*see* below, p. 24). The smallness of the number of the stone and pottery vases in the burial-chamber may be seen by comparing them with the different forms of vessels shown in the representation on the chapel walls, but which up till now have not appeared in actual fact among the offerings placed in the tombs. The discovery of absolutely new types of vases, etc., in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-Hrs*, proves how small a quantity of types were employed in the private tombs. Reisner defines these two types of vessels in the *B.M.A.* Ic, XXV, p. 24, and points out that the pottery vessels were usually of two kinds, practical vessels for actual use, and dummy or model vases manufactured especially for funerary purposes. The latter are of a type which he calls “ceremonial traditional”. That is to say, forms that had been in use originally as practical every-day utensils, but having been outmoded by other forms in different materials, were retained by conservative tradition for the use of the dead, and were especially manufactured for that purpose. Naturally, as these were not intended for practical use, they were often carelessly and cheaply made in regard to both material and workmanship, and show a general tendency towards degeneration of form ⁽¹⁾.

Thus, we cannot deny that there existed a type of vessel originally of a pattern used by the living but often carelessly and cheaply made expressly for the use of the dead. Nevertheless, this does not explain the presence of the miniature models and dummy vases which were frequently employed in the service of the dead, and which seems to be linked with the practice of substituting

⁽¹⁾ In later times this carelessness is evinced in regard to the funerary papyri, some of which are mere commercial articles, superficially satisfactory in appearance, but full of blunders and omissions in the text.

gilded objects for those of real gold, which also occurs in the tomb equipments. For this practice, we may note the gilded copper belt of the Princess, the gilded copper finger-tips of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and the gilded copper model implements in the plundered burial-chamber of Prince *Nj-'nh-R'* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 158). See also Junker's finds of gilded faience in Tomb No. 316, and the gilded wooden vases in the Temple of *Nj-wsr-R'* at Abusir (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 107). It also links up with the model food-offerings which appear in the burial-chambers at the end of the Old Kingdom (JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1926, pp. 105, 106; "Vorbericht", 1928, pp. 184, 185), and also the presence in the sarcophagus of small models of vessels in current use in daily life. Proof for the strong influence of this idea on the formation of the model vases seems to be given by the fact that we sometimes find the real vessel and its miniature model employed at the same time and even in the same tomb, as in the case of the real and model ewers and basins of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* (see above). But although these particular utensils were of the same kind and purpose, there was nevertheless, a slight divergence of form to be observed between the real and the model articles. An earlier example is to be seen in the great Tomb No. 40 of Reqaqnah, (GARSTANG, "The Third Egyptian Dynasty", p. 24, Pl. VII). Here were found in the burial-chamber a fine set of practical vases for every-day use, executed in hard stones, and near by a set of similar vases but in miniature, also models of shells, and a model mace-head. The latter may be a reminiscence of an early tradition in tomb-equipment, but this explanation cannot be given to the model vases, and here we have the fundamental base of the idea that these funeral models were intended to accomplish exactly the same service as the practical vessels. The same thing was found in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* where practical and model vessels existed side by side. Here the practical vessels were made of a fine red-polished ware, while the imitations were carried out in coarse red pottery. Reisner was of the opinion that the vessels in this tomb had their origin in those employed in the royal household. Here again the models would fulfil the same function as the real article, and at the same time permit of a larger number of vessels to be employed in the tomb-equipment, being not only an economy of expense, but also of space. But there is still another decisive proof for this theory. In most of the tombs of the Fourth Dynasty the oil-jars appear entirely as models, the exception being some from the Tomb of *Hm'wnw*. If we accept Dr. Reisner's theory concerning the origin of the model vessels, we should say that these types had already passed out of daily use, and for that reason practical oil-jars of the traditional type seem to be lacking. But later Reisner found in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* miniature models of vessels in daily use, measuring only 7 centimetres or 9 centimetres high and bearing the mark of their contents. They were originally arranged in 2 rows of four each, in a wooden stand (REISNER, "B.M.A", I, XXV, pp. 12, 13, Fig. 13). In the Tomb of *Shm-k3.j* in the southern cemetery at Giza, a servant is shown carrying a jar of the form  in a square stand; and on the inner northern end of the wooden coffin of *Nj-'nh-Ppjj* from our excavations at Sakkâra, is a representation of the seven holy oils, each jar of which rests in a rectangular wooden stand  So also we see the washing utensils, ewers, basins, and water-jars represented as articles of daily use in the scenes on the chapel walls, while when we find them in the tombs in actual fact, they are usually in the form of small models (see *Hm'wnw*). An exception in our material being the large ewer and basin of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and possibly the copper *kbhw*-vase of Prince *Nj-'nh-R'* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 157). Thus, there is no decisive proof that the model vessels represent types that had already passed out of use in daily life, for we find the practical and model forms existing side by side.

THE MODEL UTENSILS

THE MATERIAL AND NUMBER OF THE MODEL VESSELS.—THE NUMBER OF THE MODEL VESSELS MAY ACCORD WITH THE NUMBER OF FOOD-ITEMS IN THE OFFERING-LIST. SPECIAL TYPES OF VESSELS SET ASIDE FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

The objects most frequently found in the burial-chambers of the Old Kingdom tombs are the miniature model vessels we have spoken about above, and which may be fashioned of alabaster, limestone, copper (to a certain extent) or red pottery, and may be very carefully finished, or carelessly and roughly made. In the Archaic tombs of the Second and Third Dynasties at Sakkâra, Quibell found many of these models in alabaster, and in the following quantities: (QUIBELL, "*Archaic Mastabas*") Tomb No. 2115: 40 models (p. 21); Tomb No. 2183 (intact) 33 models (p. 26); Tomb No. 2187, 20 models (p. 26); Tomb No. 2407, 123 models (p. 39). In the Third Dynasty tombs at Reqaqnah, Garstang found model vases of diorite of exquisite workmanship (GARSTANG, "*The Third Egyptian Dynasty*", p. 25, Pls. 1, 2). This accords with the use of the hard-stones for the manufacture of practical vases, which seem to have gone out of vogue at the end of the Archaic Period. In our intact shaft No. 294 there were eighty of these little model vases, but Junker found eighty-five in the Tomb No. IV of Gîza ("*Vorbericht*", 1928, p. 169), and also in Tomb No. 316 ("*Vorbericht*", 1931, Pl. VIII). According to the evidence of our intact tombs, these sets of model vases should consist of the following:—

Seven jars for the seven holy oils, five jars for wine, two jars for beer or other drinks, thirty-five deep food-bowls, thirty-one shallow bowls with round bottoms (Shaft No. 294). In the Tomb of *Bb.j* in our excavations at Sakkâra, only the contents of the sarcophagus seem to have been plundered, therefore if we may accept the model vessels as being a complete set, then they consist of only seventy-seven pieces, four oil-jars, two wine-jars, one beer-jar, twenty deep bowls, fifty shallow bowls, and a fine large offering-table of alabaster measuring over seventy centimetres in diameter, this latter being a real article and not a model.

According to Dr. Junker's finds, these sets of model vessels should contain the following: one ewer and basin for washing, seven vases for the seven holy oils, one of which should have a handle, eight jars for beer and wine, and over sixty small bowls and dishes. None of our intact sets contain a ewer and basin, but in the plundered burial of Shaft No. 648 ("*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. III, p. 231) the limestone utensils of an incomplete set included a ewer and basin carved in one piece. We have some examples of ewers and basins among the copper models, but these will be discussed in their proper place. As an extreme number, we have Junker's find of over six hundred model vessels of alabaster in the tomb of *Sšm-nfr* (JUNKER, "*Gîza*", Vol. I, p. 108).

If we take the usual number of pieces in these sets to be eighty, we shall see that this is in accord with the essential items of the canonical offering-list, when we have excluded some ritual entries, which in many cases do not occupy dishes, and which are the latest addition to the lists, and had not yet attained their proper places in the enumeration. But the accordance between the model vessels and the offering-lists is not merely one of number, there is also the question of identification. Thus, we have six 𓆎 cylindrical vases and a one-handled jar 𓆏 for the seven holy oils, the *nmst* and *dujw* jars for drink, the deep basins for dry food, grain and fruit, and the shallow dishes for the geese, etc., the ewer and basin for washing,

the water-jar on its stand for libations, the special wine jars, and the circular offering-table. With regard to the basins and dishes, one might hope to identify special shapes as being set apart for a certain kind of food, but so far we have no evidence for this. Apart from a few offering-lists which show the roast geese served in shallow, round-bottomed bowls, all the other basins are alike for each kind of food, as we may see by the determinative signs for the entries on the majority of the lists, and as early as the first half of the Fourth Dynasty the forms of these vessels had become schematised. Thus, these models, which were in relationship with the dishes of the offering-list were perhaps employed in the funerary rites, and were magically filled with food as the officiating priest named it item by item during the performance of the ceremony *nīs dbht htp* (see below, p. 61). Thus, these sets of model offering-vessels are to be entirely separated from the practical utensils which may really have contained actual offerings.

THE MATERIAL AND FORM OF THE OFFERING-VESSELS

THE EARLY DISAPPEARANCE OF VESSELS OF HARD STONE

It is astonishing that after the end of the Archaic Period we do not find many vessels of hard-stone appearing in the tombs. The principal material used for the better-class work is alabaster, though fine vessels of limestone are also found, while we less frequently meet with copper. Even in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* alabaster was the principal material used for the stone vases. Nevertheless, when we were excavating in the vicinity of the Valley Temple of *H'j.f-R'* during our ninth season's work, I found two fine, large flat dishes of diorite, beautifully worked and polished, and also a large piece of a bowl of rock-crystal, unfortunately only an isolated fragment. Reisner also found vessels of hard-stone in the pyramid complex of *Mn-k3.w-R'*, principally in the Mortuary and Valley Temples (see REISNER, "*Mycerinus*", p. 178).

As late as the end of the Third Dynasty stone vases were being employed, as we may see by the discoveries made by Garstang at Reqaqnah, (see GARSTANG, "*The Third Egyptian Dynasty*", Pl. 7, ff.) where granite, porphyry, diorite, etc., were employed, as well as alabaster, marble and limestone. In the vase-list of *R'-htp* of Meydum, the materials mentioned include various hard-stones alabaster and gold (PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XIII). Also golden vessels were found in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs*, but not in the quantity one would have expected, in view of the lavish employment of gold on the rest of her funerary equipment (CAIRO MUSEUM, "*Guide to the Monuments*", 1937, p. 109, No. 6043). Nevertheless, we can say that the age of the rich stone vessels passed away with the end of the Third Dynasty, and when even the royal family were content to replace costly hard-stone vessels with alabaster and even pottery, we cannot wonder that the private persons had also put less importance on the necessity for a costly vase equipment in the burial-chamber.

THE FORM OF THE VESSELS

We have no stone vessels for practical use from the intact mastabas of our excavations; in fact, our only large stone vessels for the Fourth Dynasty are the two diorite plates mentioned above, an alabaster cylindrical oil-jar, and the above-mentioned fragment of a rock-crystal jar. As all these were found near to the *H'j.f-R'* Valley Temple, we may perhaps assume that they formed a part of the temple equipment, and did not come from the burial-chamber of a tomb, the same

being the case for the stone vessels found by Dr. Reisner in the Temples of *Mn-k3.w-R'*. Junker was more fortunate than us in this respect, and he records the following types found by him in the Mastaba of *Hmnmw*:—

(1) Flat or round bottomed bowls (“*Giza*”, Vol. I, abb. 10, Nos. 13–18). These vary in depth and in the thickness of their sides.

(2) Deep basins with straight or convex sides and flat bottoms (*ibid.*, abb. 10, Nos. 10–12).

(3) Fragments of a shallow bowl with a long, tapering spout (*ibid.*, abb. 10, No. 19).

(4) A flat food-dish supported upon small feet (*ibid.*, abb. 10, No. 20). This type of dish is seen in many of the offering-lists on the panels of false-doors, where it is employed for the use of joints of roast meat and geese (see *Mtn*, LEPSIUS, “*Denkmaler aus Agypten und Aethiopien*”, Vol. II, Pl. III; *Mr-ib*, *ibid.*, Pl. XIX; and *S33.t-htp*, *ibid.*, Pl. XXV).

(5) A large jar with a flat rim, short neck and flat base (“*Giza*”, I, abb. 10, No. 1).

(6) A neckless vase with a very wide shoulder (damaged) (*ibid.*, abb. 10, No. 2).

(7) A somewhat similar jar but having a low flat rim in the form of the sign \bigcirc *sn*, and the plant of Lower Egypt incised upon the lower part of one side of the body (*ibid.*, abb. 10, No. 3).


(8) Eight fragments of jars, one of which has a flat rim, and a second collar lower down the neck.


Even if we allow for the loss of a few examples stolen or broken during the plundering of the tomb, the number of types in use does not seem to be very great. Moreover, in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs*, where the collection of vases is intact, there are still only a few types employed, and most of these accord with those found in the private tombs. Junker remarks concerning these practical stone vessels that they exist only in the mastabas of the western cemetery at Giza, from Row III, and that after the time of *Hwfw*, they disappear entirely (“*Giza*”, I, p. 109).


THE FORM OF THE STONE MODEL VESSELS

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF MODEL VESSELS


We have already mentioned this subject, but here I intend to treat the forms of the vessels more fully, and if possible identify the use to which each should be put, for as we have already seen, not only are these little models numerous and characteristic, but they seem to have played an important role in the ceremonies performed in the burial-chamber. Actually our earliest set of these models seems to be that in the Tomb of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*, but as these are made of copper, we cannot consider them here, and they will be treated when we come to speak of copper models. From the burial-chamber of Shaft No. 294 we have the following types of alabaster model vessels:—



(1)  Tall, narrow cylindrical oil-jars (see also JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. I, abb. II, No. 5; REISNER, “*Mycerinus*”, Fig. 52, No. 10).


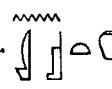
(2)  Short wide cylindrical oil-jars (see JUNKER, *ibid.*, abb. II, No. 4; REISNER, *ibid.*, Fig. 46, No. 96, Type I).


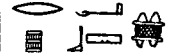
- (3)  A tall, cylindrical jar with slightly convex sides (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 12). From the plundered Fourth Dynasty Tomb of Queen *Rhjt-R'*, we have





another form of the cylindrical oil-jar, which has a marked rim and waist and a splayed-out base

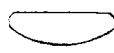

- This type became common during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 45, No. 17). In the plundered Fourth Dynasty Tomb of Prince *Nj-'nh-R'*, we have the same type of jar, but less characteristic, and having a narrower waist (see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 45, No. 2). 

- (4)  A squat ointment jar with a wide mouth and a flat base (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 54, No. 14). Junker gives a form which he allots to the *Nj-Hnmw*-oil, this is  from the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* (*B.M.A.*, Ic, XXV, Fig. 13. Similar forms are found in pottery (JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. I, abb. 15, No. 2), and in copper (*Imptjj*, *B.M.A.*, XI, No. 66, Fig. 15).

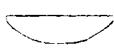
- (5)  A *nmst*-jar  (see the vase-list of *Hj-b1.w-Skr* (MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. 1); JUNKER, *ibid*, abb 10, No. I; REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 3. See also *Nj-'nh-R'*, "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 157). In the lists of *Sst.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt* this form of jar appears as the general determinative for all drinks.


- (6)  A wine-jar (see JUNKER, *ibid*, Abb. II, Nos. 8-13. See also the stele of Princess *Shfnr*, QUIBELL, "*Archaic Mastabas*", Pl. XXVI); JUNKER (*ibid*) gives as an early type, a similar form of jar, but surrounded by a band of network, just as we often see on the wine-jars determining Entry No. 166 of the offering-list, *irp-'bs'* . In the mastaba of *Bbj* at Sakkâra, we found such a type, but the band of network was schematised as a raised flat band.


- (7)  A tall narrow vase with a wide mouth, rolled rim and a small, flat base. In the list of *ht-htp*, such a vase appears as the determinative for No. 110, *nms.t-dsr.t*  in which case it is another form of the *nmst*-jar. On the other hand it may be a debased form of the *hst*-vase (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 50, No. 3 (?); also JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. I, abb. II, No. 2 [2]). Junker also mentions the existence of spouted *kbhw*-vases of alabaster. In our excavations this form has not appeared in stone, but we have two practical examples in copper from the Tomb of Prince *Nj-'nh-R'*, one of which is in perfect condition.  ("*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 156). The splayed base of this form may be a confusion between the pointed base and the ring-stand in which it rests. Compare the  alabaster vessels of Queen *Htp-hrs* (*B.M.A.*, XXVI, p. 87, No. 157). See what appears to be a degenerate form in copper (*ibid*, XI, No. 66, Fig. 16).



- (8)  A round-bottomed bowl, called in Egyptian 'i  (L.D., Vol. II, Pl. 28).

Similar model bowls from the Tomb of Prince *K3.j* bore an inscription giving the title and name of the owner (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 31). In the list of *Hwt.j* (No. 2,) these dishes are employed to hold fruit, grain, etc., thus replacing the later stereotyped form ∇ (see also JUNKER, *ibid*, abb. II, No. 39; REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 57, No. 4).


- (9)  A similar type to the above but much shallower. This is the type of dish we sometimes see employed for the cooked geese in the determinatives of the offering-lists (see the lists of *Nfr-ir̄t-n.f*, *Shm-'nh-Pth*, etc.; see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 50, No. 32).




- (10)  A shallow dish with a flat bottom and convex sides (JUNKER, *ibid*, abb. II, No. 38).




- (11)  A bowl with convex sides sloping to a small flat base (JUNKER, *ibid*, abb. 10, No. 21; REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 60, No. 10).

- (12)  The *hnt*-basin  (Pyramid Texts, line 40; REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 24).

This is the type of vessel that became schematized most readily in the offering-lists, where it is employed to determine grain, meat, fruit, in fact food in general, as well as the ceremonial hand-washing (see the lists of *S3.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt*).

- (13)  A bowl similar to the above but having convex sides (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 27). In the Tomb of Prince *K3.j*, we found similar bowls inscribed with the owner's name ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 31).


- (14)  Similar to the above, but shallower (REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 33). In the list of *Pth-htp* II, this form determines Nos. 63, and 64, *mis.t*  and *dsr.t* .


Concerning these bowls, we may notice that there is a tendency for the deep bowls, Nos. 12, 13, to become wide and shallower in the degenerate models of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. These dishes and bowls are the most numerous of all the forms in the sets of models. A casual glance suggests that they are all alike, but examination shows that there are variations of form in each type, some being larger and thicker than others; some have the rim turned slightly inwards, while others have external rims. Later, these forms tend to become even more varied. Before leaving the Fourth Dynasty model vases, we may mention a single alabaster specimen which seems to date from this period, but which appeared when we were investigating the area to the south of the Valley Temple of *H'j.f-R'*.  It is a *ds*-vase . In the Pyramid Texts, line 32 *A*, this type of vase is mentioned in connection with milk, but in line 10 *B* it is for water. In the offering-list of *Wsr-ntr*  it determines the wine in No. 166, and in the list of *Mrrj-R'-nfr* it determines the rite of breaking the red pottery.



MODEL STONE VASES OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY




THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS











Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we have the following new forms in addition to those which had already appeared in the previous period :—





(1)  The cylindrical oil-jar of the type already seen in the Tomb of Queen *Rhjt-R'*, but here made of fine white limestone and having a more emphasised splayed base (Tomb of *'nh-hs.f*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, p. 145; see also REISNER, “*Mycerinus*”, Fig. 45, No. 18). This type is also found in our Shaft No. 648, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, p. 233).


(2)  A short, wide cylindrical oil-jar with a defined waist (*Nht-k3*, seventh season; REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 44, No. 3). A similar jar, but with straight sides and made of copper, was found among the equipment of *Sšmw*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, p. 89).



(3)  The *Nj-Hnmw* oil-jar. This specimen from the Tomb of *'nh-hs.f* (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 145) has the neck and handle damaged.  Another but rougher specimen from the burial of Shaft No. 648 (*ibid*, p. 232) is perfect.


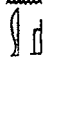



(4)  A *dwjw*-jar   for liquids (*W3š-Pth*, *ibid*, Vol. III, Pl. II); see also BALCZ, “*Mitteilung*”, 1932, p. 83).


(5)  Similar to the above, but having an angle rather than a curve to the swelling body (*W3š-Pth*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, Pl. II); see also JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. I, abb. II, No. 18). In the list of *M3-nfr* this form of jar determines No. 110, *nms.t dsr.t*    and No. 160 *hnkt*    In the list of Princess *Idwt*. it determines the *hnkt* rite   .

(6)  The *'pr.t*-jar   (JUNKER, *ibid*, abb. II, Nos. 8-10). In the burial-chamber of *Im3-Mrrj-R'* (JEQUIER, “*Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*”, Vol. III, Pl. 52) and  that of *Pnw* (JEQUIER, “*Tombeaux de Particuliers*”, p. 44), this form of jar is placed in conjunction with the ewers and basins (Limestone model, from the Tomb of *W3š-Pth*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, Pl. II).


(7)  A wine-jar; (*'nh-hs.f*, *ibid*, Vol. III, Pl. XLV, see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 44, No. 14). In *Pth-htp*, II (MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. XII) four such jars are carried in a basket by a woman representing one of the estates of the deceased.


- (8)  Perhaps a jar for wine or drink of some other kind ('*nh-h3.f*, *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 145). A somewhat similar form in limestone  was found in the burial-chamber of Shaft No. 648 (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 232).

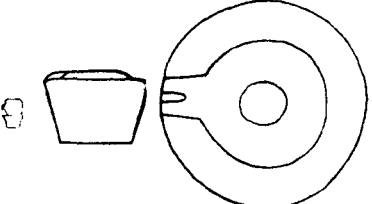
- (9)  a *nms.t*-jar  (*nh-h3.f*). In the list of *Wsr-ntr*, it determines No. 5, *sst*   .



- (10)  A jar set upon a ring-stand ('*nh-h3.f*); (see also Shaft No. 648, and REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 44, No. 13). This form of jar appears in the scene of the funerary meal in the

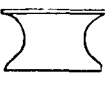

Mastaba of *Tsn* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, Fig. 125, and in *Dbhnj*, *ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 170).

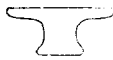



In the list of *Ssm-nfr* III, it determines No. 99, *kbhw-t3*  and should there be regarded as a water jar.

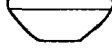
- (11)  A wide-mouthed jar (*W3s-Pth*, *ibid*, Vol. III, Pl. II); (see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 15).

- (12)  A ewer and basin for ablutions. The separate utensils only occur among the copper models in our excavations, but in Shaft No. 648 we have the ewer and basin carved from a single piece of limestone. The early name for

these utensils seems to have been  *pgw*, but later the name was apparently changed to  *s'3*, (*Snj*, JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 38). In the list of *ih-t-htp*, the ewer and basin are employed to determine No. 13, later No. 99, *kbhw-t3*.

- (13)  A squat, cylindrical oil-jar with a narrow waist. ('*nh-h3.f*, *ibid*, Vol. III, Pl. XLIII); (see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 53, No. 5) In the list of *Nfrt*, (PETRIE, "Medum", Pl. XV), this type of vase is used for the *ibr*-oil. . The same type appeared in copper in the Shaft No. 559, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 241.

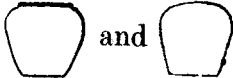
- (14)  The circular offering-table, *hsw.t*   , No. 101 of the offering-list (Shaft No. 648); (see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 44, No. 32).


(15) The basins and bowls of the Fifth Dynasty are the same as those of the preceding period; we have, however, in Shaft No. 648 ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 233) a form of bowl that did not appear in our material for the Fourth Dynasty, ; (see also REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 52, No. 34).


THE POTTERY OFFERING VESSELS (The Practical Vases)


THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES.— THE PRACTICAL USE OF POTTERY MODEL VESSELS


The presence of large pottery vases for practical use among the tomb-equipment is frequently seen in the mastabas of the Fourth Dynasty, where, however, their number is very scanty when compared with the great quantities that appeared during the First Dynasty. Thus, it would seem that these numerous pottery vases had been replaced by stone vessels, which were in turn superseded by small models; and as we have already seen, the Fourth Dynasty ushered in the marked decrease in the number of offerings placed in the burial-chamber, a fact observable in the intact tombs. Nevertheless, at the end of the Old Kingdom, it again became the custom to place a large number of pottery vessels in the burial-chamber with the corpse, as in the Tomb of *Itf* (JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1928, p. 181). But during the Fifth Dynasty the number of pottery vessels employed among the offerings in the burial-chamber was very small indeed, or might even be totally lacking, as in the case of our Shaft No. 559 ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 241). Of course, we are not considering here such objects as pottery canopic jars, as these do not form part of the offering equipment. In our earliest intact tomb for the Fourth Dynasty, namely that of the Princess, we find that all the vessels are of pottery, and all are practical utensils. They comprise the following forms:—


(1)  Jars of red-polished ware, averaging 9·5 centimetres high, and 13·5 centimetres in diameter. They somewhat resemble in form the alabaster example found by Junker in the Tomb of *Hmwnw* ("Giza," Vol. I, abb. 10, No. 2). Perhaps these jars were for beer. Compare with the model beer-jars on p. 38).


(2)  A large jar of red-polished ware 25·5 centimetres high, of the type called by REISNER, "Traditional Offering-Jars" (Type II, "Mycerinus", p. 206, Fig. 63, No. I). They were for the storage of wine, beer or water.

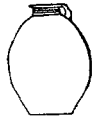
(3)  A deep bowl of red-polished ware, with convex sides merging suddenly into a narrow base. This type dates back to the late Pre-dynastic period, and continues in use until the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Rough specimens were found by Garstang at Reqaqnah (GARSTANG, "The Third Egyptian Dynasty", p. 26, Pl. XIII, Nos. 2-4).


(4)  A straight-sided bowl of red-polished ware. Height 9·5 centimetres.


(5)  A drinking-bowl of fine red-polished ware (see REISNER, *ibid.*, Fig. 74, No. 3, Type XXXI). Curiously enough there were no pottery vessels in the near-by Tomb of Prince *Hnmw-b.f.* In the intact burial-chamber of Shaft No. 294, we have the following types:—


(1)  A jar of red-painted ware, with a wide rimless mouth, a short neck and pointed base. Reisner classes this form as Type IV (REISNER, "Mycerinus", Fig. 64, No. 4). It was allocated to the storage of wine or water.



- (2)  A two-handled vase of red-painted ware. Vases of this form were sometimes used for the *Nj-Hnmw*-oil (see also JUNKER, *ibid.*, abb. 13, No. 16).


- (3)  A large jug of red-polished ware having a small single handle. Up till now no other specimen of this type has appeared in an Old Kingdom tomb, as far as I am aware. As the burial-chamber in which this jug was found was quite intact, there is no question as to its dating. Among the bowls and basins, we have the following types:—

- (4)  A deep bowl of red-ware, having incised bands at the shoulders.


- (5)  A drinking-bowl of red-polished ware (see also that of the Princess, No. 5).


- (6)  A drinking-bowl of red-polished ware (see JUNKER, *ibid.*, abb. 12, No. 16).



- (7)  A bowl of red-polished ware of the type called in Egyptian *dn-ib*  (see *H'j-bw-Skr*, MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. I); see also REISNER, *ibid.*, Fig. 72, No. 2, Type XXVII).


- (8)  A bowl of red-polished ware with straight sides, receding abruptly to a small base.

In the plundered Tomb of Prince *Iwn-R'*, we have the following types of pottery vessels:—



- (1)  A large ewer of red-ware, having a small spout. Junker gives only a fragmentary specimen of this type of vessel for the Fourth Dynasty ("Giza", Vol. I, abb. 12, No. 5). A similar vessel was found near the Tomb of *Ks.w-nisut* (ninth season). Perhaps these vessels were used for beer-making, or for the storage of liquids (see REISNER, *ibid.*, Fig. 76, Type XXXV).





- (2)  A large, wide-mouthed jar of red-ware, having a rimmed mouth, a small handle and a small footed base perhaps a form of the *Nj-Hnmw* oil-jar (?).

- (3)  A *ds*-jar  of red-polished ware. Height: 28.0 centimetres (see REISNER, *ibid.*, Fig. 65, No. 12, Type VII; see also Pyramid Texts, lines 10B, 32A).

- (4)  A fine bowl of red-polished ware, of a similar type to No. 3 of the Princess (see above, p. 8) but having the sides more sloping at the top.

The following types of pottery were found during our ninth season's work, in the mud-brick rooms south of the Valley Temple of *H'j.f-R'*, and they may well be contemporary with this building:—

- (1)  A *nms.t*-jar  of red-ware. Height: 13.0 centimetres. In the Pyramid Texts, line 10A, it is considered as a water-jar. In the offering-list of *Mrrj* this type of jar determines No. 88, the *sft*-oil, but in list 'A' of *Sst-in-Ttj* it is used as the determinative for No. 110, *nms.t-dsr.t*. In the list of *Ks-ir* it helps to determine *rnpw.t nb.t* (No. 183).

- (2)  A large vase of red-brown ware. Height: 24·0 centimetres. It is perhaps a wine-jar and seems to be of the type imitated by the limestone model jar in a stand of 'nh-h3.f (No. 10) (see above, p. 31).
- (3)  An oval jar of red-brown ware. Height: 18·8 centimetres. For the storage of grain or water (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 63, No. 1, Type III).
- (4)  A globular jar of red-ware. Height: 23·0 centimetres. Perhaps it is the *nw*-jar. Employed as a receptacle for milk or oil (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 65, No. 7, Type V).
- (5)  A bowl of red-ware with slightly concave sides. Height: 9·5 centimetres. Diameter: 5·5 centimetres (perhaps a model), (see REISNER, *ibid*, Fig. 80, No. 1, Type XLIV).


Of course, model vases of red-ware, being very cheaply manufactured, are among the commonest objects found in the Old Kingdom Mastabas. They may occur in tombs where alabaster models are also employed. This is quite in accordance with those cases where we find finely executed utensils side by side with poorly executed articles in the same tomb, as in the Shaft of Queen *Htp-hr.s* where was found fine vessels for daily use, as well as small models of the same types (see *B.M.A.*, Ic. XXV, p. 25).

Apparently the same double equipment was employed in the cult ceremonies of the chapel, where the libation and the real food were offered at certain feasts, while, at the same time, the pottery models were also placed in the chapels in great numbers. There may be a special reason for this: Perhaps it was thought that being easily accessible, rich offerings left in the chapel would surely be stolen, and the dead thus deprived of his food and drink, but the pottery models being too cheap and common to arouse the cupidity of the thieves, would be left in place, while magically they would serve the same purpose as the more costly vessels. According to Dr. Junker's finds in the western cemetery at Gîza, a certain change took place in the nature of the offering-vessels during the Fourth Dynasty. In the early tombs of the group in question, alabaster model vases were used for the service of the funerary repast, and every chamber in the tomb ought to contain a complete set of these vessels, while the pottery models were employed as a supplement. Soon, however, these pottery vessels became more and more prominent, and in the Tomb of *Mrrj-R'-h3p*, for example, was a complete set of these vessels, in a great variety of forms (JUNKER, "*Gîza*", Vol. I, Pl. XLIII), while only a few single examples in alabaster were found. In the tombs still further to the west, the alabaster models were entirely eliminated. It is not at all clear to what we are to attribute this change. There is little real difference between the forms of the vessels in the two sets, while the cost of the alabaster equipment, when compared with the expense of the whole tomb and its upkeep, is negligible. Therefore, we cannot cite economy as a reason for the change of material. Perhaps a close study of the nature of the vessels, and the publication of all the material from all the other parts of the Gîza necropolis would serve to throw some light upon the question. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the disappearance of the alabaster sets of models was only for a limited period, and they reappeared in the better-class tombs during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.

THE VARIETIES OF POTTERY EMPLOYED IN THE OFFERING-VESSELS

POTTERY HAVING A BLACK FRACTURE.—ROUGH HAND-MADE POTTERY (This Type usually found in Superstructure or Shafts).—SMOOTHED POTTERY.—POLISHED POTTERY (A Finer Type of Ware, characteristic of the Old Kingdom).—POTTERY HAVING A BRIGHT RED FRACTURE.

Pottery having a Black Fracture.—The chief ingredient in the pottery from which the offering-vessels were made was Nile mud. When coarsely made, with thick sides, potsherds from such vessels show a fracture which has an inner and outer layer of red enclosing a black layer. Pottery of this type is imperfectly fired, and the centre of the fabric, being unburned, retains its original black colour. Such vessels, despite their thickness, are naturally fragile, and unless they are made with abnormally thick sides, they tend to split longitudinally.

Rough Hand-Made Pottery.—There is a special class of vessels with wide mouths, polished rims, and swelling bodies, tapering to a pointed base, which are apparently hand-made, and have a rough and uneven surface. These jars are very common in the later tombs, but are more frequently found in the superstructure of the tombs, or in the filling of the shafts than in the burial-chambers, and Junker doubts if the specimens found in Mastaba VIII really came from the burial-chamber. Nevertheless, we have two specimens of this class of vessel from the intact burial-chamber of *Nht-K3* (seventh season) which certainly did come from this place (see above, p. 16). One, which still retains its clay sealing cap  was standing on the floor of the burial-chamber, resting against the southern wall. A second jar was found fallen down behind the slabs of limestone closing the entrance to the burial-chamber, and its clay cap lay on the floor beside it. Reisner was of the opinion that some of these jars only imitated hand manufacture (see "*Mycerinus*", p. 212). He calls them 'traditional offering-jars', and assigns them to the storage of wine, beer, water and grain. It seems that they were also found in the tombs during the late Third Dynasty at Meydum, for Petrie says when discussing types 15-19: "The rude, hand-made pottery 15, 17, 19, is very characteristic; it is constantly found in the Tombs of Medum, and also in the rubbish-heaps of Khufu at Giza . . . from being always found by tombs it seems as if it were for setting in the sand to pour offerings in" (PETRIE, "*Medum*", p. 35).

Smoothed Pottery.—This type of ware is by no means common, and when found, examples principally consist of simple bowls and dishes. The superficially smoothed surface may be either left in its natural reddish colour, or may be artificially coloured, as the *ds*-jar that we found in Shaft No. 16 of the Tomb of *R'wr* ("*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. I, Pl. XXXV), and which was artificially whitened.

Polished Pottery — A large number of the vessels of a finer quality are of this type of ware. In these examples the vessels were given a coating of dark red, or red-brown colouring matter, usually haematite. They were then polished by rubbing them with a small pebble before firing. The dark red variety, which was often employed for large bowls, etc., is rare, but the reddish-brown

variety is frequently found, chiefly in the form of plates and drinking-bowls, and is usually finely made. This kind of ware is characteristic of the Old Kingdom, but seems to have first appeared in the late Third Dynasty at Meydum. It is not found in the later times. In this connection Petrie says:—

“The most distinctive point is the highly polished red face to the bowls, the thinness and hardness of them, and the sharp outlines. This ware . . . is very fine, and all but equals the best Roman” (PETRIE, “*Medum*”, p. 35, Pl. XXXI. 4-7).

Pottery having a Bright Red Fracture.—There is another group of pottery, the broken shreds of which show a bright red, or red-gray fracture, but never black. This variety, which is usually thin and well-made, has been thoroughly fired, and is therefore hard and durable.

THE MODEL VESSELS OF POTTERY

MODELS NOT COPIED FROM REAL POTTERY VESSELS, BUT FROM STONE MODELS.— VAST QUANTITIES OF POTTERY MODELS FOUND IN SHAFT

The forms of this class of vessel were imitated from those of the real utensils in daily use, which were considered necessary for the great funerary meal. But these models were not copied directly from the real pottery vessels, but were imitated from the alabaster models of these real vessels. Therefore, there is often a considerable difference between the pottery model and the real vessel which it purports to imitate. Thus, the complete group of pottery models tended to become isolated, and finally developed into a type of their own, the origin of which we may seek in vain among the forms of the practical vessels. Our understanding of this series of vessels is of necessity imperfect, as all the varieties found for the Fourth Dynasty have not yet been published, and furthermore, when discussing the individual types, we must allow for the material found at Meydum and Dahshûr. Before discussing the forms of these model vessels in detail, I must state that in our excavations they are perhaps the commonest objects to be found. They do not occur in the intact burial-chambers, but we have found them literally in thousands in the filling of the shafts, as for example in the shaft of *Nj-kw-Ht-hr* (see Part III of this work), while special offering pits may also be full of them (see above, p. 18). Can these vast quantities of vessels be an attempt on the part of the Egyptians to literally interpret the conventional funerary formula, which demands the various kinds of offerings to be presented in quantities of 1,000 of each kind? I also found a great quantity of these vessels heaped up in the debris outside the Tomb of *Sšm-nfr*, near the causeway of *H'j.f-R'*. Large quantities were also found by Petrie at Meydum, where they occurred in the filling of Mastaba No. 18. He says: “At the Pyramids of Giza and Dahshûr there are similar heaps of these offerings. And they also occur in private Tombs at Meydum, as Nos. 4, 6, 7, 11, etc.” (PETRIE, “*Medum*”, p. 19).



I have also found these pottery models inside bricks built into the walls of the Pyramid City of Queen *Hn.t-k3.w.s*, where they must have been mixed with the soft mud from which the bricks were manufactured. The following types of vessel were classified by Dr. Junker, and nearly all of them also occur in our field of work.

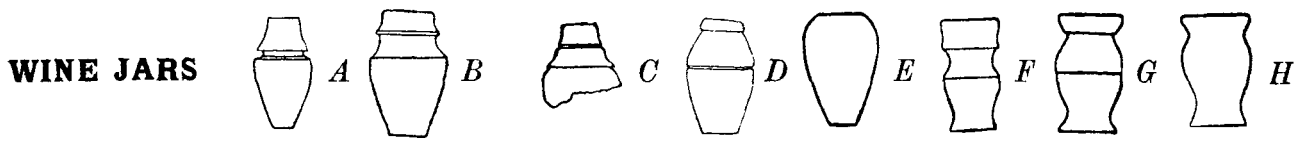
WASHING UTENSILS

The model ewer and basin are rarely found in pottery. Junker found only one example, and we did not find any at all, despite the vast quantities of these pottery models which came to light in our excavations. As we have already seen, these utensils occur frequently among the stone and copper models.



THEIR CHARACTERISTIC FORMS

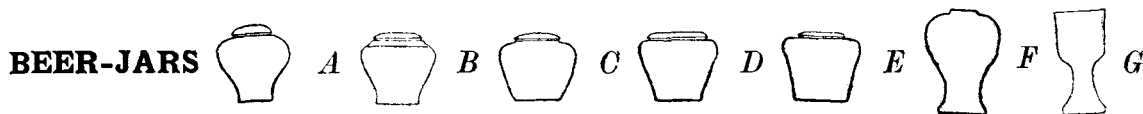
Strange to relate, the characteristic vases for the seven holy oils, which are such a feature of the alabaster and limestone sets of model vases are usually lacking in the pottery sets. Coupled with the general absence of the ewers and basins, this would seem to suggest that the pottery models were reserved entirely for the food-service. Perhaps it was in order to make good this discrepancy that we find the tablets of the seven holy oils placed among the tomb equipment. This is a thin flat slab of alabaster inscribed with the names of the seven oils; under or over each name is a round and shallow depression (see *Drs-mi't*, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, Pl. III; 'nh-h..f, *ibid*, Pl. XLIII, etc.). The same thing was found by Dr. Reisner in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs*, where the pottery oil-vases were replaced by one of these tablets. The vase  (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, abb. II, No. 3) is a handleless form of the *Nj-Hnmw* oil-jar. The  type is also very rare in pottery. The specimen published by Junker (*ibid*, abb. 15, No. 3) had come from the burial-chamber of Mastaba V. It also occurred once at Meydum, where specimens were found actually inside the sarcophagus (PETRIE, "Meydum and Memphis III", p. 112, Pls. IX, XXVI).



THEIR CHARACTERISTIC FORMS.—DEGENERATE FORMS

As we have already seen, there are two types of wine-jars represented among the alabaster models. One of these has a bulging rim and a band of network around the middle; the other has a curved and protruding rim. In the pottery models it is the first type that is reproduced. In type 'D' the groove around the middle of the body may be a debased representation of the band of network. This type is seldom seen in Giza, and up till now, has not appeared in Meydum or Dahshûr. The second type is represented by 'C'. By the process of blind copying the groove between the rim and the body has become exaggerated, (A), until at last it became a characteristic feature in itself, (B). For type 'A' compare DE MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour", 1894, Fig. 17; and PETRIE, "Meydum", Pl. XXX, 24, etc.). Types 'F' 'G' 'H', which mostly occur among the later examples, do not at first seem to be related to the wine-jars, but appear to have been derived from a primitive form. Nevertheless, type 'F' shows the widened groove, although here the rim has become vertical, and the lower part has developed an exaggerated waist, derived from the slightly concave curve of the earlier examples. Like the *hs.t*-vase, its form may

have been influenced by the alabaster models, and be derived from a pointed jar set upon a ring-stand (*see above*, p. 31). Type 'G' shows the final stage of the degeneration of this type of vessel, which here almost resembles a goblet in form (compare the copper vase with a spout, *B.M.A.*, XI, Fig. 15, No. 66). This course of development is verified by a series of intermediate forms from Dahshûr (*see also* PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XXX, 22, 24; "*Meydum and Memphis III*", Pl. XXVI, 45; DE MORGAN, "*Fouilles à Dahchour*", 1894, Fig. 17).



THEIR CHARACTERISTIC FORMS




The forms of these jars correspond to those of the alabaster models, but here, those with the straight sides are rare. Usually they show a marked narrowing at the base, and a corresponding widening at the shoulders. (Compare PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XXX, 25; "*Meydum and Memphis, III*", Pl. XXVI; DE MORGAN, "*Fouilles à Dahchour*", 1894, Fig. 17.) There are also the forms




and



, the latter being very common among the specimens found in our excavations. At first one would be inclined to liken these vessels to the wine-jars, but the characteristic form of the rim and the base clearly mark them as being beer-jars;

while the intermediate form 'A' shows the line of development which these vessels took (*see also* PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XXX, 25, 27; "*Meydum and Memphis*", Pl. XXVI, 46, 47). From our excavations we have also the following forms  and . The first seems as though we should assign it to the class of the beer-jars but the second may be a form of the wine-jar (*see* "*Excavations at*  *Giza*", Vol. I, Pl. LXXX, D).

We have also the traditional offering-jar  as a pottery model (*ibid*, Pl. LXXX, D).

FOOD-BOWLS AND FOOD-DISHES



THE COMMONEST OF ALL THE POTTERY MODEL VESSELS.-- RARER SPECIMENS

These vessels are the commonest of all the series, and are literally found in thousands all over the Giza Necropolis. In fact, it is almost impossible to take a walk in this area without noting several specimens, perfect or only slightly damaged, lying about on the surface of the ground. It is, therefore, no wonder that they are stereotyped and are even more difficult to divide into groups than the alabaster and limestone models, by which we may ascertain the purpose of individual examples. The rarest specimens of this very numerous class are the deep basins with straight or convex sides ('A', 'B', 'C'). These may perhaps be related to the form of some of the examples found at Dahshûr (DE MORGAN, "*Fouilles à Dahchour*", 1894-1895, Fig. 62). The flat dishes show a variation of depth, but the small bases are characteristic of the series, and they usually have straight sides.

FLINT IMPLEMENTS

USUAL TYPES.—FLINT RAZORS.—RECTANGULAR FLINTS.—FOURTH DYNASTY FLINTS MAY BE ONLY FUNERARY MODELS

The flint implements found in the tombs of the Old Kingdom are usually of one particular type, namely a long and somewhat wide-bladed knife, with a rounded point. The back is quite flat, while the front is usually bevelled, or more rarely has two sloping faces, meeting in a ridge running down the centre. The purpose of this implement is not clear, but Reisner suggests that the golden razors of Queen *Htp-hrs* were derived from it (*B.M.A.*, I, pp. 26, 27). If we are to identify this object as a razor, then we have here an offering which is not connected with food and drink, but which was used by the dead for the care of the body, in the same way as the two eye-paints. Many flints of this type came to light in our excavations. Two fine examples were found under the western side of the pillar in the offering-hall in the Tomb of *R'-wr* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 13). When found, these two razors were sharp enough to be put to practical use. But the earliest flints we have in our excavations are the examples from the intact Fourth Dynasty Tomb of the Princess. (For the occurrence of this type of implement at Meydum, see PETRIE, "Meydum", Pl. XXIX, and "Meydum and Memphis", Pl. XXI, 19-22.) There is yet another type of implement also common during the Fourth Dynasty; it is rectangular in form and has a flat back, while the front surface is bevelled on all four edges. This type is also to be found in Meydum (PETRIE, "Meydum", Pl. XXIX, 26), and fine examples have come to light in our excavations (see Vol. I of this work, Pl. LXXXI, 17, 18). In the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* this form is copied in gold, while in our tomb of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and also the Fifth Dynasty burial of Shaft No. 559 we have the same form of implement among the copper models (see below, p. 43). Junker found specimens which he thought may have originated from this type, but the identification is not certain. He also mentions the finding of many flint implements in the Tomb of *Hm'wnw* ("Giza", Vol. I, abb. 16, Nos. 11-13), but which did not appear to have belonged to any tomb equipment, and may even have been practical implements dropped by the workmen of the necropolis. On the other hand, Dr. Reisner was of the opinion that many of the flints, dating from the Fourth Dynasty, are merely funerary models and were never intended for practical use, but were a traditional article made by persons to whom the flaking of practical flint implements was a dead art (see REISNER, "Mycerinus", p. 231).

THE COPPER TOOLS AND MODEL VESSELS AS OFFERINGS

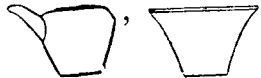


COMPLETE SETS OF COPPER MODELS.—VESSELS: EWER AND BASIN SETS, OIL-JARS, *nmst*-JARS, *Hs.t*-JARS.—OTHER TYPES OF BOWLS AND DISHES.—MODEL SHELLS.—TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS: AXE-BLADES, KNIVES, DAGGERS.—CHISELS AND ENGRAVING TOOLS (?)


In many of the tombs of the Fourth Dynasty there are to be found sets of copper model tools, implements and vessels, which were placed in the burial-chamber, and which, in the case of vessels, correspond to the model vases in stone and pottery⁽¹⁾. In view of the much-plundered state of the Giza Necropolis, which has done so much to destroy scientific evidence, at least as far as the smaller antiquities are concerned, we are indeed fortunate to have at least six complete outfits of copper


⁽¹⁾ Copper needles, and the remains of other implements were found in graves of the First Dynasty at Helwan. See "The Royal Excavations at Sakkâra and Helwan", p. 27.

models from our intact tombs, two of which sets certainly date back to the Fourth Dynasty. These are the above-mentioned sets of Prince Hnmw-b3.f and the Princess. For the Fifth Dynasty we have the sets of 'nh-h3.f, Shaft No. 559, Nht-k3 and Sšmw. But although these sets were found in intact tombs, it is possible that some of the smaller pieces may have disappeared through corrosion. In these sets we find two main groups, the largest of which are the implements, and the smaller consists of the vases and utensils. In the Tomb of 'nh-h3.f we have what is apparently a complete set of these model implements divided between two burials. Thus, in the burial-chamber of 'nh-h3.f himself were sixty-eight tools and implements, while in the burial-chamber of Shaft No. 626, which belonged to an important male member of the tomb-owner's family, was a large set of model vessels, eleven of which were intact, and the remainder damaged from corrosion. Let us now examine in detail the copper models of the Fourth Dynasty from the tombs of the Princess, and Prince Hnmw-b3.f and their equivalents from the tombs of the Fifth Dynasty (1) : —



Vessels :—

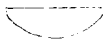

- (1)  The ewer and basin for washing. There was also a large practical copper ewer and basin in the Tomb of Prince Hnmw-b3.f (see above, p. 9), and it is interesting to note that it differs somewhat in form from the model set, or even from the stone models. The practical ewer has a wide, rimmed mouth and a long neck , while the model ewer is neckless. The real basin also has a well-defined rim, and this feature is often absent on the model . In view of such a divergence of form in vessels of the same type and period, we may well ask if such a difference existed in other cases between the real and the model vessels. In the Fifth Dynasty Tomb of Shaft No. 559 ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 244) we have two model ewers and basins, and these follow the form of the models in the Tomb of Prince Hnmw-b3.f, except that the later example has a flat rim to the mouth of the ewer. The same type is also found in the Tomb of Drs-m3't (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 12), and Nht-k3 (Seventh season).


- (2)  A cylindrical oil-jar (Prince Hnmw-b3.f). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see Sšmw (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 89, 92).


- (3)  A nms.t-jar (Prince Hnmw-b3.f). See also for the Fifth Dynasty, Shaft No. 626 in the Tomb of 'nh-h3.f (*ibid.*, p. 143). This form may equally be intended to represent a dwjw-jar, as in the Fourth Dynasty list of H'-mrrw-Pth this form of jar is employed to determine No. 163, dwj-sšr.


(1) For lists of tools, see the abnormal offering-lists (below, p. 448, ff.).

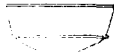
(4)  This may be a form of the *Hst-jar*, but without the characteristic ring-stand, which later became schematised as a splayed-out base (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*). In the offering-list of *K3.j-Swd-w* this type of vase is employed as the determinative of No. I, *st* . This at once connects it with the class of water-vessels. For a Fifth Dynasty example, see Shaft No. 626, in the Tomb of *'nh-h3.f*.


(5) . A moderately shallow bowl, with a round bottom (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*). In the offering-list of *Hwtj* (No. 2), this type of bowl is used to determine fruit, grain, etc. For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see *Nht-k3*, Shaft No. 559 and *'nh-h3.f*, Shaft No. 626. There is also a shallow bowl of a similar type, but having a well-defined rim,  among the copper models in the Tomb of Prince *Nj-'nh-R'* (Fourth Dynasty) (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 158).

(6)  A shallow bowl with a flat bottom (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see Shaft No. 626, *'nh-h3.f*, *Nht-k3*.

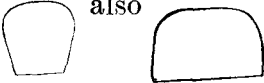




(7)  A *hn.t*-basin (Prince *Nj-'nh-R'*, *ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 158).


(8)  A similar basin to the above, but having slightly concave sides, and a rim that turns inwards (*K3-'pr.*, *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 158, Pl. LV).


(9)  A drinking-bowl (Prince *Nj-'nh-R'*). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see *Sšmw*, *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 92, also Shaft No. 559.



(10)  Model shells (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*). At Reqaqnah, Garstang found model shells of diorite, very finely worked (GARSTANG, “*The Third Egyptian Dynasty*”, p. 25). We found two natural shells of this type in an intact burial in Shaft No. 16 in the Tomb of *R'-wr* (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. I, p. 40) In the tombs of the Second and Third Dynasties at Sakkâra, Quibell found these natural shells containing green stains, perhaps of the green eye-paint, *W3d.t*, No. 10 of the canonical offering-list (QUIBELL, “*Archaic Mastabas*”, p. 20, Tomb No. 2114; p. 26, Tomb No. 2187; p. 34, Tomb No. 2322). Two of these shells, together with a basin ∇ , are represented upon a tray in the paintings in the corridor of the Tomb of *Hsjj* at Sakkâra (QUIBELL, “*The Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. XXI, No. 58). Reisner found such shells in connection with the Third Pyramid complex, and says that they were used to contain colours or kohl (“*Mycerinus*”, p. 237). From various Old Kingdom reliefs we know that such shells formed part of a scribe's equipment (see the Tomb of *Snb*, JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 43, abb. 7). In another scene from the same tomb, such shells containing two round cakes of paint are attached to the girdles of the scribes (*ibid*, p. 89, abb. 22) (see also *ibid*, abb. 18, p. 77). For these copper model shells in the Fifth Dynasty, see Shaft No. 559, where, like those of Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*, they are two in number.


Tools and Implements :—


(11)  also (Prince Hnmw-b3.f and the Princess). An axe-blade (see also K3-pr). For the Fifth Dynasty see Shaft No. 559, where it is found in two sizes, Petrie (“*Tools and Weapons*”, Pl. II, Nos. 55, 56) gives this type for the Third Dynasty. In the painted corridor of Hsjj these axe blades are shown attached to their wooden handles by means of cross-lashings, and form part of a set of model tools arranged upon a tray (QUIBELL, “*The Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. XVI, Nos. 11, 12, 13). For an actual example of such an axe-head from the Archaic Period, which still retains its wooden handle, see QUIBELL, “*Archaic Mastabas*”, Pl. XXXIII, 3. For these axe-blades in the Fifth Dynasty, see Sšmw , and nh-h3.f . In the Tomb of Shm-k3-R', men are shown felling trees with  similar axes to  these, which shows that we are to regard them as tools rather than as weapons. The rounded form of these axe-blades is peculiar to Egypt, and is not found elsewhere in the ancient world (PETRIE, “*Tools and Weapons*”, p. 62).


(12)  (Prince Hnmw-b3.f). An axe-blade (?), more square in form than the above, and having a tang for attachment to a handle. The only axe-blades with a tang for attachment given by Petrie date from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (*ibid*, Pl. II, Nos. 98, 99).


(13)  (Prince Hnmw-b3.f). A rectangular implement having a long tang upon the back. The edge, which is somewhat corroded, seems to be serrated. One is tempted to identify this object as a weaving comb, as wooden examples of this form are known, but they date from the Late Period (PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. LXVI, Nos. 151–153), and the earlier (Eighteenth Dynasty) examples have a semi-circular back (JOHL, “*Altägyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Ägypten*”, p. 46, abb. 31). If this is indeed a weaving comb, then one is tempted to see in the long slender knife a model of the weaving-sword (see the Tomb of Hnmw-b3.f).


(14)  (Prince Hnmw-b3.f, and the Princess). A rather wide-bladed knife with a tang for attaching to a wooden (?) handle. For a knife with its handle still attached, see Sšmw. Another (damaged) knife of Prince Hnmw-b3.f has a more slender blade (see also K3-pr, “*Excavations, at Giza*”, Vol. II, Pl. LV). For these knives in the Fifth Dynasty, see Shaft No. 559, *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 244; Sšmw, *ibid*, p. 92; nh-h3.f; Shaft No. 648, *ibid*, p. 234. In this latter set there is also a broader blade with a decidedly round point  (see also PETRIE, “*Tools and Weapons*”, Pl. XXXI, No. 63 and Pl. XXX, Nos. 26–29).

(15)  (The Princess). A knife with a straight back and a single cutting edge (perhaps a model saw (?)) (see PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. XXIX, Nos. 236, 238). Petrie is of the opinion that perhaps the form of these knives was derived from a flint knife (*ibid*, p. 23).


(16)  (The Princess). Another variant of the above-mentioned type (see PETRIE *ibid*, Pl. XXIV, No. 26).


- (17)  (*K3-pr*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. II, Pl. LV). A copper flaying-knife (PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. XXXI, No. 13). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see Shaft No. 559, Vol. III, p. 244.


- (18)  (*K3-pr*). A dagger-blade (see the painted corridor of *Hsjj*) (QUIBELL “*The Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. XXI, No. 67)⁽¹⁾.


- (19)  (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*, also *K3-pr*). These seem to be models of a rectangular knife with four cutting edges, such as we frequently see among the flint implements (see above) and which in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hrs* are made of gold. In the


Fifth Dynasty examples from the Tomb of Shaft No. 559, the bevelled edges are eliminated, and the whole has degenerated into a mere rectangle of copper (see also the painted corridor of *Hsjj*, (QUIBELL, *ibid*, Pl. XVI, No. 13). Petrie does not mention this form in “*Tools and Weapons*”.


- (20)  (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and the Princess). An adze-blade with a rounded head. A specimen from the Tomb of *K3-pr* has a straight cutting edge.

- (21)  (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*). A similar tool to the above, but having slightly convex sides (see PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. LV, Nos. 45-49). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see *Sšmw*.

- (22)  (Prince *Nj-nh-R3*). A similar type to the above, but narrower (see PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. XV, No. 46).

- (23)  (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and the Princess). This is the type called by PETRIE, “*Plain Adze-Blades*” (*ibid*, Pl. XV, No. 38). He gives an example for the Fifth Dynasty. For an actual specimen for the Fifth Dynasty, see Shaft No. 559.

- (24)  (Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and the Princess). A chisel (see PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 40-42). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see *Sšmw*.

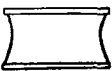
- (25)  (*K3-pr*). A chisel or engraving tool (see Prince *Hnmw-b3.f* and the Princess). For this type in the Fifth Dynasty, see *nh-h3.f* Shaft No. 559, Shaft No. 648 and *Sšmw*.

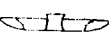
⁽¹⁾ JEQUIER, “*La Frises d'Objets*”, pp. 125-126, identifies these objects as razors (see *ibid* for a discussion on razors).


THE FIFTH DYNASTY COPPER MODELS


MODEL VESSELS.—THEIR CHARACTERISTIC FORMS

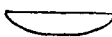
The following are the forms of a number of copper model offering utensils and implements, which appear in our Fifth Dynasty tombs, but of which we had not found examples for the Fourth Dynasty. However, their absence in the earlier tombs may well be due to destruction arising from corrosion, particularly in those tombs which have been inundated by flood-water :—

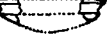
(1)  (Shaft No. 559). A squat form of the ointment jar (?). We have already seen a limestone model of this type in the Tomb of 'nh-h3.f. In Meydum, this type of vase is for the *ibr*-oil (PETRIE, "Meydum", Pl. XV).


(2)  (*Sšmw*). A curious type of vessel, consisting of a flat bowl with an attached centre piece, something after the form of the above-mentioned vessel.

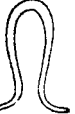
(3)  (*Drs-mš't*). A bowl on a foot. This type of vessel was used to serve up roast geese and the 'drumsticks' of geese (see the scene of the funerary meal in the Mastaba of *Tsn*, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, Fig. 125; also *K3-dw3*, see Vol. VI, Part III).

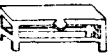

(4)  (*Drs-mš't*). Similar to the above but having a spout, and a curved rim. It was presumably intended to hold some kind of liquid.



(5)  (Shaft No. 626, *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 144). A flat-bottomed bowl with rounded, convex sides.

(6)  (*Sšmw*). A drinking-bowl with a recurved rim. This is a copy of a type we frequently see in fine red-polished ware.

(7)  (Shaft No. 626). This is similar to the traditional food-basin, but has concave sides.

(8)  (Shaft No. 626). A copper handle of a vase, the body of which had completely corroded away.

(9)  (*Drs-mš't*). A gilded copper offering-table in the form of the sign *hṭp*  (see also REINSER, "Annales du Service", Vol. XIII, Pl. IX).

(10)  (Shaft No. 559). A copper model of a chafing-dish, called in Egyptian '*hi*'  (*H'j-b3.w-Skr*, MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. I).


THE ORIGIN OF THE OFFERING-LIST

THE APPARENTLY GREAT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF OFFERINGS FROM THE PRE-DYNASTIC TO THE ARCHAIC PERIOD. — THE FIRST WRITTEN OFFERING-LISTS. — THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE OFFERING-LIST

In the previous volume of this work, I outlined the development of the written offering-list as it appeared upon the tomb-tablets and panels of the false-doors, from the time of the early Second Dynasty up till the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 86–124). After studying these written entries, we see that certain items were present on every stele, tablet or panel, a fact which would suggest that there was a well-defined group of objects which were considered essential for the welfare of the dead, and which had been traditionally employed as funerary-offerings since a very remote period, long before the first written lists began to appear. The only material sources, from which we can trace these items, are the Pre-dynastic graves, which are, however, insufficient to enable us to arrive at a thoroughly satisfactory conclusion, as we have already remarked. Nevertheless, there is one fact to be observed, and that is that from the very remote time of the Pre-dynastic period, we see a certain continual development of the offerings which shows us graphically how man’s material needs increased with the progress of civilization. Thus, we begin from the early Pre-dynastic Period with a few simple objects surrounding the contracted corpse in its shallow grave, to be increased as time went on, until at last it became necessary to dig a special pit for the offerings, which had so increased as to encumber the body (PETRIE, “*Naqâda and Ballâs*”, Pl. III). But, on the other hand, we must always remember that our material for the Pre-dynastic Period is limited, and what may be true of one locality, may be contradicted by finds in another area, and we must also take into consideration the dictates of local custom, which may have fixed the tomb equipment at a large or small quantity of objects. The poverty of the offerings in some cemeteries may be due to the fact that in some instances we may be dealing with the burials of poor or middle-class persons, just as we have a cemetery of archaic middle-class graves at Sakkâra (see above, p. 4). Therefore, for this remote period we can only give a general, or superficial survey, especially as new discoveries are being made almost daily, which bring in their train new ideas and information undreamed of before.

By the beginning of the First Dynasty we find that the material offerings in the royal and princely tombs had increased to such an extent as to necessitate the construction of special magazines to contain them (EMERY, “*Hor-aha*”, p. 15; *Hemaka*”, p. 4; DE MORGAN, “*Recherches sur les Origines d’Egypte*”, p. 158). Nevertheless, when the first written offering-lists appeared, they were of a more or less simple character. Thus, the grave-stelae of the Second Dynasty show us that there were about 62 items of food, drink, and equipment which were offered to the dead, though all of these items did not appear upon any one single list, the largest for this period being that of Princess *Shfnr*, which contains about fifty-two items, (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 92–97). In the Third Dynasty we find that the written offerings had increased to about 131 items, most of which are, however, more concerned with tomb-equipment, than with food and drink, but also not all appearing together upon one list, the largest number of entries being in the list of *Hj-b3.w.Skr*, who has 51 items (see *ibid*, pp. 97–103). But perhaps there were other

articles actually presented to the dead that were not included in the written lists, as was the case in the later tombs, where, for example, we often find the head-rest in the sarcophagus in actual fact (*see* above, p. 14) but it is not found in any of the canonical offering-lists among our material, although it is given in the above-mentioned list of *H'j-b3.w-Skr*. By the time of the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, we have more than 165 items from which selections could be made to form the offering-lists; and now the additional items seem to be more concerned with food than equipment, for we find that twenty of the new items are either food or drink, while the remaining fourteen are of a ritualistic character.

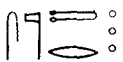
The end of the Fourth Dynasty ushered in the canonical list of the people, which, as we shall presently see, was taken from the royal offering-lists (*see* below, p. 49). This list now contained about ninety entries, classified into groups, and arranged in a nearly fixed order as far as No. 87. By the end of the Fifth Dynasty, we find the offering-list increased by the addition of new ritualistic items at the end, of varying number, and which are not found in royal lists, and also by the occasional addition of older discarded material in the body of the list. Finally, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, we find the offering-list increased by the inclusion of some more ritualistic entries at the end; while side by side with this type of list, we find a still larger one which contains the greater part of the first section of the royal list, and which may contain as many as 127 items to a single list as that of *Mnj*  of Denderah (*see* Index, Sixth Dynasty, No. 136). Now also represented offerings and equipment may be painted upon the walls of the burial-chamber, many of which illustrate the items enumerated in the lists.

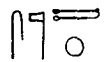
THE MATERIAL OFFERINGS IN THE PRE-DYNASTIC AND EARLY ARCHAIC GRAVES

ARTICLES USED AS OFFERINGS WHICH DO NOT APPEAR IN THE OFFERING-LISTS

Let us now return to the most ancient lists and see if we can find any point of connection between them and the contents of the inarticulate graves of the Pre-dynastic and early First Dynasty periods. But before going any further, we must note a rather curious fact, and that is that we find many objects appearing regularly in actual fact in the tombs, which were never accorded a place in any of the normal private offering-lists so far discovered. Outstanding examples of this are weapons and implements, which appear frequently in the tombs from the earliest times onward, but are never mentioned in the private lists, as we have just seen, although they appear in the royal lists from the time of the First Dynasty onwards ⁽¹⁾. The same thing is to be observed with sticks and personal ornaments, which do not appear in the private lists, but are found in actual fact in the tombs, or are represented upon the walls (for the copper tools and implements, *see* above pp. 42, 43; for the jewellery, *see* pp. 8, 9 and for the sticks, *see* p. 16). On the other hand, there are several articles appearing in the Archaic lists and offering-scenes, which are also found in actual fact in the Pre-dynastic and early First Dynasty tombs, and this argues the existence of an early traditional series of offerings, firmly established by religious usage before the invention of writing and upon which some of the groups of items in the later canonical list were based.

⁽¹⁾ But they may well have appeared in earlier royal lists, which have not come to hand up to the present moment.






INCENSE *sntr* 

Let us take for a beginning the question of incense, which appears on the Bankfield Stele written thus  (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, pp. 86, 87). Now the Egyptians used many different kinds of materials for incense (see LUCAS, "*Ancient Egyptian Materials*", pp. 90-100) among which was resin. This material occurs frequently in the Badarian and Pre-dynastic graves (*ibid*) and at a date too remote for it to be associated with embalming. In the graves of Naqâda, resin appeared in flat cakes (PETRIE, "*Naqâda and Ballâs*", p. 21), or in small pieces contained in vases, (*ibid*, p. 23) or contained in ivory tusks (*ibid*, p. 29).


CLOTH

This is one of the most popular items among the offerings in the Archaic and early Fourth Dynasty lists, and in the former, different varieties of linen were the first items to be arranged in a methodical manner. Linen has been found in the graves of the Neolithic Period (CATON THOMPSON, "*Neolithic Industries of the North Fayum Desert*", Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst., LVI, 1926, p. 315), the Badarian Period, (BRUNTON AND THOMPSON, "*Badarian Civilization*", Vol. I, pp. 64-67; also PETRIE, "*Prehistoric Egypt*", p. 47), and the Pre-dynastic Period (BRUNTON, "*Qau and Badâri*", Vol. I, pp. 70-71). In the great royal tomb of the early First Dynasty at Naqâda was an abundance of linen cloth of four or five different qualities of weaving, some of which were very fine (DE MORGAN, "*Recherches sur les Origines d'Égypte*", p. 164). This seems to coincide with the different qualities of material mentioned in the Archaic and early Fourth Dynasty lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, pp. 120-121).

NBS-FRUIT 

In the Mastaba of *Hm3-k3* at Sakkâra were six vases of the type  which contained dried specimens of *nbk*-fruit (EMERY, "*Hemaka*", p. 52). Upon the shoulders of these jars is inscribed  which may perhaps be an early form of  (*var.*  see *K3j* Index, No. 18, etc.) (1). It may be remarked that a jar inscribed  and containing *nebk*-fruit was found in Medinet Habu in 1932 (*ibid*) (2).

FIGS  

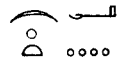
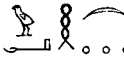

Dried figs, pierced by a central hole for threading on a string were found by Petrie in the Tomb of King *Dn* at Abydos (see NEWBERRY, "*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*", Vol. XXII, p. 148). Such figs, threaded on a string, are undoubtedly represented by the sign  which frequently determines the entry of 'figs' in the offering-list (see below, p. 397). This custom still exists in Egypt.

(1) For another explanation, see MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, p. 35.



(2) For this item, see also GARDINER, "*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*", Vol. I, p. 20.

CAROB-BEANS ⁽¹⁾ 

(For Variants, see Lists, Pls. I, VII, VIII, XVI, XXIV, etc.)

Two other vases of the type mentioned above were found in the Tomb of *Hm3-k3*, and are inscribed , which Zaki Saad suggests may be a version of , carob-beans, (*ibid*) (see variants . Pls. I, VII, VIII, XVI, XXIV, etc.).



WHEAT


Another jar in the Tomb of *Hm3-k3*, also of the same type as those mentioned above, contained wheat. It was inscribed , which does not appear in any of our lists, although several different kinds of grains are enumerated (for  meaning grain, or red, see *Worterbuch für Aegyptischen Sprache*, Vol. V, p. 487) ⁽²⁾.

THE OFFERING-TABLE  *H3w (t)*

These circular offering-tables are found as early as the Pre-dynastic Period, a specimen having been found in a grave at Kawamil (DE MORGAN, "*Recherches sur les Origines d'Égypte*", p. 136, Fig. 466). They also appear in the Tomb of *Hm3-k3* (EMERY, *ibid*, Pl. 31), but curiously enough, Zaki Saad (*ibid*, p. 55) states that no examples of these tables were known prior to the Second Dynasty, but adds that there is no reason to suppose that the tables of *Hm3-k3* are intrusive.

THE GREEN AND BLACK EYE-PAINT  (with Variants)

Among the articles which appear in the Pre-dynastic graves is the slate palette upon which was ground the material used for making eye-paint. This material was malachite to produce the green paint  *w3d*, and galena to produce the black paint  *smd.t* (or *msdm.t*). Specimens of both these minerals are found in the Pre-dynastic graves, usually placed in small bags, and held in the hand of the deceased (PETRIE, "*Prehistoric Egypt*", pp. 36, 37).

These bags, which are tied at the mouth, are the 'rf of the later offering-list  (see, for example, *3ht-htp*, Index No. 13, Fourth Dynasty) and the tied bag became the regular determinative for the two enumerations of the eye-paint. In some of the graves of Naqâda malachite occurs in powdered form and in small lumps (PETRIE, "*Naqâda and Ballâs*", p. 26). Although these materials are among the commonest of the articles found in the early burials, we do not find them included in the offering-lists until fairly late, at least so far as our material shows us. Apparently the first mention of the green eye-paint occurs in the list of *Hthr-nfr-htp*, the wife of *H'j-b3.w-Skr* (Third Dynasty). She is represented upon her false-docr with her

⁽¹⁾ DAVIES ("*The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Ra at Thebes*", Vol. I. p. 43) translates this as 'beans'.

⁽²⁾ Practical, as well as model granaries, were found in the tomb of the First Dynasty at Helwan, some of the former still containing grains of wheat in a recognizable condition (see "*The Royal Excavations at Sakkâra and Helwan*", pp. 111, 112).

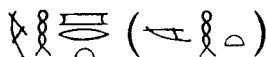
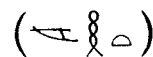
eyes decorated with green eye-paint (MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 4, Pl. II). The black eye-paint does not seem to appear in the written lists until the early Fourth Dynasty (Tablet of *Nfr*, LUTZ, “*Egyptian Tomb Stelae and Offering-Stones*”, Pl. II, a).

MEAT-OFFERINGS






(see Nos. 45-54 of the Lists, Pls. III, IV, XII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXVI, etc.)

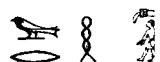
Among the offerings found in the Mastaba of *Hr-ḥ3*, at Sakkâra were the leg bones of oxen. Concerning these, Emery says that they were: ‘undoubtedly cuts of meat left for the sustenance of the owner of the tomb’ (EMERY, “*Hor-aha*”, p. 78).

He also remarks that large cuts of meat were found buried in the Tomb of *S3bw*, and in an intact Second Dynasty Mastaba (*ibid*). Bones of a calf’s leg, and the shoulder of an ox were also found in a grave at Naqâda (PETRIE, “*Naqâda and Ballâs*”, pp. 24, 25).

OINTMENT  () *mrḥ.t*


OINTMENT REPLACED BY MUD TO BECOME A MODEL OFFERING.—GREAT QUANTITIES OF OINTMENT USED IN THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—THE NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF OINTMENTS AND OILS.—THE REPLACEMENT OF OUTMODED OINTMENTS BY OTHERS FROM THE ROYAL LISTS


Quibell in “*Naqâda and Ballâs*” (p. 39) records the finding of jars of the type  and  (*ibid*, Pl. XXXI) which contained perfumed vegetable fat covered by a thin layer of mud, to prevent the escape of the perfume. For vases of these types, see the lists of *R'-mrrj-Pth* (Index No. 15, Fourth Dynasty), Nos. 3, , 4 and 7. Also *Dbḥnj* (Index No. 11 Fourth Dynasty), No. 7, , etc. etc. In some of the examples found in Naqâda, the quantity of the mud was so much increased that it finally occupies the whole of the jar, and the real ointment was omitted. It thus came to be a model offering. In the case of the Tomb of King *Smr-ht* at Abydos (PETRIE, “*Royal Tombs*”, Vol. I, p. 14) the sand filling the grave was saturated to a depth of three feet with perfumed oil or ointment, the scent of which was so strong that it could be smelt all over the tomb, even after the lapse of more than five thousand years! This pouring out of ointment is illustrated in the determinatives of the names of the holy oils in the offering-lists, where we frequently see the vase  laid upon its side, sometimes with the contents trickling out (see *Tsn*, Index Nos. 32, 33, Fifth Dynasty). In lists ‘B’ and ‘C’ of King *Njr-k3-R'* (Index Nos. 146, *T*, 147, *T*) Entry No. 93 is


 “Pouring out Ointment”. The double determinatives speak for themselves.


As early as the First Dynasty we have written evidence for the names of some of the holy oils. These occur on the small ivory and ebony labels which are found in some of the Archaic tombs from such widely divergent localities as Abydos, Naqâda and Sakkâra. The purpose of the labels seems to be definitely proved from the Tomb of *Hr-ḥ3*, where one of them was attached

to a leather bag by means of string passing through a hole bored in one corner of the label. The name of the article, and usually that of the owner, was inscribed upon the label, which thus designated the nature of the offering. The following are the names of the oils as we find them on these early Archaic labels :—


 "First-class *hknw*-oil, choice" (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. II, Pl. VIII, 3) (No. 6 of the canonical list).


 *H3.t.t*-oil "*(Ibid.*, Pl. XII, 4. Compare PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XV).


 "First-class '*h3*-oil" (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. II, Pl. VIII, 2; see also "*Medum*", Pl. XV; see also below, p. 50 and p. 50).


 "*Ib-s3*-oil" (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. II, Pl. VIII, 4. Compare "*Medum*", Pl. XIII).


 (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. I, Pl. XI, 12).

 (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pl. XII).

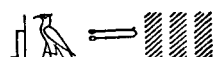
 (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. VIII, 5).

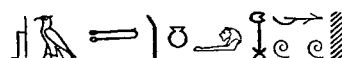
 (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. VII, a, 2).

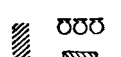
 (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pl. XI, 4).

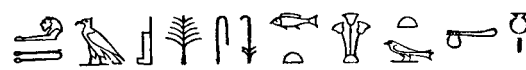
 . . . (*Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 10).

 or  (*Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 6).

 (PETRIE, "*Abydos*", Vol. I, XI, 7).

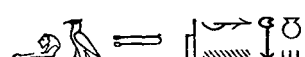
 (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. I, Pl. XI, 14).

 (*Ibid.*, Pl. XI, I).

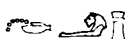
















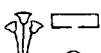

 (AMELINEAU, "*Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*", III, XV, 19).

 (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. II, Pl. III, a).

 (*Ibid.*, Pl. III a, 5).

 (DE MORGAN, "*Recherches sur les Origines d'Egypte*", p. 167, Fig. 549).

 (?)  (PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. II, Pl. III, 8).

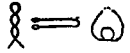


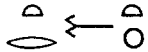
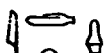



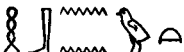
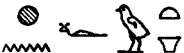





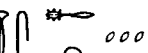
Four such labels were found in the Archaic cemetery beside the Serapeum at Sakkâra (MACRAMALLAH, “*Un Cimetiere Archaïque de la Classe Moyenne du Peuple à Sakkâra*”, p. 16). These labels all bear the names of certain commodities, and are determined by vases. They read as follows: (1) ; (2)  (see Pyramid Texts, line 1263 C [?]). This last does not seem to be the name of an oil, but is perhaps a mineral substance obtained from Elephantine (Ochre ?) (see *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 386). This occurs as  in the list of *H'j-b3.w-Skr* (“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, p. 97), where it seems to be a heading for a class of painted furniture; (3)  Macramallah suggests for this , an abridgement of , a kind of drink (*W.B.*, Vol. III, pp. 443, 444): . On the other hand, if we are to accept  as the equal of , then the article could be  “Brilliantine” (see the stele of Princess *Shjnr*) (see “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, p. 92), where it is qualified as  “First-class”; (4) . This may equal  or , a kind of medicinal oil. On the labels of *Hr-'h3* we have  which seems to be a variety of the *h3.t.t-* 's-oil (see EMERY, “*Hemaka*”, pp. 38, 39). The sign  may be equivalent to , an oil or wine-press. The other two labels are both inscribed  , which the finder suggests may be *pr.t t3-mḥw* ‘Festival of the Delta’, or ‘Seeds of the Delta’. The determinative somewhat resembles a bag tied at the mouth, it can hardly, therefore, be counted as the name of one of the oils.

The most valuable part about these labels from our point of view, is the fact that they give us the names of some of the oils which appear later in the canonical offering-lists, thus we have *hknw* (No. 4) *H3.t.t-'s'* and *h3.t.t-Thnw* (Nos. 8, 9). They also give us the names of some of the oils that had appeared in the Archaic lists. Here we are presented with a curious fact, the *hknw* and *h3.t.t-Thnw* are not found in the lists of the Second, Third or early Fourth Dynasty, so far as the evidence of our material shows, and yet these two oils were employed as offerings for the dead as early as the First Dynasty, as these labels prove. Therefore, their sudden appearance in the canonical list at the end of the Fourth Dynasty was not an innovation in the offerings, but was based upon a sound traditional usage. The reason for their disappearance in the intervening period of the Second to the early Fourth Dynasties is puzzling, but when we remember that the labels upon which these names occur are from royal tombs, and that they also occur in the royal offering-lists of the Pyramid Texts, the explanation becomes easier. Perhaps they do not occur among the Archaic lists, simply because none of those so far discovered for that period were kingly lists. But when at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the offering-list was re-edited, and made to conform to the canonical standard, these two oils *hknw* and *h3.t.t-Thnw* were adopted along with other hitherto exclusively royal entries in order to complete the list of the seven holy oils, and at the same time, many of the older oils, which had also been discarded by the royal lists, such as the *ibr* were deleted from the private lists, and only re-occur sporadically as extra entries or in ‘freak’ lists, such as that of *Wr-hw* ‘B’, etc. (see below, p. 468).



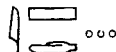

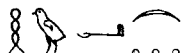


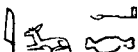







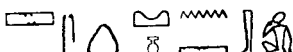
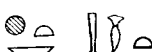



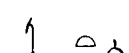

**ITEMS FROM THE ARCHAIC PERIOD WHICH WERE RETAINED
IN THE CANONICAL OFFERING-LIST OF THE PEOPLE**

THE NAMES OF THE ITEMS RETAINED

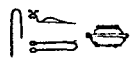

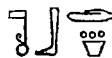




We have already remarked that by the time of the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty, there were no less than 165 items which could be employed for the offering-lists. When, at the end of the Fourth Dynasty the canonical list began to appear in the private tombs, many of these old entries were discarded, but certain entries and groups of entries were retained; while other new material was added, and the whole re-arranged. Let us now study this new material and see what were the items retained, what were discarded, and what were added. Out of all the old 165 entries, only the following were retained in the canonical offering-list:—

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (1) |  | <i>ht</i> -bread. |
| (2) |  | <i>ph</i> -(as a drink). |
| (3) |  | <i>dptj</i> -bread. |
| (4) |  | <i>t-rth</i> -bread. |
| (5) |  | <i>idt</i> -bread. |
| (6) |  | <i>s't</i> -bread. |
| (7) |  | <i>gsw</i> =half-loaves (1). |
| (8) |  | <i>t-nbs</i> -bread=made of the <i>nbs</i> -fruit. |
| (9) |  | <i>hbnn.t</i> -bread. |
| (10) |  | <i>hnfw.t</i> -cake. |
| (11) |  | <i>t-twj</i> -bread. |
| (12) |  | <i>nhrw</i> -bread. |
| (13) |  | <i>'gt</i> =a kind of parched grain. |
| (14) |  | <i>swt</i> -corn. |
| (15) |  | <i>sht-hd</i> =white cereal. |
| (16) |  | <i>sht-wsd</i> =green cereal. |

(1) This item appears in representation, but was not written phonetically until the Fourth Dynasty.



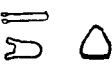


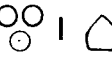

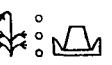


- (17)  *it* = barley.
- (18)  *hdw* = onions.
- (19)  *is'd*-fruit.
- (20)  *dsb* = figs.
- (21)  *w'h* = carob-beans.
- (22)  *nbs*-fruit.
- (23)  *rnput-nb.t* (All Year's Feast Offerings).
- (24)  *iw'* = a haunch of beef (the femur) (1).
- (25)  *swt* = a leg of beef.
- (26)  *hps'* = a foreleg of beef.
- (27)  *spr* = ribs of beef (1).
- (28)  *trp*-goose.
- (29)  *r3*-goose.
- (30)  *sr*-duck.
- (31)  *i'wr3* (?) = breakfast.
- (32)  *s'ns-dwjns'b* = food, a *s'ns*-loaf and a *dwj*-jar.
- (33)  *ih.t nb.t- bnr.t* = all sweet things.
- (34)  *irp* = wine.
- (35)  *hkt* = beer (or *hnkt* according to Gardiner).
- (36)  *hkt-hnsm* = a kind of beer which only appears in the offering-lists.
- (37)  *ist.t* = a prepared milk.
- (38)  *dsr.t* = a kind of beer.

(1) This item is represented, but does not appear written phonetically until late in the Fourth Dynasty as far as I know.



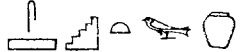




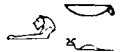
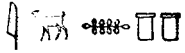

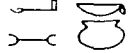











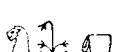
- (39)  *sft* = ointment.
- (40)  *sntr* = incense.
- (41)  *bd* = natron.
- (42)  *w3d* = green eye-paint.
- (43)  *smd.t* (or *msdm.t*) = black eye-paint.
- (44)  *htp njsut* = the royal offering.
- (45)  *h3w.t* = the offering-table.

ITEMS OF THE OLDER MATERIAL WHICH DISAPPEARED FROM THE CANONICAL OFFERING-LISTS OF THE PEOPLE






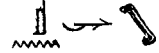
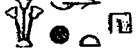
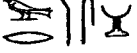


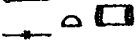
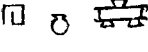



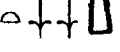
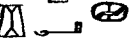
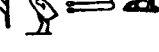


From the 165 entries of the older lists, we find that the following items seem to have dropped out of the written lists of the late Fourth Dynasty to the Sixth Dynasty, and they do not re-appear in the material which we have to hand. Some of them occur in lists of the early and middle Fourth Dynasty (see *Snfrw-snb*, Index No. 3, and in the abnormal lists, see below, p. 441, *ff.*):—





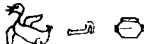


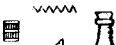


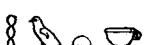

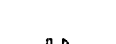

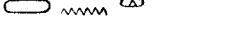

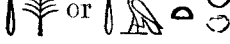
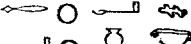



- (1)  = A loaf of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *hks.t* of flour (?).
- (2)  = A loaf of $\frac{1}{2}$ *hks.t* of flour.
- (3)  = A loaf of $\frac{1}{2}$ *hks.t* of flour.
- (4)  = A loaf of $\frac{1}{2}$ *hks.t* of flour.
- (5)  = A loaf of one *hks.t* of flour.
- (6)  = A loaf of three *hks.t* of flour.
- (7)  = A loaf of two *hks.t* of flour ⁽¹⁾.
- (8)  *it-sm'* = southern barley.
- (9)  *hm-wr* or *bjs-wr* = a kind of ox.
- (10)  *hakt bnr.t* = sweet beer.

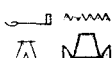

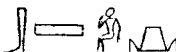




⁽¹⁾ As only the weight and not the names of these loaves are given, they may be the known kinds of bread, after all, especially if we may judge by the shape of the determinatives.

- (11)  *sp* (?) = a kind of drink.
- (12)  *ps̄* = a kind of drink.
- (13)  . . . (?) = a kind of drink.
- (14)  *ksj* = a kind of drink.
- (15)  *bnr.t* = sweet milk.
- (16)  *bnr.t* = date-wine.
- (17)  *tj-sst* = a stone oil-vessel.
- (18)  *hs.t-kf* = brilliantine (?).
- (19)  *ib-si* = a fine oil.
- (20)  *sd* . . . (?).
- (21)  *'d-k* (?) = cedar oil.
- (22)  *'hs-ts* = a kind of oil.
- (23)  *tp-hs.t-sst* (?) = a first-class oil.
- (24)  *tp-hs.t is* = a first-class oil.
- (25)  *i' bd ts 2* = a ewer and basin and two pellets of natron.
- (26)  *bs*-cloth.
- (27)  *tp*-cloth.
- (28)  *nfr.t-njsut*-cloth.
- (29)  *irtjw*-garment.
- (30)  *sdb*-garment.
- (31)  *sšr.w-wds.t* = green *sšr.w* linen.⁽¹⁾
- (32)  *sšr.w-ir-tjw* = blue *sšr.w*-linen.⁽¹⁾
- (33)  *bs-sm'* = a skirt.

⁽¹⁾ JUNCKER, "Giza", Vol. V, p. 44.

- (34)  *hsd* = a skirt or girdle.
- (35)  *twd* (?) = a chemise or girdle.
- (36)  An offering-table.
- (37)  A stand.
- (38)  *sds* = a general heading for furniture.
- (39)  *st- (n) -ht* = a bed.
- (40)  *hs-(?) (n) ht* = a wooden chest.
- (41)  *wrs* = a head-rest.
- (42)  *'fdt* = a chest of wood or metal.
- (43)  *dbn* = a chest with a vaulted lid.
- (44)  *tst* = a wooden chest.
- (45)  *hnw* = a box.
- (46)  *hbnj* = ebony-wood (a heading for articles made from this kind of wood).
- (47)  *hndw* = a seat.
- (48)  *gsj* = a sloping bed.
- (49)  *tnn*, an article of ebony furniture.
- (50)  *hr.t'* = a writing-desk.
- (51)  *wts*, a carrying-chair.
- (52)  A typical stone vase of the Second Dynasty type (note that although this and some of the following vessels do not appear in the canonical list as special items, they are frequently employed in these lists as determinatives, especially in the better class lists where attention is paid to the details).
- (53)  A dish (?).

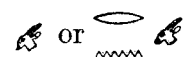


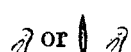
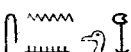
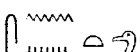

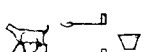


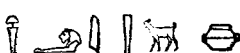
- (54)  A large jar.
- (55)  A large jar with a cover.
- (56)  . . . (?) = a kind of vessel.
- (57)  *tj-i-33t*=a general heading for a class of vessel.
- (58)  *ts* . . . =a vase.
- (59)  *s'*=a vase.
- (60)  *ks*=a heading for a class of vessel.
- (61)  *pnk*=a pail or bucket.
- (62)  *dn-ib*=a vessel.
- (63)  *ssh3*=a general heading for a class of vessel.
- (64)  *hwt*=a large vase.
- (65)  *dfj*=a large vase.
- (66)  *'hj*=a chafing dish.
- (67)  *s'mw*=a large jar.
- (68)  *'3 t-hst d*=a flask of lapis-lazuli.
- (69)  *tj-i-33t*=vessels of an unknown stone.
- (70)  *'3 t-'nw*=limestone (?) vessels.
- (71)  *nmtj*=quartzite vessels of various shapes.
- (72)  *i'wrjt*=pastry.
- (73)  *m3st*=skirt or girdle.
- (74)  *st.t*=bread.

- (75)  'gn, (?) = seed-corn.
- (76)  iʒrr.t = grapes.
- (77)  bš'-fruit.
- (78)  sš'r-cloth.
- (79)  'ʒ.t-cloth.
- (80)  tp hʒ.t sfr = a kind of oil.
- (81)  tp hʒ.t bkt-'d-nt = a first-class olive-oil.

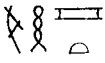






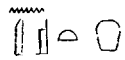
ITEMS FROM THE OLD LISTS WHICH APPEAR SPORADICALLY IN THE LATER LISTS

THE NAMES OF THE ITEMS

The following items may appear from time to time at the end of the canonical lists, or may be interspersed here and there among the canonical entries: several of them also occur in the abnormal lists (see below, p. 441, ff.):—

- (1)  an ibex (*Kʒj-sudʒ.w* 'B', Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 46).
- (2)  ng = the long-horned ox (*Nfr-njswt*, Fourth Dynasty, Index No. 4 T; 'nh-irj.s, Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 30, etc.).
- (3)  hʒj-udb = a poll-ox (*Nfr-njswt*, Fourth Dynasty; 'nh-irj.s, Fifth Dynasty).
- (4)  dʒt = a crane (*Nfr-njswt*).
- (5)  smn-goose (*Nfr-njswt*).
- (6)  smn.t-goose (*Nfr-njswt*).
- (7)  kp = a kind of drink (*Stw*, Fourth Dynasty, Index No. 6 H).
- (8)  knu-'wj = a drink (*Nfr-njswt*).
- (9)  sivr.t = oil or ointment.
- (10)  iʒr = a kind of costly oil or ointment.
- or
-  tp-hʒ.t iʒr.








Nfr-nsut, Fourth Dynasty: —

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (11) |  | <i>mrh.t</i> = ointment (<i>K3.j-swd3.w</i> III 'B', Fifth Dyn., Index No. 46, etc.). |
| (12) |  | <i>hst.t</i> = oil (<i>Nfr-njsut</i>). |
| (13) |  | <i>idmj</i> = cloth (<i>Nfr-njsut</i> , <i>K3.j-swd3.w</i> , King <i>Nfr-k3-R'</i>). |
| (14) |  | <i>mnht</i> = cloth (<i>K3.j-swd3.w</i> , etc.). |
| (15) |  | <i>ssf</i> = a kind of thin cloth (<i>K3.j-swd3.w</i>). |
| (16) |  | <i>dsr</i> = a stool (?) (<i>Wr-hww</i> 'B', Fifth Dynasty) (1). |
| (17) |  | <i>ss'</i> = alabaster vessels (<i>K3.j-swd3.w</i>). |
| (18) |  | <i>nms.t</i> = a large jar (<i>Wr-hww</i> 'B', King <i>Nfr-k3-R'</i>). |

THE NEW MATERIAL ADDED TO THE OFFERING-LIST



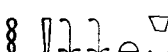


VARIATIONS IN THE EARLY CANONICAL OFFERING-LISTS.—THE INCLUSION OF GROUPS OF ENTRIES FROM THE ROYAL LISTS INTO THE PRIVATE LISTS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY

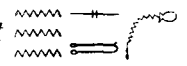
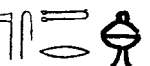

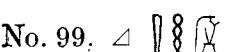


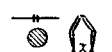
Having now seen how the scribes of the late Fourth Dynasty had disposed of the already-existing material of the offering-list, let us now see what new material was added in order to form the cononical list as it appeared at the end of this period. For these new additions, see the following

- numbers in any canonical list: 3 ; 4 ; 6  ; 7   ; 8  ; 9  ; 11  ; 17  ; 18  ; 35  ; 36  ; 39  ; 41  ; 42  ; 46  ; 49  ; 50  ; 51  ; 52  ; 53  ; 57  ; 59  ; 60  ; 62  ; 63  ; 70  ; 73  ; 81  ; 90  ; 91  ; 92  ; 93  ; 94  .

Thus, we now have an edition of the great offering-list containing ninety-four entries of preparatory rites accompanying the presentation of the food, and the food itself. This list was arranged in a traditionally fixed order, from entries Nos. 1-90 (according to the enumeration of the list of *Wn's*, but excluding the royal entries) from which, in most cases, but little variation of any importance was made in contemporary versions. But after No. 90 we shall see that the last four entries did not at first follow any strict order, but were arranged according to the taste of the individual. This shows that they were not taken from the canonical royal model, and in reality,

(1) In the Royal lists, this seems to be an offering-table.

they were not offerings, but were ceremonial rites performed during the offering-meal, or were summaries of certain groups of food, as we shall see later. But having arrived at this stage of development, the offering-list did not remain entirely stationary, and we still find that individual lists may sometimes vary a little as to the order of different items. This variation may, however, sometimes be due to local custom. Occasionally, whole groups of entries may be omitted altogether. Thus, *Šdw*, Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 59, omits the group of meat from Nos. 48-54, and also all the wines, Nos. 72-76. *Stw*, Fourth Dynasty, Index No. 6, also omits the meats; while *Ksj-m-R'*, Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 62, dispenses with all the geese (Nos. 55-59). So also the sequence of some items is never strictly fixed, as for instance No. 66  and 67  also No. 77  and 78 . Moreover, by the time of the end of the Fifth Dynasty, we find that some new additions were placed at the end of the list (see below, p. 68) and these were appertaining to the rites of the food-offering. So also at this time, we begin to find the five different kinds of wine mentioned by name, instead of by the general term *irp* .

Late in the Sixth Dynasty, the prevailing tendency towards democratization permitted private persons to vie with the kingly lists. The intrusive nature of the added material may be seen from its disposition. It is not mixed in with the normal canonical entries, nor are the different items placed in proper categories, but the whole group of thirty items are placed all together at the beginning of the list, following *mw st*  and *sntr* , and preceding the first of the seven holy oils. Their alien nature may also be seen by the fact that they contain repetitions of some items which already have a fixed place in the canonical list, as for instance  No. 99,  var. No. 29,  No. 33,  No. 39,  No. 41. For these additional items, see the list of *Bjw* (Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 135).

As we shall see later, there were also lists which did not follow the canonical form, but contain entries which are almost alien to the usual lists. These abnormal lists appear from time to time in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (see *Wr-hcw*, Fifth Dynasty).

These may perhaps be the surviving echoes of an old form of list which is otherwise lost to us, as far as our present discoveries extend.

From the following study, we can see that there was a steady development in the written offering-list from the time of its first tentative inception in the Archaic Period, until the end of the Old Kingdom, with a somewhat stable period during the Fifth Dynasty. On the whole, we may say that the general tendency was to increase the number of entries, both by additional material and by repetitions. There is also a point to be observed in the enumeration of the entries. In the early Archaic lists the number to be presented of each article varies, and may be as many as three hundred or as few as one hundred (see the Bankfield Stele, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 87). When a little later we find the systematically drawn-up list of cloth and utensils, we find that usually a uniform number of one thousand pieces is demanded. Perhaps this was the origin of the conventional 'thousands of bread, beer, clothing and alabaster', etc., which in time became a kind of complete offering-formula which passers-by were requested to recite at the tomb, in order to supply the deceased with food. Moreover, "thousands" was a general colloquial term for a multitude of common people, as it was of things (see Pyramid Text 408c).

THE OFFERING-LISTS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE FOURTH DYNASTIES

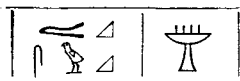
THE ITEMS OF THE LARGE OFFERING-LIST DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE ACTUAL FOOD PRESENTED IN THE TOMB.—THE NEED FOR REAL FOOD OBIATED BY THE BELIEF IN THE POWER OF MAGIC TO PROVIDE THE DEAD WITH SUSTENANCE.—THE BEGINNING OF THE DEVELOPED OFFERING-SCENE.—THE ARTISTIC ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFERING-LIST.—MEANINGLESS ARRANGEMENTS.

Coming to the late Fourth Dynasty, we have among our material a number of lists that closely conform to the canonical arrangement, showing that this was the period when the systematic redaction of the offering-list must have taken place. But it must be emphasized that the meal as enumerated in these large offering-lists did not exactly correspond to the actual food presented to the dead, which in the majority of cases was of a very simple character. This is because of the growing belief that by simply naming aloud the additional items, they were magically placed at the disposal of the deceased. This process was called in Egyptian: '*nīs dbht htp*' = calling the elements of the offering-meal; and was a ceremonial rite that finally resulted in later times in the belief that it was sufficient for any casual passer-by to recite the formula for 'thousands of bread, thousands of beer', etc., to insure a supply of this magical food for the deceased. We see the beginning of this belief expressed in the Tomb of *Nj-nh-Ppjj* from our excavation at Sakkâra (see Vol. V of this work, p. 11). The presence in many of the tombs of sets of model vases and dishes, in alabaster, limestone or common red-ware is proof that real food for the offerings was not considered necessary. As we have already seen, (see above, p. 25), these eighty models correspond to the eighty courses of food and ointments enumerated in the offering-lists, and this is of value in determining the date of the formation of the canonical offering-list, for we may assume that each dish and vase was supposed to correspond to a certain food or drink, or ointment. (Concerning these interesting little models, see above, p. 25, ff.) Nevertheless, there is no doubt that at the time of the end of the late Fourth Dynasty, real food, though perhaps of a simple character, was still being actually employed in the offering-rites, as we have already seen (for the presence of real food-offerings in the tombs, see above, p. 20). A very striking feature of the lists of the late Fourth Dynasty is the fact that they now begin to appear in conjunction with a fully developed offering-scene, an early isolated example having already appeared in the Tomb of *Mr-ib* (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 19). Thus, in *Dbhnj* we see the large offering-list inscribed in the middle of a scene depicting the funeral rites of the tomb-owner, with the priests performing the offering-rites (for further details on this subject, see below, p. 97). Moreover, the offering-list of *Dbhnj* is the first certainly-dated list in our material in which the items are drawn up in the canonical form, and arranged in rectangles⁽¹⁾ each entry occupying three superposed spaces, the upper one containing the name of the entry, the middle one the pictorial determinative⁽²⁾, and the bottom one, the number to be presented of each item. This system was afterwards followed by most of the better-class lists. Concerning the arrangement of the lists, we must note that even as late as the end of the Fourth Dynasty not all the offering-lists were arranged in rectangles, (see *Njr-njswt* who had copied his list from the earlier model of *Sš.t-htp*, also *šht-htp*). Moreover, though the majority of the lists now employ the

(1) These rectangles had hitherto been employed for the cloth and utensil list.

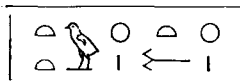
(2) Sometimes these determinatives were very carefully drawn, and provide us with valuable evidence as to the nature of the offering. See in particular the lists of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties).

rectangles, the arrangement of them is not of a uniform type. Most frequently we see the list divided up into squares or rectangles, each of which contains the name of the entry, the determinative, and the number to be presented. This is the arrangement most usually adopted, and was also widely employed during the Fifth Dynasty, where it occurs in thirty-four out of sixty-three lists (see *Irw*, Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 36). Sometimes this arrangement became mechanical, and in a fragmentary list of *K3-k3j-nh*, (Fifth Dynasty), we see such a meaningless arrangement as this :



Here the name of the entry, *gsw* occupies one space, while the determinative of the half loaves on the offering-table is placed in the next space, as though it were a separate entry.

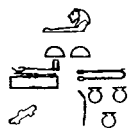
So also in the case of *h3.t-wdhw* where *h3.t* and *wdhw* each occupies separate spaces. In the list of *Mrsw-nh* (Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 34) Nos. 123 and 124



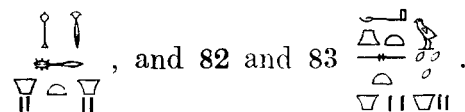
are contained in a single space, while in *K3j-sud3.w* (Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 22) the two eye-paints, Nos. 94 and 95 are placed together.

In another form of arrangement we have a large space for the name of the entry and its determinative, and below it a smaller one for the numeral (see for the Fifth Dynasty, *Htp-hr-3htj*, Index No. 49). Or more frequently the large space contains the entry, and the determinative and the numeral occupies the smaller space below. This latter arrangement does not seem to have appeared until the Fifth Dynasty (see *K3j*, Index No. 18, etc.) at least so far as our material shows, when it became a popular arrangement, and appears in fifteen out of sixty-three lists. In the Sixth Dynasty we have twenty-seven lists out of seventy-one where the narrow space contains only the numeral, against six only for the preceding dynasty, while the large space is occupied by the name of the entry and its determinative (see '*nh-m'-hr*', Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 89, etc.), while those lists which have the determinative and the numeral in the narrow space are now in the minority of three (*K3-m-snw*, Index No. 106, etc.). This is just the reverse to what had appeared in the Fifth Dynasty. The division of each entry into three spaces, which we have already observed in the case of *Dbhnj*, occurs only five times in our Fifth Dynasty material (see *Wsr-ntr* 'A' and 'B', Index Nos. 38, 39, Vienna No. 3, Index No. 50, *M3-nfr*, Index No. 67, and *Intj*, Index No. 60). But in the Sixth Dynasty this arrangement is more frequent and occurs in seventeen out of seventy-one lists (see Princess *Idwt* 'A' and 'B', Index Nos. 81, 82, etc.). Sometimes the determinatives take the form of figures of priests performing the specified rites or presenting the offering. In other lists of the Sixth Dynasty is a fourth space added under each entry in which is written the name of the deceased or his title as an Osiris (see *Snj*, Index No. 110) or this addition may occur only below the entries in the bottom row of the list (see *Pnw*, Index No. 113) (an arrangement that had occurred in the Fifth Dynasty, in the lists of '*nh-m'-k3j*', Index Nos. 51, 52).

In some cases two entries of a similar nature and material are each written in a separate space, but are joined by a single heading. This is first seen in our material in the list of *3ht-htp* (Fourth Dynasty, Index No. 14), where it is employed for *h3.t.t-s'* and *h3.t.t-Thnw*, which are written thus :



, and again in Nos. 69-70 (here the three wines) also in Nos. 80 and 81



, and 82 and 83 .

This form of writing the entries became more frequent during the Fifth Dynasty, when it is employed in the following lists:—

K3j, Index No. 18, No. 10-11, 80-81, 82-83, (canonical numbering).

K3j-sud3.w II, Index No. 28, Nos. 8-9, 80-81.

Nfr-irj.t-n.f, Index No. 29, Nos. 80-81, 82-83.

'nh-irj.s, Index No. 30, Nos. 74-76.

Wsr-ntr 'A' and 'B', Index Nos. 38, 39, Nos. 8-9, 10-11, 80-81, 82-83.

H'-mrrw-Pth, Index Nos. 75, Nos. 80-81.

K3-k3j-'nh, Index No. 41, Nos. 8-9.

Nj-m3't-R', Index No. 70, Nos. 8-9 (?), 10-11.

N-h3t-k3j, Index No. 48, Nos. 80-81, 82-83.

Pth-htp II, Index No. 69, Nos. 10-11.

M3-nfr, Index No. 67, Nos. 8-9, 10-11, 16-17, 22-23, 80-81, 82-83.

Šdw, Index No. 59, Nos. 10-11, 80-81, 82-83.

Pth-htp-ij-n-'nh, Index No. 68, Nos. 80-81, 82-83.

In-k3.f, Index No. 44, Nos. 10-11.

Nj-k3.w-R', Index No. 72, Nos. 16-17, 72-73, 74-75.

In the Sixth Dynasty, this practice was still further employed and is seen in forty-five out of seventy-one lists, and it is to be noted that this writing now occurs more frequently in Nos. 16-17 than in the preceding period. It is also seen in the royal lists of *Wni's* (Nos. 22-23, 30-31, 93-94); (A) *Nfr-k3-R'*: Nos. 22-23, 30-31, 51-52, 93-94; (B): Nos. 35-36; (C): Nos. 30-31, 35-36.

As the late Fourth Dynasty is, after all, a transition period, it is not surprising to see that there is not yet a uniform arrangement in all the lists of the period, either as to position or construction.

A STUDY OF OUR MATERIAL FOR THE LATE FOURTH DYNASTY

THE DATING OF OUR MATERIAL.—THE VARIOUS LISTS AND THEIR CONTENTS

First of all, it must be confessed that the dating of most of the tombs in which these lists were found is only tentative, being in many cases based on the structural peculiarities of the tomb itself. Our most certain dating is that of *Dbhnj*, who tells us that his tomb was constructed for him by the gracious bounty of King *Mn-k3.w-R'*; Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*, the daughter of *K3.w-ib* and *Htp-hr.s II*, ought to belong to the Late Fourth Dynasty, but this is queried by Junker ("Giza," Vol. II, p. 30). However, Reisner states that this lady died during the first year of the reign of *Šps-k3.f* (REISNER, "Mycerinus", p. 245). *Sš3.t-htp*, *Sšm-nfr* and *Stw* are dated to this period by Lepsius, and *R'-mrrj-Pth* is dated to the Fourth Dynasty by Mariette. *Snfrw-snb* may be safely

ascribed to this period on the structural evidence and many archaic items in the list, and also by the situation of the tomb itself. Thus, our material for the Fourth Dynasty consists of sixteen lists, of which eight more or less closely conform to the canonical arrangement, these being the lists of the following persons :—



- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (1) <i>Hw-wj-Pth</i> , Index No. 16. | (5) <i>zht-htp</i> , Index No. 14. |
| (2) <i>Dbhnj</i> , Index No. 11. | (6) Queen <i>Mr.s-nh</i> III, Index No. 12. |
| (3) <i>R'-mrj-Pth</i> ; Index No. 15. | (7) <i>Stw</i> , Index No. 6. |
| (4) <i>Kz-m-nfr.t</i> , Index No. 13. | (8) Prince <i>H'j.f-Hwfw</i> , Index No. 10 (List 'B'). |

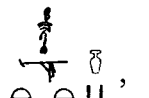


These lists may belong to the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty, while the remainder may belong to the first or second half, and even the list of *Nfr-njswt* is said by Junker to date to the Fifth Dynasty. I have given these short, or abridged lists here only in order to show the reader how the offering-list at this transitional period developed towards the full canonical form.

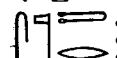

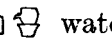

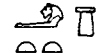
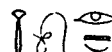

Ms-sz (Index No. 1).—The list of *Ms-sz* contains only twenty-five entries, most of which are selections from the canonical lists, but are not following the canonical arrangement. There are also some additions from the older material.

Hwtj. (Index No. 2).—The list of *Hwtj* contains forty-seven entries, of which fifteen are from the older material, and have no place in the canonical list. These are as follows :—





































Both *Ms-sz* and *Hwtj* replace the seven holy oils with the single entry , while they condense the five wines into the single entry *irp* . *Ms-sz* omits all the





meat, poultry and bread; while of the drinks he discards all except ,  and . Thus, his list is principally concerned with the preparatory rites, of which only No. 13

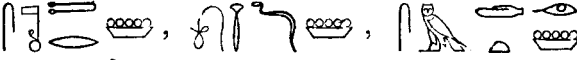

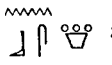

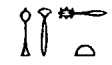

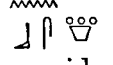

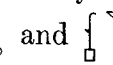
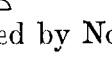



, the second incensing, and No. 18.  the invitation to the dead to come and sit to eat, are omitted. On the other hand, all the ritualistic entries at the end of the list are lacking, and this perhaps proves that this list was compiled before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty. *Hwtj* did not seem to attach much importance to the preparatory rites, and he reduced them simply to  water for washing, and  incense,  anointing oil, and the two eye-paints  and . *Hwtj* also omits the joints of roast meats, but in place of them he gives the names of several different kinds of cattle and game animals (see Nos. 31, 34, 37, 40). The sequence of the items in this list does not follow the canonical order.


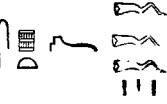

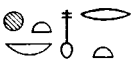



Snfrw-snb (Index No. 3).—This list contains seventy-five entries which do not follow the canonical order, and of which many are from the older material. A curious point is that the poultry items are all enumerated in quantities of one thousand each, while none of the other items have any enumeration. Great attention has been paid to the form of the determinatives, particularly those of the bread and meat items. The list of garments is also interesting.

Sš3.t-htp (Index No. 4) and *Nfr-njswt* (Index No. 5).—These two lists, which are practically identical, do not follow the canonical order, and both of them contain material from the older lists. Each commences with the item *htp dj-njswt*, an entry which is explained below (*see p. 78, ff.*). In both these lists we have the following entries which do not appear in the canonical lists:  *ibr*-oil,  *h3.t.t*-oil (these two items being used in place of the seven holy oils of the canonical lists)  *ht-h3.t*,  *d3r.t*-crane,  (not to be confused with  which also appears in these lists).  *idmj*-cloth,  *tb*,  *pr*,  *hd.t*,  *hn'wj*;  *smn*-goose,  *ng*, the long-horned ox,  *iw3 rn*, a kind of ox,  an ox,  *hrj-db3* a poll ox,  *hm-wr*, a kind of cow or ox, ^{sic}  *m3hd*, an ibex,  *ghs*, a gazelle,  *ht.t*, a hyena. This last item is the hyena, which the reliefs of the Old Kingdom show us being fattened among the domestic cattle and captive game animals. (*see Nht-k3*, Seventh Season), and *K3-dw3*. Vol. VI, Part III). As in *Hwtj* and *M3-s3*, the wines are all condensed to the single entry *irp*  .

Stw (Index No. 6).—This is a selective list of only twenty-four entries, apparently because it was inscribed upon the panel of a false-door, which, of course, had a limited surface. Are we to see in this selection a random gathering of different items chosen at hazard, or does it represent those items which the owner of the tomb considered as being essential for the formation of an offering-list? A significant point is that the entries appear in the same order in which they ought to be placed in the canonical list, although there are many large gaps in the material. The most serious displacement is that of the two eye-paints, which here follow the incense, instead of following the last of the seven holy oils. These oils are, moreover, reduced to four instead of seven. Curiously enough, in the Sixth Dynasty Tomb, of *Bbj* in our excavations at Sakkâra, the model oil-jars are four in number, instead of the usual seven, although this set of model vessels seems to be complete. In the list we were discussing these oils are as follows: (1)    *st-hb*; (2)   *hknw*; (3)   *Nj-Hnmw*; (4)   *sjt*. All the wines are represented by three repetitions of *irp*   . Perhaps another fuller list had existed in some other place in the tomb. Regarding the entries themselves, we see that they are certainly gathered from the canonical list, for they include the latest names for the oils. Furthermore, the fact that the entries chosen by *Stw*, also appear in the majority of the lists of this period which follow the canonical form, shows that they were considered to be the most important elements of the offering-meal, even though other important material should be omitted, owing to the lack of space on the panel. This is further borne out by the evidence of the lists of the Fifth Dynasty, where these items appear, almost without exception, and the few occasions where an omission does occur, are usually in such abnormal lists as that of *Wr-hcw* 'B' and *Intj* (which latter is from Upper Egypt), or in abridged versions where more than one list occurs in the same tomb, as in the case of *Hnmw-htp*, who had no less than three offering-lists at his disposal.

Sšm-nfr (Index No. 8).—The list of *Sšm-nfr* omits the first twelve items of the canonical list, and commences with No. 13 ; the second incensing, followed normally by  and  . But on the panel of his false-door we have some of the missing entries.

These are as follows: . The seven holy oils are all condensed into the single entry  as in *Ms.s3*, and *Hwt.j*. In addition this panel list also gives the entries *nbs*  and *t-nbs*  and . It is noteworthy that out of the sixteen lists which we have dated to this period, *t-nbs*  occurs in all, while *nbs*  is only omitted once, and that is by *Ms.s3*. This shows that these were certainly considered as essential articles to be presented to the dead. A general survey of these lists of the Fourth Dynasty shows us that: (1) An increased number of entries is in most of the lists belonging to the second half of the Dynasty; (2) The canonical list, though existing, was not as yet in general use, and some persons were still adhering to the older form of list. On the other hand, we find *Dbhny*, whose tomb was a royal gift, possessing a very full and well-arranged offering-list. At the end of nearly all the sixteen lists with which we are dealing, we find a number of entries which have not as yet any firmly-fixed places, with the exception of the first two, Nos. 88 and 89  and , which in each list where they occur, are placed in this order. In *Dbhny*, these are followed by No. 90  *Hnkt*, No. 91  *gsw*, No. 92  *phr* (these last two items being placed together in the original list) and No. 93 .



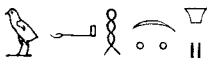


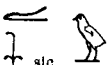

In the lists of *Hw-wj-Pth*, and *K3-m-njrt*, *phr*  is omitted, but *stp*  is added. *ht-htp* retains *phr*, and at the same time adds *pdw*  and another damaged item which seems to be . Queen *Mr.s-nh III* and *R'-mrrj-Pth* also give *pdw*, while the latter also adds at the very end,  *mw* and  *sntr*, followed by No. 14  *kbbhw*, *bd ts*. But not only do these terminal entries vary as to number, but their succession also is not fixed. Thus, in the list of *Hw-wj-Pth*, and *K3-m-njrt*, we have *hnkt*, *gsw*, *spt* and *h3.t-wdhw*. But *R'-mrrj-Pth* has the following order: *pdw*, *gsw*, *hnkt*, *spt*, *h3.t-wdhw*, *mw*, *sntr*, *kbbhw-bd ts*. On the other hand, *Hj.f-Hwfw* and *S3-m-njrt* have only *hnkt*, and this is what we also find in the royal list of *Wn's*. This unsystematic arrangement shows that we are dealing with newly added material, and which was not considered absolutely essential to the list but could be partially or wholly included according to the desire of the tomb-owner. This is very plain when we realize that a completely systematic arrangement of these entries was never attained during the Old Kingdom, as we shall see.

Futhermore, most, if not all of these entries, were referring to rites performed by the priests during the ceremony of presenting the offering.

THE OFFERING-LISTS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY

THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF RITUALISTIC ENTRIES

We now see that by the time of the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the offering-list had been increased to the number of ninety-four entries, which as far as No. 90, were well arranged, and classified into logical groups. This list having now attained a high state of development, remained

almost stationary in this form throughout the Fifth Dynasty. That is to say, that in the lists of this period we find little variation in arrangement or material in the body of the list itself, but towards the end of the dynasty we shall find innovations in the extra items at the end of the list. Occasionally also, we find curtailed lists like those of *Šdw* (Index No. 59), *Intj* (Index, No. 60), Prince *Kj-m-R* (Index No. 62) and *Kj* (Index No. 18). The list 'B' of *Nj-nh-R* (Index No. 24) is also curtailed, and omits all the entries after No. 44 . But List 'A' from the same tomb, though damaged, seems to have contained the full number of entries. The curtailed list is inscribed upon an isolated slab of limestone, the original position of which is uncertain. If, as is possible, it formed one side of a niche (see lists Nos. 128, 129 of the Sixth Dynasty), then perhaps the remainder was inscribed upon the opposite side, which is now lost. The list of *Nfr-hr-n-Pth* which occurs on the front wall of the serdab is also curtailed, and terminates with the second entry of ; while the list of *Mnw-nfr* terminates with  the last of the actual food entries, and thus omits all the terminating ritualistic items. The multiplication of the offering-list is also a feature of the Fifth Dynasty tombs (see below, p. 72). In the preceding period we have only one tomb-owner (*Hj.f-Hwfw*) out of a total of sixteen, who had two offering-lists at his disposal (if we except the very abbreviated panel lists, and the list on the sarcophagus of Queen *Mr.s-nh III*, (see below, p. 154). But in the Fifth Dynasty we find that out of a total of sixty-three tombs, no less than ten have more than one offering-list (see below, p. 72). Regarding the ritualistic entries at the end of the list, we now find that some new items have appeared, while others have attained a somewhat more established place. Thus, out of a total of sixty-three lists we find that No. 90, *hnkt*  is followed thirty-seven times by No. 91, *gsw*, . In the list of *Ns-m-nsw* (Index No. 17) *gsw* precedes *hnkt*, and in *Kj-sw-dw*, (No. 28 H) *gsw* is repeated twice, each time with a different writing, once as  and then as . In eighteen lists *gsw* is omitted altogether, and in seven cases the entry is obliterated so that we cannot say what had existed in the rectangle.

No. 90, *hnkt*, is only omitted in twelve cases, of which four are secondary lists occurring in a tomb having more than one list. When *hnkt* is omitted, we have two examples of *gsw* following No. 89, *rnput-nb.t*, and three cases of *h3.t-wdhw* following *rnput-nb.t*. No. 92, *phr*, seems to be regarded as somewhat unimportant, and it only occurs ten times in sixty-three lists, while five entries are doubtful owing to damage. No. 93, *h3.t-wdhw*, occurs in 41 lists out of sixty-three, and a further two entries are doubtful owing to breakage. In thirty-one cases *h3.t-wdhw* precedes *stp*, No. 94, but in seven lists *h3.t-wdhw* follows *stp*. No. 94, *stp*, is present in forty-three lists and in twenty-nine of these it is the final entry. No. 95, *plw*, has nearly become obsolete, and only occurs in three lists out of sixty-three, while a further three are doubtful, owing to breakage. A curious arrangement is seen in the lists of *Tsn* (Index Nos. 32, 33, where Nos. 91 and 93, *gsw* and *h3.t-wdhw*, are placed outside the rectangles, and are given prominence by the large and detailed signs with which they are written. The most interesting innovation among these terminal entries occurs in the list of *Nj-m3, 't-R* (Index No. 70) in our excavations at Giza, where unfortunately it is damaged, however, enough remains to

show that we have here an early example of the entry $\int \int \Delta$ “bringing the foot”, a rite that is one of the features of the lists of the Sixth Dynasty (see below, p. 69). The entry following this in the list of *Nj-m3't-R'* is damaged, but from what remains we can be almost certain that it was $\int \int \Delta$, “breaking the red-pottery”, which is placed as No. 98 of the Sixth Dynasty lists. Another new addition, so far as our material tells us is No. 96 $\int \int \Delta \circ \int$ which occurs only once in our Fifth Dynasty lists (*D/dj*, Index No. 61), but which will be seen more frequently in the Sixth Dynasty.


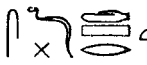
There are also other irregular additions to the end of the Fifth Dynasty lists. Thus, *Ns-m-n3.w*, *K3j*, *K3-k3j-nh* and *Wr-hww* have $\int \int \Delta$. *nh-irj.s* has $\int \int \Delta$ and $\int \int \Delta \circ \circ \circ$; thus, he begins and ends his list with the washing and incense, a feature which really ought to occur on all the lists, and has already appeared in the Fourth Dynasty (see the list of *R'-mrrj-Pth*). *K3j-m'nh* ‘A’ has $\int \int \Delta$ “a thousand *r*-geese” and $\int \int \Delta$ “a thousand *trp*-geese”, and the same in list ‘B’, but with the addition of $\int \int \Delta$ “a thousand oxen, a thousand gazelles, a thousand antelopes”. Without counting the freakish list of *Wr-hww*, the following lists display a few uncanonical items. Thus, *Wr-hww* ‘A’ has \int (No. 20), *K3j-swd3.w* $\int \int \Delta$ (No. 80), *Hmw* $\int \int \Delta$ (No. 65), *nh-m'-k3j* ‘B’ $\int \int \Delta$ (No. 85). In each case these items are in addition to and are *not* replacing the canonical entries. At the end of this Dynasty we also find a few lists which give the full names of the five wines; these are *Nj-m3't-R'*, *Pth-hrp II*, *Mnw-nfr*, and *M3-nfr*. This, however, became general during the Sixth Dynasty.



THE OFFERING-LISTS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY

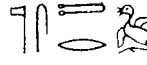
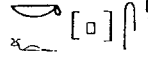



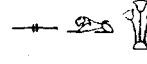
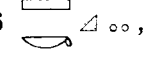
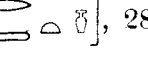
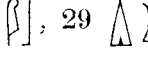
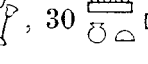



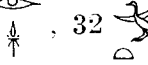
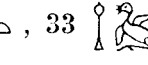

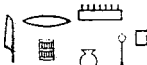
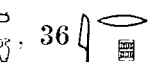
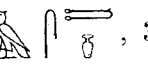
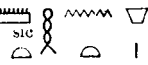
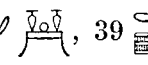


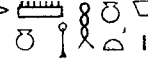
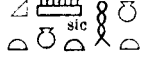
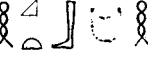

THE FORMATION OF THE GREAT OFFERING-LISTS OF THE LATE SIXTH DYNASTY

The lists of the first part of the Sixth Dynasty are notable for their stable order, which follows that already attained in the preceding Dynasty. As we have just mentioned, the practice of giving the names of the five wines now becomes common, and we have: $\int \int \Delta$, $\int \int \Delta$, $\int \int \Delta$, $\int \int \Delta$, and occasionally an extra entry $\int \int \Delta$ (*Hnmw-nh*)⁽¹⁾. Perhaps because they are still new arrivals in the offering-lists the places of No. 75 $\int \int \Delta$ and No. 76 $\int \int \Delta$ are interchangeable, but the majority of the lists agree in giving them in this order. The extra item $\int \int \Delta$ is only mentioned by name in one out of seventy-one lists (*Hnmw-nh*) but it appears four times under the general heading of $\int \int \Delta$ (see the lists of *S'nh-Pth*, *Snj*, *Dgm*, *Mrrj-R'-nfr*). The ritual entry (No. 18) *hms* $\int \int \Delta$ which was one of the items usually suppressed when a list was curtailed during the Fifth Dynasty, has now assumed a greater importance, and is only omitted twice out of a total of seventy-one lists (see *N-h/t-k3j*, *Sb3kw I*).

(1) Where the sign \int is wrongly given as \int .

Coming to the ritual entries at the end of the list, we find that these are more fully and frequently employed than during the preceding periods. Thus, we now find that out of seventy-one lists *hnkt* is only omitted nine times, *Gsw* is omitted eleven times, *phr* is omitted twenty-three times and *hst-wdhw* is omitted eleven times, while *spt* is only omitted nine times. *Pdw*, No. 95, which was so rarely used during the Fifth Dynasty, now tends to increase, and we find it occurring twenty-one times. We also find that No. 96, , is increasing, and it now appears eleven times in our material. No. 97, 'bringing the foot', occurs twelve times, and in seven cases it is followed by No. 98,  "breaking the red-pottery", another of the ceremonial rites (see below, p. 92). In a further four examples, No. 98 occurs without No. 97.

Side by side with the form of list which we have been discussing, there appeared at the end of the Sixth Dynasty a final edition which represented the culminating point reached by the private offering-lists. That is to say, it now most nearly approached to the kingly model from which it was derived. This great list was attained, as we have already seen, by incorporating the greater part of the first section of the offering-list of the Sixth Dynasty. This wholesale usurpation of the royal list is a characteristic feature of the dawn of the democratic spirit of this period, which we see glimmering in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, and which was fully realized in the succeeding era. As in worldly matters, the nomarchs were gradually usurping more and more of the kingly powers, so also the great nobles were demanding a share of the hitherto exclusively royal Solar Hereafter (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. VI, Part I, p. 299). At this time we see the royal palace-façades painted on the wall of the burial-chambers in private tombs. We have in our material eight of these enlarged lists, and these belonged to the following persons: *Bjw* (Sakkâra), Index No. 135; *Mnj* (Denderah), Index No. 136; *Hb-sd-Nfr-k3-R'* (Sakkâra), Index No. 137; *Sbkjj* (Heliopolis), Index No. 138; a nameless list from Sakkâra, Index No. 139; *Idj* 'B', Index No. 140; *Sb3kw II*, Index No. 141, and *Ij-mrjj*, Index No. 142 (these last four, which are only fragments, are all from Sakkâra). The fact that these special lists are found in such divergent localities shows that they were fully accepted 'authorized versions', and not merely due to isolated local tradition. These additional entries comprise Nos. 3-32 (see the list of *Bjw*, and correspond to Nos. 7 , 13 ,

- 20 , 21 , 22 , 23 , 24 .
 25  ..., 26 , 27 , 28 , 29 , 30 
 = , 31 , 32 , 33 , 34 ,
 35 , 36 , 37 , 38 , 39 ,
 40 , 41 , 42 , 43 , 44 ,
 45  of Queen *Nt*.

The royal regalia, such as the sceptres, weapons, and garments were not adopted in the lists, but curiously enough some of them were painted in representation on the walls of the burial-chamber and the sides of the sarcophagi of the very late Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period, and this perhaps marks the era when every dead person from the king downwards, was considered as an Osiris, and therefore entitled to possess the royal outfit in its completeness. Until this belief became prevalent, these exclusively royal entries would have been useless to the private persons, and this is perhaps why we do not find that the whole of the kingly list had been usurped by the nobles during the Old Kingdom.

THE POSITION OF THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE TOMB


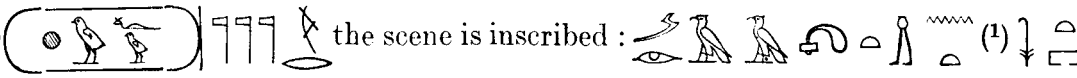
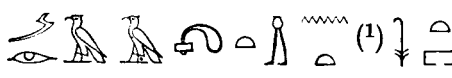
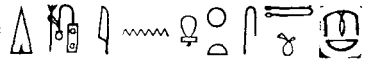
THE OVERFLOW OF THE OFFERING-LIST FROM THE PANEL TO OTHER PARTS OF THE FALSE-DOOR AND THE WALLS OF THE CHAPEL

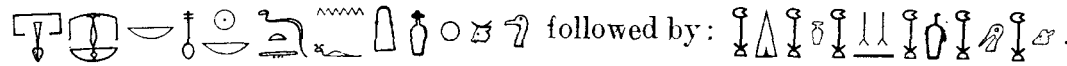
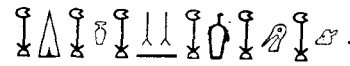
The chief characteristic of the situation of the offering-list in the tomb, up to the end of the Old Kingdom, is that it is invariably in close connection with the offering-place, a very natural and logical arrangement. Thus, as we have already seen in Volume V of this work (*see* p. 86, *ff.*), the brief and as yet unformulated offering-lists of the Archaic Period and early Fourth Dynasty appeared on the panels, offering-tablets and false-doors, all of which features marked the place at which offerings could be presented. With the development of the architectural features of the false-doors which took place at the end of the Third Dynasty, the steadily-increasing, offering-list found room to expand, and as we have already pointed out, it overflowed from the panel onto the niche, and jambs as in *R'-mrrj-Pth* (MARIETTE, "*Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*", p. 155), the lintel, as in *Nj-k3.whr*, (*L.D.*, II, Pl. 10) and finally in our Tomb of *K3-m-nfrt*, on the niche, jambs, lintels, in fact on every part of the false-door, except its original place, the panel. Also at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty we find many persons adding a cult-chapel to their tombs, a feature which developed out of the exterior offering-place (*see* above, p. 5). The draughtsmen were not slow to appreciate the scope which the walls of the chapels gave for the now increased offering-list, a scope which allowed for the presentation of a more detailed version of the offering-scene and its attendant rites.

Thus, as early as the time of Prince *Mr-ib*, a son of *Hwfw*, we see the offering-list which had already appeared on the panels of both false-doors, repeated again on the western wall of the chapel, above the northern false-door, (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 19). Here the greater space at his command, permitted the artist to include the figures of three priests performing the offering-rites. It now became the custom in some cases to show a simplified version of the offering-scene on the panel of the false-door, consisting of a representation of the deceased seated before a table laden with half-loaves, accompanied by a selection of items from the offering-list, or a few conventional 'offerings in thousands'; while the detailed offering-scene, and the large offering-list are transferred to the chapel walls. Here they may appear upon the western wall, above the false-door, as in *3ht-htp*, ("*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. I, p. 77), and later to the north of the false-door (*Tsn*, "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, Fig. 126), or when there are two false-doors, to that part of the western wall which lies between them (*K3-dw3*, *see* *ibid*, Vol. VI, Part III). On the other hand, some persons

preferred to have the offering-list and scene on the southern wall of the chapel as *Špss-k3.f-nh* (ninth season's excavations). Here also it was still in close connection with the offering-place, which was the southern false-door where the offering-rites were performed. Here the food of the dead was placed, either upon the *hṭp* offering-table, which formed a kind of step before the false-door, or upon a circular offering-table set in the floor before it (*ibid*, Vol. V, p. 180, ff.).

Here also the *wṭj*-priest and the *wḏpw*-butler knelt to perform the offering-rites, while the *hrj-wḏb* called out the name of each item in the offering-list as it was presented. (For an explanation of these rites and their incorporation into the offering-list, see below, p. 84, ff.) The offering-list and scene may also be found upon the northern wall of the chapel, in which case it is still in close connection with the offering-place, as in *Nb-k3w-Hr* of our excavations at Sakkâra, where the false-door and the *hṭp* offering-table occupy the whole of the western wall of the chapel. Also *Pth-hṭp Ij-n-nh*, likewise from our Sakkâra excavations, where the same arrangement is found. Moreover, in each of these tombs, there is a large rectangular offering-bench placed against the northern wall below the offering-list. *Sšm-nfr* (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 101) has his offering-list on the eastern wall of the chapel, where it would at once be visible to him when he emerged from his false-door in the western wall opposite to it. The food-list and scene may in some few cases be found upon the thickness of the entrance to the chapel, as in the Tombs of *Hm'wnw* (JUNKER, *ibid*, Vol. I, p. 146) *K3-nj-njswt* (*ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 146, 147) and *Sš3.t-hṭp* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 180) where in the two latter examples there is another and larger offering-list on the southern wall of the chapel. In the Tomb of Prince *H'j.f-Hwfw*, the deceased is shown upon the door-thickness receiving his income and gifts, while a list of the objects to be presented is appended.

The inscription concerning this scene reads:  "Inspecting the offerings brought from the King's house from his estates of the endowment". (DARESSY, "Le Mastaba de Kha-f-Khoufou à Gizeh", A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 261). In the Tomb of *Hwfw-mr-ntrw*  the scene is inscribed:  "Inspecting the offerings (*lit.* : 'sealed things') brought from the King's house", below which are the names of four different kinds of cattle and three varieties of fowls, all to be presented in quantities of one thousand each (SCHÄFER, "Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin", 1, pp. 90, 91). On the northern thickness of the door we have  and an enumeration of different foods and drinks, horned cattle and poultry, while on the southern thickness there is a list of incense, cloths and oils. An interesting example of placing the offering-list and scene in the entrance to the chapel occurs in our Tomb of *Šhm-k3.j*. The interior of the tomb is uninscribed, but above the inscribed architrave of the entrance is a sculptured panel in the position occupied by the panels of false-doors, or the niche-stone in the Archaic mastabas.

Here is a scene representing the deceased seated at his table of half-loaves, above which is inscribed:  followed by: .

(1) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 71, adds  here which is not found in Schäfer's copy.

Moreover, the entrance is cut in the southern end of the eastern façade of the tomb, the place of the earlier offering-niche, and thus it is in close connection with the shaft of the tomb-owner, which is also near the southern end of the tomb. This real entrance seems to replace the false-door, as this latter feature is entirely lacking in the chapel. In the case of *Hm'wnw*, *K3-nj-njswt*, and *Sš3.t-htp*. it is not easy to see the connection between the offering-list and scene on the entrance and the offering-place, but as Junker has pointed out, when the chapel, originally only a convenience for the living, began to be decorated with reliefs and inscriptions which made it the property of the dead, the real entrance, like the original false-door, was used by the dead as a means of egress and entrance to and from the outside world, as his figure thereon, represented in a walking attitude, and staff in hand, frequently shows. Therefore, he could as easily come to the real entrance in order to receive his offerings as to the false-door. The above-mentioned example of the Tomb of *Shm-k3j* seems to support this theory. When the walls of the chapel were uninscribed, the offering-list could appear upon the offering-table set before the false-door as in *Ij-mrjj* (JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1928, p. 189, Pl. X) and *M3-hrw-Pth*, (SCHÄFER, "Berlin", Vol. I, p. 55). In our excavations, however, we have in the Tomb of *In-k3.f*, the sculptor, (see Vol. VI, Part III) an offering-list on the jambs of the false-door, and another list on a circular limestone offering-table set before the false-door, which, however, seems to have been stolen from the neighbouring Tomb of *K3-k3.j-'nh*.

THE REDUPLICATION OF THE OFFERING-LIST AND SCENE

We have already seen how reasons of space led to the transference of the offering-list from the panel to other parts of the false-door, and finally to the chapel walls. At the same time an abridged version was retained on the panel of the false-door, probably for tradition's sake. But we also meet with tombs where the great offering-list and scene are repeated twice, in addition to the version on the panel, as in the above-mentioned case of *In-k3.f*. Other tombs where this procedure is followed are *K3-k3.j-'nh*, (see p. 124), who had a list, now almost completely destroyed, on the western wall of his chapel, (which is also the outer wall of the serdab) and another on the circular offering-table which somehow found its way into the Tomb of *In-k3.f*. *Sšm-nfr III* (Fifth Dynasty, Index Nos. 20, 21), has a list on the eastern wall, like his earlier namesake, and another on the traditional western wall. *Hnmw-htp* had a list of sixty-nine entries upon the panel of the false-door, a list of eighty-five entries on the eastern wall, and a list of eighty entries on the southern wall of the chapel. *Tsn* (Fifth Dynasty, Index Nos. 32, 33), has two lists on the western wall of the chapel, each to the north of a false-door. *Wr-hww* (Index No. 35) has two lists on the sides of a large niche in the western wall of his chapel, that to the north being normal, and that to the south being abnormal. *Wsr-ntr* (Fifth Dynasty, Index Nos. 38, 39) has a list on the northern wall and another on the southern wall of his chapel. *K3j-swd3.w* of Giza (Index Nos. 45, 46), has a list on the western wall of his chapel, to the north of the false-door, and another one on a slab of limestone, placed in the burial-chamber. This is a custom which we will treat more fully below.

In the Sixth Dynasty, we have the Tomb of *Špss-Pth* (Sixth Dynasty Index Nos. 107, 108) with one list on the southern wall of his chapel, and one on the northern wall. *S3t-3n-Tj* (Index Nos. 128, 129) followed the arrangement of the earlier Tomb of *Wr-hww*, and placed a large offering-list and its accompanying scene on the north and south walls of a recess in the western wall of the chapel, but in this case, both lists contain normal entries.

To what are we to attribute this reduplication of the offering-list ? Probably it is a safety device perhaps copied from the funerary monuments of the kings, and intended, like the reduplication of the Ka-statues, to insure a better chance of survival for these most important features of the tomb, which were so closely concerned with the welfare of the dead.

THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE OFFERING-LIST FROM THE CHAPEL TO THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

In our excavations at Giza, we have at the end of the Fifth Dynasty one example of a custom which was later to become prevalent. This is in the Tomb of *Kꜣj-swꜣw* who, as we have just seen, had one offering-list in his chapel, and another in his burial-chamber.

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find the custom of inscribing the offering-list in the burial-chamber prevailing, and these subterranean lists now outnumber those in the chapel, although the lists actually inside the sarcophagus are still in a minority, and do not become common until after the First Intermediate Period. There were still, however, persons who preferred to have an offering-list in the chapel, supplemented by another in the burial-chamber, as Princess *Idw.t* (Index Nos. 81, 82) who has a list on the western wall of the chapel and another one on the eastern wall of her burial-chamber. *Nj-nh-Ppjj* of our Sakkâra excavations (Index Nos. 115, 116) has one list inscribed on a slab of limestone set in the northern wall of his chapel, and another list on the inner eastern side of his wooden coffin (1). At the same time it may be remarked that from now onwards the general tendency is for the offering-list and scene to disappear from the panels of the false-door, except in the very high class tombs, where the ancient tradition still flourished (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 168). We have also the case of the real offerings, which, in the early Fourth Dynasty, were placed in front of the offering-niche in the outer eastern façade of the tomb. Then when the chapel came into favour, these exterior offerings were transferred inside it, and placed in front of the false-door. Later we find the offerings placed down in the burial-chamber. Now all these facts have some bearing upon each other, as we shall presently see. Furthermore, as the table below will show, the lists in the Chapel are mostly to be found on the western side of the tomb, whereas those in the burial-chamber are nearly all upon the eastern side, as are also those in the sarcophagi. To what are we to attribute this innovation ? The obvious explanation that occurs to one’s mind is that it is a protective measure taken to preserve the safety of the vital offering-list, by placing it far away from the dangers of wanton destruction. Doubtless this idea did carry some weight with those persons who adopted it, but there was another and more important reason, and this is that the burial-chamber had become to be considered as a kind of miniature world for the deceased, a world which was later to be still further condensed into the sarcophagus itself (2). In the previous volume of this work (p. 138), we have already pointed out that the panel of the false-door was regarded as a window over the door, through which, by medium of the traditional panel

(1) *Htpj* (Index No. 80) has an offering-list inscribed upon the inner eastern side of his limestone sarcophagus.

(2) There is also a possibility of the offering-lists in the burial-chambers and sarcophagi being the outcome of that belief in magic which was responsible for the presence of model offerings in the burial-chambers of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Thus, the model offerings were replaced by the belief in the magical powers of the written word and painted representations.

design, we are able to see into the burial-chamber, where the tomb-owner is seated at his offering-table, enjoying the good things of his funerary meal. In some cases the niche of the false-door represents an opening through which we may have a similar view (see *H'j-bz.w-Skr*, MURRAY "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. I). Or the niche may be the open doorway through which the maid-servant carries a large basket of offerings down to her dead master (see *N/r-njswt*, "Excavations at Gîza", Vol. II, p. 91). With this idea in view, the Egyptians began to decorate the walls of their burial-chambers with representations of different commodities essential to the welfare of the dead, as in the case of *R'-wr*, the Clerk of the Works (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 297), *Sš'm-nfr* (see Vol. VI, Part III), *Mrrj* of our excavations at Sakkâra, and *Kj-m-nh* (JUNKER, "Gîza", Vol. IV). The decorating of the walls of the burial-chamber with the elaborate 'Palace-façades' not only beautified them, but also provided the deceased with a convenient means of egress and entrance to and from the outside world. Therefore, it is quite logical that the offering-list should also appear in the burial-chamber, and its eastern position, either on the wall of the chamber or on the inner side of the sarcophagus or wooden coffin, was in order that it might be directly in front of the eyes of the deceased, the corpse being usually laid with the head to the north and the face turned to the east. That some persons still continued to inscribe an offering-list in the chapel instead of, or in addition to one in the burial-chamber, may be due to the strong conservatism of the Egyptian mind, which especially displayed itself in matters concerning religious or funerary beliefs and customs. It may also perhaps be due to the growing belief that the mere recitation of the offering-formula, or the enumeration of the items of the offering-list, by any well-disposed visitor to the tomb, would magically supply the deceased with food (see *Nj-nh-Ppjj* of Sakkâra, "Excavations at Gîza", Vol. V, p. 11).

THE ORIENTATION OF THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE TOMB

Up till now we have been concerned mainly with those parts of the tomb where the offering-list was inscribed. Let us now examine the material we have in hand in order to see the position of the list in relation to the cardinal points. For this, I will refer the reader to the index on p. 113, ff. Here we see that for the Fourth Dynasty we have out of sixteen lists, eight occurring on the western side of the tomb. These are Nos. **1, 2, 6, 10, 13, 14**, 15, 16. ⁽¹⁾ Of these, six occur upon the false-door, and one (No. **14**) upon the architrave over the western wall. Six lists occur in the south of the tomb (Nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, **11, 12**). One list (No. 8) occurs in the east, and the position of No. **3** is uncertain.

Out of sixty-three lists for the Fifth Dynasty, we have thirty-five occurring in the west of the tomb (No. 19, 21, 23, **27, 30**, 31, **32, 33**, 35, **36**, 40, **41, 42, 43, 47, 48**, 49, 51, 52, **53, 54**, 55, 57, **58**, 60, 61, **63, 64, 65, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77**). Of these, fourteen are on the false-doors (Nos. 23, **27, 30, 42, 43, 48**, 49, 51, 52, **53, 54, 55, 72, 75**). Nineteen are on the western wall of the chapel (Nos. 19, 21, 31, **32, 33**, 35, **36**, 40, 47, 57, **58**, 60, **63, 64, 65, 69, 73, 76, 77**). Nos. **41** and 61 are on circular offering-tables set before the false-doors, and therefore are to be counted as being in the west of the tomb. Fourteen lists are in the south (Nos. 17, 18, 22, 26, 29, **37, 39**, 56, 59, 62, **66, 67, 70, 78**). All of these are inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel. Five lists are inscribed upon the northern wall of the chapel (except No. **46**, which is on a limestone slab placed against the northern wall of the burial-chamber) (Nos. **34, 33, 45, 46, 68**). Two lists occur upon the eastern wall of the chapel (Nos. 20 and 25). The exact positions of Nos. 24, 28, **44, 50, 74, 79** are unknown.

⁽¹⁾ Numbers in heavy black type denote lists copied from the original monument or from real photographs.


Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find sixteen lists out of a total of seventy-one in the west of the tomb (Nos. 81, **88, 91, 92**, 98, 90, **102**, 103, 104, 105, 106, 122, 123, **128, 129**, 142). Of these only four are on the false-doors (Nos. 91, **92, 102, 123**), and one (No. 90) is on an offering-table. But we now find twenty-nine lists situated in the east of the tomb (Nos. **80, 82**, 89, 93, 94, 95, **97**, 100, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, **116**, 118, 119, 120, 124, **126**, 127, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141). Of these, twenty-three are on the walls of the burial-chamber (Nos. **82**, 89, 93, 94, **97**, 100, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, **126**, 127, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141); while five are on the inner eastern side of the sarcophagus (Nos. **80, 95, 116, 124, 134**). Sixteen lists are in the northern side of the tomb (Nos. 84, **85, 87**, 96, **99**, 108, **115**, 124, **125**, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150). Of these, six are in the chapel (Nos. **85, 96, 108, 115, 121, 147**). Nine are in the burial-chamber (Nos. 84, **99, 125, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150**). One list (No **87**) is on the northern wall of the court. We now find only five lists placed in the south of the tomb, these being Nos. **83, 101, 107, 109, 146**. The positions of Nos. 86, **117, 133, 139, 140** are unknown.

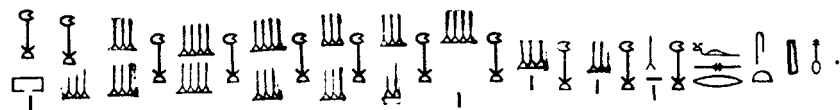
Thus, for the three dynasties in question we have a total of fifty-nine lists which occur in the west of the tomb; thirty-two are in the east, twenty-five are in the south, and twenty-one are in the north. Therefore, we may say that in spite of the transference of the offering-list to the eastern wall of the burial-chamber which took place during the Sixth Dynasty, the prevailing situation for the offering-list during the Old Kingdom was in the west, the traditional home of the dead, according to the Osirian faith. The next situation in popularity is the east, which is, however, chiefly confined to the Sixth Dynasty. The southern situation follows closely in popularity, and is perhaps a fairer estimation than that of the east. The northern orientation is generally neglected. Can this be because in the earlier times of the stella cult, the northern orientation of the tombs was reserved for the kings, and never really became popular with private persons? (*see* Vol. VI, Part I, p. 46, *ff.*).

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OFFERING-LIST















ITEMS DELETED FROM THE LISTS MAY CONTINUE TO APPEAR AS OFFERINGS IN THE TOMB.—
 PROMINENCE GIVEN TO THE RITUAL CHARACTER OF THE OFFERING-LIST.—FROM WHENCE
 WAS THE CANONICAL LIST DERIVED.—THE REASON WHY THE CANONICAL LIST WAS
 FORMULATED

We have now examined the material of the offering-lists and seen how the old items were discarded, and new material was added in order to form the canonical offering-list as it appeared at the end of the Fourth Dynasty. It now remains for us to sum up what were the essential differences between the new canonical offering-list and that which had immediately preceded it. One of the most striking features to be observed is the total abandonment of the old well-ordered lists of utensils, vases and household gear. But in this connection, we must notice a curious fact. We have already said that these items were discarded because they had become obsolete, and this is quite true in the majority of cases. But there are a few items in the old lists of household gear which, though deleted from the offering-lists, continue to appear frequently in the tombs in actual fact. These are: (1) The head-rest, one of the objects very frequently found in the sarcophagi during the Old Kingdom (*see* above, p. 7); (2) The ewer and basin; (3) The chafing-dish (for these articles in the tombs, *see* above, pp. 40, 44). Similarly, we find









that the cloth-list has disappeared, and been replaced by the single entry *wnhw*; though *idmj*-cloth  is sometimes inserted as a single item, and it occurs in the royal-lists. At the end of the list of *Ksj-swds.w*, *idmj* appears in a detailed enumeration of the different qualities of weaving, thus:



So also we find some obsolete offerings, such as cattle, game, poultry, etc., placed at the end of the list, and sometimes even inserted in rectangles like the canonical items. On the other hand, the sequence of the items for purification, washing, incense, oil, etc., which came near to the beginning, in the older lists, still continue to hold their places, in spite of the variations made in some of the details, and the general discarding of most of the old oils in favour of the established sequence of the seven holy oils, which should always appear in the following order:—

1.   *Stj-hb*, 2   *hknw*, 3   *sft*, 4   *nj-Hnmw*, 5   *twsw.t*, 6   *hst-s'*, 7   *hst-Thnw*.

These oils, nowadays commonly known as the 'seven holy oils', do not appear as a complete group in any list known to us prior to the end of the Fourth Dynasty, although in *H'j-ba.w-Skr*, and *R'-htp*, they appear together in a special list by themselves, apart from the food-list (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 75).

As in the Tomb of *Nfr-njswt*, they may be represented pictorially. Another salient feature about the new redaction is the prominence given to the ritual character of the list, which is now divided into two parts, the preparatory rites performed before the meal, and the actual meal itself. The preliminary rites are shown as Nos. 1–18 and comprise purification by water and natron, fumigation with incense, anointing, decorating, dressing in new clothes, a second fumigation, and purification, the bringing in of the food-table, and the invitation to the deceased to sit down to eat. In items Nos. 19–26, we have a small, complete meal, headed by "Breakfast"  and consisting of bread, drinks, and one course of meat. Then comes another purification with water and natron (Nos. 27, 28) followed by the great repast, also headed by 'Breakfast' (No. 29). The construction of the meal consists of (1) Bread of different kinds (Nos. 30–43); (2) Onions (a relish indispensable in modern Egyptian cookery) (No. 44); (3) Ten different kinds of roast meat (Nos. 45–54); (4) Five kinds of poultry (Nos. 55–59); (5) Four different kinds of bread and cake (Nos. 60–63); (6) Seven kinds of beverages (Nos. 64–70); (7) Figs, or a drink made from figs (?) (No. 71); (8) Five kinds of wine (Nos. 72–76); (9) Eleven kinds of grain food and fruit (Nos. 77–88). Then comes No. 89, which is 'all sweet things', perhaps a summary of the sweet fruits in the preceding group. Now begins a group of ritual entries which forms one of the characteristic features of the new list, and which we will discuss in detail when dealing with the rites in the offering-list (see below, p. 84, ff.). These entries, beginning with No. 90   *hnkt*, vary both in number and sequence, according to the taste of the individual, and as we have seen, they never really attained a fixed order, and only the first three    and   appear in the royal list of *Wn's*.

We may suppose that when the offering-ceremonies were performed, the entries in the list would have been presented in the order in which they occur, and this may be the underlying idea upon which this redaction of the offering-list was based. But there is a fact which would prevent this presentation being carried out in a proper sequence in every case. Thus, we sometimes find an abridged list in which the omitted items form gaps that hinder the set succession of the dishes. Also there are still lists following the old style, in which the items are all out of the canonical arrangement. Are we to suppose that the *hrj-wdb* called out the items in each list as he read it on the wall, or false-door before him, or did he recite the contents of an ideal list, either learned by heart or read from a papyrus, and which did not in every case correspond to the list inscribed in the tomb? This, then, is a general idea of the arrangement of the canonical list, and we may ask from whence it was derived. As we have seen, most of the material was handed down from the lists or representations in the earlier tombs, but for the order of their arrangement, we must paradoxically look to the royal list of *Wni's* at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Here we see that, after omitting a certain complete set of entries at the beginning (which were, however, eventually incorporated into the private lists) and a group of purely royal regalia, the list of *Wni's* follows that which we have just described, and for this reason I have given a version of this royal list at the head of those of the late Fourth Dynasty (see Pls. IX-XVI).

One may justly object that it is unreasonable to suppose that an earlier list could be copied from a later one, but it is also unreasonable to suppose that a king would copy the list of a private person, which seems on the face of it, to be the alternative supposition. But we may assume that the list of *Wni's* was copied from an older royal model. That model has not apparently survived to our day in a complete state for the Fourth Dynasty. We have only a fragment from the chapel of Queen *Hn.t-k3.w.s* too destroyed to do more than definitely prove that an offering-list certainly did exist there (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 22, Fig. 25). We have also fragments of offering-lists from the Mortuary Temples of *S3hw-R'* and *Nj-wsr-R'*. The latter fragment shows items Nos. 15-20 arranged in the canonical order, that of *S3hw-R'* shows items Nos. 15, 16, 24, 25, 47, 48 and Nos. 58, 59, 60, also in the above-mentioned order (¹). This shows that early in the Fifth Dynasty, there was a royal offering-list apparently following the arrangement of that of *Wni's*, and we may not be far from the truth if we say that the royal list was already well-established, by at least, the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, when it served as the model for the arrangement of the new private lists. (For a further discussion of the royal offering-lists, see below, p. 109.)

To what reason are we to ascribe this new formulation of the offering-list? Perhaps the real underlying reason is that many of the items found in the old lists had long become obsolete in actual fact, and their places were taken by other essential commodities. In fact, we have evidence that some of these items had gone out of popular fashion as least as early as the the end of the Archaic Period. Thus, in the Tomb of *R'-htp* at Meydum, we have a detailed list of vases in gold and hard stones; but when the tomb was excavated, no trace of any such vessels were found. This tomb had been thoroughly plundered in ancient times, and the absence of any golden vessels, had they ever

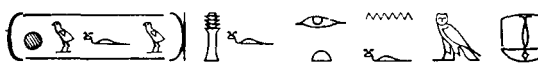
(¹) BORCHARDT, "Das Grabdenkmal des Königs *S3ahure*", Vol. I (Text) 126; Vol. II (Plates), Pl. 63.

existed, is easily accounted for. But why were there no chips of smashed stone vases, such as were found in connection with the funerary monuments of *H'j.f-R'*, Queen *Hnt-k3.w.s* and *Mn-k3.w-R'*? One can only suppose that *R'-h'p*'s stone vessels (and therefore perhaps also his golden ones) existed solely in his inscribed list on the walls of the tomb. (For further details on the subject of the disappearance of the hard stone vessels, see above, p. 34.)

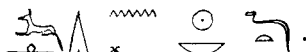
The same reason may be assigned for the disappearance of the household gear. We have already seen that in the first Dynasty, people were buried with real furniture in their tombs (see above, p. 3). But by the time of *Hs'jj*, near the end of the Third Dynasty, the actual articles could be replaced by painted representations and, moreover, this tomb was devoid of the ample storage room needed for this bulky equipment (see QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Hesy", Pl. I). The private tombs of the Old Kingdom do not contain household furniture, and the lists enumerating it seem to have disappeared, but at least as late as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, it was still to be found in the royal burials, as the rich finds made by Dr. Reisner in the Tomb of Queen *Htp-hr3* shows. However, we find a kind of compromise in the tombs of the Old Kingdom. Although the lists and most of the actual objects have disappeared from the tombs, objects of household use, cloth and ornaments appear in representation upon the jambs of the false-door, or the walls of the chapel, where servants are often shown carrying beds, boxes, linen and various articles, as well as personal ornaments, etc., often of the same form as those drawn as determinatives in the old lists (see *Tsn*, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 266; *Nb-m-3ht*, *ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 143; *K3-k3j-'nh*) (see Part III of this Volume). In the early Tombs of *Mtn* and *Mr-ib* (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pls. 3-6 and Pls. 19-22) represented offerings are common. In *S33.t-h'p* servants are represented carrying boxes, cloth, sandals, etc. (*L.D.*, II, Pl. 23).

THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE RITES

THE HTP-DI-NJSWT FORMULA, ITS MEANING

The offering-list is closely connected with a certain number of ceremonies concerned with feeding of the deceased. For at the time with which we are dealing, the offering-list was not only a list of food and gifts, which the tomb-owner could read and thereby partake of a magical meal (although this conception is found later, at the time when we find the lists inscribed on the inner eastern side of the sarcophagi). It consisted of a ceremony which was first of all performed on the day of burial, and afterwards repeated daily, or at least on all the special feast-days. This can firstly be proved by the inscription which appears either above the list, or at its termination. Over the lists of *S33.t-h'p* and *Nfr-njswt* we have $\downarrow \Delta \underline{\Delta} \overline{\Delta} \overline{\Delta}$, etc., "An offering which the King gives, that offerings may come forth, etc.", while underneath the list of *Dd.f-Hwfw* is inscribed: $\downarrow \underline{\Delta} \Delta$ () "The *h'p-dj-njswt* of *Dd.f-Hwfw* which is made to him in every feast" (JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1928, p. 165). *K3j* has:—


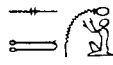
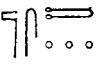



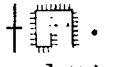
$\downarrow \underline{\Delta} \Delta$  (Vorbericht, 1914, p. 21).

while in our Tomb of *Nfr-h'p* at Giza (ninth season), we have on the western wall an offering-scene and damaged list; above the food is inscribed: $\downarrow \underline{\Delta} \Delta$ ^{sic} .






But in the lists of *Sšꜣ.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt* we have still another indication that the list was conceived of as a rite, for we read $\downarrow \Delta \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \text{☉}$ “The *htp-dj-njswt* (by) the *hrj-wdb*”. In these examples the hieroglyphs are arranged in a manner which precludes any other meaning and this indicates an announcement of the offering-list made by the *hrj-wdb*, a ceremony apparently called *htp-dj-njswt*. In *Kꜣ-nj-njswt* this ceremony is called the *wꜣn-ꜣht* of the *hrj-wdb*, and in the later texts it is called: *njs-dbꜣt-htp*, which was performed by the *hrj-wdb*. In the above examples, *htp-dj-njswt* is considered as a noun. In the first case, where it appears as a title, it means an offering which was given by the king. In the second case, it is a ceremony performed in connection with the offering given by the king. The second significance must have developed out of the first, and Sethe was of the opinion that it originated from the formula ‘May the King be gracious and give’, but afterwards it came to mean all the items in the offering-list which were given by the king, and this is especially clear in the inscription of *Dd.f-Hwfw*. A similar thing occurs in the “*Dramatischetexte*” (1) where the guest of the king is fed with a $\downarrow \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \Delta \text{☉} \text{☉}$ and Sethe pointed out that the king made the same offering of *htp-dj-njswt* to his gods, who are the protectors of his tomb. He says: “*Ntjꜣn rdj.w n.sn htpdj-njswt*”.

We have already seen that the hieroglyph $\frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta}$ represented the original simple offering of bread. Then as the *htp-dj-njswt* came to mean the whole funerary meal, we find the *htp*-sign determined by bread, beer and cakes, then by bread, beer, cakes, roast meat and fowls. Finally in the Pyramid Texts, line 1651 *A*, we have the *htp*-sign replaced by $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$ that is, bread, beer, cakes meat, poultry, clothing, and ointment. This development is also seen in the offering-tables which are first of all shown as carrying only bread, but gradually more and more offerings were placed upon them (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, Figs. 24-26). On the *Nfr*-stele of Barraco, the offerings have the title $\downarrow \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \Delta$ *htp-dj-njswt*, and we have confirmation of this in another resumé title. At the beginning of the list of *Sšꜣm-nfr* and *Kꜣ-nj-njswt* we have, following the introductory rites and preceding the actual food-list, two entries $\downarrow \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \text{☉}$ and $\downarrow \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \text{☉}$. These clearly refer to a special ceremony, as Gardiner had observed in “*The Tomb of Amenemhet*” (p. 79). In the great offering-scene in the Tomb of *Wsr-ntr* (MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. XXI), we see at the upper right-hand side two *wꜣj*-priests who present jugs. Behind them stands the *hrj-ꜣb* with a papyrus in his left hand and the right one raised in a gesture of declamation, just we see the *hrj-wdb* in the earlier scenes. He is inscribed $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$. Next comes a man carrying the *wꜣnw*-cloth $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$, followed by a colleague who burns incense (inscribed $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$) and behind him another *hrj-ꜣb*. Below is the group *sꜣt* $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$ the purification rite, more incense burning, the bringing of the empty food-table, and a spouted vessel. In the second row, the eldest son of the deceased stands before his father’s offering-table and performs the rite of slaying a goose. A second son burns incense, and is followed by a man carrying the *wꜣnw*-cloth. Behind him a man carrying a vessel is inscribed $\text{☉} \text{☉} \text{☉}$ “Two pellets of natron.” He is followed by a man bearing a flat dish upon his shoulders, while a colleague carries an offering-table, ☉ , upon which rests a large conical loaf. The first of these latter men is inscribed: $\downarrow \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \frac{\text{bread}}{\Delta} \text{☉}$, and the second inscription is damaged, but Junker reads it as $\text{☉} (?)$ followed by the







(1) SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte zu Altaegyptischen Mysteryspielen*”, p. 208, No. 99.

determinative of a building with battlements, and which he is of the opinion should be restored as *imj-wsht* . The above-mentioned representations surround the offering-list, to which they are illustrations, and observe the same order as the entries in the list: *sst* , *snt* , *wnhw* , *kbhw-t32* , *htp-njswt*  and *htp-imj-wsht* . This would certainly suggest that the last two entries, *htp-njswt* and *htp-imj-wsht* (Nos. 16 and 17) are ceremonies, just like the items preceding them. On the other hand, they may also signify a resumé of all the items which follow them in the list. But before accepting this theory too readily, we must consider the determinatives of the two entries. In nearly every case Nos. 16 and 17 of the canonical offering-lists are determined by two loaves of bread, which in the more carefully drawn lists are very instructive. Thus, we have the following variants:—

FOURTH DYNASTY












<i>K3-nj-njswt</i>		No. 16
<i>K3-m-nfr.t</i>		No. 16
<i>K3-m-nfr.t</i>		No. 17
<i>R'-mrrj-Pth</i>		No. 16
<i>Hw-wj-Pth</i>		No. 16









FIFTH DYNASTY (*contd.*)

<i>Hr-k3.w-Nbtj</i>		No. 16
<i>Hwj-n-Pth</i>		No. 16
<i>Nfr-hr-n-Pth</i>		No. 16
<i>Mn.w-nfr</i>		No. 16
<i>Wni's</i>		No. 104
<i>Wni's</i>		No. 105



SIXTH DYNASTY

FIFTH DYNASTY

<i>Ns-m-n3.w</i>		No. 16
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (A)		No. 17
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (B)		No. 16
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (C)		Nos. 16 and 17
<i>Tjj</i>		No. 16
<i>Tjj</i>		No. 17
<i>Htp-hr-3h.tj</i>		No. 16
<i>Ssm-nfr.</i>		No. 16
<i>Nj-k3.w-R'</i>		No. 16
<i>Itj</i>		No. 16
<i>Cairo No. 1503</i>		No. 16


<i>S3bw</i>		No. 16
<i>S3lu</i>		No. 17
<i>Mrrj-R'-Nfr</i>		No. 16
<i>Mrrj-R'-Nfr</i>		No. 17
<i>S3t-in-Ttj</i>		No. 16
<i>S3t-in-Ttj</i>		No. 17
<i>Nfr-k3-R'</i> (A)		No. 104
<i>Nfr-k3-R'</i> (A)		No. 105




ALSO IN LIST 'C'


<i>Nt</i>		No. 104
<i>Nt</i>		No. 105

Generally the lists give either the round or conical loaves as determinatives, usually two in number, or indicated by the number 11. These loaves represent the original bread-offering of primitive times, and perhaps the round and conical loaves may be the *psn* and *ht* bread. But when the *htp-dj-njswt* meal developed from mere bread to other food and ritual offerings so also it may have been that the *htp-dj-njswt* entry came to embrace all the contents of the list. This may explain why in the above-described scene of *Wsr-ntr*, the servant following the *htp-wsht* are all laden with several gifts, and not one of them carries a single offering.

In the early lists, where *htp-dj-njswt* occurs as a title, it does not appear among the entries in the list, but may be inscribed before the titles of the deceased, and in similar characters to these, and clearly distinct from the offering-list. Finally, the list which occurs on the panel of *H'j.f-R'-nh* commences with *htp-dj-njswt* and *htp-imj-wsht* in a similar manner to the early lists, where *htp-dj-njswt* occurs at the beginning. This seems to show that *htp-dj-njswt* means the whole list.

A further proof of the ritual character of the offering-list is afforded by entries Nos. 24 and 25, in which the ceremonies of *fst n sbw* are assimilated. We meet with a similar ceremony in the Solar Temple of *Nj-wsr-R'* (Ic. Bd. III, p. 27).  *fst dfs* "To raise the gift of the *Dfs* food".

Also the corresponding  *fst iht*, where the  butler raises up the  dish (No. 44 D of the scene). This entry does not occur in those lists which have not attained the proper canonical form. In the lists of *K3-nj-njswt* and *Ssm-nfr* the entry is called 'in *fst in sbw*' a gift which is presented by the *fst in sbw*, the *sns*-bread and the *dwju*-jar. But in *H'j.f-Hwfw*,

the writing is clearer  "A *sns*-loaf and a *dwju*-jar are carried". In the early lists these parts of the entry do not usually occupy separate rectangles, as in the case of *K3-nj-njswt* and *Ssm-nfr*, but they may also be written in separate spaces, as for instance in *K3-m-nfrt*, where we have

and each is given its own numeral. This indiscriminate writing continues in the later lists, and thus we may say that items Nos. 24 and 25 are in reality only one ceremony, and the same may be the case with Nos. 16 and 17, which, although they appear as separate entries in the early lists, may later be written wholly or partially in a single rectangle, as in *M3-nfr*, *Sdw*, *K3j-gm.w-nj*, *K3r*, *Idw*, *N-h ft-k3j*, *Hnnt*, *S3bw*, *K3-m-snw*, *S'pss-Pth A-B*, *Mhj*, *Nj-'nh-Ppjj* *Hwt-i'h*, *Hnmw-'nh*.

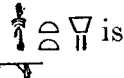
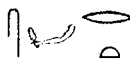
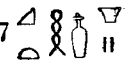
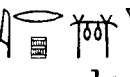
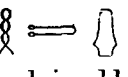
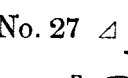
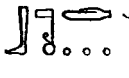
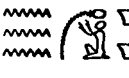
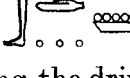



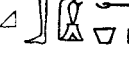
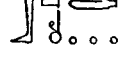


. Here the two parts are treated separately. This indiscriminate writing continues in the items Nos. 24 and 25 are in reality only one case with Nos. 16 and 17, which, although they appear as separate entries in the early lists, may later be written wholly or partially in a single rectangle, as in *M3-nfr*, *Sdw*, *K3j-gm.w-nj*, *K3r*, *Idw*, *N-h ft-k3j*, *Hnnt*, *S3bw*, *K3-m-snw*, *S'pss-Pth A-B*, *Mhj*, *Nj-'nh-Ppjj* *Hwt-i'h*, *Hnmw-'nh*.

In view of the ritualistic character of the list we ought really to regard it more as a catalogue of rites than as a mere list of food. This is clearly seen in the Pyramid Texts, where for each entry there is a special utterance to be recited when the gift is presented. These utterances contain a play upon the name of the entry, and a reference to a certain myth, usually the legend concerning the Eye of Horus. This procedure ought also to be applied to the performance of the offering-rites of a private person, which were recited by the *hrj-wdb*, and it is possible that each individual item offered was accompanied by a special utterance. This was certainly the case in the Tomb of *Mnj* of Denderah, where these utterances, which correspond to those of the royal lists of the Pyramid Texts, are inscribed upon the wall of the burial-chamber, in proximity to the offering-list, although we have not the whole set of them, preserved (see PETRIE, "Denderah", Pl. III).

THE FINAL REDACTION OF THE OFFERING-LIST

THE GROUPING OF THE ITEMS.—HOW THE PURIFICATORY ITEMS ATTAINED THEIR PLACES IN THE LIST

The offering-lists of the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties were, as we have just seen, still liable to variation ; but early in the Fifth Dynasty, they rapidly became stabilized, and only a few small changes were made in them. We have also seen how the obsolete items were discarded, and their places taken by newer material in current favour (see above, p. 54). So also whole groups of entries changed places. Thus, *nbs*, *t-nbs* and *w'h* were moved from the beginning to the end of the list, while the poultry was taken from the end and placed near the middle. In some isolated examples the sequence of the entries in the list is a little changed from the canonical form. Thus, in *K3-nj-njswt*, No. 65  is put after a repetition of No. 28 . Nos. 67  and No. 72  come after No. 32 , followed by Nos. 49-51, 52, 54, 58, etc. These changes and modifications may be explained by assuming that when the Egyptians attempted to make a strict arrangement of the material in the offering list, in order to arrive at a satisfactory edition, they discarded the obsolete material, retained from the old lists those entries, which, supplemented by new items, would form a harmonious sequence of gifts. Nevertheless, it is not clear to us why they chose to arrange entries in the manner in which we find them. Neither can we explain at once, why certain entries were repeated, or why the sequence of the food-offerings should be interrupted by ritual entries concerned with the purification. For we have No. 27  and No. 28  or, as in the lists of *Sš3.t-htp* and *Njr-njswt*  and , placed between the food-entries. In the latter case the cool water may be classed among the drinks, but the purification by natron is clearly a ritual preparation for the meal, and is followed by  just as in the earlier lists these entries are placed after Nos. 16, 17 and 18 (*htp-dj-njswt*, *htp-wsh*, and *hms*). as in *Dbhnj*, *Sšm-njr*, etc., or as in the lists of *K3j*, after Nos. 16, and 17 (No. 18 being omitted). As these numbers 16-18 are of a ritual character, and were followed by , we may assume that  or  and  are also rites, this time, of purification.

The next thing to be questioned is : " How is a purification rite at the beginning of a meal, and another in the middle of it to be explained ? Dr. Junker (" *Giza* ", Vol. II, p. 79) suggests that purely external reasons are to be looked for. In the early lists, the purification before the meal was placed in front of the figure of the deceased, and before the offering-table (see " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. V, Figs. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19). The enumeration of the purification rites was also

followed by *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp* and *Nfr-njswt*; in the latter case they are placed right outside the actual list, and are arranged in front of the face and shoulder of the deceased, where they are followed by *wḥw*, and *idmj*-cloth, the last being actually in the body of the list, and preceding the poultry. In this list, despite their being placed before the face of the deceased, these purification rites do not occur at the beginning of the list, though $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ occurs normally before the enumeration of the oils. A similar arrangement is found in *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp*, but here the purificatory items are heading the fourth row of the list, though still before the upper arm of the tomb owner and in the same sequence.

Thus, there are indications that the purification ceremonies were taken from their old places in front of the face of the deceased, and incorporated into the body of the list as Nos. 12, 13, and 14. But *bd* was placed nearer the middle of the list as *No. 28*. In the list of *Kꜣ-ni-njswt*, we have an explanation for this. Here the entire enumeration of the rites of purification and clothing, occur at the beginning of the list, but *bd* is still clearly separated from the list, and is almost in its old position in front of the upper part of the figure of the deceased. In the later examples, *bd* was removed away, and put with *mww* 'b and *kbḥw*, Nos. 26 and 27. According to Dr. Junker, these latter may be suspected of not having arrived in their places in the right way. Their situation in the old lists was at the beginning, as in *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp*. But in *Nfr-njswt*, they are found at the beginning of the fourth row, not far from the purification rites just mentioned, which are placed near the figure of the deceased. Now both of these mastabas teach us that we must allow for mistakes on the part of the ancient scribes. Not only do these two mastabas have an offering-scene and list on the southern wall of the chapel, but the accordance of the details show that they have a common origin. But *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp* has a window cut in his wall which pierces the first three rows of the list, and thus divides their first entries from what follows. Thus, to the right of the window we have *ḥtp-dj-njswt* which really belongs to the $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$, etc., opposite to it on the left of the window. In the second row is $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ which precedes the oils on the left of the window and lastly comes $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ to the right of the window, normally followed by $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ on the left. But when this wall was copied by the scribes of *Nfr-njswt*, they misunderstood the arrangement, and as the window was not needed here, they made a vertical row of inscription at the beginning of the list, reading : $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ and then continued the list with the five horizontal rows, just as they occur in *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp* to the left of the window. Thus, it is quite possible that *bd* was incorporated as *No. 28* of the list in a similar manner, and then copied blindly by scribes who did not understand the exact arrangement of the earlier models, and who placed it before the entry $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ because it had been customary for the latter to follow a ritual entry. Moreover, it is possible that the admixture of different pre-existing groups of items resulted in unavoidable repetitions. Thus, the sequence of the food on the table of *Nfr* (see WEILL, " *Les Origines de l'Égypte Pharaonique. La II^e et la III^e " " *Dynasties* ", Pl. IV), shows a movement towards the new arrangement. It corresponds to the lists of *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp* and *Nfr-njswt*, but unlike these lists, *nbs*, *t-nbs* and *wḥ* are placed at the end, as in the later lists, and not at the beginning, while the group, Nos. 24-26, appears followed by $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ as in those lists which follow *Kꜣ-ni-njswt*.*

THE RITES ACCOMPANYING THE OFFERING

THE EARLY ORIGIN OF SOME OF THE RITES.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE RITES ACCOMPANYING THE OFFERING : POSE No. 1 (THE PRESENTATION OF PELLETS OF NATRON) ; POSE No. 2 (THE PRESENTATION OF COOL WATER) ; POSE No. 3 (THE PRESENTATION OF A EWER AND BASIN) ; POSE No. 4 (A RITE OF PURIFICATION) ; POSE No. 5 (THE PRESENTATION OF A DRINK-OFFERING) ; POSE No. 6 (THE OFFERING-BOX) (THE RITE OF BREAKING THE RED POTTERY) ; POSE No. 7 (THE PRESENTATION OF THE OFFERING-TABLE) ; POSE No. 8 (THE TERMINAL RITE OF THE CEREMONY [?]) ; POSE No. 9 (THE RITE OF INCENSING) ; POSE No. 10 (THE SACRIFICE OF A GOOSE) ; POSE No. 11 (THE PRESENTATION OF A FORELEG OF BEEF) ; POSE No. 12 (THE PRESENTATION OF CLOTHING) ; POSES Nos 13 AND 14 (THE H_ṚJ-W_ḌB-PRIEST) ; POSES Nos. 15 AND 16 (THE CEREMONY OF "GLORIFICATION") ; POSE No. 17 (THE RITE OF "SWEEPING THE FOOTPRINTS") ; OTHER RITES (THE PRESENTATION OF "ALL SWEET THINGS". THE "OFFERING OF THE YEAR'S FEAST") ; GSW (THE PRESENTATION OF THE HALF-LOAVES OF BREAD) ; P_HR (THE PRESENTATION OF FOOD IN GENERAL) ; H_ḏ.T-W_ḌH_W (THE BEST OF THE THINGS OFFERED) ; RITE No. 69.—RITE No. 91, GSW.—RITE No. 92, P_HR.


The provision of the food of the dead in Ancient Egypt consisted of more than merely bringing a certain quantity food into the tomb and setting it down before the false-door, or placing it in the burial-chamber. From a very remote time the presentation of the offering-meal was accompanied by special rites which were such an integral part of the funerary feast, that at an early date some of them had already passed into the offering-list itself, taking a more or less fixed place among the names of the different kinds of food. Thus, as early as the period in which the Bankfield Stele was carved, and that of some of the other archaic tablets, we find the purification rite symbolized by the ewer and basin, or a vessel of water (see *Excavation at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 87, Fig. 13, p. 97, Fig. 16, etc.). Likewise we also see the fumigation by incense, anointing with oils, and the clothing in fresh garments. In the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties it became customary in the large tombs to depict the performance of some of these rites pictorially, and thus also we begin to learn something about the priests who were especially employed for their performance.




At the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty there began to appear a definite series of rites performed in the ceremony of the funerary meal by the *wtj*-priests, the *wdpw*-butler and the *hrj-wḏb*. (The functions of these priests will be described below, see p. 97) During the Fifth Dynasty, these representations of the offering-rites tend to disappear from the tombs, and are very seldom seen, but they reappear again in another form, and with fuller detail. The very early form of the scene may be observed in the scattered figures in the Tomb of *Mtn* (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pls 3-5).









In *Sḏ.t-hlp*, and *Nfr-njswt* (Fourth Dynasty) we see a more connected form of the scene of these rites. In *Kḏj-swdḏ.w* (Fifth Dynasty) we have a characteristic form of the representation as it appears in the early and middle Fifth Dynasties. So also in *Mrsw-nh* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 113) and *Kḏ-dbh_nj* (*ibid*, Vol. V, p. 217) also *Kḏ-nj-njswt* (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, Fig. 22). The latest form of this scene is represented in the Tombs of *Kḏ-dwḏ* (see Vol. VI, Part III), *Wḏḏ-Dwḏw* (ninth season), *Irw* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 65), *Hnw* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 166), *R'-wr II*

(JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 228). These latter versions of the offering-scene show us that there were no less than seventeen rites to be performed in front of the offering-table, many of which had been incorporated into the offering-list as regular entries. But in no tomb so far discovered do all the seventeen rites, or even the majority of them, appear in one representation, and usually only a selection of from four to six are given in a single scene. But in order to understand these scenes we must examine all these cult rites individually. Out of the 17 poses of the officiants, ten have already appeared in the old mastabas, these being Nos. 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13., when as in *Mtn*, they mostly appear on the jambs of the false-doors, and not in close connection with the offering-scene, as later. Nevertheless, the fact that they are placed on the false-door, shows that they are considered as being connected with the offering-place, and are therefore belonging to the ceremonies accompanying the funerary repast of the deceased.

Thus the newer forms of the scene are not so much an innovation as a more systematic and logical grouping of hitherto scattered figures. At the same time, some new poses were introduced, and Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17 have not appeared in any of the older scenes so far discovered. Dr. Junker has treated this subject with examples drawn from his excavations, but we shall treat the rites more fully with examples which came to light in our field of work, plus the evidence of the determinatives of the offering-lists.

Pose No. 1 

This pose represents a man kneeling and resting his hands in or upon a basin set upon the ground before him. In the mastaba of *Irw* the priest places his two hands flat upon the rim of the basin, and behind him stands a man holding a vase but not pouring water. The kneeling priest is inscribed:  "Presenting natron" ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 65). This inscription is somewhat ambiguous, and had we no other evidence, we should be at a loss to know if the natron presented was contained in the basin in the form of pellets, or if the vessel contained a solution of natron dissolved in water. In the former case we might assume that the pellets were to be chewed in order to cleanse the mouth, just as in the temple ritual, the priest had to chew natron to purify his mouth before he could recite the sacred words. So also in modern Egypt people chew natron. But on the other hand, if the man who stands behind holding the vase, is connected with the kneeling figure, then the idea of a solution of natron and water carries weight for he is inscribed in the mastaba of *Irw* as  "Presenting cool water". A carefully detailed scene in the Tomb of *.K3r* (*B.M.A.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 26) shows the kneeling man holding the basin in his right hand and a pellet of natron in the left one. Behind him stands his colleague, who pours water from a large jar into the basin, into which the first man seems about to throw the pellet of natron. Thus, it would seem that the pellet was placed in the basin, and water poured upon it, and that this solution of natron was then used for cult purification. Thus, the reading of the sign-group  in the offering-lists relates to the natron and not to the water, and should be read 'two pellets', and not 'two drops of water', as is usually the case. Proof for this may be seen in a group of figures published by Junker ("Giza", Vol. III, p. 106). Here the priest carrying the vase pours a stream of water upon the two pellets of natron which lie upon the ground before him. Moreover, we know

that a solution of natron and water was used for cult purposes, by the inclusion of representations in the pictorial scenes, and also by its appearance in the offering-list itself. This rite was probably borrowed from the customs of daily life, and we may say that natron and water were used by the Ancient Egyptians as a cleansing agent, as it still is to-day in Upper Egypt; and indeed, our modern soap is largely a mixture of natron and fat. In the mastaba of *K3-dw3*, the kneeling man has his hands actually inside the basin into which the standing figure is pouring the water, but it is not clear if he is engaged in purifying his hands or washing the basin, or if he is merely assisting to dissolve the pellets of natron. The fact that  has been translated 'two drops of water', is based on the combination of  which had appeared in the offering-lists since the time of the Pyramid Builders, and which is given in the Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. V, 341 a), as 'two drops of cool water'. Apart from this,  is only known as pellets of natron, and the above-mentioned scene of the man pouring water upon the two pellets is sufficient to disprove the theory of water drops, as the water is represented as falling from the vase in a zigzag stream. So also in the group from the mastaba of *K3r*, where the kneeling man holds the pellet of natron in his hand. Moreover, in each case where the priest is shown pouring water, the water descends into the basin in a stream, and never in drops. Furthermore, the entry  in the offering-lists is frequently determined by  (*K3-nj-njswt*, Fifth Dynasty Index, No. 19, etc.) which suggests pellets rather than drops of water. Further evidence in favour of the pellets occurs in the older lists, where we have the writing *Kbhw bd t3* (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, pp. 83-84, 86), and *Whm-k3j* (*ibid*, p. 98). See also the variants in the Pyramid Texts, line 23, where  and  are interchangeable. In some of the old tombs the natron pellets may be as many as eight ⁽¹⁾. In the list 'B' of *K3j-swd3.w* the pellets are three in number, in both Nos. 14 and 28 (Fifth Dynasty, index No. 46). But in the later texts the pellets are simply written with  *t3* and the word *bd* is omitted as being understood. It is probably from these abridged entries that the mistaken translation of drops of water crept in. This rite corresponds to Nos. 14 and 28 of the canonical offering-list. In the list of *Pth-htp* II (Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 69), No. 14 is determined by the figure of the kneeling priest himself pouring water in the basin, set on the ground before him, but in No. 27 the determinative shows a kneeling priest holding a covered basin. In *Nj-ms't-R'*, (Fifth Dynasty, Index No. 70) No. 14 is determined by the group of the kneeling priest holding the basin (destroyed), and the standing priest pouring water into it; while No. 28 is determined by a kneeling priest holding something in his hand which is damaged. In *Idw*, the determinative figure for No. 14 is pouring water from a vase on to the ground, but in No. 28 it is simply a kneeling figure holding a basin (Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 88). In *K3j-m-nh*, the determinative for No. 14 is a ewer and basin (Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 96). In *Mrr-wj-k3j* (Index No. 99) No. 14 is determined by a kneeling priest pouring water from a vase, and in No. 27 by a kneeling priest holding a basin. In *Nj-nh-Ppjj* (Index No. 115) No. 14 is determined by a kneeling priest whose hand is raised, but empty. In *Sst-in-Ttj*, (Index No. 128) the kneeling priest holds a pellet

⁽¹⁾ see *Snfrw-snb* (Index No. 3).

in each hand, a further proof that the meaning of $\text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ is 'pellets' and not 'drops of water'. In No. 27 the priest simply holds the basin. In the lists from the Mortuary Temple of *Nfr-k3-R*, (Index Nos. 146, 147) the determinatives are very detailed, and show the kneeling priest supporting an offering-table, upon which is a flat dish containing five pellets of natron. Behind him stands his colleague, who pours water into the dish. The entry is for 'five pellets of natron', and this again is further proof for the meaning of $\text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ as pellets and not as drops of water. In a nameless fragmentary list from Sakkâra (Index No. 139) the determinative is a standing man holding a single pellet in his hand (see also for the natron, JEQUIER, "Les Frises d'Objets", p. 317, ff.)

Pose No. 2

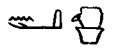

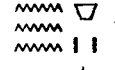


As we have already seen, this represents a man holding a vase R^{2} , or a wide-mouthed jar, (as in *Irw*) of cool water, as we may see by the inscription in the mastaba of *Irw* $\text{A} \text{R}^{\text{2}}$ "Presenting cool water". This figure is so closely related to No. 1 that it is difficult to separate them. In the Tomb of *Mrr-wj-k3.j*, this representation is described as $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ = "Purification". In the Tomb of *H'jt-Hwfw*, the priest carries a *hs*-vase in one hand and a bucket in the other. Here the inscription reads: $\text{A} \text{R}^{\text{2}}$ On the false-door of *Nfr-njswt* the priest pours water from a vase R^{2} , and the inscription reads: $\text{A} \text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ which should be compared to the $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ on the tomb-tablet of *Nfr.t* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 107), which is followed by $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$. This seems to correspond to Nos. 1, 14 and 27 of the offering-list, when this rite is determined by a human figure (as in *Krr*, No. 27, etc.), it represents a kneeling priest carrying a basin.

Pose No. 3






This represents a man carrying a ewer and basin, and there is no doubt as to its meaning. The utensils he carries are for washing the hands before and after meals, and correspond to the modern *tisht* "طشت" and *ibrîk* "أبريق". This representation of the priest carrying the ewer and basin, has already occurred as early as the Tomb of *Mtn* (*L.D.*, Vol. II. Pls. 3, 4). In the Tomb of *Nfr* (*CAPART*, "Memphis", Fig. 344), and on the false-door of *H'jt. f-Hwfw*, we see the priest in the act of pouring out the water (*B.M.A.*, Vol. XXXII, Fig. 2) and the rite is described as $\text{A} \text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ "Presenting water", which except for the $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ is the same inscription which we have in *Nfr-njswt*, as No. 27. Thus, we could assume that these two rites are identical. But against this we have the fact that in the older list No. 27 is often written $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ followed by $\text{R}^{\text{2}} \text{O}$ *bd.* (*Sšm-nfr*, Fourth Dynasty, Index No. 8, *Sš.t-htp*, Index No. 5, etc.) But in all the other Fourth Dynasty


lists, except *Hwt.j*, which gives  at the head of the list, followed by  incense, and all the lists of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, it is written without exception  with only minor variations in a few cases, and when given a pictorial determinative, this represents a kneeling priest holding a basin. (In *Mrr-wj-k3j* it is the basin only.) Therefore, it would seem that rites 2 and 3 are to be separated, and No. 3 is to be understood as the hand-washing only, while No. 2 represents all the purification rites in which water and natron were used, as for instance No. 14, the purification after the fumigation. But in the mastaba of *Šps-k3.f-nk* (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 29) the figure of the man carrying the ewer and basin follows that of the one who is burning incense. The water libation was the first rite in the purificatory ceremony, coming before all the preparation for the meal.

In an example published by Dr. Reisner (*B.M.A.*, XXXII, 8), the deceased holds his right hand over the basin, and the priest pours water upon it. This may be compared with the Pyramid Text, line 864 *B-D* :—

“Take for yourself this your pure water, . . . your water is from Elephantine (the supposed source of the Nile, your *bd*-natron is from *irw*, your *hsmn*-natron is from Oxyhryinchos, your incense is from Nubia.”

This is followed by the invitation to the dead to sit to eat, which is the same order as we have in the lists from Nos. 13-18, incense, water and natron solution, bringing in the offering-table with the King’s offering, and then the invitation to the deceased to sit down and eat. So also in the old offering-lists the water is placed at the beginning, but is intended for purification and not for drinking, and here also the water is followed by incense, ointment and clothing. Nevertheless, it is strange that drinking water is not included in the funerary meal, but clearly the Egyptians preferred something a little stronger, and the lack of water is made up for by the abundance of wine, beer and milk, as in the kingly meal (Pyramid Texts, line 130 *C*) 

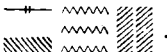
 “Drink of the King N., wine like *R*”. also as the heavenly meal of the glorified dead ; (Pyramid Texts, line 816 *B-C*) 

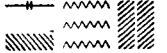
 “Who are clothed in purple, who feed upon figs, who drink wine and who are perfumed with the best ointment.”


Pose No. 4



This at first glance seems to be a variant of Nos. 1 and 2. It is clearly a purification ceremony, but as sometimes the standing figure holds a *hs*-vase, and sometimes a globular jar (perhaps the *nms.t*-jar) we cannot at once determine which rite is intended. If it is a ceremony of hand-washing, then the water should be poured from a spouted ewer, for according to Junker, the *hs*-vase seems

to have been used for the purification of the dead, as in the temple scenes, where the gods frequently pour water over the King from vases of this type. There is also some confusion in the position of the hands of the kneeling figure. In *W3š-Dw3w* the right hand is placed on the side of the basin, but the left one seems to be inside it, and the remains of an inscription reads . In *K3-dw3*

the priest has both hands inside the basin. In the Tomb of *Unw*, the kneeling priest holds the basin in his left hand, and places his right one inside it. In a similar group discovered by Dr. Reisner the basin is replaced by an offering-tablet (*B.M.A.*, XXXII, p. 9), and the kneeling man is scrubbing the stone, upon which the standing man pours a stream of water. So also in the determinatives of No. 1 of the offering-lists we frequently see an abbreviated form of this group (see *K3-nj-njsut II*, *K3j*, *Mrsw-nh*, *Tjj*, *K3-k3.j-nh*, *N-ht-k3j*, etc.). In *Pth-htp II* a kneeling priest scrubs the offering-stone, upon which falls a stream of water issuing from a jar placed above his head, while below him a second kneeling man pours water on to the ground. In *K3j-sw3.w*, the priest lays his hand upon the offering-tablet, and before him is a large *hs*-vase. In *Idw*, the standing priest pours water directly onto the hands of the kneeling man, and there is neither a basin nor an offering-tablet. In *Sn.t* the water from the jar pours over a laden offering-tablet, while below is a basin. In *Nj-nh-Ppjj* the water from the jar falls into a basin, but no human figure is present. In the list of *Sst-in-Ttj* the water falls from a jar into a basin held by a priest. In the lists of King *Wn'is* and *Nfr-k3-R'* the water falls upon an offering-tablet. Going back to the lists of the late Fourth Dynasty, we find that *3ht-htp* has the water falling into a basin, while *K3-nj-njsut* has it falling onto the offering-tablet. If we accept the evidence of these determinatives, then the basin and the offering-tablet are interchangeable, and as the priest is clearly scrubbing the latter, we may suppose that in a similar way he was cleaning the basin. Dr. Junker doubts that this represents the rite of hand-washing on the grounds that the *hs*-vase was not used for such a purpose, but the determinatives of some of the above-mentioned lists clearly depict water falling on the hands of the kneeling priest, while, on the other hand, the list of *K3j-sw3.w* shows the priest scrubbing the offering-tablet, and the *hs*-vase is prominently represented before him. Clearly also the group No. 4 has a close relationship with No. 1 of the offering-list, of which the usual determinative is, as we have seen, a mere simplification of this representation. Moreover, we have also the damaged inscription of *W3š-Dw3w*  which is clearly related to a certain variation of the writing

of entry No. 1 of the offering-list (see *K3j-gmw-nj*, Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 84) .

Dr. Junker says that the inscription *sst* is never found in connection with Group No. 4 in the examples drawn from the Giza Necropolis, but we now have its occurrence in the Tomb of *W3š-Dw3w* which is corroborated by similar groups at Sakkâra (MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. XXIII, and also in the Tomb of *K3j-gmw-nj*, see VON BISSING, "Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai", Taf. XXX). In the former example, the hands of the kneeling priest rest upon the ground, and not on a tablet or basin. In the mastaba of *K3j* (*B.M.A.*, XXIII, p. 26), a priest squats upon the ground, holding his right hand over a dish set on the ground before him, while with his left hand he pours water on the ground from a small jar. (For other interesting examples of this group, see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 107). Dr. Junker also points out that *sst* can only apply to purification, and denies that this group is to be understood as *sst*. But in view of the inscription of *W3š-Dw3w* and the Sakkâra examples, plus the various forms of the determinatives of No. 1 of the offering-list, which all seem to coincide with the various representations of Group No. 4, it seems likely that we are to regard them as similar; while at the same time, this group seems to be a variant of Nos. 1 and 2. Therefore, we may say that they are all concerned with the purification of the hands and the utensils prior to the offering-meal.

Pose No. 5



This is one of the earliest representations of the funerary priests, as they are shown before the offering-table, but it does not occur so frequently among the later representations. It is most commonly found during the early and middle Fifth Dynasties, when it may appear to the exclusion of all the other rites, as in the Tomb of *Mrs w-nh*, where three men are represented in this attitude kneeling before the offering-table. The first man is inscribed as being the eldest son of the deceased. On the limestone tablet of *K3j-swd3.w* two, of the three priests represented are in the same attitude, holding a *nw*-jar in each hand. So also in the Tomb of *K3-dbhj* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 217). In the oldest representation (that of *H'j-f-Hwfw*, *B.M.A.*, XXXII, p. 2, Fig. 2), the priest squats upon the ground, but in the later scenes he kneels, as if he were presenting a drink offering.

Pose No. 6



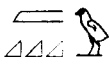

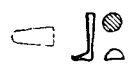

This represents a kneeling man placing his two hands upon a box set upon the ground before him. In the carefully-detailed scenes, this box is shown as panelled, and is, therefore, probably made of wood. On the southern thickness of the entrance, and on the jambs of the false-door of *S33.t-htp*, servants are represented as carrying such boxes, while in their disengaged hands they carry rolls of papyrus (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, Figs. 27, 28).

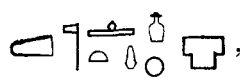
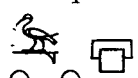
The inscription accompanying the various examples of this representation give us a good clue to the understanding of its meaning as a rite. Thus, we see in *R'-wr*, II (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 84)





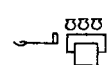
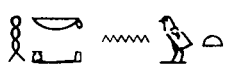

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *wdb* "Assigning the offering".


In the Fifth Dynasty this appeared as No. 96 of the offering-list of *Dfdj* (Index No. 61), where it is determined by 𓂏𓂏𓂏. Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find it occurring in the list of *K3j-gmw-nj* (Index No. 84) as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, and determined by 𓂏. A somewhat similar writing, but determined by 𓂏, occurs in *Sn.j*. In *Idw*, we have again almost the same form of writing, but determined by 𓂏𓂏𓂏 and below it the figure of a priest bending over an offering-table 𓂏.

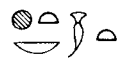



Finally in *Nj-nh-Ppjj* 'A', we have a still further development, and we read: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. In the Tomb of *Mrr-wj-k3.j* (B. 5) is inscribed: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. In G. 3 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, below which is *gsw*, the round loaf, a jar of beer, *ih-t-bnr.t*, etc., and finally many boxes 𓂏, which are here to be regarded as hieroglyphs and not as representations. In the list of *Idw*, Sixth Dynasty, Index No. 88, we have *wdn iht* occurring as an entry (No. 101), where it is determined by a priest reading from a roll of papyrus. It is followed immediately by 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *htp-dj-njswt n Idw*. The fact that *wdb* 𓂏𓂏 also followed by a *htp-dj-njswt* occurs in the same list warns us that we are dealing with two separate rites, although of a similar nature, and performed by the same priest, and both are concerned with the ceremony of *htp-dj-njswt*.







These inscriptions seem to explain that the *ḥtp-dj-njswt* ceremony is being performed, in which the offerings may consist of half-loaves (*Gsw* ) cakes, beer, etc., all of which are contained in the box , upon which the kneeling priest places his hands. Thus, we are to understand a ceremony in which food is offered to the dead, but not provisions of the kind represented in the reliefs on the chapel walls. What was contained in those boxes was perhaps small samples of real food of a simple nature, and the fact is that these representation occur in the later scenes coinciding with the period when real food was dropping out of the offering-rites, and model vases and dishes were replacing the practical vessels of the past. When the box containing the samples of the essential food was brought to the tomb and laid before the offering-place, the priest laid his hands upon it, consecrating it to the use of the tomb-owner. Compare the scene in the Tomb of *In-ḫt. f-ḫkr* (DAVIES and GARDINER, "*The Tomb of Antefoker*", Pl. XVIII) where in the ceremony described as "*wḏn ḥtp ntr*", the priest extends his hands over an offering-table which is laden with the thigh and head of an ox. However, this was only the commencement of the ceremony. The offerings were then removed from the box one by one, and set upon the offering-table, to the accompaniment of the words spoken by the priest in Poses Nos. 7 and 8 (*see below*, pp. 92, 93). In the Tomb of *K3-dw3* the priest places his hands inside the box, as though in the act of taking something from it. In *W3s'-Dw3w* he places his hand on the box, and the inscription reads: . In the Tomb of *Irw* this figure is somewhat effaced, and all that remains of its inscripton reads: .


Further light is thrown on this rite by Utterance 199 of the Pyramid Texts which reads: , where the occurrence of the chest shows us that ceremony No. 6 is intended. Furthermore, we frequently find this chest determining the names of some of the funerary feasts as for instance  "The Feast of Thoth". Thus, we may perhaps assume that in such feasts the dead were presented with those boxes of sample offerings.

In some of the feast-names, the determinative varies, and may be , , , ,  (*see* JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. II, pp. 60, 61). This suggests that the box may also be used to determine the rite "*ḥnkt*" (No. 90 of the offering-list), which may sometimes be a drink-offering (as in MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. XXI), where two *wtj*-priests presenting, *mw*-jars are described as . But the *ḥnkt*-rite does not only mean a drink-offering; sometimes it includes other foods, principally haunches of beef and roast geese (*see* the lists of *Ns-m-n3w*, *nh-irj.s*, *M3-ntr*, *K3-ḫj*), all of which are determined by the box  (1).

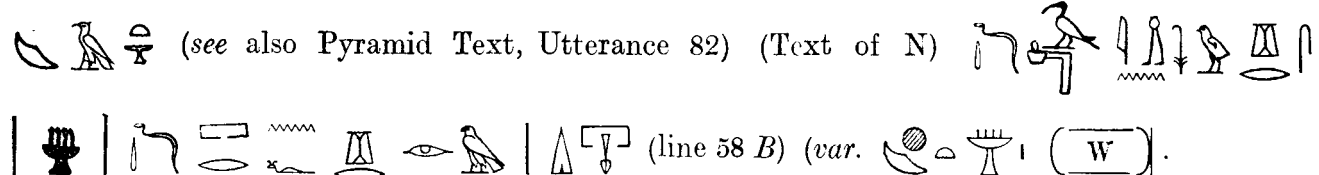

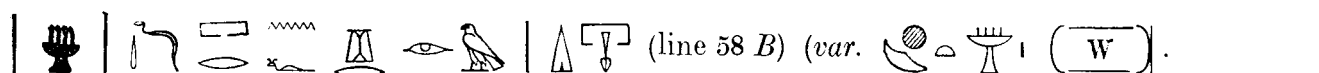

The determinative  can be explained in two ways: (1) that the jars contain the drink-offering, and that the food is contained in the chest. (2) That the jars of drink are also to be understood as being in the box, but are drawn outside, in accordance with the usual Egyptian manner.

(1) In the list of *Nfr-irj.t-n.f.* No. 88  and No. 89  are both determined by a chest  but No. 90 is simply determined by .

See also the sign  where the grains, though supposed to be inside the basin, are represented as if resting upon the rim, or even in the air above it. In  the lists of *Sst-in-Ttj* we have a special entry  “Opening the box” (1). This suggests that the items which follow should have been contained in the box. In this case, the limited space would have demanded that only a small number of so many different kinds of food could have been presented. In the Tomb of *Mrr-wj-k3j*, Pose No. 6, is frequently connected with the inscription:  “The ceremony of breaking the red pottery,” followed by *gsw*, cake, flesh, beer, etc., just as they follow after *htp-dj-njswt*, *wdn iht* in the same tomb. Thus, the ceremony of  *sd ds r.wt* is apparently connected with the ceremony of presenting the offering-chest. This ceremony consisted of the deliberate smashing of some red pottery vessels in the burial-chamber, the exact significance of the rite not being clear. Perhaps it has the same underlying ideas prevalent in Egypt to-day, that to break a pot behind the back of a parting guest who is disliked may prevent him from returning to the house, or from carrying out any evil design that he may have intended, or it may be done in regard to the dead in order to prevent their spirit from returning to haunt the living. (For evidence of the performance of this rite in the burial-chamber of Shaft No. 294 in our excavations at Giza, see above, p. 13.) (2). In the offering-list of *Idw* of Giza, this rite is determined by a priest about to dash a pottery jar against a rectangular table. .

Pose No. 7 

This representation, which is very rare, depicts a kneeling priest placing his hands upon a circular offering-table. This ceremony seems to correspond to No. 15 of the offering-list

 (see also Pyramid Text, Utterance 82) (Text of N) 
 (line 58 B) (var.  (W)).

In the lists of *Nj-ms't-R'*, *Pth-htp II* and *Idw*, No. 15, is determined by the priest laying his hands upon an offering-table, but in the lists of *S3bw* and *K3r*, the priest is holding the table in his hands as though presenting it. In the mastaba of *K3j* this representation seems to be replacing Pose No. 6, the presentation of the offering-box, and in an example published by Firth, and Gunn (“*Excavations at Sakkâra*”, Vol. I, Pl. XIX), “*The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*” the inscription concerning this representation commences with *gsw* just as in No. 6. If these rites are interchangeable, then there must be a similarity or connection between them. Perhaps the priest brings the box containing the samples of food, and presents

(1) For this rite, see MORET, “*Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalier en Egypte*”, pp. 170, 171.

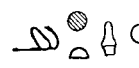
(2) For the mention of this rite in the Pyramid Texts, see Utterance 244. See also for this rite, SETHE, “*Miszellen*”, *A.Z.*, Vol. 63, pp. 101, 102.





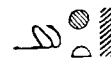
it to the tomb-owner. He then takes the offering-table and sets it in position, placing upon it the samples of food and drink as he takes them from the box one by one, his actions being accompanied by special utterances and observed rites.

Pose No. 8



This is not a simplified version of the above-mentioned rite, although it is sometimes represented near it. Here the figure of the kneeling man has neither the box nor the table, but is simply placing his finger tips upon the ground. In the Tomb of *K3j-m-nh* this figure is inscribed:

 which is not easily explained, but perhaps may mean *phwj*, 'the end', and thus signify 'the end of the offering'.

Thus, this may be the terminating rite of the ceremony. In this respect one is tempted to compare with it No. 93 of the offering-list  contrasting  with , but in this case  means 'the best of', and not 'in front' or 'beginning'. (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. IV, p. 24). In the list of *K3-ir* (No. 117), we have the entry  occurring at the end of the list, preceding *in.t-rd*, which is here the last item.

Pose No. 9



This represents a priest burning incense, and thus, of course, corresponds to Nos. 2 and 13 of the offering-list. In the Fifth Dynasty lists of *Nj-m3-t-R'*, *Pth-htp II*, and the Sixth Dynasty lists of *Idw*, *S3bw*, *Nj-nh-Ppjj* and *S3t-in-Ttj*, and the nameless list from Sakkâra (Index No. 135), Nos. 2 and 13 are determined by the figure of a priest burning incense.

It is perhaps one of the most commonly represented rites, and was frequently performed by the eldest son of the deceased. In the Tomb of *W3s-Dw3w*, this rite follows the presentation of the offering-box, but precedes, the group of Pose No. 4. This position of the rite is maintained in the Tombs of *K3-dw3* and *Hnw*. In *Nj-nh-Hnmw*, the incensing priest stands directly in front of the table of the deceased, and the inscription reads:



"presenting incense". On the panel of the false-door of *Hwt3* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 43), the incensing priest is one of the two figures who perform the rite before the table of the deceased, and the inscription reads:



which is only his name and title. On the panel of *Nj-s-nh-3htj* (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 125), this rite is performed by the eldest son of the deceased, and is the only rite represented. The same is on the panel of *'nh-h3.f* and on the panel of *Ffj* (*ibid*, Vol. I, p. 99). In the Tomb of *Špss-k3.f-nh* the incensing priest stands behind one who is performing a ceremony called 'sweeping the foot-prints' (see below, p. 98) and a man carrying a ewer and basin. In the Tomb of *K3-m-nfrt*, the tomb-owner is shown burning incense before Queen *Rhjt-R'* whose priest he was.

Pose No. 10



This represents a priest wringing the neck of a goose, and is a form of No. 90 of the offering-list, or of No. 94. If it is to be accepted as No. 90, *hnkt*, then it needs a little explanation. As we have already pointed out, this rite seems to have originally meant a drink libation, but during the period with which we are now dealing, *hnkt* came to mean a complete offering, consisting of food and drink, and which, as we have seen, was contained in the offering-box. This may be seen in line 101 *C* of the Pyramid Texts; "I give to thee all festal offerings and all oblations which thou canst desire", as an utterance of . But one of the important gifts included in the *hnkt* was the goose, the head of which was seemingly wrung off and laid separately . The determinatives of this rite in the offering-lists show this very clearly (see the Fourth Dynasty, lists of *Dbhnj Hw-wj-Pth*, and *K3-m nfrt*. In the Fifth Dynasty we have this determinative in the lists of *K3-nj-njswt II 'nh-irj.s*, *K3-k3j-'nh*, and *Pth-htp II*. In the Sixth Dynasty it occurs in the lists of *Nfr-S3m-S33.t*, *Mrw*, etc. In Cairo No. 1422, we have placed immediately below the offering-table, and in *'Idw.t* (MACRAMALLAH, "*Le Mastaba d'Idout*", Pl. XV) we have the same inscription, but over the table, and directly in front of the deceased. Or a decapitated goose may be placed near the first priest in front of the offering-table.

From our excavations at Giza we have the following examples: On the panel of *Hwt3* are two Ka-servants standing in front of the offering-table, the first of whom wrings the neck of a goose. The same is seen on the right of the panel of *Ijj* ("*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. I, p. 103) and *K3w-njswt* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 82). In the Tomb of *Nj-'nh-Hnmw* (Vol. VI, Part III) two men stand before the offering-table and the second performs the rite of wringing the neck of the goose. Included in this scene is a horizontal register, in which are depicted the geese , an unnamed duck, and the pigeon . In the Tomb of *Irw*, the rite of wringing the neck is also being performed by the eldest son of the deceased.

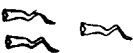
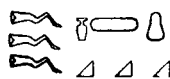




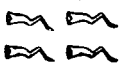

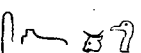













On the jambs of the false-door of *R'-Mrrj-Pth* at Sakkâra (MARIETTE, "*Mastabas*", p. 154) is an interesting scene showing the performance of this rite. Three men are advancing to the central niche of the door. The first carries a live goose, the second wrings its head off, and the third present the headless body. Thus, we have a progressive illustration of the rite.

But that *hnkt* was not limited to the drink and geese alone may be seen by the determinatives which show us that it may also include meat. Thus, in the Fifth Dynasty list of *Shm-k3j* (Index No. 42) we have , and the same in *Tjj* (Index No. 53), and *Pth-htp II* (Index No. 69). In the list of *Hr-k3.w-Pth* (No 76), *hnk.t* is determined by a decapitated goose, its severed head, and a basin.



































Thus, it would seem that *hnk.t* at the end of a list (as in *Wni's*, etc.) may mean a complete funerary offering, though it may at one time simply designate the presentation of a decapitated goose (see also JUNKER, "*Giza*", VI, p. 114).

Pose No. 11



This figure of a priest carrying the foreleg of an ox represents No. 94 of the canonical offering list, *stp*. According to Dr. Junker, this rite did not appear until the late Fifth Dynasty, but we have it in the list of *K3-m-nfr.t* who was the Ka-servant of Queen *Rhj.t-R'*, the daughter of *H'j.f-R'*, and who was most probably contemporary with her. *Stp* occurs also in the list of *sh.t-htp*, *Hw-wj-Pth* and *R'-mrrj-Pth*, all of which have been dated to the late Fourth Dynasty. In the Fifth Dynasty it occurs thirty-nine times as the final entry, in a total of sixty-three lists, but in the Sixth Dynasty it only terminates the lists fourteen times out of a total of seventy-one lists. Actually, this rite consisted of the presentation of a foreleg cut from a living ox (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 104) and placed before the tomb-owner. In the processions of offering-bearers those carrying the forelegs occupy a prominent place. But *stp* may also be connected with the goose-offering, as the determinatives of the lists show. Thus, we may find No. 94 of the canonical list determined in the following manner: In the Fourth Dynasty we have it once determined by three legs of beef  (Index No. 16). *K3-m-nfr.t* is determined by  (Index No. 13). In *sh.t-htp*, we have , and in *R'-mrrj-Pth* (Index No. 15) it has no determinative at all. This shows that as early as the latter end of the Fourth Dynasty, the *stp*-rite was regarded as the presentation of the severed foreleg, but that already it could also mean the gift of the goose and other food and drink, as we may see by the determinatives of *Hw-wj-Pth*. In the Fifth Dynasty we have *stp* determined by the legs of beef occurring in eighteen lists out of a total of sixty-three. See *Ns-m-n3.w*, etc., which shows only one leg  *Tsn · B'* (Index No. 33), which has two , *S3'm-nfr III* (Index No. 20) (this also occurs in 7 lists) , and *Wr-hww* (A) which has four . In *'nh-irjs* (Index No. 30) we have  so also in *K3j-Swd3-w* (Index No. 46), *Wsr-ntr* 'A' (Index No. 38) and possibly *Hnw* (Index No. 66). In *Hwj-n-Pth* this entry is written , and carved in detailed relief, although the rest of the list is incised, and without detail. In *Pth-htp II* (Index No. 69) we have  and below it . In *In-k3.f* the determinative is  and in *'nh-m'-k3j* 'A' it is , but in list 'B' it is  (Index Nos. 51 and 52) in *Dfdj* (Index No. 61) we have . In *S3'm-nfr* (Index No. 71) we have . In *Itj* (Index No. 73) it is  and in *H'-mrrw-Pth* (Index No. 75) it is . In only two lists is *stp* determined by geese alone, these being *K3.j-swd3.w II* (Index No. 28) , and *Tsn* 'A' (Index No. 32) . These lists of *Tsn* are illuminating, as we have seen in list 'B' that that *stp* is determined by two legs of beef, while in list 'A' it is two geese. This suggests that *stp* was the choice beef only, or the choice geese only, as in these two examples. On the other hand, the other examples given suggest the choice portions of food and drink in general. In the list of *N-hft-k3j* (Index No. 48) *stp* is determined by . But in three lists it has no determinative at all (see *K3j*, Index No. 18, etc.). In *Shm-'nh-Pth* *stp* and *hs.twdhw* are written together in a single rectangle, and have the common determinative  which would suggest that here, at least, the two rites are considered to have a similar significance.






By these lists we may see that during the Fifth Dynasty *stp* was chiefly regarded as the presentation of the foreleg, or to a somewhat lesser extent of the foreleg and the goose (eleven examples) excluding those of *Tsn*. Few persons seemed to regard it as the presentation of a goose only, and its significance as food in general was still very rare.

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we have only five lists out of seventy-one where *stp* is determined by the legs of beef (see *Nb-k3.w-Hr*, Index No. 85, etc.) . But in five lists it is determined by the goose and the foreleg (see *Nfr-s'sm-Ss3.t*, Index No. 91  , *K3-hif*, Index No. 104,  , etc.). In ten lists *stp* is determined by an ox-head and a goose head (see *Wrj*, Index No. 98)  , etc. In the list of *K3.j-gmw-nj*, Index No. 84, *stp* is determined by   and below it is  . In *K3-r* (Index No. 87) we have   and below it , while in *Idw* the entry is determined   and below it . In *Mrr-wj-k3j*, we have    and below it . In three lists, *stp* is determined by pieces of flesh:  (see *N-hft-k3.j*, Index No. 95, *Hunt*, Index No. 100, etc.). In *Sst-in-Ttj* (B), these are  but in *Sn.t* we see      and in *Bjw* (Index No. 118)  . In only three lists is *stp* determined by the goose alone (see *M3-hrw-Pth*, Index No. 90 , etc. In *Ppjj-nh*, the Middle (Index Nos. 121, 122) we have *stp* determined by   , food and drink in general. Thus, the prevailing idea in this period was that *stp* was the presentation of a meat-offering, consisting of the severed foreleg and the goose, and that the old idea of the foreleg alone was more in the background. (For an explanation of the cruel custom of severing the foreleg from a living ox, see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, pp. 67, 68.)

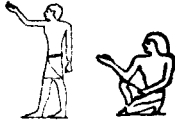
Taking the meaning of *stp* in general, it seems to mean the presentation of the selected flesh-offering, either of beef or geese, or if we are to accept the evidence of the lists of *Hw-wj-Pth*, etc., of all the food in general.

Pose No. 12



This represents a priest carrying two bands of linen (or towels) and corresponds to No. 12 of the offering-list. *wnhw*     , which may mean the presentation of new or clean clothing, and formed one of the preliminary rites before the presentation of the meal. In the Fifth Dynasty list of *Nj-m3'.t-R'*, this figure of the priest forms the determinative for No. 12. So also in the lists of *'nh-m'-k3.j*, *Pth-htp*, etc., and in the Sixth Dynasty lists of *Idw.t*, *Idw*, *S3bw*, etc. In our tombs at Giza this rite is represented in the following tombs: *Sps-k3.f-nh* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. II, p. 29) where the priest carrying the *wnhw* brings up the rear, following the man with the offering-box. On the panel of *K3w-njswt*, he accompanies the priest performing the *hnkt* rite of the goose. In *Nj-k3w-Ht-Hr*, he stands immediately before the table of the deceased, and is the only figure preserved, the remainder of the scene having been destroyed.

Poses Nos. 13 and 14




These two figures are variants of the same rite. It shows the priest, who in the old tombs was called the *hrj-wdb* and whose function was to name the individual items of the funerary repast. Concerning the function of this official, who was the Director of the Distribution of Food, we may note here that in many examples the holder of this title of *hrj-wdb* was also connected officially with other departments dealing with food and supplies. Thus, in MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, D. 19, we have the following titles:—














(1) Director of the Two *s.t-df*.




(2) Director of the *swt* of the Offerings and Food, director of the guide of all scribes in the house of the *Hrj-wdb* of the Free and the Slaves.



















(3) Director of the Administration of the Fowling-marshes.

(4) Director of the Butchery animals, (*i.e.* oxen and poultry), *mdw Rhjt*, *hrj-wdb of the rhjt*, *Hrj-wdb* of the House of Life.

In the period of which we are speaking, it was no longer an employee of the King who presented the offering in the tomb, for the *hrj-wdb* fills this position. This follows the general tendency of the period, namely the gradual replacement of real food by small samples, models or representations, leading to the time when the mere recitation of the formula was sufficient to provide the dead with food and drink in the Next World. That the standing and kneeling poses really represent the same rite can be seen in an unpublished tomb in the concession of Steindorff. Here four priests kneel before the offering-table. The first three present offerings, which are announced by a fourth priest in the attitude  as in *K1.j-swḏ1.w*, *K1-nj-njswt*, *Sš1.t-htp*, etc. In our excavations at Giza we have this representation in the following tombs:—

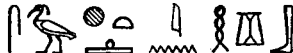

W3š-Dwsw, where he is inscribed  ; *K1-dw1*, inscribed   ; *Dbhnj* (once kneeling and inscribed   and once standing and inscribed:      ).

In the above-mentioned tombs (except No. 1 of *Dbhnj*) the priest is standing, but in the Tomb of *K1.j-swḏ1.w*, he is kneeling. While engaged in clearing the Sphinx depression during our eighth season's work, we discovered a wooden box buried in the sand. It contained a block of limestone anciently stolen from the entrance of some tomb in the neighbourhood which originally bore an offering-scene. All that is preserved is the upper part of the standing figure of the priest with his arm raised. In front of him is inscribed:    “Making Glorification . . .”

And above him is inscribed                  ‘A boon which the King gives, that offerings may come forth at the voice every day in  the *W3g*-feast, and the Feast of Thoth.’


Pose No. 15



According to Dr. Junker, this representation appears in the offering-scene for the first time at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. It represents the ritualist, who holds a roll of papyrus in both hands, and is often inscribed :  "Glorifying by the Ritualist", or as in *Ksj-gmw-nj* :  "The reading of the Glorification", '*Gem-ni-kai*' Vol. II, (Pl. XXIX). It is this figure, which determines the rite of *wdn-ih* in the list of *Idw* of Giza (see above, p. 90). For other examples, see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 110).


Pose No. 16



This rite seems to be connected with the ceremonies which, in the old mastabas were performed by the *wtj*-priest. In the Tomb of *Ksj-gmw-nj* (*ibid*) are three priests represented in this attitude, and above them is inscribed :  "Making many glorifications by the Ritualist". They follow immediately after a man represented in the attitude of Pose No. 15. In our tombs at Giza, this pose occurs in *Nfr* (*Excavations at Giza*, Vol. III, p. 213) and *Ks-m-nfrt* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 132). Concerning the above-mentioned inscription, which is also to be found in the Tomb of *Mrr.wj-ks.j*, it would seem to connect this priest with the Ritualist (*hrj-hb*). Perhaps the standing priest recites the ritual, while his kneeling colleague recites the chorus or responses.

Pose No. 17




This figure is usually inscribed :  *in.t-rd* which may be translated as 'sweeping the footprints'. Literally it means 'taking away the foot' but here the word *rd* ought to mean footprints and not foot, although we have no certain evidence for this. Nevertheless, there seems to be little doubt that the usual translation is the correct one. In *Wss-Dwsw* and *Ks-dws* this priest has his back turned to the deceased, and walks away from the offering-table, trailing behind him a hand-broom with which he is sweeping the sanded floor of the tomb. In *Sps-ks.f-nh*, the man performing this rite walks away from the deceased, but looks backwards over his shoulder; he is shown by an inscription to be a son and at the same time a Ka-servant of the tomb-owner. In the Tomb of *Hnw*, the figure of this priest is damaged, but there is no doubt as to his identification. In the temple ritual it was considered necessary to remove every trace of the presence of human beings from the sanctuary, but we cannot say if this was the underlying belief behind this rite or not. Neither can we say for certain if this rite was performed before or after the meal. In the scenes where the priest stands nearest to the offering-table, one would say that he is sweeping up the floor before the commencement of the meal, and that the rite may have developed from the simple idea of tidying up a room before sitting down to eat, to the magical one of removing all traces of any other persons, in order to prevent them from partaking of the offering-meal;

and this latter significance may also apply even if the rite was performed after the food had been served. (For other scenes where this priest appears at the commencement of the rites, see JUNKER, “Giza”, Vol. III, pp. 110, 111.)



But on the other hand, in the Tomb of *K3j-gmw-nj*, the priest with the broom stands in the middle of the scene (Pl. XXIX), and in *K3j* and *Mrr.wj-k3j* (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 57) he stands at the end. Dr. Junker suggests that when this priest was placed near the offering-table it may mean that he has already swept the place, either before or after the ceremony.

This rite corresponds to No. 97 of the offering-list, and does not occur in any of the early lists so far discovered. The earliest example in our material occurs in the list of *Nj-m3.t-R*. In some lists the numeral I is placed under this rite in the same way that numerals are placed under the food-entries (see Prince *Nfr-Ššm-Sš3.t*, etc.). In the list of *Hnmw-‘nh* the entry reads

 “Sweeping the footprints by the Ritualist”.

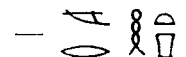
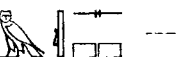
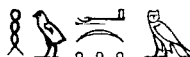



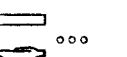
We have now examined those rites which were represented in the offering-scenes, and which mostly have a more or less fixed place as entries in the offering-list. But there remain a few rites at the end of the list which are not represented in the scenes, so far as we know at present.

Other Rites

The last single food-entry in the offering-list is No. 87,  carob-beans, after which comes No. 88,  “all sweet things”, which is a resumé of the group of fruits preceding it.


The connection between this entry and the fruits may be seen in the inscription of *Snfrw-nfr*

(Cairo 1431). 

—   —   —   



“May he be given a funerary offering from the palace, barley and wheat from the two granaries, clothes from the Two Treasuries, Oil from the Two Manufactories, carob-beans from the House of the Income, all sweet things from the *pr-išd*.”


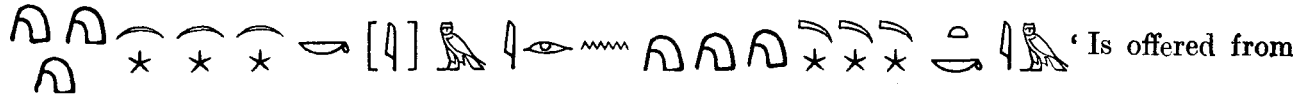
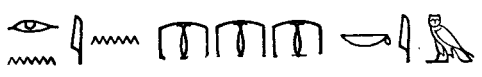
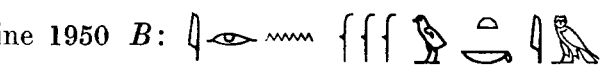

The *pr-išd* can hardly be anything else than a magazine for fruits, especially as in the old lists of *H‘j-b3w-Skr*, and his wife, several kinds of grain and fruit, including *išd*, are inscribed upon miniature granaries (MURRAY, “Sakkâra Mastabas”, Vol. I, Pls. I and II).




Rite No. 89 

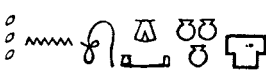

At first one is tempted to take the sign as being connected with the root *rnj* ‘to be green’, and so translate it: ‘plants and fruit, the product of gardens’ (see *W.B*, Vol. II, p. 435). In this case we should read the entry ‘all green things’ or ‘all vegetables’.

But there are other points to consider before we can accept this translation. The Berlin Dictionary states that *rnjw3t-nb* can also be applied to scenes, where animals are brought before



the tomb-owner. Thus, it would seem that it is not *rnpt* 'to be green', but *rnpt* 'year'. In the Sixth Dynasty offering-lists we have three examples where this entry is spelt out; of these, *N-hft-ka.j* gives  determined by the 'year' sign, but *Hwt-i'h* and *Ppjj-nh* the Middle give .

In many passages in the Pyramid Texts are references to the tillage of the ground, the ploughing and the harvesting of the grain, and at the end of each passage the destination of the grain is given, as for example in line 657 *B-C*:   'Is offered from it for your feast of the beginning of the month', etc; line 1748 *C* (text of *Mr-n-R'*): ; line 1950 *B*: ; line 874:  "Your offering of the first of the year will be prepared from it as Horus, son of Atum."

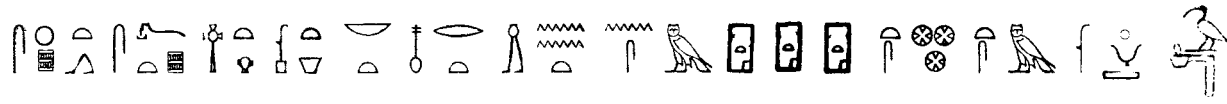

Thus, this grain is supposed to be given as an offering in the feasts. In the first three of these examples, the feasts are all of a kind with which the funerary prayers have made us familiar. Therefore, when we find these names of feasts replaced by , as in the last two examples, we may ask if it cannot have a similar meaning. Thus, it can hardly mean here 'subsistence' as *W.B. Vcl. II*, p. 435 suggests, but should mean either 'offerings of your first of the year' when it corresponds to the general term *hbw*, or it may mean the two specially mentioned feasts *Wp-rnpt* and *tpj-rnpt* ( and . See also Pyramid Texts, line 1880 *B*).

"I dig for you the earth for your barley, and plough for you the wheat"   "The wheat is for your *Wsg-Feast*, the barley is for your Offering of the Year's Feast."

This is clearly referring to the special funerary feasts. In the Tomb of *Idw.t* (MACRAMALLAH, "*Le Mastaba d'Idout*", Pl. XX) is a scene in which food-offerings, cattle and game animals are brought to the deceased. This scene is described as being 'the inspection of the gifts and all beautiful *rnpt* which are brought from the mansions and towns'.











Here it is impossible that *rnpt* in the sense of green things should be employed where no vegetables are represented, but the inscription over the fattened cattle provides us with a good clue to the meaning. The first and second oxen are inscribed *shpt rn iw* , while the third ox is inscribed . Thus, the first two should be translated as 'Bringing


young oxen as gifts for the Feast of the Year', while the third is 'Gift for the Feast of the New Year'. On the same wall, servants are represented as bringing the forelegs of oxen, fowls and other food, and finally scenes of the slaughter of cattle. The inscription concerning it reads :



 "The bringing of the chosen, the gifts and all beautiful Year's Feast


offerings, which are brought to her from her mansions and domains in the Feast of the Opening of the Year, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the First Day of the Year, the *W3g*-Feast", etc.



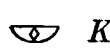



Here it is clear that the *rnput nbt nfr.t* refers to an offering given at the Year's Feast, and that the things offered may be of many different kinds. We have a decisive proof for this in the determinatives of the entry No. 80 in the list of *Nj-nh-Ppjj* of Sakkâra, where in a writing which is unique in our material, we see that *rnput nbt* can include geese, oxen and game animals (see below). On the other hand, the determinative in the list of *Sbkjj-Bjj* is very peculiar, and suggests the translation of vegetables, while in some lists the *rnput nbt* is determined by \dots , as though it were some kind of grain or fruit. In the Fourth Dynasty we have this form of determinative in the list of *K3-m-nfr.t* (Index No. 13). In *Dbhnj*, *Hw-wj-Pth*, and also *K3-m-nfr.t*, the entry is determined by ∇ , which, however, conveys little meaning as to the nature of the entry, as this basin had already become stereotyped for the use of almost any kind of food.

In the Fifth Dynasty we have *rnput nbt* occurring eight times out of a total of sixty-three lists determined by \dots denoting grain or fruit of some kind. This may be either alone, as in *Mrsu-nh*, Index No. 34, \dots or with the basin as in *In-k3.f* (Index No. 44) . In thirty-three examples it has either the basin ∇ , or no determinative at all. As we have already seen, in the list of *Nfr-irjt.n.f* (Index No. 29) *rnput nbt* is determined by the offering-box . In the Sixth Dynasty we have some interesting variants of the determinatives which serve to throw some light on the meaning of the rite. Thus, in *K3.j-gmw-nj* (Index No. 84), *M3-hrw-Pth* (Index No. 90), *Mrw* (Index No. 101) and *Mrrj-R'-nfr* (Index No. 123), it is determined by , denoting a feast. In *Nj-nh-Ppjj* 'A' it is: , and in 'B': . In *Snj* (Index No. 110), it seems to be a piece of flesh . Twenty-five lists out of seventy-one give this entry as being determined by the basin ∇ only (see *Snh-Pth*, etc.). In *Mrr-wj-k3.j* and *Sbkw II*, the basin contains grains  and  and in thirteen examples the grains alone \dots appear as determinatives (see *Wrj*, Index No. 98, etc.). In *Sbkjj-Bjj*  and *Sbkjj* , some kind of plant is suggested.

Concerning those determinatives which are clearly grains of some kind, we have also to remember that in the Pyramid Texts quoted above, wheat and barley are especially mentioned in connection with the *rnput*. This may be due to a confusion having arisen between *rnput*, and *rnpt* 'a green product'. As we have seen, the offering-list of *Mrr-wj-k3.j* shows a determinative  which suggests some kind of grain or fruit, but an inscription in the same tomb leaves little doubt that a yearly feast is intended (A.6. Southern Wall).







 "Bringing the best of all the Yearly Feast offerings for his Ka."




Further evidence for the meaning of  as 'yearly' is to be found in line 964 *A*-965 *B* of the Pyramid Texts, where we read :—

"N comes to you, O Master of the Sky, N comes to you, O Osiris. Therefore, he purifies your face and clothes you with the divine clothes. . . .  . . .  " Sothis, your beloved daughter, prepares for you your Yearly Feast offering in this her name of "*Rnpt*". Finally, we have the determinatives of *Mz-hrw-Pth*,  *Kz-j-gmw-nj*  *Mrw*  (?) and *Mrrj-R'-nfr*  (?), which leave no doubt whatever that a feast is intended, and the reading of these entries cannot be anything else but 'Yearly Feast'.


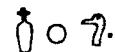
No. 91, GSW 

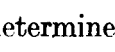

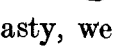
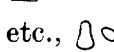





This has already appeared in some of the short lists of the early Old Kingdom, and as it means the half-loaves on the offering-table, it is also represented pictorially as early as the Bankfield Stela (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, Fig. 113) which is perhaps the oldest-offering scene we have. Therefore, *gsw* is one of the oldest ceremonies we have in the offering-list. For a long time *Gsw* was perhaps the only offering presented to the dead on his offering-table, for even when in reality other food was provided, the *gsw* remained crystallized in the panel scenes until quite late into the Old Kingdom (see *ibid*, Vol. V, p. 170, *ff.*), and also as the determinative of No. 91 of the offering-lists.

In the Fourth Dynasty lists we have *gsw* twice determined by the half-loaves on the offering-table. See  *Kz-m-nfrt*, and *Hw-wj-Pth* . In *zht-htp* it is , and in *Dbhntj* . In *R'-mrrj-Pth* the determinative of *gsw* is  which is similar to the writing of the bread  on the stela of Princess *Shfr*, meaning a loaf of half a *hkt* of flour. Perhaps, then, the *gsw* was half a loaf which, when entire, weighed one *hkt*, and each half was, therefore, half a *hkt*. Moreover, this writing is the best corroboration for the explanation which I had given for this entry in the previous volume of this work (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 95 (Note 2)).

During the Fifth Dynasty we have *gsw* determined by the half-loaves on the table occurring in five out of sixty-three lists. See *Kz-j-pw-R'*, etc. (Index No. 57). In Prince *Kz-j-m-R'* (Index No. 62), we have  where the half-loaves are stylized as reeds (see *ibid*, pp. 170, 171). The commonest determinative is , which occurs in twenty-one lists (see *Nfr-irjt-n.f.*, etc.), though sometimes these half-loaves are given their proper shape of half a conical loaf  as in the list


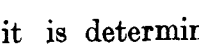

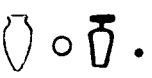
“ Turn yourself round, and see the *phr* offering which the King had prepared for you, which the First of the Westerners had prepared for you.”


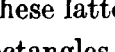
In the offering-lists of the Fourth Dynasty, *Phr* is determined in a manner which suggests food in general. Thus, *Dbhnj* has:  and *šht-htp* has .


In the Fifth Dynasty we have *phr* determined by  in *Ks-k3.j-nh*, etc., but *K3.j* has only  (Index No. 55). Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we see  in *Idw*, etc., and in *Ksr*, etc., . But the detailed determinative in the list of *Mrr-wj-k3.j* is simply the loaf , though in the actual writing of the entry it is . In *Nj-nh-Ppjj* ‘A’ we have *phr* determined by , and in (B), by . In *Mrrj-R-nfr* by the pieces of meat .

This seems to show that *phr* was chiefly regarded as an offering of food in general but could also include the flesh-offering.

No. 93, *H3.t-wdhw* 

Like *phr*, *h3.t-wdhw* does not seem limited to the presentation of any special kind of food. In the earlier lists, namely those of the second half of the Fourth Dynasty it seems to be connected with a drink-offering as we may see by the determinatives in the list of *K3-m-nfrt* . In *Dbhnh* it is determined by bread and drink  and in *R'-mrrj-Pth* by . In *Hw-wj-Pth* it has .

Later, in the Fifth Dynasty, the general determinative for this entry was  (see *S3m-nfr III*, etc.). In *Shm-k3j* we have . These latter suggest a meaning of food in general. In the lists of *Tsn*, where it occurs outside the rectangles, *h3.t-wdhw* seems to mean ‘the best of the food’ (meaning all the different kinds of food) (southern list), and on the northern list: ‘the best of bread, beer and cakes’ (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, Fig. 126).

Later, it would seem that *h3.t-wdhw* could mean ‘the best of the things on the offering-table’ which may also be the meaning of its occurrence in the southern list of *Tsn*, and this interpretation may also be seen in the determinatives which show a laden (or sometimes bare) offering-table (see *Pth-htp II*, and for the Sixth Dynasty, *Ksr*, *Ihjj*, *N-ht-k3.j*, *Hnnt*, *Snt*, *Bjw*, *Mnj* and *Sb3kw II*). In *Mrrj-R'-nfr*, *h3.t-wdhw* is determined by the sign of the feast , which suggests that here it means ‘the best of the things offered in the feasts’.

THE FUNERARY MEAL AND THE BANQUETING MEAL

THE CHOICE OF SUBJECTS FOR THE SCENES ON THE CHAPEL WALLS

We have already described the figures of the officiating priests found in the scenes representing the offering-meal, where they play their different parts before the large figure of the tomb-owner, seated before his table of bread (see above, p. 85, ff.), and this scene of the funerary meal is the oldest and most important of all the scenes on the chapel walls.

But there is also to be found another type of banqueting scene, in which these priests never appeared, and these two representations should not be confused, as they are of an entirely different nature. In order to understand the nature of these two scenes, we must make a brief survey of the development of the representations from which they originated.


With regard to the decoration of the chapel, there was a fixed series of scenes to be employed for this purpose, but great latitude was allowed in their choice, disposition, and treatment. For this reason we never find two chapels which are identical in their decoration, though they may have all the essential features in common. So, also the choice of representations varied with the period, and during the course of time, certain scenes may drop out of use, and perhaps reappear later under a new form, or entirely new scenes may be added to the list. This freedom of choice in the tomb decoration and the manner in which it was influenced by the prevailing modes, is very valuable to us, because it assists us in dating a mastaba, and the chronological development of both architectural form and interior decoration is often very clearly shown in groups of tombs belonging to the members of a single family, as that of *Sšm-nfr*, *R'-wr*, *Špss-k3.f-nh*, and *Sndm-ib* of Junker's concession. From the earlier times we have the group of tombs belonging to *Njrt-k3.w*, *Njr-M3'*, and *Snfrw-snb*. Another factor which led to the variation of the representations on the tomb walls was naturally the space at the disposal of the artist. In large tombs, such as those of *Tjj* and *Mrr-wj k3.j* at Sakkâra, which contain many chambers, the artists should employ the whole range of subjects in his repertoire, but if he was confined to the four walls of a single chapel, then he was forced to employ only those subjects which were considered to be the most essential, or which were the special choice of his patron. But no matter what selection of material was made, or what was discarded, it was essential that the scene of the funerary meal should be included.

THE FUNERARY MEAL

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCENE OF THE FUNERARY MEAL

The essential elements of this scene had already appeared in the early Archaic Period, when stelae and niche-stones show us the deceased seated before his table of bread, to which he stretches forth his hand; while above and beside the table are represented or inscribed the other different kinds of food and drink, and particularly flesh (see "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. V, p. 86, ff.).

With the development of the false-door, this scene invariably appeared upon the panel. When the custom arose of decorating the walls of the chapel, this most important scene was duplicated upon that part of the wall nearest to the offering-place. In the older tombs it usually appeared above the false-door (see *Sšm-nfr I*, *L.D.* Vol., II, Pl. 27). In the case of *Mr-ib*, the offering-scene appears upon both panels, and also on the western wall, above the northern false-door, where it forms a kind of false architrave. Later, when there were two false-doors, the offering-scene may appear on that part of the western wall which lies between them (see *K3-dw3*, Vol. VI, Part III). If the southern false-door is the principal one, as is usually the case, then the offering-scene may be placed on the southern wall of the chapel (see *Nj-m3'.t-R'*, "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. II, p. 220), or when the northern false-door was the principal offering-place, the scene of the funerary meal might appear upon the northern wall (see *Tsn*, *ibid*, Vol. V, Fig. 125).

Once freed from the restricted space of the panel, the scene was enlarged by the addition of such items as funerary priests, relatives and offering bearers, often to such an extent as to wholly occupy the surface of the wall on which it was sculptured (see *Tsn*, *ibid*). In most cases the scene was accompanied by the full canonical offering-list, representations of food and drink offerings, and inscriptions giving the titles and name of the tomb-owner (see *Ks-dw3*). Junker mentions four cases of decorated tombs where this essential scene is entirely omitted. These are *Dbhñj*, *Wr-hww*, *H'j.f-nh* and *Wp-m-njrt*. With regard to *Dbhñj*, we are hardly in a position to make a definite statement, as the clearance of that tomb during our fourth season's work revealed the fact that the inner chapel had undoubtedly been cased with fine white limestone, some sculptured slabs of which we found still *in situ* (see *ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 179-182). Unfortunately, most of this casing had been stripped away, and doubtless the scene of the funerary meal was among those destroyed. This is almost certain to have been the case, because the other banqueting scene, of which we are shortly going to speak, survived intact in this tomb, and it is unlikely that this scene, which was of secondary importance, would have been employed, while the essential one of the funerary meal was omitted. In the case of *Wr-hww*, the scene of the funerary meal as a complete unity is certainly lacking, but nevertheless, its essential items are there, but they are dispersed (see *ibid*, Vol. V, pp. 250-252). Thus, on the panel of the false-door we have a duplicated figure of the deceased (perhaps *Wr-hww* and his *Ks* (?) seated with table of offerings between them. On the southern side of the deep niche in which this false-door is set, is inscribed the canonical offering-list, below which is a scene of priests bringing the offering-box,  incense, *wnhw*-cloth, offering-table, wine jars, live goose, and finally a group of butchers severing the foreleg of an ox, all the important features of the offering-rites, as we have just seen. On the northern side of the same niche, is inscribed a 'freak', or uncanonical list, and below it a scene, perhaps the same as that on the southern side, but of which only the group of butchers has been preserved.

Regarding the Tomb of *Wp-m-njrt*, the decoration of the walls of the chapel seem to be incomplete, that of *Ibj*, his son being cased with white limestone, and only a small part of the eastern wall had been decorated (see *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 189).

Sometimes, as we have seen above, (see p. 11) the scene of the funerary meal may appear on the thickness of the entrance (see also JUNKER, "Giza", II, p. 180).

From the point of view of dating, we can gain the following valuable clues from the treatment of the scene of the funerary meal:—

(1) *For the Archaic Period.*—We have the figure of the deceased seated before the table of half-loaves, with a limited list of offerings and represented offerings over and beside the table.

(2) *For the Early Fourth Dynasty.*—We have now the addition of the kneeling priest with the *nw*-jar, and the figure of the *hrj-wdb*.

(3) *During the Fifth Dynasty.*—The figures of the officiating priests are mostly limited to the kneeling man presenting the *nw*-jar.

(4) *Late in the Fifth Dynasty.*—We now have the figures of the priests performing the rites or *rdj.t kbbw*, *wdb-ih* *wdn-ih*, *wd.t-ih*, *Ph-ih* and *int-rd*. The figures of the priests burning incense, carrying linen, offering the geese and carrying the haunch of beef, were originally not part of the offering-scene, and in the late Third and early Fourth Dynasties, they appeared upon the jambs of the false-door (see *Mtn*, L.D., Vol. II, Pl. III).

Those tombs which contain the latest development of the scene of the funerary meal, can all be assigned to the end of the Fifth or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. The earliest dated example in our excavations being that of *Nj-mš.t-R'*, who was Priest of the Sun-temple of King *Nj-wsr-R'* ("Excavations at Giza", Vol. II, p. 220, Fig. 239). Other examples, dated by their situation or constructional peculiarities, belong to the latter end of the Old Kingdom. Therefore, we may say that the fully developed scene of the funerary meal became general in the Giza Necropolis at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and this is the period when we find other innovations appearing in the funerary customs.

THE FESTAL BANQUET

THE INTRODUCTION OF FIGURES OF THE FAMILY, MUSICIANS, DANCERS, SERVANTS, ETC., INTO THE BANQUETING SCENE.—THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF THE BANQUETING SCENE.—EXAMPLES OF THE BANQUETING SCENE

As we have just seen, the representation of the funerary meal should be the feeding of the dead in its simplest form, and the offering-table itself usually carries nothing but half-loaves (for other food than bread on the offering-table, see *Irw, ibid*, Vol. III, p. 65) (though other eatables could be represented above it). But people were not satisfied with such simple fare, and early in the Fifth Dynasty at Giza there appeared a new type of food scene which aimed at representing a rich banquet, such as the nobles enjoyed during their life on earth. In these new scenes there were no funerary priests and no offering-list. Instead, the deceased is seated in his chair, either alone, or with a near relative ⁽¹⁾; he may be surrounded by his children, and servants are shown bringing in tables and stands piled up with food and drink. Musicians, dancers, singers, and acrobats add to the liveliness of the occasion. Curiously enough, in these festal scenes, the deceased is never shown actually eating, usually he holds a lotus-flower, or accepts one that is handed to him by one of his family. A similar idea appeared in the later form of the official scene of the funerary meal, where instead of reaching out the hand for a half-loaf, the deceased, if a man, raises a pot of ointment to his nose or if a woman, smells a lotus-flower. The only persons represented as actually eating, are members of the tomb-owner's family (as the daughter of *Njw-ntr*, "JUNKER, "Vorbericht", 1928, Taf. VI, 6) or servants (*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 52) (for this subject see also BALCZ, "Gefassdarstellungen", in *Mitteilungen. Kairo*, bd. 5, p. 53, ff.).

Concerning the formation of this scene, it seems as though the desire of the artist was to depict the presentation of the tomb-owner's meal in a lively and attractive manner, but at the same time he aimed at representing the abundance of food and drink to which the nobles had been accustomed during their earthly lives. As early as the Archaic stelae we have seen that the ancient bread-offering was supplemented by other foods, principally meat, placed above the loaves on the offering-table. Later, these gifts appeared on the jambs of the false-door or on the walls of the chapel. But at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the piled-up food above the bread on the offering-table disappeared. But this change in the representation was not effected as a complete break from the old tradition, and we can trace the steps which eventually led up to it from the wall-scenes of the various mastabas.

(1) *Sḥm-k3-R'* has his mother beside him (see *ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 117).

In the Tombs of *Mr-ib*, *Sšs.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt* are scenes where the deceased is shown inspecting the abundance of offerings which are destined for his tomb. The scene is entitled : ‘ the inspection of the offering-list ’. In these scenes the tomb-owner is usually seated in a comfortable chair, and is sometimes accompanied by members of his family. Before him stands his son, or one of his employees, who holds out a papyrus roll, which contains the written offering-list and which he seems to be reading to the tomb-owner. At the top of the scene is usually shown joints of meat hanging from a horizontal bar supported by lotus columns or forked poles (see *Nj-kw-R*, L.D., *Erganzbund*, Pl. XXXV). Below is a profusion of different kinds of food and drinks, arranged in registers. The bottom register usually depicts servants bringing washing utensils, censers, wine, cakes, meat, etc.

The connection between these scenes and the offering-table scene is shown by the fact that the former could appear in the same situations in the tomb where the scene of feeding the dead had also been represented, as for instance on the jambs of the entrance, though here the lack of space demanded the curtailment of the representation, and the piled-up offerings are usually suppressed (cf. *Hm'wnw*, *Ks-nj-nswt I*, and *Sšs.t-htp* with *Mr-ib*, *Nfr* and *H'j.f-Hwfw*). In the Tombs of *Wr-hw* and *Ks-nj-njswt I*, we find the scene of ‘ Inspecting the Gifts ’, where the deceased is shown inspecting the cattle, game-animals and offering-bearers as they are paraded in front of him. An official reads out the tally from a roll of papyrus.

In *Ks-nj-njswt I*, and *Sšm-nfr* are scenes which are clearly a mixture of the two above-mentioned representations, while in *Ksj*, above the northern false-door, is a scene in which the tomb-owner is seated to the left, and before him is a profusion of food-offerings piled up on rectangular tables and stands, while jars of drink, resting on ring-stands, stand upon the floor. But the old pedestal type of table with its half-loaves is not depicted. To the right stands a man burning incense to the deceased.

This ought to represent the actual meal of the dead and not the inspection of the offering-list ; but the construction of the scene, particularly the treatment and arrangement of the food, shows a clear affinity to the latter subject. This typical form of representation is found in those tombs which date to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. But later it completely disappeared from the wall-scenes, and was replaced by the great representation of the festal banquet.

It is very important to note that in no tomb known to me do we find the ‘ inspecting of the offering-list ’ together with the scene of the festal banquet. But in both these scenes, the method of treating the represented food and drinks is essentially the same. Also in *Ks-j-swd.w* L.D., II, 85, Erg. XXVII, XXVIII), the scene of the festal banquet occupies the northern wall, which in the Tombs of *Mr-ib*, *Sšs.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt* is devoted to ‘ the inspection of the offering-list ’. All these scenes were devised as supplements to the old simple representation of the deceased and his table of half-loaves. In *Ns-m-nsw* there seems to be a confusion between the two scenes.

The scene of the festal banquet is distinguished for its naturalism and vivacity. In our excavations this scene is employed in the following tombs:—

Ks-dw (see Vol. VI, Part III), *Dbhnj* (“ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. IV, p. 170), *Šhm-kš-R* (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 117). *Nb-m-šht* (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 140), *Wr-hw* (*ibid*, Vol. V, p. 247), *Ks-kš.j-nh* (see Vol. VI, Part III,) *Nht-kš*. (seventh season), *Ks-m-nfr* (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 117).

From our Sakkâra excavations we have a splendid example of the scene of the festal banquet in the chapel of *Nb-k3w-Hr*. Compared with the 'inspection of the offering-list', this scene seems to have been more widely employed, and for a longer period. The oldest example seems to have been in the Tomb of *Njr-M3't* of Meydum, a grandson of King *Snfrw*, whose tomb dates from the Fourth Dynasty. Here the scene appears on the southern wall, but is so badly damaged that all we can distinguish is the figure of the Prince seated on his chair with his dog crouched beneath it. To the left are the represented food and drink, and below are the remains of some figures of musicians and dancers.

In the series of rock-cut tombs south of the Pyramid of *H'j.f-R'*, are to be seen some small variations in this scene. Thus, in *Nb-m-3ht*, the different groups of the picture are detached from each other, and in *Shm-k3j* the presentation of the lotus is omitted. In *Nj-k3w-R'*, the deceased holds the flower in his hand, but we are not shown by whom it was presented. In *K3-dw3* the tomb-owner has apparently just received the lotus-flower from his wife, who stands before him, the lady herself having a second bloom which she holds to her nose. On a table set before *K3-dw3* are six lotus-flowers and six buds arranged in an artistic manner, and it is noteworthy that no food is shown upon this table. The dancers are supplemented by a naked girl acrobat, as in the Tomb of *K3-k3.j-'nh* (see Vol. VI, Part III). In the Tomb of *Nht-k3*, as also in *Nj-k3.w-R'*, the musicians are represented but the dancers are omitted.


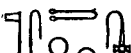
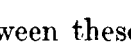






In our excavations, the oldest certainly dated example of this scene of the festal banquet is that of *Dbhnj* (Fourth Dynasty, reign of King *Mn-k3.w-R'*), with *Nb-m-3ht*, *Shm-k3-R'*, and *Nj-k3.w-R'* in close succession. For the western cemetery of Giza, Junker gives *Špss-k3.f-'nh* and *S3m-njr* as the oldest examples.

THE ROYAL OFFERING-LISTS

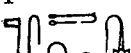

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROYAL LISTS.—THE ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL LISTS

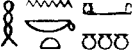
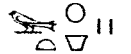

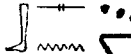



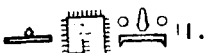
We have already spoken about the royal offering-list, and the part it played in the formation of the private lists. It now remains for us to examine these royal lists themselves. Dr. Junker in "Giza", Vol. II, (p. 80, ff.), has given a good resumé of the essential formation of these royal lists, but as he was writing prior to the publication of Jequier's discoveries in the Pyramid complex of *Ppjj II*, he was necessarily without the additional evidence afforded by the Temple lists of *Ppjj Njr-k3-R'*, the list of Queen *Nt*, and even the fragmentary lists of Queen *Ipwt* and Queen *Wdbtn*.

We have already remarked that there was a close similarity between the canonical lists and the royal list, but let us now see exactly where some essential differences lay. In one list only, that of *Njr-k3-R'* 'A', we have a preliminary group of four entries (Pyramid Texts, lines 9 C-10 C), the first of which is $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏}}$ and seems to be a general heading for offerings, and may perhaps correspond to the *htp-dj-njswt.*, which occurs at the beginning of some of the private lists. Then follows *mw nmst* $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ and *mw ds* $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ then *mw swr* $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$.

Up to the present these entries have only appeared in one royal list, that of *Nfr-k3-R'* 'A'. The other royal lists, with the exception of that of *Ttj*, now commence with *st*  followed by *sntr*  (Pyramid Texts, line 16 *D*-18 *D*), the normal commencement of the private canonical list. But between these entries and *stj-hb*    , which in the canonical list follows them, we now have a set of 78 entries (Pyramid Texts, lines 23*B*-48*A* + twenty-four new entries on a fragment of the list of *Nfr-k3-R'* published by Jequier (*see* lists and index). These seventy-eight entries are grouped as follows: First are twelve items of different kinds of natron (Pyramid Texts, lines 23*B*-27*E*), then incense in pellets (Pyramid Texts, line 90 of Queen *Nt*, and line 27 of *Wdbtn*), and the rite of 'Opening the Mouth' (Pyramid Text, line 30*A*, *Nt*, line 94, *Wdbtn*, line 30). These are followed by eleven different kinds of liquids, and in most cases the vessel in which they are contained is mentioned (Pyramid Texts, lines 32*A*-37*A*). Then comes an offering-table (?) *dsrt* , followed by two kinds of bread, and the *shn*-meat   and four kinds of wine or beer in special vessels (Pyramid Texts, lines 37 *D*-40 *B*). This last group contains the essential items of a simple meal, bread, meat and drink.

So far, these entries are the same as those we have seen in the great private lists of the late Sixth Dynasty, but now we come to a set of purely royal entries, consisting of garments weapons, sceptres and ornaments (Pyramid Texts, lines 41*A*-48 *A*) twenty-four entries which were among the new material found by Jequier, and of which most also occur in the list of Queen *Nt*, but owing to their fragmentary condition, we cannot say if they had any place in the lists of *Ipwt* and *Wdbtn*. This latter group does not, as we have already seen, occur in any private list so far discovered.

Then comes the second half of the royal list, which is practically the same as the canonical private lists (Pyramid Texts, lines 50*B*-100*F*). The lists of *Wnis*, *Ttj*, and *Nfr-k3-R'* 'A', all omit the  *sntr-h* and  *kbhw-t*, which are Nos. 13 and 14 of the canonical list, and Dr. Junker thought that these entries were lacking in the royal lists. Nevertheless, they are certainly found in *Nt* (lines 159-165), while in the Temple lists of *Nfr-k3-R'* their places are damaged, and therefore we cannot say if they existed or not. If, indeed, they did not exist in any of the kingly lists, then we must assume that they were added to the list of *Nt* as items borrowed from the private lists, which is not strange, as *Nt* was not a queen reigning in her own right, as was Queen *Hnt-kw.s*, and later the great *H3.t-spsw.t*, and the status of Queen *Nt* would not have been any higher than that of Queen *Mrs-'nh III*, who possessed one of our earliest examples of the canonical private lists. If, on the other hand, these items of *Sntr-h* and *kbhw-t* really existed in the Temple lists of *Nfr-k3-R'*, then we may ask if they did not also occur in other royal lists now lost to us, because there are some differences between these Temple lists of *Nfr-k3-R'* and that which occurs in his pyramid, the former being considerably shorter than the latter.

The lists of *Wnis*, *Ttj* and *Nfr-k3-R'* 'B' and 'C', terminate with *hnkt* , No. 90 of the canonical list; but *Nfr-k3-R'* 'A', *Nt* and *Wdbtn* continue with a third group of entries (Pyramid Texts, lines 101 *F*-114, lines 283-301 of *Nt* and lines 216-223 of *Wdbtn*). These entries comprise some of the old material of the early lists, such as *t-wr*   *bsn*  , while others are repetitions of some of the canonical entries, such as *bsbt*   " *htp wsht*, etc.", .

This corresponds to the Archaic items which are sometimes slipped into the private lists, and the repetitions which may also occur at the end of such lists.

Thus, it will be seen that the royal lists are divided into two unequal parts, each of which forms a perfect list in itself. The first part, which contains the names of the stone vases and their contents, reminds us of the Archaic vase lists, but the corresponding cloth-list is lacking, although it remained in use in the private tombs until as late as the beginning of the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, and even survived in a simplified form in some of the private Tombs of the Fifth Dynasty, such as *K3.j-swḏ3.w* (see above, p. 76). The correspondence between the second part of the royal list and the canonical list is, as we have already remarked, too striking to admit of any other explanation than that of a common origin, and as we have suggested, the private lists must have been borrowed from the royal model. The only objection still remaining to this theory is the presence of Nos. 16 and 17 of the canonical lists, *ḥtp njswt* and *ḥtp-wsht*, which occur in the royal lists. If we take *ḥtp-dj njswt* in its original meaning of 'may the King be gracious and give', or even in its other meaning of offerings presented by the King, it would be meaningless in a royal list, as the King could hardly be gracious to himself, and present himself with offerings! In this light, the presence of these entries in the royal lists would suggest a blind copying from a private model. But we must remark that at an early date *ḥtp-dj njswt* meant simply the offering rite (see above, p. 81) and it is in this sense that it is incorporated into the royal lists.

Furthermore, the royal lists contained, in addition to certain items peculiarly their own, all the entries as far as No. 90 of the canonical list as it was evolved at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Later, some of the private lists added to their material still more items from the royal lists, rejecting only those which were of no use to them, as being exclusively royal. Thus, we see in the kingly lists a model from which the private persons chose as many items as they needed for their own use. There remains the question of when did the royal list as we know it come into existence? We have seen that during the course of the Fourth Dynasty, great changes were taking place in the private lists, and a conscious attempt was made to evolve a systematic redaction. Such an evolution is also to be expected in the case of the royal lists, but the fact that these latter remained stable from the time of *Wn3's* at the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the finish of the Old Kingdom, shows that the period of transition, such as we see the private lists passing through, during the Fourth Dynasty, must have taken place long before. We must also allow a little time to elapse before the private persons would have modelled their lists upon those of the King; and thus, when we see that *Dbḥnj*, whose tomb dates from the reign of King *Mn-k3.w-R'*, has one of the earliest canonical lists known to us, we may assume that this form of list had already been in existence for some time in the royal funerary monuments, and it is to be much regretted that no written royal lists of this period have come down to us. We have proof that an offering-list occurred in the chapel of the pyramid of Queen *Ḥnt-k3.w.s* (see above, p. 77), and that there were lists in the Mortuary Temples of *S3ḥw-R'* and *Nj-wsr-R'* (see above). But the lack of such evidence for the Fourth Dynasty does not necessarily mean that such lists were lacking. During our tenth season's work, I discovered slabs of white limestone from the Mortuary Temple of King *Ḥwfw*, bearing sculptured scenes and inscriptions relating to the *ḥb-sd* festival of *Ḥwfw*, although it had always been thought that the Great Pyramid was devoid of inscriptions, and consequently the story told by Herodotus of the inscribed casing stones was generally discredited on that account. As a matter of fact, the guides of the 'Father of History' told him that the subject of these inscriptions was

the vast quantities of food issued to the workmen employed in the building of the pyramid (Herodotus, Book II, 124). This is most unlikely to have been the truth, but it is tempting to speculate if this inscription was not in reality an offering-list, misunderstood either by the guides themselves, or by Herodotus (1). The slabs which I discovered were very few, owing to the temple having been used as a convenient quarry since ancient times, and so far, no fragment of an offering-list has come to light among them (2). But analogy with the sculptures in the corresponding situation in the temples of Abusîr and Sakkâra, led us to suspect that an offering-list would have occurred in the Mortuary Temple of *Hwfw*. Furthermore, those persons who had the earliest editions of the canonical list, which so closely approached that of *Wni's*, are Prince *H'f-Hwfw*, the son of *Hwfw*, Queen *Mr.s-nh*, the granddaughter of *Hwfw*, and wife of *H'j-f-R'* (?) and *Mn-k3w-R'*, and *Dbhnj*, a royal favourite, whose tomb and therefore its equipment, was the gift of King *Mn-k3w-R'*.


Thus, we may assume that the royal lists, as we know them, were in existence at least as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, but the absence of the detailed cloth-list, and the debased form of the vase-list, suggest that it was not existing in this form since the early Archaic Period. Perhaps, like the private lists, it had undergone an editing, but at some time a little before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, and from some pre-existing model from which the early private lists had also drawn their material but which, in their entirety, are lost to us. Thus, perhaps, was evolved the royal offering-lists of the Pyramid Texts. This would explain the presence of the two main parts of the list, each of which is complete in itself, and also the repetitions, which, as in the case of the private lists, had crept in through the inclusion of more than one pre-existing traditional group of offerings.


(1) Especially when we see that onions were mentioned, which also occur twice in the royal offering-lists.

(2) As the excavator of the Mortuary Temple of Khufw, I was naturally somewhat astonished to see that M. Lauer has published an article on this building in A.S., XLVI (pp. 245-261). This article was written without my knowledge or permission. But had M. Lauer approached me on the subject, I should have been happy to provide him with the notes which I myself made on the spot, as it is only the excavator who has watched the work proceed step by step and observed the details, who is in the position to give the real facts of the case. With this information at his disposal, M. Lauer would have been able to produce an article without the necessity of relying so much on fantastic, imaginary evidence, and without depreciating the work of my architect, Fawzi Ibrahim Eff., whose plan professed to do no more than show a general idea of the monument. This plan I have used in Vol. IV of my "Excavations at Giza", reserving the detailed plan for the publication of my tenth season's work at Giza, which, I hope, will appear in due course in its chronological order

A HISTORY OF THE OFFERING-LISTS IN OUR MATERIAL

The Lists of the Fourth Dynasty

1.—Ms-sj 

Title:  "Scribe of the Divine Book."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1422).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, "*Denkmaler des Altenreiches*", p. 103.

Remarks.—Although this list is a selective one, containing only twenty-four entries, it is clear that these are not drawn from the private canonical list, both by reason of the inclusion of some Archaic entries, and the general arrangement of the items.

2.—Hwtj 

Title:  "Inspector of the Scribes of the House of Distribution of the Offerings."

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door of *Hwtj*, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1392).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, *ibid*, p. 53; see also PORTER and MOSS, "*Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, III, Memphis*", p. 104, where it is stated that the position of the Tomb of *Hwtj* is now uncertain.

Remarks.—Like the list of *Ms-sj*, that of *Hwtj* is a selective one but contains forty-seven entries, many of which are drawn from the older lists. The arrangement of the items also follows the type of the older lists. All the meat entries have been deleted, but the names of game animals and cattle seem to replace them.


3.—SNERW-SNB 


Titles:  "Sm-priest"  "Director of the Kilt, etc."

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of a false-door (?). Now in the Cairo Museum (No. 43292).

Remarks.—This list is inscribed in high relief on a rectangular slab of fine white limestone. It accompanies a scene depicting the deceased clad in a long, tight-fitting robe, seated at an offering-table. The list contains seventy-five entries, many of which are from the older material.


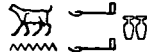
4.—Sš.t-ḥtp 

Title:  “King’s Son of His Body.”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 25; JUNKER, “Giza”, Vol. III, p. 74.

Remarks.—This list contains sixty-nine entries, some of which belong to the older lists, as for instance  *ibr-oil* and  *kn-wj*. This list accompanies an offering-scene, where the priests are shown performing the rites of the funerary repast in front of the offering-table of the deceased.

5.—Nfr-njsw.t 

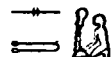
Title:  “Ruler of the Domain.”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list and its accompanying offering-scene, which were copied from the southern wall of the chapel of *Sš.t-ḥtp*, occupy a similar situation in the chapel of *Nfr-njsw.t*.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 75.

Remarks.—Having been copied from that of *Sš.t-ḥtp*, this list naturally resembles the former, both in the number and variety of its offerings.

6.—Stw 

Title:  “Director of the Palace.”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door of *Stw* which is now in the Berlin Museum.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 87, (see also PORTER AND MOSS, “*Memphis*”, p. 31).

Remarks.—This list is also a selective one, and contains only twenty-four entries. Nevertheless it can be seen that these entries are beginning to follow the canonical lists to a certain extent.

7.—K₃-NJ-NJSWT  (A SON OF KING SNFRW)

Title:  “King’s Son.”

Provenance.—Giza.



Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel of *K₃-nj-njswt*, which has been removed bodily to the Kunsthistorischer Museum, Vienna.

Publication.—JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 155.

For a full bibliography of this tomb, see PORTER AND MOSS, “*Bibliography III*”, p. 27, ff.

Remarks.—This list of seventy-two entries is arranged somewhat in the canonical manner.






8.—SŠM-NFR 

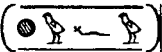

Title:   “Royal Director in the Palace of King *Hr-Hpr (Dd.-R)* (1).”




Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the chapel of *Sšm nfr*, opposite to his false-door.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 28.

Remarks.—This list contains seventy-two entries arranged in the canonical manner, although the first twelve items are omitted. It is one of the first to include the ritual entries at the end, No. 82    *ih_t nb bnr.t*, No. 83  *Rnpwt nb.t* and No. 84  *hnk.t*. Beside this list, but entirely separate from it, is a list of linen and utensils, following the style of the archaic and early Fourth Dynasty lists.

9 AND 10.—H₃.j.F-HWFW  

Title:    “King’s Son of His Body.”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—List ‘A’ is inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel, while list ‘B’, is inscribed upon the panel of the false-door.

(1) See JUNKER, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 75, p. 71.

Publication.—DARESSY, “*A.S.*”, Vol. XVI, pp. 263, 265.

Remarks.—Both lists are clearly following the canonical form. List ‘A’ (No. 9 *P*) lacks the first fifteen entries, and terminates on $\int \overline{\text{O}} \text{SK} \text{O} \text{I}$ (No. 89 of the canonical list). List ‘B’ (No. 10 *P*) contains only thirty-one entries, taken chiefly from the latter half of the canonical list.

11.—DBHJN $\equiv \int \text{K} \text{M} \text{M}$

Title : $\int \overline{\text{O}} \text{SK} \text{O} \text{I}$, “Sole Confidant.”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—The list accompanies a very interesting scene representing the funerary rites of the tomb-owner, and occurs on the southern wall of the inner chapel.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV. p. 176. For a full bibliography of this tomb, see PORTER AND MOSS, “*Bib. III*”, pp. 62, 63.

Remarks.—This list which can be dated with certainty to the reign of King *Mn-k3.w-R* (see the biographical inscription of *Dbhjn*, *ibid*) is one of the earliest canonical lists we have. It is noteworthy for the methodical arrangement of its entries, and the interesting little determinatives which occupy a separate space below their respective items. The list contains ninety-three entries.

12.—QUEEN MR.S-’NH III $\text{K} \text{I} \text{O}$

Titles : $\int \text{O}$ “King’s Wife.” $\text{K} \text{I} \text{O}$ “King’s Daughter.”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list is modelled upon a layer of pink plaster covering the southern wall of the chapel of Queen *Mr.s-’nh*.

Publication.—REISNER, “*B.M.A.*”, October 1927, pp. 66–79.

Remarks.—Unfortunately this list is very badly damaged, owing to the plaster facing of the wall having scaled off. The entries which remain are arranged in the canonical order (see also p. 154).

13.—K3-M-NFR.T $\text{U} \text{K} \text{O} \text{O}$

Title : $\int \text{A} \text{I} \text{O} \text{M} \text{M} \text{K} \text{I} \text{O}$ “President of the Shipyard (?) (1).”

Provenance.—Giza.


(1) See BADAWI, “*Denkmaler aus Sakkarah*”, *A.S.*, Vol. XL, p. 608, *f*.

Situation.—This list occupies nearly the whole surface of the false-door of *K3-m-nfrt*, the exception being the panel. I have dated it to the late Fourth Dynasty by reason of the fact that *K3-m-nfrt* was the priest of Queen *Rhj.t-R'*, a daughter of *H'j.f-R'*, and seems to have been contemporary with her.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—This list, which is strictly canonical in arrangement, contains ninety-three entries.


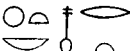
14.— 3H.T-HP 


Title :  “Overseer of the Scribes of the Pyramid (called) ‘The Horizon of *Hwfw*’.”

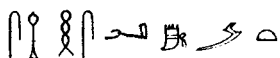
Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the massive architrave running along the western wall of the chapel, and supporting the roofing slabs. When first discovered, its inscriptions were coated over by a thick layer of yellow mud.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. 1, p. 77.

Remarks.—I have dated this list to the late Fourth Dynasty by reason of certain peculiarities, such as the form of the false-doors, and the style of their decoration. But in the absence of other more definite proof, this dating is only tentative. In any case, the canonical arrangement of the entries in the offering-list speaks for the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty. The list contains eighty-nine entries, and terminates with *stp*  followed by  (?).

15.— R'-MRRJ-PTH 


Title :  “Inspector of the Singers of . . . (?) (1).”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the inner jambs and the door-niche of the false-door of *R'-mrrj-Pth*. It is dated by Mariette to the Fourth Dynasty.

Publication.—MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, pp. 154, 155.

Remarks.—The list contains ninety-eight entries, which are arranged in the canonical order.

16.— Hw-WJ-PTH 

Title :  “Overseer of the Artisans.”

Provenance.—Unknown.


(1) See *W.B.*, V, 308.

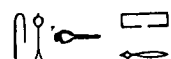
Situation.—This list is inscribed upon a limestone offering-table, which was at one time in the possession of King Leopold II of Belgium, and is now in the Brussels Museum.

Publication.—SPEELERS, “*Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptienne des Musées Royaux du Cinquontenaire à Bruxelles*”, p. 5.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries arranged in the canonical order.

THE LISTS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY

17.—Ns-M-Nj.w 


Title:  “Inspector of the Physicians of the Great House.”

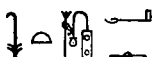
Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 92 *E*. For a full bibliography, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid.*, p. 52.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-seven entries, and, in general, follows the canonical list. Its salient characteristic is the strange writing of some of the determinatives.

18.—KjJ 

Title:  (1) “Scribe of the King’s Documents.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

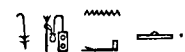
Publication.—JUNKER, “*Gîza*”, Vol. III, p. 135.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-one entries, which follow the canonical form; these are followed by the names of cattle and game animals, and a repetition of some of the poultry items.

19.—Kj-NJ-NJSWT II 

Title:  “Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt.”


Provenance.—Gîza.


(1) Variant: .

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 154, Fig. 22.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-two entries arranged in the canonical order.




20 AND 21.—SŠM-NFR II I 


Title:  “Overseer of the Scribes of the King’s Documents.”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 20) is inscribed upon the eastern wall of the chapel of *Sšm-nfr*, while list ‘B’ (No. 21) occupies a space on the western wall of the same chapel, lying between the two false-doors.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 101.

Remarks.—Both lists contain ninety-two entries and are arranged in the canonical order. The writing of the entries is remarkably consistent in both lists, the most notable variation being No. 93 *hst wdhw*, which in No. 20 is determined by , but in No. 21 has no determinative at all. In both lists, No. 53  *ht*-bread, and No. 92  *phr* are omitted.

22.—K3.J-SWD3 (W) I 

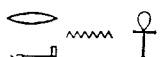
Title:  “Overseer of the Commissions.”

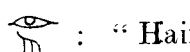
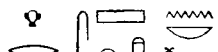
Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 85. For a full bibliography of this tomb, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, p. 38.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-one entries, and unless the copyist employed by Lepsius is at fault, it contains some unusual features in an otherwise canonical list.

23 AND 24.—NJ-‘NH-R’ 

Titles:  : “Hairdresser”.  “Master of the Secrets of His Lord (Secretary).”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

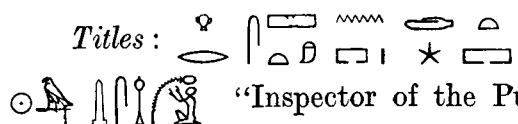

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 23) occurs on the jambs of the false-door of *Nj-‘nh-R’*, while list ‘B’ (No. 24) occurs upon a slab of limestone found in the same tomb, but of which the original position is uncertain. The top of the slab is missing. Both slab and false-door are now in the British Museum.

Publication.—SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, “*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum*”, Vol. I, Pl. 25, Nos. 98, 83.

Remarks.—According to the British Museum publication, these lists are to be dated to the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty and Mariette gives the date as uncertain. But there is nothing in the actual lists to favour the theory of a Sixth Dynasty dating for these monuments, and we may let them pass for Fifth Dynasty work.

As the originals are not available for study at the time of writing, we are forced to rely upon the published hand copy mentioned above. Therefore, it is a question if the many variant writings are due to the ancient scribe or the modern copyist.

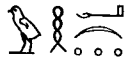
25, 26. and 27.—HNMW-HTP 

Titles:  “Master of the Secrets (Secretary) of the Toilet-House.”
 “Inspector of the Purificators of the Sun-Temple.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.


Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 25) occurs upon the eastern wall of the chapel. List ‘B’ (No. 26) is on the southern wall, while list ‘C’ (No. 27), is on the panel of the false-door, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1433).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, “*Denkmaler des Altenreiches*”, p. 104 (for list ‘C’ No. 27); DUMICHEN, “*Der Grabpalast des Patuamenemapt in der thebanischen Nekropolis*”, Pls. XVIII-XXVI (for lists ‘A’ and ‘B’, Nos. 25 and 26). PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, pp. 165-166.

Remarks.—The position of Tomb of *Hnmw-htp*, which was numbered D.49 by Mariette is now unknown, and many of its parts have been dispersed to various museums (*see* PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*). List ‘A’ contains eighty-four entries, while list ‘B’ has only eighty entries. Although both the lists occur on the walls of the same chapel, there are some discrepancies between them, and even the items deleted are not the same in both lists. List ‘C’, being inscribed upon the panel, has only sixty-nine entries, and terminates with No. 87  w’h “carob-beans”, which is, of course, the last real food entry in the list. The items deleted are as follows:—

Canonical numbering Nos. 13-15, 27-30, 42-44, 55-57, 66-68, 77-79.

From this we can see that the deletion was made systematically. Thus the scribe wrote the first twelve items in the list, then deleted the next three. Then he wrote down another twelve consecutive entries and deleted three. Next he wrote eleven entries in sequence, deleted three, wrote another ten consecutive entries, deleted three, wrote eight entries, deleted three, wrote another eight entries, deleted three, wrote a further eight entries, which took him to the end of the actual food-list (No. 87) and deleted all the remainder of the list.

28.—K3.J-SWD3 (w) II 


Title :  “Master of the Secrets of King *Mn-k3.w-R'*.”


Provenance.—Unknown.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon an isolated slab of limestone, which is now in the Berlin Museum.

Publication.—SCHÄFER, “*Agyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*”, p. 35, No. 7969.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-six entries, of which Nos. 65–67 are written in a single rectangle.

29.—NFR-IRIT-N.F 


Title :  “Judge and Inspector of Scribes.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel, which has been removed bodily to the Brussels Museum.

Publication.—DE WALLE, “*Le Mastaba de Nefer-irit-nef*”, p. 67, ff. For a full bibliography, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, pp. 167, 168.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-two entries.

30.—'NH-IRJ.S 

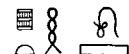
Title :  “Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the jambs of the false-door of 'nh-irj.s which is now in the Cairo Museum.

Publication.—MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pls. XVIII, XIX.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-four entries.

31.—W3Š-PTH 

Title :  “Chief Ritualist.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

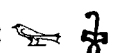
Situation.—This list occurs on the western wall of the chapel, occupying a space immediately above the upper lintel of the false-door.

Publication.—MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, pp. 268, 269. For a full bibliography of this tomb, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, p. 106.

Remarks.—The owner of this offering-list was the famous *W3s'-Pth*, who lived during the reign of King *Nfr-ir-k3-R'*.

The dramatic account of his death and funeral were recorded in the tomb by his son (SETHE, “*Urkunden*”, Vol. I, pp. 40–45). This tomb has been removed to the Copenhagen Museum (see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*). The list contains ninety entries, which in the original were arranged to read vertically instead of the more usual horizontal style. Each row terminates in the name of the tomb-owner, which is placed in a rectangle, as though it were an entry.

32 AND **33**.—TSN  (or: ITSN)


Title:  “Great of the Ten of Upper Egypt.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Both lists are inscribed on the western wall of the chapel, and each occurs to the north of a false-door. List A (No. **32**) is beside the southern door, while list ‘B’ occupies a similar position in regard to the northern false-door.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, Fig. 126.

Remarks.—List ‘A’ (No. **32**) contains eighty-nine entries written in rectangles, but Nos. 91, *gsw*, and 94, *stp*, are inscribed in larger characters and placed outside the list.

34.—MRSW-[']NH 

Title:  “Companion of *R'-wr*.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed on the northern wall of the chapel, which is also the front wall of the serdab, which lies behind it.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. I, p. 113.

Remarks.—The list of *Mrsw-'nh* contains ninety-three entries, the writing of some of which is unusual.

35.—WR-HWW  (or: HWJ-WJ-WR)

Title:  “Judge and Overseer of Scribes.”

Provenance.—Gîza.


Situation.—Inscribed on the northern side of a large niche in the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, pp. 251–252. For a full bibliography, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, pp. 58, 59.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries, and in general follows the canonical form.

There is another list on the southern side of the same niche in the Chapel of *Wr-hww* which is abnormal in form, and which we will treat with other abnormal lists (see p. 154).

36.—IRW 


Title:  “Overseer of the Storehouse of the King’s Breakfast.”

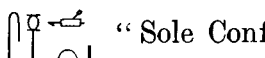
Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list occupies that part of the western wall of the chapel which lies between the two false-doors.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. III, p. 65.

Remarks.—This list is damaged at the beginning, but seems to have contained ninety-four entries. The part which is preserved commences at the second appearance of *t-rth*, but has not any abnormalities to call for comment.

37.—TJJ 


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”

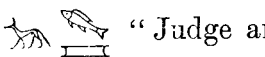
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—The list is inscribed on the southern wall of the chapel of the famous Tomb of *Tjj* at Sakkâra.

Publication.—STEINDORFF, “*Der Grab des Ti*”, Pl. 126. For a full bibliography, see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, p. 116, ff.

Remarks.—This list, which is very finely sculptured, contains ninety-three entries.

38 AND 39.—WSR-NTR 


Title:  “Judge and Nome Administrator.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 38) occurs on the northern wall of the chapel while list ‘B’ (No. 39) occurs on the southern wall.

Publication.—MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pls. XXI, XXIII. See also PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*, p. 153.

Remarks.—List ‘A’ contains ninety-two entries, while list ‘B’ contains ninety-three entries. An interesting feature of these lists are the carefully drawn determinatives which occupy a special rectangle below their respective entries. The tomb in which these lists occur has been sold to the Chicago Museum (see PORTER and MOSS, *ibid*).

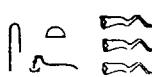
40.—NFR-BJ.W-P_{TH} 

Title :  “King’s Purificator.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

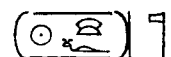
Situation.—This list occurs on the western wall of the inner chapel.

Publication.—*L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl, 58. See also PORTER AND MOSS, *ibid*, pp. 11-15.

Remarks.—The list contains ninety-three canonical entries, at the end of which are inscribed some conventional ‘offerings in thousands’. The hieroglyphs in this list are all coloured dark blue, except *stp*  and the ‘offerings in thousands’ just mentioned, all of which are painted in their natural colours.

This seems to be analogous to the last entries in the lists of *Tsn*, which were given prominence by being inscribed in larger characters, and placed outside the rectangles (see lists Nos. 32, 33).

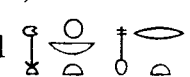
41.—KJ-KJ.J-‘NH 


Title :  “Priest of *H’j.f-R’* (Khafra).”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—The list is engraved upon a circular offering-table of limestone, at one time set before the false-door of *In-kj.f* the Sculptor (for the history of the wandering of this offering-table, see “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. VI, Part III). There was also a second list inscribed in the Tomb of *Kj-kj.j-nh* (on the front wall of the serdab) but only a small fragment of this list remains.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-six entries, and is the first in our material to include the item *pdw*. At the end of the list is added . “A thousand of every good thing every day” which is placed in a rectangle as though it were an entry.

42.—SHM-KJ.J 

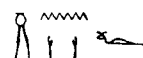
Title :  "Judge and Mouth of *Nhn* of the Great Court."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door of *Shm-kj.j*.

Publication.—MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. VII.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries, which are arranged to read vertically instead of horizontally.

43.—IN-KJ.F 


Title :  "Sculptor of the *W'bt*-House."


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the jambs of the false-door.

Publication.—"Excavations at Gîza", Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—The list is badly damaged, but seems to have contained about seventy-eight entries.

44.—IN-KJ.F 

Title :  "Priest of *H'j.f-R*."


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed on an isolated slab of limestone found in the burial-chamber. A curious feature to be noted is the fact that the slab of stone was damaged before the list was inscribed upon it. The top right-hand corner has been broken off, and when drawing up the list, the scribe had allowed for this by making the top row of rectangles less in number, and increasing the number in each row, as the slope of the breakage descended, until at last he was able to employ the full width of the slab.

Publication.—"Excavations at Gîza", Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—This list, which is perfectly preserved, contains ninety-three entries.

45 AND 46.—KJ.J-SWDJ.W, III 

Title :  "Attached to Fair-is-the-Face" (*i.e.* the crown).

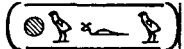

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—List 'A' (No. 45) is inscribed upon the upper part of the northern wall of the chapel of *K3.j.swd3.w* in our excavations at Giza. List 'B' is inscribed upon a slab of limestone, which was found in the burial-chamber of the same tomb.

Publication.—"Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—List 'A' contains ninety-three entries, while list 'B' contains ninety-five entries. At the end of list 'B' are some 'offerings in thousands' and an abbreviated linen list.

47.—I_J-MRJJ II 

Title:   "Priest of *Hwfw*."


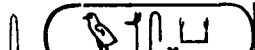
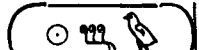

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—L.D. Ergänzbund IV.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries, which do not show any special peculiarities.

48.—N-HFT-K3.J 

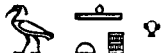
Title:     "Purificator of the Sun-temple of King *Wsr-k3-f*, Purificator of the Court of the Pyramid of King *S3hw-R*."

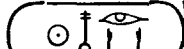

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the door-niche of the false-door of *N-hft-k3.j*, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1484).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, "Denkmaler des Altenreiches", p. 181. See also PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 165.

Remarks.—None of the entries in this list calls for special mention here.

49.—H_TP-H_R-3HT.J 

Title:   "Priest of King *Nfr-ir-k3-R*."

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door, which, together with the rest of the mastaba, is now in the Leyden Museum.

Publication.—BOESER, "Agyptische Sammlung Denkmaler des Altenreiches", Atlas, Pl. XVII.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-seven entries.


50.—VIENNA No. 3


Provenance.—Unknown.

Situation.—It is inscribed upon three fragments of limestone, which are now in the Vienna Museum (No. 3).

Publication.—WRESZINSKI, “*Agyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien*”, pp. 2, 3.

Remarks.—This list, the name of the owner of which is lost, contains eighty-nine entries, all the rites following *rnput nb.t* being omitted.


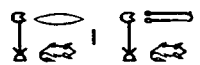

51 AND 52.—‘NH-M’-KJ.J 

Titles :  ” Priest of the Pyramid of Nj-wsr-R’, Priest of the Sun-temple of Wsr-k3-f.”

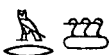
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Both lists are inscribed upon the side panels of the false-door of ‘nh-m’-k3.j, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1485).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, “*Denkmaler des Altenreiches*”, pp. 183, 184.

Remarks.—At the end of list ‘A’ (No. 51) is inscribed : , while at the end of list ‘B’ (No. 52) we have only . At the bottom of each entry in the last row is inscribed  “For ‘nh-m’-k3.j.”


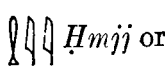



53.—TJJ = QQ

Title :  “Overseer of the Fowling-marsh.”

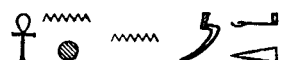
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

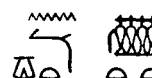
Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the inner jambs of the false-door, which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1380).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, *ibid*, pp. 39-41.

Remarks.—The mastaba in which this list was inscribed was constructed in the Fourth Dynasty for a man named TJJ = QQ, who held the office of  “Overseer of the Fowling-marsh.” Later, in the Fifth, or even the Sixth Dynasty, it was usurped by a woman named  Hmjj or  Hm-R’, whose titles were  “King’s Sole Curt-lady” and  “Overseer of the Harem.” The alteration of the scenes and inscriptions has been very crudely done.

The list contains ninety entries.

54.—N_J-N_H-M_J.t 


Title :  "He Who is in Front of the Throne."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list commences at the right-hand side of the panel of the false-door, and continues on the left-hand side. In the centre of the panel is a brief selection of offerings, including an abbreviated linen list, similar to those of the Archaic Period and early Fourth Dynasty, but the first numbers in this linen list are not in sequence. This false-door is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1465).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, *ibid*, p. 153.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries.

55.—K_J.J 


Title :  "Chief Justice and Vizier."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—The list is inscribed upon the upper lintel of the false-door.

Publication.—MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 231.

Remarks.—This list contains only seventy entries, none of which calls for special mention, here.

56.—S_HM-N_H-P_TH 


Title :  "Director of the Hall of Food."


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—"Excavations at Gîza", Vol. II, p. 44.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries.

57.—K_J.J-PW-R' 


Title :  "Priest of the Pyramid (called) 'Beauty of King Issi'."

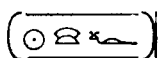

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, p. 273.

Remarks.—This list contains only fifty-seven entries, none of which calls for any special mention here.

58.—K₁-DW₁ 

Title :   “Priest of Khafra (*H'j-f-R'*).”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the upper part of the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—As the end of this list is destroyed, we cannot say how many entries it had contained. The first fifty-one items which are preserved are quite normal.

59.—ŠDW 

Title :  “Sole confidant.”


Provenance.—Deshasheh.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of a large niche in the chapel of Šdw.

Publication.—PETRIE, “*Deshasheh*”, Pl. XX.

Remarks.—The list contains sixty-seven entries and displays some curious variations in its arrangement, some of which may, however, be due to local custom.

60.—INT.J 

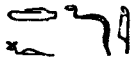
Title :  “Overseer of the King's Monuments (?).”


Provenance.—Deshasheh.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of a large recess in the chapel of Intj.

Publication.—PETRIE, *ibid*, Pl. VIII.

Remarks.—This list contains only twenty-five entries and presents some interesting variations, but does not at all follow the canonical arrangement, except in the choice of the items. It commences with *htp-njsut* and *htp-wsht*, a reminiscence of the older lists of the Fourth Dynasty. Of the seven holy oils only *hknw* (?) *sft*, *tw:t* and *h:t-Thnw* are retained, and even these are out of their regular order, and are scattered about among the other items.


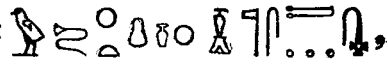
61.—DfDj 


Title:  “Inspector of the Physicians of . . .”

Provenance.—Sakkâra (?).

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon a circular offering-table of limestone, which is now in the Leyden Museum.

Publication.—BOESER, “*Agyptische Sammlung Denkmaler des Altenreiches*”, Atlas, Pl. XXVIII.

Remarks.—The list contains ninety-three entries, and is the first in our material to include the ritual entry . At the end of the list is inscribed: , all contained in a rectangle as though it were an item.

62.—PRINCE K3.J-M-R' 

Title:  “King's Eldest Son of His Body.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

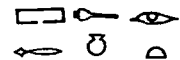
Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, p. 180 (see PORTER and MOSS “*Bib. III*”, p. 154).

Remarks.—In the winter of 1907–1908, this mastaba was dismantled and removed to the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

The beginning of the list is destroyed, therefore, we cannot say how many entries it had originally contained. The portion which remains shows several peculiarities of arrangement.


63.—W3š-Dw3w 


Title:  “Oculist of the Great House.”

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list occupies the upper part of the western wall of the Chapel of *W3š-Dw3w* in our excavations at Gîza (ninth season's work, unpublished). On neither of the two false-doors in this tomb is there the usual abridged offering-list.

Remarks.—This list contains eighty-six entries, some of which do not follow the canonical arrangement.

64.—NFR-ḤTP 

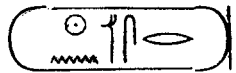

Title:  "Overseer of the K₃-servants."

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list occupies that part of the upper western wall of the chapel which lies between the second and third false-doors in the Mastaba of *Nfr-ḥtp* in our excavations at Giza (ninth season, unpublished).

Remarks.—The number of the entries cannot be known as the beginning of the list is destroyed. The remaining entries do not present any points of special interest.

65.—Ḥmw 

Title:   "Priest of King *Nj-wsr-R*."

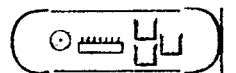

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel of *Ḥmw* in our excavations at Giza.

Publication.—"Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, Part III.

Remarks.—The beginning of the list is destroyed, and thus we cannot tell the number of the entries.

66.—Ḥnw 

Title:   "Priest of King *Mn-k₃.w-R*."



Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel of *Ḥnw* in our excavations at Giza.

Publication.—"Excavations at Giza", Vol. II, p. 166.

Remarks.—This list accompanies an offering-scene, but there is no offering-scene, on the panel of the false-door. The beginning of the list is lost.

67.—M₃-NFR 

Title:   "Assistant Priest of the Pyramid of King *Dd k₃-R* (*Issi*)."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—SCHÄFER, “*Agyptische Inschriftens zu Berlin*”, pp. 105–107. Also *L.D.*, Vol. II, Pls. 69, 70.

Remarks.—The entrance to this chapel and the chapel itself have been removed to the Berlin Museum.


The list contains ninety-three entries, each of which is determined by a carefully drawn sign placed in a special rectangle below each item. An identical list exists on the northern wall of the same chapel.

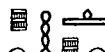
68.—PTH-ḤTP-IJJ-N-‘NH 

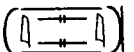
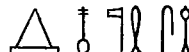
Title :  |  “Priest of King *Ssh.w-R*.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the upper part of the northern wall of the chapel of *Pth-ḥtp-Ijj-n-‘nh* in our excavations at Sakkâra (unpublished).

Remarks.—The list is badly damaged, owing to the fact that it was painted upon a layer of plaster, much of which has subsequently scaled off the wall. Underneath each entry is a miniature figure of a priest kneeling and holding a basin  or presenting the specified offering.

69.—PTH-ḤTP II 


Title :  |  “Inspector of the Priests of the Pyramid (called) ‘Beauty of King *Issi*’.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list occurs upon the western wall of the chapel. For many years it had been disfigured by a great hole caused by the loss of a large wedge-shaped piece of stone from the upper part of the wall. When we were cleaning and completely clearing this mastaba in 1937, we had the good fortune to recover this missing block of stone, and it is now replaced in its original position.

Publication.—For the full publication of this tomb, see DAVIES, “*The Mastaba of Pth-ḥtetep and Akhet-ḥetep at Sakkâra*”, Vols. I, II, For the offering-list, *ibid*, Vol. I, Pl. XXX.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries. The determinative for each entry a figure of a priest performing the rites and presenting the offering specified in the rectangle above him.


70.—Nj-Mj'.t-R' 

Title:  "Priest of the Sun-Temple *Sšp-ib-R'*."

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the southern wall of the chapel of *Nj-Mj'.t-R'* in our excavations.

Publication.—"Excavations at Giza", Vol. II, p. 221, Fig. 239.

Remarks.—Unfortunately this list is badly damaged, but it is interesting on account of the fact that it contains the first mention of the rite  which we have in our material, and also the rite 'breaking the red pottery' (see above, p. 92) items which do not otherwise appear in the lists until the Sixth Dynasty, although we have material evidence that the latter rite was performed in the burial-chamber at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty (see above, p. 13). This list also contains an early example of the naming of the different kinds of wine individually, a practice which became more common during the Sixth Dynasty.


71.—Sšm-nfr 

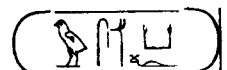
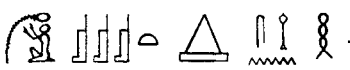
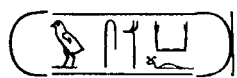

Title: (?).

Provenance.—Giza (from the tomb of a certain *Sšm-nfr*).

Situation.—Incised upon a large rectangular block of alabaster, now in the Cairo Museum (No. 60543). The situation of the tomb is not known.

Remarks.—This list is dated by the Cairo Museum to the Fourth Dynasty, but there is internal evidence in the writing of some of the entries, which makes a Fifth Dynasty dating necessary (see, for example, the table of bread determining No. 15, which does not seem to have appeared in this form before the Fifth Dynasty).



72.—Nj-kj.w-R' 

Titles:  |  "Inspector of the Singers of the Pyramid (called) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-*Wsr-kj.f*'."  |  "Priest of King *Wsr-kj.f*."

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern outer jamb of the false-door from the Tomb of *Nj-kj.w-R'*, the exact position of which tomb is now uncertain. This false-door is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 57173). It was discovered smashed to pieces, and when restored, has been wrongly put together, so that the correct sequence of the items in the offering-list has been destroyed.

73.—ITJ 

Titles :  “ King’s Purificator. ”  “ Judge and Scribe. ”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the part of the western wall of the chapel which lies between the two false-doors of the Chapel of *Itj*. It is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 57192).

Remarks.—This list is well cut, the signs being deeply incised in outline, with minute details, (such as the black mud sealings on red pottery jars, etc.) being painted in natural colours.


74 (?)


Provenance.—Unknown.

Situation.—Inscribed upon a rectangular slab of limestone, now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1503).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, “ *Denkmaler des Altenreiches* ”, p. 207.

Remarks.—According to the printed copy in the above-mentioned publication, this list contains several abnormal entries and faulty writings.


75.—H'-MRRW-PTH 


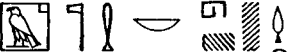
Title :  “ Royal Director. ”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the lower lintel of the false-door of *H'-mrrw-Pth*, and now in the Cairo Museum (No. 57126).

Publication.—MARIETTE, “ *Mastabas* ”, p. 119 (contains many errors).

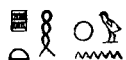
76.—HR-K3.W-NBTJ 


Titles :  “ Royal Relative. ”  “ Priestess of *Ht-hr*, Mistress of the Sycamore. ”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon a rock-cut architrave spanning the western wall of the Chapel of *Hr-k3.w-Nbtj* (REISNER G7836) commencing to the south of the false-door.

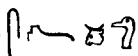
Remarks.—In order to obtain three rows of rectangles, all containing the same number of rectangles, the scribe has written the last three wine entries in a single square.

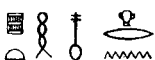
77.—HWJ-N-PTH 


Title:  “Royal Relative.”

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the Chapel of *Hwj-n-Pth* (REISNER G7246).


Remarks.—All the entries are carved in undetailed, incised characters, except the last  which is carved in a detailed relief (see above, p. 95).

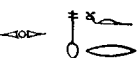
78.—NFR-HR.N-PTH 


Title:  “Judge and Usher(1).”

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the southern wall of the Chapel of *Nfr-hr.n-Pth* (REISNER G4311). Behind it lies the serdab.

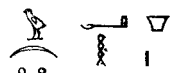
Remarks.—The list follows the canonical order until it reaches the second entry of , where it ends abruptly.

79.—MN.W-NFR 

Title:  “Overseer of the Missions.”

Provenance.—Gîza.

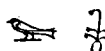
Situation.—Inscribed upon a loose slab (REISNER G 2421).

Remarks.—This list follows the normal canonical form, but terminates on  (displaced back), and thus omits all the ritualistic items which usually end the canonical lists.

(1) For a discussion of this title, see GARDINER, “*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*”, Vol. I, p. 60, No. 133.

THE OFFERING-LISTS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY


80.—H_{TPJ} 

Title:  “Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt.”

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—This list is written in black pigment on the inner eastern side of the white limestone sarcophagus of *Htpj*, from our excavations at Gîza (seventh season, unpublished).

Remarks.—It contains ninety-two entries.


81 AND 82.—PRINCESS IDW.T 

Title:  “King’s Daughter of His Body.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.



Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 81) occurs on the western wall of the chapel, beside the false-door. List ‘B’ (No. 82) is inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber. A third, but very badly preserved, list occurs upon the northern wall of the same burial-chamber.

Publication.—MACRAMALLAH, “*Le Mastaba d’Idout*”, Pls. XVIII, XXII.

Remarks.—This mastaba was originally constructed for a man named  *Ihhj*, but was usurped by Princess *Idw.t*, who had the scenes and inscriptions altered to suit herself. But the work was imperfectly done, and the substitutions of the female for the male figure are apparent in many places in the scenes.

List ‘A’ (No. 81) contains ninety-three entries, each of which is determined by the kneeling figure of a priest presenting the offerings. List ‘B’ (No. 82) contains eighty-eight entries, and the priestly determinatives are omitted.


83 AND 84.—K₃.J-GMW-NJ 

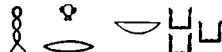
Title:   “Inspector of the Pyramid (called) ‘*Ddⁱsw.t-s₃-R[’]-Tt*’.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This tomb contained three offering-lists. List ‘A’ (No. 83) is inscribed upon the southern wall of Room IV. List ‘B’ (No. 84) is inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber. The third list, which is in a very fragmentary condition, is inscribed upon the northern wall of Room VI.

Publication.—For list ‘B’, see FIRTH and GUNN, “*Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*”, p. 124. For list ‘A’ and the fragments of the third list, see VON BISSING, “*Die Mastaba des Gem ni-ka*”, Pls. XVI, XXVII.

Remarks.—List ‘B’ contains ninety-five entries, the last of which is new in our material . Concerning this entry, see FIRTH and GUNN, *ibid*, p. 124, also see above, p. 90).


85.—NB-K3.W-HR 


Title:  “King’s Eldest Son of His Body.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the upper part of the northern wall of the Chapel of the Tomb of Nb-k3.w-Hr in our excavations at Sakkâra (unpublished).

Remarks.—This list, which is badly damaged, seems to have contained ninety-three entries, each of which is determined by the small priestly figure.

86.—INJJ 


Title:  “Caravan Leader (?)”


Provenance.—Unknown. The fact that it is inscribed upon sandstone and not limestone suggests that it came from Upper Egypt rather than from the Memphite Necropolis.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon a block of sandstone, now in the British Museum.

Publication.—SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, “*Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum*”, Vol. I, Pl. 40.

Remarks.—This list contains eighty-eight entries, each of which is determined by the kneeling figure of a priest, which are, however, not drawn in detail, and are in most cases represented empty-handed. The list itself also contains many errors.

87.—K3R 


Title:  “Inspector of the Purificators of the Pyramid (called) ‘H’j.f-R’-is-Great’.”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the court of the Tomb of K3r.

Publication.—REISNER, “*B.M.A.*”, April 1925, pp. 13, 14.

Remarks.—The list of *K̄r* contains ninety-five entries, each of which is determined by a figure of a priest. It is a perfectly normal specimen of a canonical list, and should be compared with that of *K̄r*'s son, *Idw* (see below).

88.—IDW 

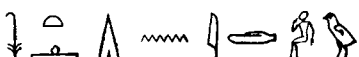
Title :  "Scribe of the Royal Documents in his Presence."


Provenance.—Gîza.


Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the western wall of the Chapel of *Idw*, where, together with its accompanying offering-scene, it surrounds a small, uninscribed false-door.

Publication.—REISNER, *ibid.*

Remarks.—The list, which contains one hundred and one entries, is a good example of a Sixth Dynasty list, and is interesting as showing the development which had apparently taken place within a short space of time, as may be seen by comparing it with the list of *Idw*'s father, *K̄r* (see above). Each entry is determined by the figure of a priest. Of special interest are the figures determining the ritual entries which illustrate the performance of these rites.

At the end of the list is inscribed :  "An offering which the King gives to *Idw*". It is placed in a rectangle like an entry.

89.—'NH-M'-HR 


Title :  "Vizier, Chief Justice."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list occurs upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—FIRTH and GUNN, "The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries", pp. 94, 95.

Remarks.—This list contains one hundred and two entries.

90.—M̄.-HRW-PTH 


Title :  "Priest of *Ht-Hr* in the Sun-temple of King *Nfr-ir-k̄-R*."


Provenance.—Sakkâra (?).

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon a limestone offering-table, which is now in the Berlin Museum.

Publication.—SCHÄFER, "Agyptische Inschriften zu Berlin", Vol. I, pp. 55-58.

Remarks.—The list contains ninety-six entries.

91 AND 92.—PRINCE NFR-SŠM-SŠJ.T 

Title:  "King's Son of His Body."

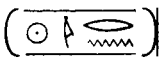

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—List 'A' (No. 91) is inscribed upon the left-hand thickness of the inner niche of the false-door of Prince *Nfr-sšm-Sšj.t*, while list 'B' (No. 92) is inscribed upon the right-hand thickness of the same niche. This false-door is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1491).

Publication.—BORCHARDT, "Denkmaler des Altenreiches", pp. 193, 194.

Remarks.—List 'A' contains ninety-five entries, while list 'B' contains one less.



93.—IḤJJ 


Title: ()  "Assistant Priest of the Pyramid (called 'H'-nfr Mr-n-R'."

Provenance.—Dahshur.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—MASPERO, "Trois Annes de Fouilles dans les Tombeaux de Thebes et de Memphis", pp. 202, 203.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-eight entries and terminates with  

94.—S'NH-PTH 


Title:  "Director of the *Msktt* and Director of the *M'ndt* Boats."


Provenance.—Dahshur.

Situation.—This is another of the lists which are inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—MASPERO, *ibid.*, pp. 205-207.

Remarks.—The list contains ninety-three entries.

95.—N-HFT-KJ.J


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”

Provenance.—Deshasheh.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the inner eastern side of the sarcophagus.

Publication.—PETRIE, “*Deshasheh*”, Pl. XXIX.

Remarks.—This list, which contains ninety-one entries, seems to have departed from the canonical arrangement, but, in reality, the traditional groups of items have mostly been retained, but are transposed in their positions. Thus, the grains and fruit which should be Nos. 79–86 are here as Nos. 29–36 (canonical numbering), while the wines which should be Nos. 72–76 are here Nos. 37–41, and are also out of their regular order. Other items are duplicated, as the *sns*-bread and the *imj-t*-bread.

96 AND **97**.—KJ.J-M-NH

Title:  “King’s Purificator.”


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 96) is inscribed upon the northern wall of the chapel, while List ‘B’ (No. **97**) is painted upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. IV, pp. 25–26, Pl. XVI.

Remarks.—List ‘A’ contains ninety-three entries, while list ‘B’ has ninety-six entries. Neither of them displays any striking peculiarities.

98.—WRJ 


Title:  “Judge and Scribe.”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon that part of the western wall of the chapel which lies between the two false-doors.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 197.


Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries, none of which displays any striking peculiarities.

99.—MRR-WJ-KJ.J 

Title:  “Inspector of the Priests of the Pyramid (called) ‘*Dd-i-sw.t-Sj-R-Ttj*.’”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

103.—MINW  (var. )

Title:  “Priest of *Hwfw*.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—JUNKER, “*Gîza*”, Vol. VI, p. 236.

Remarks.—This list contains only eighty-six entries, and has many faulty writings and mis-shapen signs.

104.—KJ-HIF 


Title:  “Priest of *Hwfw*.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel between the two false-doors.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 113.

Remarks.—The beginning of the list is lost, therefore we cannot say how many entries it contained.

105.—KJ-PW-PTH 


Title:  “Royal Relative.”


Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel between the two false-doors.

Publication.—JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 221.

Remarks.—The beginning of the list is destroyed, therefore, we cannot say how many entries it originally contained. The remaining items are all normal.

106.—KJ-M-SNW 


Title:  “Priest of *Ht-hr* in the Sun-temple (of King *Nfr-ir-kj-R*).”

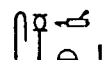
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel, which has been dismantled and removed to the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Publication.—FIRTH and GUNN, “*The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*”, Pl. 62.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-one entries of a normal type.

111.—PPJJ 


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber, beside the painted palace façade.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, Pl. XIV.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries.

112.—SN.T 


Title:  “King’s Sole Court Lady.”

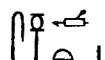
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 50.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries.

113.—PNW 








Title:  “Sole Confidant.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.


Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 44.

Remarks.—This list contains eighty-five entries, which, while adhering to the canonical list in regard to their nature, do not follow the canonical arrangement.

Underneath each entry, except the last nineteen is inscribed     “For the Osiris (*Wsr*) *Pnw*”, but under the final nineteen is inscribed only the name    *Pnw*.

114.—MHJ 


Title:  “Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 72.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries.


115 AND 116.—NJ-‘NH-PPJJ 

Title:  “Overseer of the Commissions of the Tenants of the Pyramid (called) ‘The Beauty of King Ppjj Abides’,”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. **115**) is inscribed upon a slab of white limestone, set in a recess in the northern wall of the Chapel of *Nj-‘nh-Ppjj*, in our excavations at Sakkâra (unpublished). List ‘B’ (No. **116**) is inscribed upon the inner eastern side of the wooden coffin which we found in the burial-chamber of the tomb.

Remarks.—List ‘A’ contains ninety-nine entries, each of which has the priestly determinative. List ‘B’ contains ninety-seven entries.


117.—Kj-IR 

Provenance.—Sakkâra.


Situation.—Inscribed upon the western (?) wall of the Chapel of *Kj-ir* in our excavations at Sakkâra.”

Remarks.—This list had been smashed to fragments, only a few of which have so far been recovered.



118.—Bjw 


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber of a tomb which had originally been constructed for a person named  *sh.j* and which was subsequently usurped by *Bjw*, who having the same titles as the original owner, had simply to substitute his own name for that of *sh.j*.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 102, Pl. XII.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries. The jars which determine the seven holy oils correspond in form to those representations of the holy oils on the western wall of the chapel, except for No. 9, which in the list is , but on the western wall is .

119.—SBJKW 

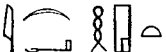
Title :  “ Confidant. ”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 78.

Remarks.—This list contains only fifty-two items.

120.—Hw.t-i'h 

Title :  “ Noble woman of the King. ”



Provenance.—Meir.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern end of the eastern wall of the burial-chamber of *Hw.t-i'h* in the tomb of her husband, *Ppjj-nh* the Middle.

Publication.—BLACKMAN, “ *The Rock-Tombs of Meir* ”, Vol. IV, Pl. XVIII.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries, all of which are of the canonical type, but from No. 23 onwards the arrangement has been altered, although the sequence of the principal groups has been maintained. Thus, following No. 23, we have the group of meat, poultry and drinks, which normally should be Nos. 46-70. Then follows the group which ought to be No. 71 to the end of the list.

121 AND 122.—PPJJ-‘NH-HRJ-IB  (PEPY-‘ANKH THE MIDDLE)

Titles :  “ Count ”,  “ Sole Confidant. ”


Provenance.—Meir.

Situation.—List ‘A’ (No. 121) accompanies a large offering-scene on the northern wall of the chapel. List ‘B’ (No. 122) accompanies an offering-scene on the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—BLACKMAN, *ibid*, Pls. IX, XII.

Remarks.—These lists each contain ninety-two entries and are nearly identical. They are of normal construction.

123.—MRRJ-R'-NFR 


Title :  “ Sole Confidant. ”

Provenance.—Edfu.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the panel of the false-door.

Publication.—DARESSY, “*Inscriptions du Mastaba de Pepi-nefer à Edjou, A.S.*”, Vol. XVII, p. 133.

Remarks.—It is very unusual to find an offering-list inscribed on the panel of a false-door as late as the Sixth Dynasty. This list contains one hundred and two entries.

124.—HNMW-^ˆNH 

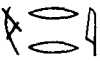
Title :  “Inspector of the Physicians of the Great House.”

Provenance.—Deir-el-Gebrawi.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the inside of the wooden coffin of Hnmw-^ˆnh.

Publication.—KAMAL, “*Rapport sur les Fouilles de Saïd Bey Khachaba du Deir-el-Gabraoui*”, Vol. XIII, p. 173.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-three entries.

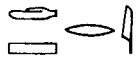
125.—MRR.J 

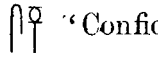
Title :  “Chief Justice and Vizier.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber of *Mrr.j* in our excavations at Sakkâra.


Remarks.—This list is in a very bad condition, owing to the fact that it was painted upon a layer of plaster, most of which has now scaled off the walls; therefore, we cannot say how many entries it originally contained. It may be dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, as slabs stolen from tombs of the early Sixth Dynasty have been re-used in the construction of the Mastaba of *Mrr.j*.

126.—DšrJ 

Title :  “Confidant.”

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber of *Dšrj* which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 1572).

127.—ŠMḏT.J 

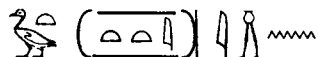
Title:  "King's Sole Court Lady."

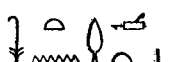
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, "*Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains du Pepi II*", Pl. XI.

Remarks.—This list contains only fifty-seven entries, and terminates with *t-sif*.

128 AND 129.—Sḏ.t-IN-Ttj 

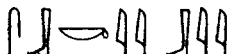
Title:  "King's Sole Court Lady."

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—List 'A' (No. 128) is inscribed on the northern side of a deep niche in which is set the false-door of *Sḏ.t-in-Ttj*. List 'B' (No. 129) which is badly damaged, is inscribed on the southern wall of the same niche. These two slabs were usurped by a certain *Ipy-nh.w* who built them into the superstructure of his mastaba. But it was the Nemesis of History, for *Sḏ.t-in-Ttj* herself had re-employed stones from an earlier mastaba for the construction of her own offering-table.

Publication.—FIRTH and GUNN, "*The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*", pp. 38, 203, 204, Pl. 21.

Remarks.—List 'A' contains ninety-six entries, while list 'B' is too badly damaged for us to state the number of its entries.

130.—SBK.JJ-BJJ 

Title:  "Great Seer."


Provenance.—Heliopolis.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the chapel.

Publication.—DARESSY, "*La Necropole des Grands Pretres d'Heliopolis Sous l'Ancien Empire*," A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 205.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries.

131.—PPJJ-NNJ 

Title:  "Priest of the Goddess *Mḏ.t*."


Provenance.—Dahshur.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—MASPERO, "*Trois Années de Fouilles*", pp. 196-198.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-seven entries.



132.—ŠjJ 


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”

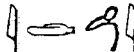
Provenance.—Sakkâra.


Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, Pl. VI.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries, below the first three of which is inscribed  “For ŠjJ”, and below the remainder simply .

Although this list is composed of canonical items, the traditional sequence is not maintained after No. 21  *t-rth*.

133.—Idi 


Title:  “Sole Confidant.”

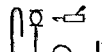
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon three fragments of limestone found in the Tomb of *Idj*, perhaps from the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 18.

Remarks.—This list contains ninety-five entries.

134.—PpJJ-îm 

Title:  “Sole Confidant.”


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

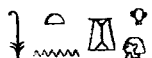
Situation.—This list is painted upon the inner eastern side of the wooden coffin of *PpJJ-îm* which was usurped by a man named *R-Hr-k* who bore the same titles as the real owner, and in whose tomb it was discovered.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 125, Pl. XVII.

Remarks.—This list contains eighty-nine entries, which follow the canonical form. At the end of the list, the titles and name of the deceased are written in rectangles as though they were items in the list.

LISTS OF THE LATE SIXTH DYNASTY WHICH FOLLOW
THE TYPE OF THE ROYAL LISTS

135.—BJW 

Title :  "Royal Director."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This list is inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, "*Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*", Vol. III, Pl. 52.

Remarks.—This list contains 123 entries, of which Nos. 3-30 are a complete group taken bodily from the royal lists.

136.—MNJ 

Title :  "King's Son of His Body."


Provenance.—Denderah.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the wall of the burial-chamber of Prince *Mnj* at Denderah.

Publication.—PETRIE, "*Denderah*", p. 5, Pls. III, IV.

Remarks.—This tomb is dated by Petrie to the reign of King *Ppjj II*. On the adjoining wall is inscribed the offering-ritual, which is identical with part of that of *Ppjj II*. This proves that at this time other persons than reigning Kings were allowed to employ the royal ritual in their funerary cult. The list contains one hundred and twenty-four entries.

137.—HB-SD-NFR-KJ-R' 

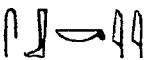
Title :  "Chief Justice, Vizier."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, "*Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*", Vol. III, p. 57."

Remarks.—This list contains one hundred and three entries.

138.—SBKJJ 

Title:  "Great Seer."


Provenance.—Heliopolis.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—DARESSY, *Ibid* "A.S.", Vol. XVI, p. 200.

Remarks.—This list contains one hundred and twenty-six entries, and is thus the largest list so far known to us.

139.—A FRAGMENTARY LIST OF AN UNKNOWN PERSON


Title:  "Inspector of the (Priests) of the Pyramid (called)
'Mn-'nh-Nfr-k3-R'."


Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—This fragment of a fine offering-list is inscribed upon a slab of limestone, and was found among the material re-employed in building a great stairway at Sakkâra, the purpose of which is unknown.

Publication.—JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 112.

Remarks.—The most interesting features of this fragmentary list are the figures of priests performing the rites (Nos. 1-10) which are drawn with a fine regard to detail.

140.—Idi' 


Title:  "Sole Confidant."

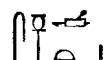
Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon a fragment of limestone found in the Tomb of Idi', whose canonical list we have already referred to.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 18.

Remarks.—Only a mere fragment remains, but it shows us the interesting fact that Idi' was following a royal custom, for, as we shall see, Ppjj II has a canonical list in his mortuary temple (which corresponds to the chapel of the private tomb) and the great list in the burial-chamber. Idi' followed the same arrangement.

141.—SBJK.W 

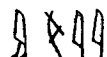
Title:  "Sole Confidant."

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the eastern wall of the burial-chamber.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 80.

Remarks.—Of this list only a mere fragment remains, but from it we can see that the entries at the left-hand side of the list were inscribed in smaller characters than those on the right-hand side.

142.—IJ-MRJJ 


Title:   "Priest of King *Hwfw*."

Provenance.—Gîza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the western wall of the chapel.

Publication.—CHAMPOLLION, "*Notices Descriptive des Monuments Egyptien*," Vol. II, p. 184. For a full bibliography of this tomb, see PORTER and MOSS, "*Bib. III*", pp. 15-17.

THE ROYAL OFFERING-LISTS


143.—WNIS 

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber in the Pyramid of *Wnis*.

Publication.—SETHE, "*Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*", lines 16D-100F.

Remarks.—This, the oldest of the royal lists which have been preserved to us in a complete state, contains one hundred and nineteen entries.

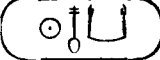
144.—Tij 

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber in the Pyramid of *Tij*.

Publication.—SETHE, *ibid*, lines 87A-101C.

Remarks.—The beginning of the list is destroyed, therefore we cannot say how many entries it may have contained.

145, 146 AND 147.—NFR-K3-R' 

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—List 'A' (No. 145) is inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber in the pyramid of King *Ppjj Nfr-k3-R'* at Sakkâra. List 'B' (No. 146) is inscribed upon the southern wall of the Sanctuary of the Pyramid Temple of *Nfr-k3-R'*. It is in a fragmentary condition, and we cannot say how many entries it may have contained. List 'C' (No. 147) is inscribed upon the northern wall of the same sanctuary, and is also in a fragmentary condition.

Publication.—For list 'A', SETHE, *ibid*, line 9 B-114. Lists 'B' and 'C', JEQUIER, " *Le Monument Funeraire de Pepi II* ", Vol. II, Pls. 61, 67-70, 81, 85-87.

148.—QUEEN NT  (QUEEN OF PPJJ II)

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber in the pyramid of Queen *Nt*.

Publication.—JEQUIER, " *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit* ", Pls. IX-XII.

Remarks.—This list contains two hundred and four entries.


149.—QUEEN IPW.T  (QUEEN OF PPJJ II)

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

Situation.—Only a mere fragment of this list remains, but Jequier traces it to the northern wall of the burial-chamber in the pyramid of Queen *Ipw.t*.

Publication.—JEQUIER, *ibid*, Pl. XXXIX.

Remarks.—Only a few scattered entries are preserved.

150.—WDBTN  (QUEEN OF PPJJ II)

Provenance.—Sakkâra.

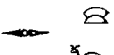
Situation.—Inscribed upon the northern wall of the burial-chamber of the pyramid of Queen *Wdbtn*.

Publication.—JEQUIER, " *Le Pyramide de Oudjebten* ", Pls. VI, VII.

Remarks.—This list is too fragmentary to allow us to know the number of entries which it contained.

It will be noticed that all the royal lists occurring in the burial-chambers are inscribed upon the northern wall. This is in accordance with the belief in the stellar destiny of the royal dead, and the northern orientation of the pyramids. Thus, the list would be facing the dead when he emerged from his sarcophagus preparatory to making his way to the north of the sky and the polar stars.

THE ABNORMAL OFFERING-LISTS

151.—PRINCE H'J.F-MN.W 

Title:  "King's Eldest Son of His Body."

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed in vertical columns on all four sides of the sarcophagus of Prince H'j.f-Mn.w.

Publication.—SMITH, "The Coffin of Prince Min-Khaf", J.E.A., Vol. XIX, p. 150, ff.

Remarks.—This list contains seventy items, thirty-four of which occur in the normal canonical lists. The items are all enumerated in quantities of one thousand each. Compare the presence of inscribed offerings on the *outside* of the sarcophagus, with the complete canonical list on the *inner* eastern side of the sarcophagus during the Sixth Dynasty (*see* above, p. 73).


152.—QUEEN MR.S-'NH III  (SEE ALSO No. 12)


Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Engraved upon the southern end of the sarcophagus.

Publication.—SMITH, *ibid*, p. 152.

Remarks.—This list contains only thirteen entries, eleven of which are enumerated in quantities of one thousand each.

153.—ISJ 

Title:  "Overseer of the Treasury."


Provenance.—(?).

Situation.—Inscribed upon two slabs of stone from the western wall of the chapel of Isj, now in the Ny Carlsberg Museum.

Publication.—MOGENSEN, "La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg", Vol. II, Pl. XCIII.

Remarks.—This list contains seventy entries, twenty-eight of which are to be found in the canonical lists, and eight are peculiar to this monument alone (if they are not defective forms of known items). The list contains several faulty writings.

154.—WR-HWW  (SEE ALSO No. 35)


Title:  "Judge and Overseer of Scribes."







Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the southern side of a large niche in the western wall of the chapel, at the back of which is the false-door.

Publication.—“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 251.

Remarks.—This list contains sixty-four entries, twenty-four of which are from the canonical list, and eight are unique in our material. All are enumerated in quantities of one thousand each.

155.—*Snb* ♂  ♂

Titles : (  ) ♂  “*Priest of Hwfw*”,   “*Director of the Dwarves of the Linen, etc.*”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Inscribed upon the jambs of the false-door of *Snb*.

Publication.—JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 95, 97.

Remarks.—*Snb*, who lived during the time of the Sixth Dynasty, and who, though a dwarf, held several important priestly and secular titles, was evidently a great admirer of the Fourth Dynasty, for not only did he name two of his children after King *Dd.f-R'*, but he also constructed his tomb so faithfully to the Fourth Dynasty type, that only a few minor details betray its later origin.

In compiling his offering-list, he arranged upon the southern jamb of the false-door a selection of items reminiscent of the lists of the early Fourth Dynasty, while on the northern jamb are a series of items, many of which are not found elsewhere in our material, and which are the necessities of the *wsh-h* ceremonies.

The unique character of this list, in view of the deliberate intention of *Snb* to imitate the works of the early Fourth Dynasty, and his evident admiration for King *Dd.f-R'*, tempts us to surmise that it may represent part, at least, of an early royal list.

156.—K3.J-M-NH     (SEE ALSO NOS. 96 AND 97)

Titles :   “*Royal Relative.*”   “*Inspector of the Treasury, etc.*”

Provenance.—Giza.

Situation.—Roughly painted upon the western wall of the burial-chamber, opposite to the more carefully written canonical list, which is on the eastern wall.

Publication.—JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. IV, Pls. IX, X.

Remarks.—This list commences with an enumeration of linen of the usual archaic and early Fourth Dynasty type, and which does not concern us here (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 95, 96, 99, 100, etc.). The offering-list proper contains forty items, only eight of which are drawn from the canonical lists. Seventeen of these items do not occur elsewhere in our material. The irregular and extravagant enumeration of the quantities to be presented of each item should be noted.

A DISCUSSION OF THE ITEMS IN THE OFFERING-LISTS

METHODS OF STUDY.—THE RELIABILITY OF COPIES AND THE REVERSE.—INDICATIONS OF THE SOURCES OF OUR COPIES

We have already treated the development of the offering-list as a whole, in its different stages from the beginning of the Archaic Period up to the end of the Old Kingdom. It is now time to discuss each item separately, from the beginning of its appearance in the lists up to the end of the Old Kingdom, especially from the point of view of its writings, its different names—when variations occur, and its function from a ritualistic point of view. Special attention should be paid to the characteristic writings of each dynasty, for in many cases this will help us in dating the lists, and consequently the tomb from which they originate⁽¹⁾.

The method of studying these items will be as follows:—

- (1) The general meaning of the item and its function in the offering.
- (2) The history of each item from its earliest appearance until the end of the Old Kingdom.
- (3) The different forms of writing and their frequency during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in succession, to show, if possible, the characteristic writings for each of these periods. But, nevertheless, for the heading of each item, we shall take, as a model, the form of writing as found in the Pyramid Texts of King *Wm's*⁽²⁾, because this is the oldest complete model-writing of these lists, as we have already seen (*see above*, p. 77). When an item is lacking in the list of *Wm's*, we shall take it from *Nfr-k3-R'* or *Nt*.
- (4) A discussion of rare or unusual writings.
- (5) Remarks upon faulty writings, which may be due to mistakes made by the ancient scribes or the modern copyists. It may be remarked here that it is extremely difficult to copy these lists accurately, especially if the originals are in any way defaced or worn out, unless one has other perfect lists of the same period at hand for comparison. Furthermore, we are here employing four classes of material. First in importance for reliability, are those lists which we have copied from the original monuments or from real photographs. Second in the order of reliability are publications of draughtsman's tracings. These are usually accurate, but as we know by experience that many a skilled draughtsman is ignorant of hieroglyphs, small errors may creep into his work; and even when these tracings are checked by an Egyptologist, mistakes may be overlooked through lack of contemporary variants for comparison on the spot.

(1) This is a subject which has not been fully treated since Maspero dealt with it in "*La Table d'Offerandes des Tombeaux Egyptiens*", *Etudes de Mythologie et d'Archaeologie Egyptiennes*, Vol. VI, p. 321, *ff.*, a work now demodé by the progress of the science of philology, but still to be considered as a classic. Junker discussed isolated items of the offering-list in his books "*Giza*", Vols. I-VI but although these are only a few remarks, and not a study of the group as a whole in the Old Kingdom, they are of vital importance for our study here, and on them we rely much.

(2) We shall give variants when the writing of the item is not full.

Third in the order of reliability are the published hand-copies, some of which were made many years ago, before the study of the Egyptian language was very far advanced, and perhaps without any variant before the copyist. In these cases we cannot rely upon the accuracy of every individual sign, or even of its form, as the writer may use a sign indiscriminately, according to his usual method of handwriting and not copy the exact form of the sign in front of him (see, for example, the employment of 𓆎 for 𓆏 in DUMICHEN'S "Der Grabpalast") (see above, p. 120). Fourthly, we have the most unsatisfactory class of all, namely those lists taken from a printed type copy. Such prints have first been taken from a manuscript, where errors have a chance to creep in; and then the majority of printers are bound to a more or less limited set of signs in the fount at their disposal. In this case it is quite impossible to reproduce each individual sign accurately, therefore we must treat material from this source with considerable reserve when drawing our conclusions.

In order to indicate the source of our material, I have adopted the following signs:—

A black-typed number (in figure) indicates that the list in question is from the original monument or from a real photograph, while on the Plates, such a list is marked by the sign*:

"T": indicates that the list was copied from a draughtsman's tracing.

"H": indicates that it is from a hand-copy.

"P": denotes that the list was taken from a printed copy.

THE OFFERING-LIST

THE PURPOSE OF THE OFFERING-LIST.—THE CEREMONY OF 'OPENING THE MOUTH'

As we have already seen above, the offering-list was, in reality, the enumeration of a series of rites accompanying the presentation of the funerary meal. This meal was presented to the dead at the time of interment, and was supposed to be repeated daily, and certainly upon all Feast-days. Now in order to make this feeding of the dead a logical fact, the Egyptians had a special rite called "The Opening of the Mouth" ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{wp.t rs}$). The whole aim of the embalmment of the corpse was to secure the permanent and recognizably life-like continuance of the mortal body. This object was attained, sometimes very successfully, by various methods; but no matter how successful the embalmer had been in his work, the completed mummy remained a dead, inanimate object, devoid of the five senses of humanity. It was in order to remedy this defect that the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' was performed, and it consisted of a group of rites, which, when performed upon the corpse on the day of burial, would restore to it all its faculties, and thus enable it to lead a happy existence in the Hereafter, and to enjoy the funerary offerings in the tomb⁽¹⁾. Thus, before discussing the offering-list, we should give a short summary of this ceremony.

(1) If we may rely on the late evidence from Edfu, the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" was not only performed upon the corpse or the statue but was also part of the consecration ceremony of Egyptian temples, and was repeated annually in order that the temple and all its component parts, cult images and divine figures and objects shown in the reliefs might be fitted to receive the portion of the divine spirit which should inhabit them (see BLACKMAN and FAIRMAN, "The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple according to the Use of Edfu", *J.E.A.*, Vol. 32, p. 75, ff).




THE HISTORY OF THE CEREMONY OF 'OPENING THE MOUTH'


THIS CEREMONY SAID TO HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED BY *Horus* ON THE BEHALF OF HIS FATHER OSIRIS.—THE *S3-mr.f*-PRIEST.—THE *Pss'-kf* INSTRUMENT AND THE CEREMONIAL UTENSILS

The origin of this ceremony seems to go back to a remote time, if we accept the evidence of some of the flint implements found by Petrie (1). These implements, which date from the early Archaic Period, are of the characteristic 'fish-tail' form used in connection with this ceremony. On the other hand, these implements may be of a normal type employed in the every-day life of that period, which, though passing out of common use with the general adoption of copper tools and implements, remained fixed by conservative tradition for the performance of the rite of 'Opening the Mouth'. The earliest representation we have of the performance of this ceremony is in the Tomb of *Mtn* (2) where it is being performed upon the statue of the deceased, a point which will be explained below.

That the 'Opening of the Mouth' was included as part of the funerary cult of the kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties is proved by certain passages of the Pyramid Texts, where this rite was said to have been instituted by *Horus* (*Hr*), when he was engaged in re-animating the corpse of his father *Osiris* (*Wsr*) (see Pyramid Texts, lines 179, 589 B, 644 A, 1329-1330).

As we have already remarked, the initial and elaborate performance of the ceremony took place at the time of burial, when, at the same time, the deceased was furnished with all his material offerings and equipment which were necessary for his life in the Hereafter. For this reason we find objects connected with this ceremony occupying rectangles near the beginning of the great offering-list, which show its purely utilitarian character as a necessary prelude to the offering-meal.

According to the Pyramid Texts the rites of 'Opening the Mouth' were performed by a priest called   *s3 mr.f* "His Son who Loves Him", and who stood in the same relation to the deceased as *Horus* (*Hr*) had stood to *Osiris*. These priests are sometimes represented clad in a leopard skin and holding the adze  which seems to have been their insignia (see WIEDEMANN, "On a Monument of the First Dynasties," P.S.B.A., Vol. IX, p. 180). This priest commences the ceremony by assuring the deceased that his body is sound and intact, that is to say, properly reconstituted after its dismemberment (see Pyramid Texts, line 9B). He then proceeds with the rites of purification carried out by means of water contained in special vessels, and by fumigation with various kinds of incense and resin (Pyramid Texts, lines 10, 26-29). These acts were carried out to the accompaniment of formulæ which had the power of freeing the corpse of all that was evil and harmful, and which enabled it to gain the possession of its *Ka* in the same manner as the Gods (Pyramid Texts, lines 17-18), thus enabling it to live again.

After this began the real ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth', an operation in which special instruments were employed. Thus, the jaws were supposed to be separated by means of iron adzes, and the instrument  *pss'-kf* consolidated them. This was followed by the presentation of such foods as the foreleg of an ox (Pyramid Texts, line 12) and drinks of wine, milk and beer (Pyramid Texts, lines 31-40).

(1) PETRIE, "Abydos", Vol. I, p. 24, Pl. LI. Vol. II, p. 38, PL. XLI. The latter example is clearly an amulet or a funerary model.

(2) See "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 75, *fl.*, for a discussion of this subject.

According to the Pyramid Texts, the utensils used in this ceremony were the $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ *nms.t*-vases, 𓆑 *ds*-vases, and *svr*-vases 𓆒 𓆓 , the forked knife, 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 *psš-kf* and two objects called $\text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙}$ and $\text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜}$ *ntr šm' bjz* 'Divine Iron of the South', and *ntr mh' bjz* 'Divine Iron of the North'. In some lists these instruments are called 𓆝 or 𓆞 *Sb* (see below, p. 188). Also we see $\text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤}$ "The adze of Anubis and the adze *Mshz* of iron" or $\text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯}$ "The iron coming out of *St* and the *Mshz* of iron" (see below) (1).

But although this ceremony could be, and almost certainly was performed upon the corpse at the time of burial, it was also necessary to perform it upon the statue or statues of the deceased. This is because once buried in the sarcophagus in the underground burial-chamber, the mummy became inaccessible to the living and it was thought that the mouth of the dead must be opened afresh each day prior to the presentation of the food-offerings. To overcome this difficulty, the statue was made a proxy for the dead, and thus the performance of the ceremony upon it had the same effect as if performed upon the corpse itself.

At the same time, the performance of the rite of 'Opening the Mouth' upon the statue served to secure its identification with the actual body (see also BLACKMAN, "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt", *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 48, and also BLACKMAN, "The Stela of Nebipusenwosret", *J.E.A.*, Vol. XXI, p. 6). During the Old Kingdom the representations show only the statue of the deceased as the subject of the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' (see *Mtn*, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 74, Fig. 34, and *Dbhnj*, *ibid*, p. 176, Fig. 122), but during the New Kingdom we also see it being performed upon the mummy, the action taking place in front of the tomb (see the Papyrus of *mnj*, British Museum No. 10470, Sheet 6, BUDGE, "The Book of the Dead" [Translation], Vol. II, Frontispiece); while in some instances the ceremony was developed into a series of dramatic episodes, and the subject was the statue of the deceased (see DAVIES, "The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, Vol. I, p. 75, ff., Vol. II, Pls. XCV-CX, CXII). In the tombs of private persons during the Old Kingdom, the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' may be indicated by the words $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ or 𓆓 inscribed over the representation of a priest presenting himself before the deceased (as in *Mtn*), or by the presence in the offering-lists of the names of some of the instruments employed in the ceremony, but these latter are rarely found, and then only at the end of the Sixth Dynasty (see lists Nos. 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 139 *T*) and it seems that this rite was not always employed by private persons during this period. The fact that the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' appears to have been more widely employed by royalty than by private persons seems to indicate that, despite the Osirian character given to it by some of the Utterances of the Pyramid Texts, it was in reality of solar origin, as the kings were following the solar rather than the Osirian faith. It may be that it was an old ceremony derived from the solar cult, which had been performed upon Osiris (*Wsr*) as was his right as King

(1) In the consecration ceremony as performed in the Edfu Temple, and at its annual repetition, the Master of Ceremonies, in the guise of the god Thoth, asperges with the *nms.t* and *ds*-vases (Text I. 2) (see BLACKMAN and FAIRMAN, "J.E.A.", Vol. 32, pp. 76, 77).

of Egypt, and thus by imitation of Osiris, passed down to the private persons who followed his cult. At the same time, the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' was performed upon the divine statues in the temples with the same idea of endowing them with their faculties, and enabling them to enjoy the offerings presented to them. It may be remarked here that the rites of the daily temple liturgy, the 'Opening of the Mouth', the ceremonial toilet of the king in the *Pr-dwst* (toilet-house), the preparation of the dead king's body for burial, and the daily funerary liturgy, all closely resemble one another in their main points, which consist of a purificatory washing, fumigation by incense, purification by natron, robing and anointing the object of the rite, and the arrayment and investiture with the royal insignia, terminating in the serving up of a repast (see BLACKMAN, "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt", Rec. Trav., Vol. XXIX, p. 48).

THE CEREMONY OF 'OPENING THE MOUTH' IN THE ROYAL OFFERING-LIST



Although all the royal lists, as well as the great private lists of the end of Sixth Dynasty, include the instruments wherewith this ceremony was performed, we have only one list, namely that of *Nfr-k3-R'* (No. 145 *H*) in which the vessels for the purificatory water for this rite are mentioned. The fact that these vessels occur at the very beginning of the list, while the first of the instruments, namely the *psš-*kf**, is placed as No. 21, indicates that all the intervening items of purification by water, incense and natron are all parts of this ceremony, which means that after the reconstitution, purification and fumigation of the body, which the magical power of the accompanying utterances assures of re-animation, the deceased has now the power to enjoy all that is presented to him.

THE ITEMS OF THE OFFERING-LIST

Having now seen the ritual importance of the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth', and its relation to the funerary meal, let us now examine the items of the offering-list of the Pyramid Texts, and the formulæ which accompany each (¹), and at the same time, compare them with the entries in the private lists, when such comparisons exist. But in order to gain a proper understanding of these items, we must, whenever possible, trace them from their earliest sources up to the end of the Old Kingdom. For we must never lose sight of the fact that the Utterances of the Pyramid Texts are mainly based upon material far older than the oldest written texts that have come down to us.

I have now collected together all the available material for the Old Kingdom, from both royal and private lists, and arranged it methodically so that each item can be easily discussed and comparisons made between the various writings (see Pls. Nos. I-CLVII).

(¹) Concerning the utterances accompanying the offering, it will be noticed that in the oldest of these texts, namely that of

Wn3s, the name of the king, when occurring at the head of a line, is preceded by the name of Osiris (*W3sr*)   (W), denoting

the dead king's identification with the god Osiris. But when the royal name occurs in the middle of a line, it is not preceded by Osiris except in two cases (lines 18 *C* and 30 *B*). According to BREASTED, "The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt", p 150, *f.*, the insertion of the name of Osiris was made when the cult of that God began to gain such power that the Heliopolitan priests were forced to recognize it and incorporate it among the teachings of their sola. faith. It was now necessary that the dead king should be identified with Osiris, so the priestly editors ran through the existing texts and inscribed the name of the god before that of the king. In the case of the offering-formula this was seemingly carelessly done, and the editor simply added 'Osiris' before the name of *Wn3s* when it occurred prominently at the head of the line, and neglected to search out the king's name in the body of the text. This seems to show that the priest responsible for this reduction did not himself know the offering-formula by heart. Had he done so, he would have remembered those passages where the king's name occurred in the middle of a line, and acted accordingly.

THE OFFERING-LIST


No. 1  *Htp* "An Offering" (List No. 145 H, *Nfr-k1-R*, Line 9 B)


THE MEANING

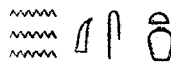
This item, together with the three which follow it, are only to be found in the Pyramid List of King *Nfr-k1-R* (No. 145 H), and as we have already seen, are items of preparation for the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth'. The meaning of this particular item is an offering, which, if we may judge by the determinative, consisted of bread and drink set upon a rectangular object, perhaps a table without legs or simply a slab. Furthermore, if we take into consideration the position of this item at the very beginning of the offering-list, we may say that it has here the same meaning as the item *htp njswt*, which appears at the beginning of some of the early lists, and also denotes an offering, namely all the items which follow it and comprise the whole of the offering-list (see above, p. 79).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 13 (Texts of Nfr-k1-R) :—

(9 B)  " I give to you (1) your head I fix for you your head to your bones."

(9 C)  " Words spoken : 'His two eyes are given to him, therefore he is pleased. An offering of bread and drink'."


No. 2  *Mw Nms.t* "Water of the *Nms.t*-Jar" (List No. 145, *Nfr-k1-R*, Line 9 C)

THE MEANING

The *nms.t*-jar was, as we have already seen above, especially a vessel to contain liquids. Here it is to hold the water used for purification in the rite of 'Opening the Mouth'. For the part played by the *nms.t*-jars in the rites of embalming, see " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. IV, pp. 81, 99. (see also JEQUIER, " *Materiaux pour Servir à l'Établissement d'un Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Egyptienne* ", *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178, where the priest is said to enter with the four *nms.t*-jars). He turns four times round the statue, each time throwing the water over its head, and at the same time invoking the gods of the four Cardinal Points. The object of this fourfold purification was to return to the dead his severed head, and to re-assemble or clean his bones, a reminiscence of the time when the dead were dismembered before burial, but here perhaps transferred to the idea of the reconstruction of the mutilated corpse of Osiris (*Wsr*).


(1) Or " Is given to you ", etc.


Later, the *nms.t*-jars also personified the water of *Nwn* (see JUNKER, "Das Gotterdekret über das Abaton", p. 103). Sometimes the lustral washing was said to have been performed by the Four Sons of Horus (*Hr*), as in Pyramid Texts, line 1983, *ff.* where they are said to have washed the face of the dead, and opened his mouth with their metal fingers. These are, of course, the gods of the four Cardinal Points. Later, they may be replaced by Horus (*Hr*), *St*, Thoth (*Dhwtj*) and *Spj* (BLACKMAN, *ibid.*, p. 75). The association of the four Cardinal Points and the gods thereof with the funerary rites seems to have been to allow the dead to proceed at will to any of the four points of the compass, either in heaven or upon earth.

The four *nms.t*-vases were also employed for the ceremonial washing of the King in the *pr-dwst* *  (toilet-house). See BLACKMAN, "The House of the Morning", "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology", Vol. V, p. 56 (1). For the *nms.t*-jar mentioned without the water, see list No. 3.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 18 (Text of *Nfr-k3-R'*):—

(9 D)  "Words spoken: 'Gb has given you your two eyes, therefore you are pleased' . . ."

(10 A)  "... the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) | Water of the *nms.t*-jar (i.e. a jar of water)."


No. 3  *Mw Ds* "Water of the *Ds*-Jar" (List No. 145, *Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 10 B)

THE MEANING

This is yet another of the vessels of water employed in the rites of 'Opening the Mouth'. According to the form of the determinative, it had a wide, flaring mouth, wide shoulders tapering to a narrow base. It is incapable of standing alone, and must be one of the vases which we frequently see represented resting alone in a ring-stand, or with others in a cellerette.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 17 (Text of *Nfr-k3-R'*):—

(10 B)  "Words spoken: 'Thoth (*Dhwtj*) give him back his head. Water of *ds*-jar'."

This is an appeal to Thoth (*Dhwtj*) to revivify the dead.

For an explanation of this, see SETHE, "Dramatischetexte", p. 147, *ff.* For the *ds*-jar, see BALCZ, "Die Gefasdarstellungen de Altenreiches", Mitteilungen, 1936, p. 87; 1937, p. 63. Also JEQUIER, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XIX, p. 171.

(1) See KEES, "Pr-dwst und Dbst, Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXXVI, p. 6, *ff.*, for the king washed by the command of Anubis (*Inpw*) with the contents of the four or eight *nms.t*-jars. Also Pyramid Texts, lines 1364 and 2012, *B* and *C*.


No. 4  | *Mw Swr* “Water of the *Swr*-jar”


(List No. 145, *Nfr-k3-R*^c, Line 10 C)

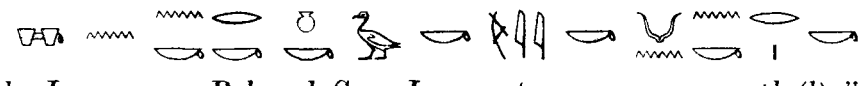
As in the case of the two preceding items, this is also a vessel of water employed in the rites of ‘Opening the Mouth’ (see JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XIX, p. 171).

THE FORMULA

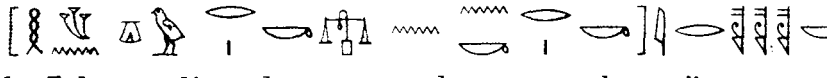
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 18 (Text of *Nfr-k3-R*):--

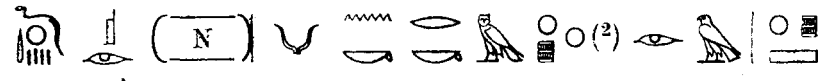
(10 C)  | “Words spoken: ‘Render it (the water) to him. Water of the *swr*-jar’.”

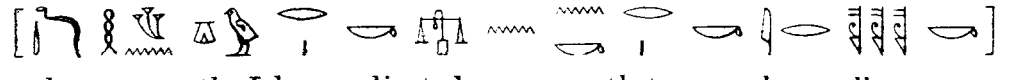
(11 A) [] (N)  [“Words spoken: ‘O] *Nfr-k3-R*^c, I, *Horus*, have come from the search after you .”

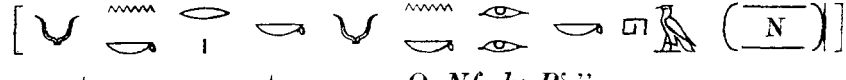
(11 B)  “I press for you your mouth, I am your Beloved Son, I open to you your mouth (1).”


(12 A) [] “Announce him (*Horus*) to his mother, that she may bewail him (*Osiris* ?). Announce him to . . .”

(12 B) [] | “I have accommodated your mouth, I have adjusted your mouth to your bones.”


(12 C)  | “To be said four times: ‘*Osiris* (*Wsr*) *Nfr-k3-R*^c, I open your mouth, with the *hph* (?), the foreleg, which is the Eye of *Horus* (*Hr*). | One foreleg (see also *Pyramid Texts*, line 79 C)’.”

(13 A) [] “I have accommodated your mouth, I have adjusted your mouth to your bones.”

(13 B) [] | “I open to you your mouth, I open to you your two eyes. O *Nfr-k3-R*^c.”


(13 C) [] “I open to you your mouth with the *nws*, the iron *mshjw* (3) which opens the mouth of the gods.”


(1) See also *Pyramid Texts*, line 644 AC; also SETHE, “*Dramatische Texte*”, p. 217: “I, *Horus*, have come from the search after you”.


(2) For , see W.B., III, p. 268.

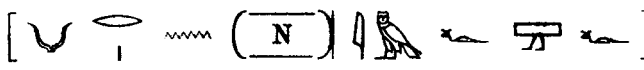
(3) Jequier calls this “*L'herminette d'Anubis* (?)” and “*L'herminette mescha en fer*”. See *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 171.

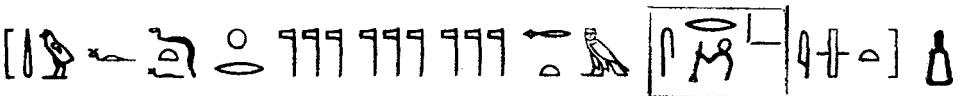
(13 D)  "Horus (Hr) open the mouth of this *Nfr-k3-R'*! Horus, open the mouth of this *Nfr-k3-R'*!"

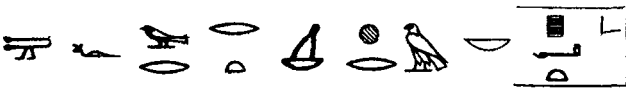
(13 E)  "Horus had opened the mouth of this *Nfr-k3-R'*, Horus had opened the mouth of this *Nfr-k3-R'*."


(13 F)  "As he had opened the mouth of his father with it, as he had opened the mouth of Osiris (*Wsr*) with it."

(14 A)  "With the metal which comes out of *St*, the *mshtjw* ⁽¹⁾, the metal which opens the mouth of the Gods."

(14 B)  "The mouth of *Nfr-k3-R'* is opened by it, thus he walks."


(14 C)  "And thus he speaks by himself to the Great Ennead which is in the Dwelling of the Prince (*sr*) which is in Heliopolis."

(14 D)  "And thus he takes the crown of Upper [Egypt near Horus, the Lord of the *p't* people (Patricians)."

(15)  "Words spoken: 'Osiris *Nfr-k3-R'*, I bring to you your Beloved Son to open your mouth'."




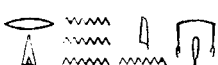
No. 5  *Sstw* "To pour Water on the Ground" (*Wns*, line 16 D) ⁽²⁾





THE MEANING

The meaning of the word '*sstw*' is 'to pour water on the ground' (see SETHE, "*Dramatischetexte*", p. 151). This action is illustrated by the determinative signs, which we will discuss in detail below, and it is especially clear in list No. 69, where this item is written .






⁽¹⁾ This is the name of the Great Bear, that is to say the soul of *St*. See PLUTARCH, "*Isis and Osiris*", 21. See also SETHE, "*Dramatischetexte*", p. 233. See also "*Ancient Egypt*", (Maah, 1925) p. 6.

⁽²⁾ For this rite, see also *J.E.A.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 80.

The word 'sṯw' originally meant 'ground' (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 425  =  = "der boden"). This is very clearly seen in a relief from the Tomb of *K3.j-gm.w-nj*, where in the rite of double aspersion, the group pouring water on the ground is inscribed , while the group pouring water in a basin is inscribed  "Giving water, by the K3-servant".




When speaking of the use of the *hs*-vase, Jequier says (¹) that the first item in the offering-list (*sṯw*) is consecrated to the preliminary purification of the place where the offerings are to be set down before the dead or the God. This operation consisted of pouring pure water over the head of a kneeling priest who scrubs the ground, offering-stone, or offering-table, upon which the food is to be placed. Jequier (*ibid.*, p. 307, Note 3) also thinks that the expression    , which sometimes accompanies the name of the vases in the frieze of objects in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi, shows that it concerns an operation having to do with the feet of the deceased, consequently, on the ground, and not only on the offering-table, as one would think, in accordance with the numerous variants of the offering-list.






According to the formula accompanying the item *sṯw* in the Pyramid Texts, the aim of this action is to enable the deceased to get rid of all that is evil in that place.

According to Jequier (*ibid.* p. 307), the vase from which the water is poured has the form of  *hs*, or  *kbh*. This is usually true of the representations on the chapel walls, but in the determinatives of the lists of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties it is either  or , and only in lists Nos. 34 and 46 we have the *hs*-vase. But during the Sixth Dynasty, the *hs* and *kbh*-vases frequently appear in the determinatives of *sṯw* (see below), but even then, an elongated form of the *mw*-jar , is still the most frequent form of vessel employed.

In some instances the amount of water to be poured out is limited to a certain quantity, as may be seen by the determinatives which show the number of vessels employed as well as their shape. See, for instance, the list of *Nfr-njswt* (No. 5 *T*). (For further details concerning this rite, see above, p. 89.)


THE HISTORY

As far as I am aware, the item *sṯw* did not appear in the offering-list before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, and, as we have already seen, the earliest purificatory rite in the list was written  , and placed before the face or upper arm of the figure of the tomb-owner. (For this writing in our material, see list No. 2. In list No. 1, it is simply written , also in No. 3.)


During the early part of the Fourth Dynasty we have also the writing   (see list No. 4 *T*), which was later extended to    (see below).

(¹) JEQUIER, "Les Frises d'Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire", p. 306.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY


The first occurrence of this item in our material is in the list of *Sš.t-htp* (No. 4 *T*) where it is written . (For this writing, see also lists Nos. 5 *T*, 14, 15 *H*.)

We have also the following writing for the Fourth Dynasty:—

 : lists Nos. 12, 11, 16 *H*.







The first form of writing may have a general meaning of purification water, and is the earliest form. The second writing, as we have already mentioned, does not seem to have appeared before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.




UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 7 *T*, we have the writing  which is unique in our material, and reads *sk mw*: 'to pour water'. The verb 'sk' is here used in a figurative sense, see *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 311; and compare the Arabic يضرب مثلا : 'to beat an example' = 'to say' (*or*) give an example', or يضرب طريقا = : 'to beat a route' = 'to make a way', etc.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The characteristic determinative for this word is a figure of a kneeling priest engaged in the rite of purification (see above, p. 88) and the following are the normal variants:—

(1)  : list No. 4 *T*; (2)  : lists Nos. 12, 15 (?) *H*; (3)  : list No. 14; (4)  : list 5 *T*; (5)  : list No. 11; (6)  : list No. 7 *T*.

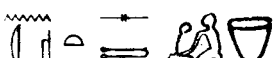
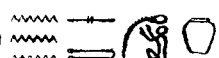

The figure of the kneeling priest gives the general meaning of purification (see GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 436:  *w'b* "pure, clean"). At the same time, it has the special meaning of water poured on the ground. The fact that it could be used equally to determine  and  proves that in the lists these two forms of writing have the same meaning. No. 2 represents the water falling upon the hands of the priest and then on the ground. No. 3 only occurs once, and here the water falls into a *hnt*-basin. No. 4 is the same as No. 1, but has the addition of two *hnt*-basins denoting the quantity of water to be used, and the form of the vessel in which it was contained. No. 5 is the same, but the water is to be contained in a single *nw*-jar. From these determinatives we see that the water was to fall directly on to the ground in three cases. In one example it falls into the hands of the priest, and then on the ground. Once it falls on to an offering-stone, and once into a basin, and in the case of list No. 16 *H*, the matter is doubtful. But as we are not always sure of the accuracy of some of the hand-copies from which these lists were taken, we cannot place too much trust in these details

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H*, the object under the man's hand should be either the *hnt*-basin ∇ or the offering-stone \square . The determinative of No. 15 *H* is also defective.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY
















During the Fifth Dynasty we have the following new writing :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 18 *T*, 28 *H*, 31 *H*, 50 *H*, 72 (?), 78; (2)  : lists Nos. 67 *H*, 59 *H*; (3)  : list No. 143 *H*.

The first example reads *nms.t sst.w.*, *nms.t* being the name of the jar in which the purificatory water was contained. The second example is a combination of the writings of the preceding dynasty. The appearance of the form of writing in the lists indicates a date not earlier than the latter end of the Fifth Dynasty, and, as we shall see, it became common during the Sixth Dynasty. The third example is from the list of King *Wni's*, and gives us the pronunciation of the word as *sst(w)*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives for the Fifth Dynasty :—

- (1)  \varnothing : lists Nos. 17 *H*, 49 *H*. This form with the *nw*-jar \varnothing does not appear in our material after the end of the Fifth Dynasty; (2)  : list No. 18 *T*; (3)  δ : lists Nos. 19 *T*, 27, 73, 76; (4)  δ : lists Nos. 20 *P*, 22 *H*, 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 29 *H*, 34, 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 44, 47 *H*, 54, 55, 67 *H*, 71; (5)  : lists Nos. 23 *H*, 37, 41, 53, 58; (6)  : list No. 30; (7)  : list No. 70; (8)  7 : list No. 52 *P*; (9)  : list No. 69; (10)  : list No. 46; (11)  list No. 78; (12)  \varnothing : lists Nos. 40 *H*, 48, 49 *H*; (13)  δ : lists Nos. 75, 77; (14)  : list No. 79; (15)  : list No. 143 *H*.

The last example, being from the list of King *Wni's*, shows the water pouring upon the offering-stone, but omits the figure of the priest. This omission or curtailment of human and animal signs became more common in a certain class of lists during the Sixth Dynasty, as we shall presently see. In example No. 9, we have the elaborate double determinative, which is characteristic of the lists of the late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties. The form of No. 3 of the Fourth Dynasty has dropped out of use, and we no longer see the water pouring into the basin. In lists Nos. 25 and 26 *H*, we have what appears to be a variant of this form, but here the jar, into which the water seems to be falling, is the general determinative of the word and is not part of the group at all.

UNUSUAL DETERMINATIVES


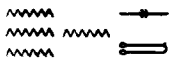



The following determinatives are somewhat unusual :—

In list No. 18 *T* the jar of water is in front of the shoulder of the priest, instead of above his head ; while in list No. 31 *H* the jar is in front of his face, and turned towards him. In list No. 69 the second priest holds the jar himself and pours the water on the ground. In list No. 78 the water is omitted.


From the determinative signs we see that in nineteen examples the water falls on an offering-stone, in contrast with the single instance found during the Fourth Dynasty. In sixteen examples the water is poured directly upon the ground, in six examples the water falls upon the hand of the priest, and in not a single example does it fall into a vessel.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find the following forms of writing :—

(1)  lists Nos. 84 *P*, **115**, 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (2)  “*Mw n sstw*” : lists Nos. 89 *P*, 110, *T*. This is a writing characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty, and as we shall see later, the preposition  is often included in the writings of the lists of this period. In the damaged entry in list No. 125 *P* it is  instead of .

UNUSUAL WRITINGS







In lists Nos. 90 *P*, 113 *T* and 119 *T*, we have the later form of the sign .



FAULTY WRITINGS



















In list No. 112 *T*, the sign  is omitted. In list No. 120 *T* the first sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :—


(1)  : lists Nos. 93 *H*, 109 *T*, 110 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 119 *T*, **125**, 127 *T*, 130 *P*, **126**, 131 *P*, 132 *T*, 133 *T*, 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 138 *P*; (2)  : lists Nos. **99**, 134 *H*; (3)  : list No. **116**, (4)  : list No. 137 *T*; (5)  |  : list No. 112 *T*.

These forms entirely eliminate the human figure, which together with certain animal and reptile signs, were at this period considered dangerous when inscribed in the burial-chamber. Other determinatives are : (1)  : list No. 120 *H*; and (2)  : 111 *T*. These signs which curtail the human figure are also the outcome of the belief just mentioned. These writings with omitted or curtailed signs are very valuable evidence for dating, as they do not occur in the

private lists before the Sixth Dynasty, and, moreover, are confined to those lists which are inscribed in the burial-chamber or in the sarcophagus. (3)  : list No. **115**. This is a re-appearance of a Fourth Dynasty sign which seems to have completely dropped out of use during the Fifth Dynasty. (4)  : lists Nos. 142 *H*, **88**. This group illustrates the purification ceremony (see above, p. 88). (5)  |  : list No. 139 *T*; (6)  |  : list No. **128**; (7)  |  |  : list No. 86 *H*; (8)  |  : list No. 121 *H*; (9)  |  : list No. **87**; (10)  : list No. 100 *H*; (11)  : list No. 101 *H*; (12)  |  : list No. **102**; (13)  : list No. 81 *T*.

















A salient point to be noticed about all these determinatives is the elongation of the vase from which the water is pouring. This elongation does not usually occur before the Sixth Dynasty. During this period, we see that in thirty-four examples the water falls directly upon the ground; in eleven examples it falls upon the offering-stone, in four cases upon the hands of the priest, and in three cases it falls into a vessel (see lists, Pls. LXXIII, LXXXI, LXXXIX, XCVIII, CVI, CXV, CXXIII, CXXXI, CXLII).

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

















In list No. 94 *H*, we have what seems to be a faulty rendering of the curtailed sign  (compare with the similar form in entry No. 18 of the private lists).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 23 ⁽¹⁾ :—

(16 A)  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  "Osiris, take thou away all those who hate *Wni's* and who have spoken evil against his name."


(16 B)  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  "Thoth (*Dhwtj*) hurry! Take it to Osiris (*Wsr*). You have brought the evil spoken against *Wni's*."

(16 C)  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  "Place it in your hand (to be said four times). Do not let go of it."

(16 D)  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  "Beware that you let go of it | Pouring water ⁽¹⁾."

⁽¹⁾ See MASPERO, "La Table d'Offrandes", p. 327. See also BLACKMAN, "Some Middle Kingdom Religious Texts", *A.Z.*, Vol. 47, p. 124; also of line 642 B, SETHE, "Übersetzung und Kommentar zu die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten", Vol. III, p. 189. For another translation, see GARDINER, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largesse", *J.E.A.*, Vol. XXIV, pp 90, 91.


Thus, we see that although the water was used in cleaning the place where the ceremony of the repast was to take place, the temple or the tomb chapel, the principal idea was to remove the moral evil from the place. It is interesting to notice here that this washing of the holy place has its correspondence in the Islamic faith, and we see that the Kaaba at Mecca is washed yearly during the pilgrimage, and that princes and noblemen vie with each other for the honour of participating in this ceremony. The idea is that by assisting in this ceremony, the participants are supposed to be cleaning away their own moral sins.

Nos. 6 and 98  *Snt*r *Ht* "Burning Incense" (*Wns's*, Line 18 D)

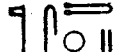
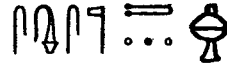
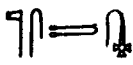

THE MEANING

According to the oldest writings which we have, this item was simply a pellet of incense, but was later qualified as 'incense on the fire'. That is to say burning incense, and not merely the pellets.

THE HISTORY









This is one of the oldest items in the offering-list, having appeared as early as the Second Dynasty, when we see it on the Bankfield Stele, written  *snt*r (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 87).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this entry in our material occurs in the list of *Ms-s* (No. 1) where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 15 *H*; (2)  *sdt snt*r 'incense on the fire': lists Nos. 11, 14; (3)  : list No. 16 *H*. In this latter writing the sign  is not a determinative, and should be pronounced *sdt* (later it may be pronounced *ht*).

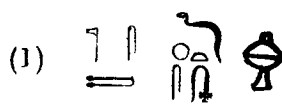
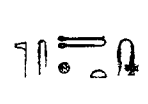
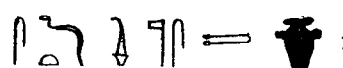
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives of this word, as employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

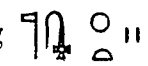

(1)  or  : lists Nos. 1, 12 (second appearance) 14, (second appearance). This represents three pellets of incense; (2)  : list No. 16 *H* (second appearance), a simple form of the above; (3)  : lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*; (4)  or  : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 6 *H*. This represents the pellets of incense placed in a *hnt*-basin. (5)  : lists Nos. 11, 13 (second appearance), 15 *H* (second appearance), 16 *H* (second appearance). This represents an incense burner. (6)  : list No. 15 *H*. A simpler form of the preceding.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY






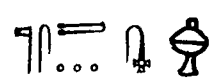











For the Fifth Dynasty we have the following new writings:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 72, 55 *H*; (2)  : list No. 143 *H*;
 : list No. 18 *H*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS











In lists No. 32 (entry 98) and No. 35 *H*, we have the writing  which seems to be an abridged form of *sntr sdt ht*. In list No. 40 *H* we have simply  without even a determinative. In list No. 59 *H*, *sntr* and *ht* are written as though they were two separate entries.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 28 *H*, we have a faulty writing for  *sdt*, and the sign  should be . In lists Nos. 44 and 47 *H*, the sign  is an error for . In list No. 53 the entry is written  *sntr*, but the sign  which would have made it *sntr-sdt* has been misinterpreted as a second determinative, and placed below in a compartment with the real determinative . In list No. 57 *H* (second appearance), the sign  should be . In list No. 74 *P*, the sign  should be , and in the second appearance in the same list, the sign  is defective. In list No. 79, the sign  should be , and the sign  is parasitical. In list No. 77, the sign  is also parasitical.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives for this period:—

- (1)  : list No. 76; (2)  : list No. 69; (3)  : list No. 69 (second appearance); (4)  : list No. 70; (these last three forms represent the priest performing the rite of burning incense, and is a form which occur frequently during the Sixth Dynasty); (5)  : list No. 56; (6)  : list No. 33 (second appearance); (7)  : list No. 18 *T*; (8)  : list No. 18 *T* (second appearance) (actual specimens of this type of incense-burner came to light during our excavations of the Solar-boats of *H'j.f-R'* (see Part I of this volume, p. 64); (9)  : list No. 59 *H*, this may perhaps be an error for .

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

The determinatives of lists Nos. 33, 18 *T* and 71 may be degenerate or corrupt forms of the incense-burner . In list No. 72 the sign , an oil jar, should not be used here.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The only new writing for this period is $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$, *sdt.n.sntr*: lists Nos. **89** (second appearance), 84 *P*, 90 *H* (?); the old form $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ now only appears in two lists: Nos. **91** (second appearance) and 138 *P*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 119 *T*, we have only $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ *sdt*, the fire without the incense. In lists Nos. 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, *sdt* and *sntr* appear as two separate items, each having its own numeral. In lists Nos. 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 113 *T*, 127 *T*, the sign of the serpent $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ is shown headless for the same superstitious reason, which prompted the omission or curtailment of the human figures (see above, p. 168). In list No. 148 *T*, this item appears as $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}} \overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ (entry No. 98),

FAULTY WRITINGS

List No. 86 *H* has an unrecognizable sign at the end of the writing. In lists Nos. 89 *P* and 101 *H* the signs $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ have no place. Perhaps they are errors for $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$. In list No. 103 *T* the signs $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ are an error for $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$. In list No. 108 *H*, the first sign $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ should be $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$.











THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. **87**; here the priest is shown presenting pellets of incense in a *hnt*-basin;
 (2) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. **115** (entry No. 98); (3) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 86 *H* (entry No. 98); (4) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 86 *H*; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 84 *P*; (6) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: lists Nos. 114 *T*, 131 *P* (entry No. 98), 136 *H* (entry No. 98), 138 *P*; (7) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: lists Nos. 119 *T*, 137 *T*, 121 *H*; (8) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 95 *H* (this seems to represent a smoking pellet of incense); (9) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ (perhaps for $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$): list No. 134 *H*;
 (10) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 145 *H*; (11) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 96 *P* (this perhaps represents a smoking censer);
 (12) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 138 *P* (entry No. 98); (13) $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$: list No. 142 *H*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

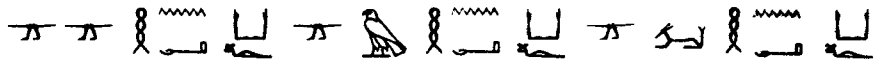
In list No. 84 *P* the sign of the jar is out of place here, while in entry No. 98 of the same list the *nw*-jar $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$ may be an error for the pellet of incense $\overset{\circ}{\text{𓄏}}$.

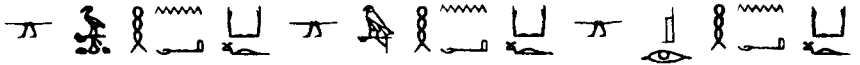
It is not difficult to see how these jar signs crept into the determinatives of this entry. The normal form of the incense burner  by repeated copying became  (list No. 97), or  (list No. 84 P). When drawn short and wide, the incense-burner appears as  (list No. 116), or even  (list No. 84 P, entry No. 98), if, indeed, this is not an error for the pellet , or the sign . Similarly the censer  and the bowl  (lists Nos. 145 H, 119 T) may by blind copying become elongated into  (list No. 127 T; entry No. 98). This is only one example of the many distortions of signs which we often see in the deterioration of Egyptian drawings of signs, and of which we have given a vivid example in the form of the offering-table with the *gsu*-bread upon it (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 170, ff.).

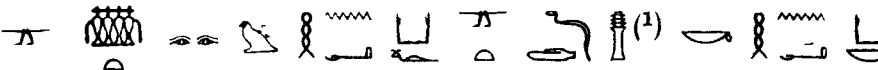
THE FORMULA

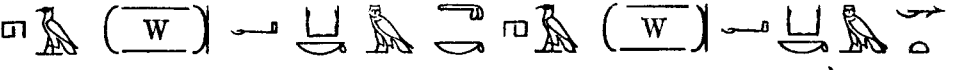
The utterances in the Pyramid Texts concerning this entry allows us to understand that the rite of burning incense was a purificatory ceremony, and at the same time brought the dead king into connection with the Gods Horus (*Hr*), St, Thoth (*Dhwtj*), Osiris (*Wsr*) and *Hntj-irtj*, and with their Kas, and also with his own Ka.


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 25:—

(17 A)  “He hurries who hurries with his Ka, Horus (*Hr*) hurries with his Ka, St hurries with his Ka.”

(17 B)  “Thoth (*Dhwtj*) hurries with his Ka, Horus (*Hr*) hurries with his Ka, Osiris hurries with his Ka.”

(17 C)  “*Hntj-irtj* hurries with his Ka ; so also you yourself ought to hurry with your Ka.”

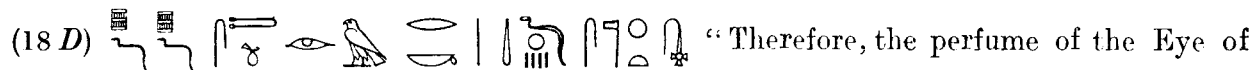
(18 A)  “O *Wns* the arm (or hand) of your Ka is in front of you, O *Wns*, the arm of your Ka is behind you (2).”

(1) For  “you yourself”, see SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, 826 b, Vol IV, p 80.


(2) See also “*Ancient Egypt*”, *ibid.*

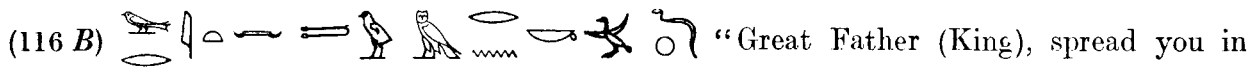
(18B)  "O *Wn's*,
the leg of your Ka is in front of you, O *Wn's* the leg of your Ka is behind you."

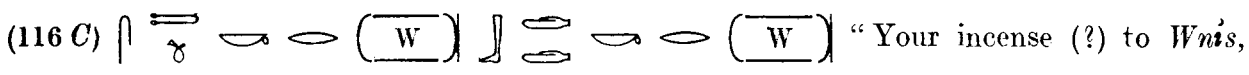
(18C)  "Osiris *Wn's*, the Eye of
Horus (Hr) is given to you, therefore you equip your face with it (1)."

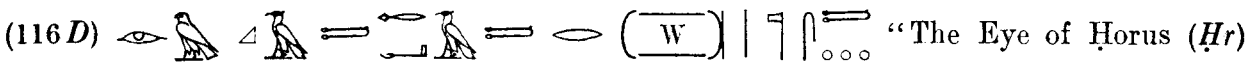
(18D)  "Therefore, the perfume of the Eye of
Horus (Hr) spreads around you. Words said four times: 'burning incense'" (see also *Nt*,
lines 159-165 (2)).

The ancient Egyptians sometimes accorded a divine personality to incense, as we may see
in line 116 *A-D* of the Pyramid Texts of *Wn's* :—

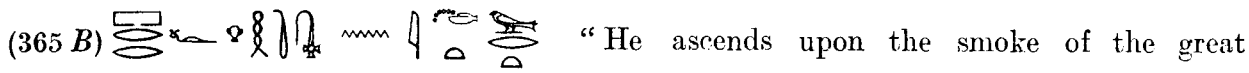
(116A)  "Hail to you,
incense! Hail to you, Incense! Hail to you, *Mn-wr*⁽³⁾ which is in the members of *Horus (Hr)*!"

(116B)  "Great Father (King), spread you in
your name 'Round ball of perfume'."

(116C)  "Your incense (?) to *Wn's*,
your perfume *bdd* to *Wn's*."

(116D)  "The Eye of *Horus (Hr)*
is high, extend it to *Wn's* | incense."

The smoke of the burning incense may also be one of the means by which the dead
king might ascend to heaven. Thus, in Pyramid Texts, line 365 *B* we read :—


(365B)  "He ascends upon the smoke of the great
incense burning."

(1) See SETHE, "Dramatische Texte", p. 207.



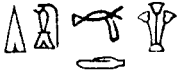
(2) See also BLACKMAN, "A.Z.", Vol. 47, p. 124.

(3) For the meaning of *Mn-wr*, see "The Significance of Incense and Libations", *A.Z.*, Vol. 50, pp. 74, 75, where Blackman says
that it is a divine personality. But by analogy this *mn-wr* ought to be a perfume, if we compare with line 378 *B*.

The simile here is that the *mn-wr* comes out of the members of *Horus (Hr)* and the *p1d* incense comes out of his knee.
See SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. II, p. 107.

No. 7  *Kbh.w Bd T3-2* "Libation of Natron, Two Pellets"
(*Wn's*, Line 23 B)






THE MEANING

This item which appears as No. 14 in the private lists means cool water, in which were dissolved two pellets of natron (for a discussion of this subject, see above, p. 85, ff.) In the Pyramid Texts of *Wn's*, we have a variant writing which gives  (line 23 B) "giving libation water from the Delta marshes" (see *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 125) and also simply  "giving cool water" (*Wn's*, line 23 B). In the texts of *Nfr-k3-R'* we have the following variant, which seems to read  "give a libation of the Lower Egyptian water-source (?)".

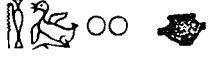

Jequier is of the opinion that this item refers to a ceremony in which the offering-table and its utensils were to be purified by means of a solution of natron and water (¹), but as we shall see, the formula accompanying this item in the Pyramid Texts seems to refer more to the purification of the dead.

THE HISTORY

As far back as the Second Dynasty, we find the *kbh.w*-vase appearing in the Archaic list on the Bankfield Stele (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 87, Fig. 13). But it is not until the late Third or early Fourth Dynasty that the natron also made its appearance in the lists (see *R'-htp* of Meydum, PETRIE, "*Medum*", Pl. XIII, and also *Nfr*, LUTZ, "*Egyptian Tomb Stele and Offering-Stones*", Pl. II A; see also "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 107) and even then the two items were entirely separate, and the composite entry *kbh.w t3* did not appear as a single item until the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.

In our material *kbh.w* and *t3* both appear for the first time in list No. 3, where they are written  with eight pellets of natron. In list No. 8 H, as in the earlier lists, they are written separately and are placed far from each other. Thus, *kbh.w*  is placed as No. 27, while *t3*  is placed as No. 14. When in the private lists, *kbh.w* was removed from No. 27, and included in one entry with *T3* as No. 14, the place 27 was filled by  *mw* "water", followed by  *bd* "natron", thus making a repetition of the offering of natron and water, but under another name.




THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first certainly dated list we have in our material in which *kbh.w t3* appears as a single item, is that of *Dbhnj* (No. 11) where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 12, 14, 16 H). We have also the following writings for the Fourth Dynasty:  lists Nos. 13, 15 H.

(¹) JEQUIER, "*Les Frises d'Objets du Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*", p. 307.

THE DETERMINATIVES











The forms of the determinatives are somewhat varied, and we find the following signs employed:—





- (1)  : list No. 14; (2)  : list No. 12; (3)  : list No. 11.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES





In list No. 16 *H*, the two pellets are wrongly drawn as grains *oo*.


















THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find that the salient features of the writing of this item is the use of the fuller form      (see, for example, list No. 30) or      (lists No. 48, 75, 78).



The writing     is new, and appears in lists Nos. 18 *T* and 28 *H*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS








The general form of the water-jar employed in writing *kbh.w* is either  or  , but we also have some unusual forms. Thus, in lists Nos. 25 *H* and 26 *H* it is  ; in list No. 41 it is simply  , and has no water issuing from it.

In list No. 25 *H*, we have the sign  which at first seems to be wrongly replacing  (see list No. 26 *H*, which is from the same tomb). But in the royal lists, and also in the great private lists of the end of the Sixth Dynasty, we have an entry for 'Natron of the South' (see list No. 143 *H*, No. 13           ). Therefore, in list No. 25 *H* the entry may perhaps be read 'A jar (or libation) of cool water, and two pellets of natron of the south'. In lists Nos 46 and 49 *H* the pellets are three in number, instead of two. This may be a revival of an old entry which occurs in the list of *Nfr* (Lutz, "Egyptian Tomb Stelæ and Offering-Stones" Pl. 11 *A*), which gives     *bd ts 3* "three pellets of natron". On the other hand, the three pellets may be merely the sign of the plural.



THE DETERMINATIVES

The most interesting of the new determinatives are those in lists Nos. 69 and 70. In the latter, two priests are shown performing the purification rite with a solution of water and natron  (see above, p. 88 *ff.*). In list No. 69 we have an abridged form . Here the priest pours out the purifying water into a basin set upon the ground before him.

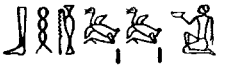





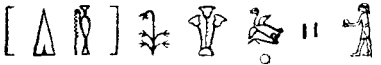

The following determinatives are also new :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **53**, 19 *T*, 22 *H*. Here we are shown the two pellets of natron in a basin.
 (2)  : list No. 23 *H*. This is perhaps the same as the preceding, but less carefully drawn.
 (3)  : list No. 25 *H* ; (4)  : list No. **45** ; (5)  : list No. **44** ; (6)  : list No. 38 *H*.
 This represents a single pellet of natron, but the numeral given for this entry is 11 = 2.
 In list No. 30 we have the double determinative .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY










In most of the royal lists this entry only occurs once, as No. 7, and except for the variants mentioned above (*see* p. 175) has the simple writing of  : list No. 145 *H* or even  : list No. 148 *T*. But in the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) and in the great private lists of the end of the Sixth Dynasty, it occurs twice, once as No. 7, and again as No. 99 (which latter entry corresponds in position to No. 14 of the ordinary private lists) and the writings present some interesting variants.

But, on the other hand, the salient characteristic of the private lists of this period is the greater number of lists where this entry is given a fuller phonetic spelling, and we now have the following new forms :—





- (1)  : list No. **87**, or  : list No. 113 *T* (*see* also for these forms lists Nos. 94 *P*, 110 *T*, 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*) ; (2)  : lists Nos. **80**, **102**, 84 *P*, 101 *H*. Completely new is the writing  or  : lists Nos. 111 *T*, 114 *T*. In list No. 135 *T*, we have  : “ Giving cool water and two pellets of natron ”, and in list No. 139 *T*, we have the elaborate variant  “ Giving cool water and two pellets of natron of the South and of the North ”. This seems to have also occurred in the damaged lists from the Pyramid Temple of *Ppjj Nfr-kt-R* (*see* lists Nos. 146 *T* and 147 *T*). In list No. 110 *T*, *kbh.w* and *ts* are treated as two separate entries, and each has its own numeral (*see* also list No. 119 *T*). In list No. 142, we have .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows :—

- (1)  : list No. **102** ; (2)  : list No. **88** ; (3)  list No. **115** ; (4)  : list No. **87** ;
 (5)  : list No. **128** ; (6)  : list No. **82** ; (7)  : list No. 139 *T* ; (8)  : list No. 86 *H*.
 In list No. 121 *H*, *kbh.w ts* is determined by three pellets of natron, but in list No. 122 *H*, which is from the same tomb, they are only two. In list No. 142 *H*, we have .

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 119 *T*, where the item is split up into two entries, *kḥ.w* is determined by the offering-table , while *tj* is determined by the two jars  of a type usually used for wine. On the other hand, these may represent the table and the utensils to be purified, in accordance with Jequier's theory mentioned above. Or the jars may represent the two vessels of water, in which case their form is faulty. In list No. 103 *T*, which is a notoriously faulty one, the sign  should be the pellet .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterances Nos. 26-32 :—

(19 A) 

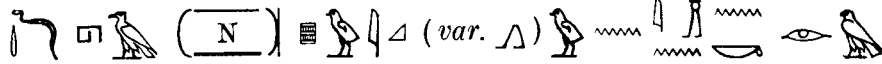
“O Ḥorus (*Hr*) who is in Osiris *Nfr-k3-R'*, take to yourself the Eye of Ḥorus in your possession, take the Eye of Ḥorus, which he fumigates with its perfume.”

(19 B)  “Words spoken :


‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R'*, take the Eye of Ḥorus with which you equip yourself, with its perfume.’”

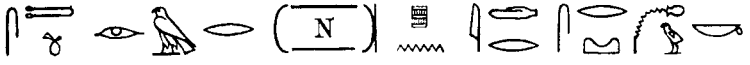
(19 C)  “Words spoken :

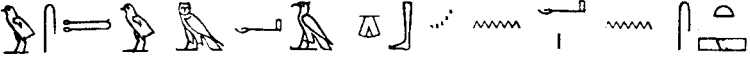
‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R'*, Ḥorus gave to you his Eye, equip your face with it.’”

(20 A)  “Words spoken :

‘O this *Nfr-k3-R'*, I have come, and I bring to you the Eye of Ḥorus.’”

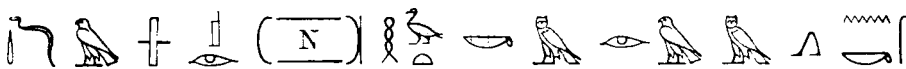
(20 B)  “With which you equip your face, and which purifies you, and its perfume is for you.”

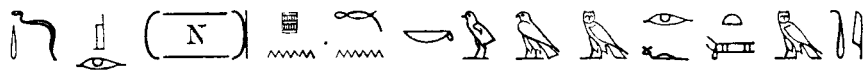
(20 C)  “The perfume of the Eye of Ḥorus belongs to this *Nfr-k3-R'*, it drives away your pus.”

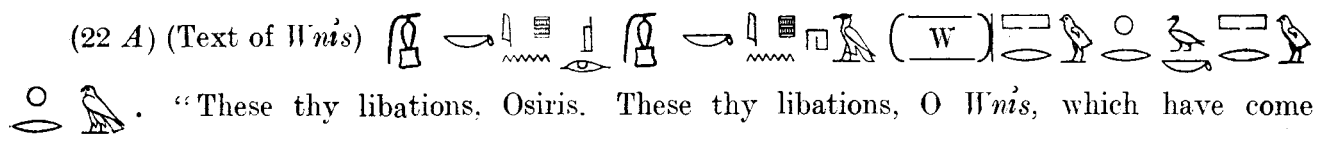
(20 D)  “And it protects you against the flood of tears caused by the hand of *St.*”


(21 A) 


“O this *Nfr-k3-R'*, may the healthy Eye of Ḥorus be accommodated to you. The Eye of Ḥorus is healthy and you are healthy” (see SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 160).

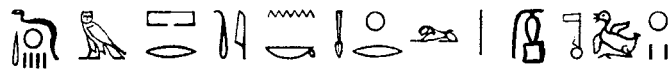
(21 B)  “Words spoken :
‘O Horus who is in Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*’, equip yourself with the Eye of Horus, bring it’.”


(21 C)  “Words spoken :
‘O this Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*’, Horus had filled you with his Eye completely’.”

(22 A) (Text of *Wn's*)  . “These thy libations, Osiris. These thy libations, O *Wn's*, which have come forth before thy son, which have come forth before Horus” (see *A.Z.*, Vol 50, p. 69).

(22 B)  “I have come, I have brought to thee the Horus Eye, that thy heart may be cool by it. I bring it under thy sandals (1).”

(23 A)  “Take to yourself the flood which comes out of you, that your heart will not be fatigued by possessing it (2)”.

(23 B)  “To be said four times: ‘Take that which comes to you at the voice | A libation of Natron, two pellets’.”

Nos. 8-12  *Bd T3-1* “One Pellet of Natron” (*N/r-k3-R*, Lines 24A 26E)



THE MEANING

These items represent five pellets of natron which were seemingly dropped one by one into the purificatory water, or were presented singly to the dead, a special utterance accompanying each presentation. These items do not occur in the private lists.

(1) SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 108, ‘I bring to you the Eye of Horus, therefore, your heart may be cool by it. I bring it to you to the place of your sandals.’



(2) That is to say the Eye of Horus, the water. This is another example of the attempt to combine the two accounts of the resurrection of Osiris, according to one of which he was restored to life by eating the Eye of Horus, and according to the other, by the lustral washing of his corpse (see BLACKMAN, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. XXXIX, p. 50. See also MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 331 and BLACKMAN, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 50, p. 69).

THE WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*, the writing is , but in list No. 150 *T* it is .


THE DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 147 *T*, the determinative, which is damaged, represents a priest kneeling upon the ground, and supporting an offering-table on which are pellets of natron. Behind him stands a priest pouring water from a *kbh.w*-vase over the head of the kneeling man, onto the pellets on the offering-table.

In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*, we have  which represents a single pellet of natron and in list No. 150 *T*, it is .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterances Nos. 33-34 (see also Utterance No. 423):—

(24 *A*)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris (*Wsir*) *Nfr-k3-R*’, take to yourself this your libation, which was libated to you through *Horus*.’”

(24 *B*)  “In your name ‘that which has come forth from the cataract’. Take for yourself the Inundation which comes out of you (*i.e.* the Nile water) (1).”

Notice that here the purificatory water is said to be from the Nile which is here thought to rise from a cavern near Elephantine, in the region of the First Cataract. This is an Osirian idea, as in the old solar beliefs, the lustration water was said to have been identified with the Primeval Ocean, *Nwn*, or brought from a pool sacred to the Sun-god (see BLACKMAN, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 52, 53). According to the belief expressed in the Pyramid Texts we are discussing, the Nile was thought to be the vital fluid, which issued from a leg of the dismembered corpse of the murdered Osiris (*Wsir*), this limb being buried in a cavern, which, according to one tradition, was situated under the island of Bigeh in the First Cataract (see JUNKER, “*Das Gotterdekret uber das Abaton*”, p. 37, *f.*). Therefore, water brought from the region of the First Cataract was supposed to be unusually pure and potent, as it issued directly from the corpse of the God.


For modern African instances of the belief in the magical potency of the fluid issuing from a decaying corpse, and its use in magico-religious ceremonies in connection with the burial of the royal dead, see WINWOOD READ, “*Savage Africa*”, p. 367; also BUDGE, “*Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*”, Vol. II, pp. 111-112.

(1) See MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 331, also DUMICHEN, “*Der Grabpalast*”, p. 17.


In this latter instance, which is taken from the account of a Belgian missionary, printed in "George Grenfell", Vol. II, p. 655, the liquid drained from the decomposing corpse of a Baluba Chief is contained in a pottery jar. At the time of interment, the liquid is poured into the grave, and the jar broken. (For the breaking of the pottery jar in the ancient Egyptian tomb, see above, p. 92. For a very clear reference to the belief that the liquid of corruption could purify and re-vitalize the corpse, see Pyramid Texts, line 788 A-C. and line 2112, ff.).

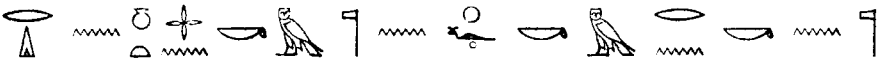
THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance 33:—

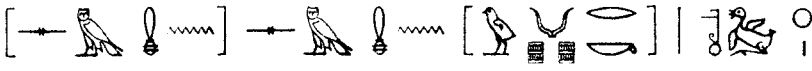
(24 C)  "Horus has allowed that I assemble to you the Gods from every place to which you are gone."

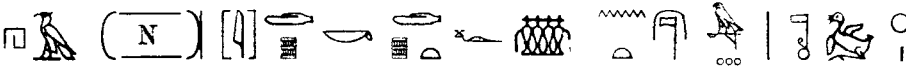
(24 D)  "Horus has allowed that I count to you his children of the place where you have been drowned (1)."

(25 A)  "Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*, take to yourself your natron, thus you are divine."

(25 B)  "Nut has made that you should be a God for your enemy, in your name of God."


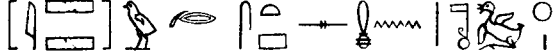
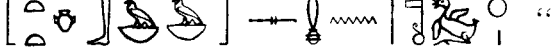
(25 C)  "*Hr-rnp.wj* acknowledges you, therefore, you are rejuvenated in your name 'Young Water' (2)."

(26 A)  "What is it, what is it that opens your mouth? | A pellet of natron."

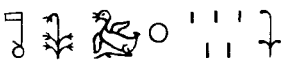
(26 B)  "O *Nfr-k3-R*, you taste its flavour in front of the chapels. A pellet of natron"

(1) See SETHE, "Dramatische Texte", p. 123; also BLACKMAN, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXXIX, pp. 52, 53 and SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. III, pp. 140, 142.

(2) We have already seen that the Nile water was thought of as a liquid issuing from the corpse of Osiris (*Wsir*); here the inundation is the personification of the re-vitalized Osiris (see also for this idea, Pyramid Texts, line 767A, for a late variant of this text, where it accompanies a presentation of a libation in the annual re-enactment of the embalming of Osiris, see BLACKMAN, *ibid*, p. 68).

- (26 C)  "What spits Horus? A pellet of Natron."
 (26 D)  "What spits St? A pellet of Natron (1)."
 (26 E)  "The heart of the Two Masters is harmonious (equal) (2) | A pellet of natron."

(See MASPERO, "La Table d'Offrandes", p. 332; also MORET, "Le Rituel du Culte Divin", p. 202; also SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. I, p. 169).


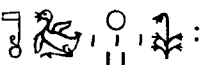

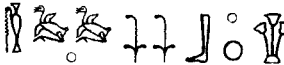
No. 13  ⊗ *Bd Šm' Tj Nhb-5* "Natron of the South,
of Nekheb, Five Pellets" (*Wm's*, Line 26 F)

THE MEANING

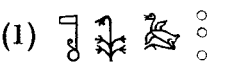


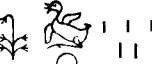
This item consists of five pellets of natron obtained from the town of *Nhb* in Upper Egypt (Hierakonpolis, or El-Kab), a district from which natron is still to be obtained. The five pellets referred to are, doubtless, the five pellets enumerated separately in Utterances Nos. 33 and 34 of the text of *Nfr-k3-R'*, which we have just dealt with.

THE WRITINGS



This item may be written in any of the following ways:—

- (1)  ⊗ : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*; (2)  : list No. 145 *H*;
 (3)  : list No. 146 *T*; (4)  (sic) : list No. 149 *T*, "cool water and two pellets of natron of *Nhb* of the North (sic)".

In the great private lists we have the following writings:—

- (1)  : list No. 135 *T*; (2)  : list No. 137 *T*,
 (3)  : list No. 136 *H*; (4)  : list No. 138 *P*.


FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 149 *T*, the sign  is faulty, and is an error for . In list No. 136 *H* the first sign is defective.

(1) Blackman interprets this as pellets of natron, chewed and spat out in order to purify the mouth (see "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt", *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 45).


(2) For a discussion of the expression *twtj-ib*, see SETHE "Kommentar", Vol. II, pp. 321, 322, line 488 A.


THE DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 146 *T* the determinative is damaged, but enough remains to show that it consisted of a kneeling priest holding an offering-table on which are some pellets of natron. Behind him stood a second priest, who poured a stream of water upon the pellets. In the private list No. 139 *T* the determinative is .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 34 (Text of Nfr-k3-R', with Restorations from Wn's) :—

(26 *F*)  "To be said four times: 'You purify yourself with natron among the followers of Ḥorus. | Natron of the South, of *Nhb*, five pellets.'"

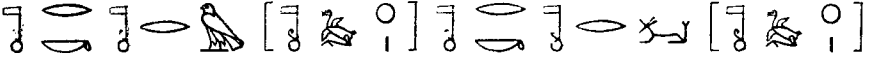
Nos. 14-18  *Bd t3* "A Pellet of Natron"
(*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 27 A-C) (Formula: *Wn's*, Line 27 A-C)

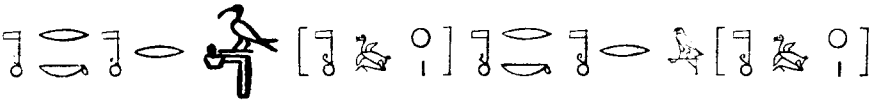
THE MEANING


These items are of exactly the same character as Nos. 8-12, and have precisely the same meaning and writing.

THE FORMULA

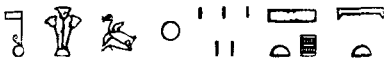
Pyramid Texts, Line 27 A-C (Wn's) :—

(27 *A*)  "The natron is for you, the natron is for Ḥorus (*Hr*). A pellet of natron. The natron is for you, the natron is for *St*. A pellet of natron."

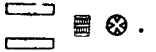

(27 *B*)  "The natron is for you, the natron is for Thoth (*Dhwtj*). A pellet of natron. The natron is for you, the natron is for the God. (King ?) A pellet of natron."

(27 *C*)  "You are also purified with natron among them. A pellet of natron." (For the use of this formula in a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text, see BLACKMAN, "A.Z.", Vol. 47, pp. 124, 125 [1].)

(1) See also SETHR, "Kommentar", Vol. III, p. 87, line 580 C, and DUMICHEN, "Der Grabpalast", p. 12, Pl. VI, f., also SETHR, "Dramatischatexte", p. 53.

No. 19  *Bd Mh, T, Štpt-5* “Natron of the North of Štpt,
Five Pellets” (*Wnšs*, Line 27 E)

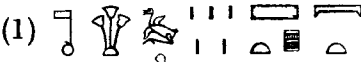
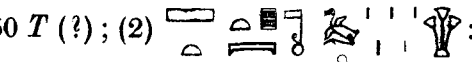
THE MEANING ⁽¹⁾ (see *W.B.* Vol. IV, p. 550)

This item consisted of five pellets of natron of the north, that is to say of Lower Egypt, and refers to the preceding entries (Nos. 14-18), where each pellet is enumerated separately. The name Štpt is the place from whence the Lower Egyptian natron was obtained, and is most probably to be identified with Wadi Natrun. It was later written . According to the old writing, it apparently has a relationship with  pt “the sky” and thus there seems to be a connection between the Goddess *Nwt* and this locality. Perhaps the Wadi Natrun with its lakes was thought to be similar to the early conception of Heaven with its celestial lakes. Judging by the context of the accompanying utterance, this item seems to have been intended for the purification of the mouth.

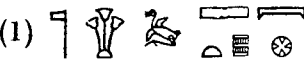
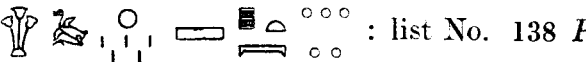

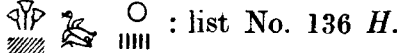
According to Jequier, who identifies this item as a perfume (incense), it was used in the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’, to purify the mouth of the dead, in order to restore to him the sense of taste. He says that these pellets were not used for fumigation, but to clarify and purify the water (JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XIX, p. 178. See also MASPERO, “*Le Rituel du Sacrifice Funeraire*”, “*Etudes de Mythologie et d’Archaeologie*”, Vol. I, p. 279.) They were not used for the ordinary divine cult of the Gods. See also BLACKMAN and FAIRMAN, “*The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple according to the Use of Edju*”, *J.E.A.*, Vol. 32, p. 76 [and pp. 79, 80.

THE WRITINGS


The following are the variant writings for this item:—




(1)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*, 150 *T* (?); (2)  : list No. 145 *H*.

In the private lists we have the following:—

(1)  : list No. 137 *T*; (2)  : list No. 138 *P*
(3)  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 139 *T*; (4)  : list No. 136 *H*.

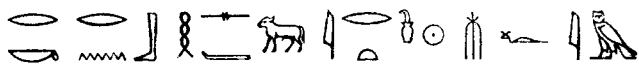
THE DETERMINATIVES


In the great private list No. 139 *T*, this item is determined by , a standing priest presenting a single pellet of natron.

⁽¹⁾ Jequier (*B.J.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178) is of the opinion that this item should be identified as perfume (incense) and not natron. But although the sign  is also employed in writing the word ‘incense’, it should be preceded by the sign  which is lacking in the writing of this  entry.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 35:—

(27 D)  "Your mouth is the mouth of a sucking-calf on the day when he is born (1)."

(27 E)  "Natron of the North, 5 pellets, of Štpt."


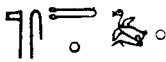
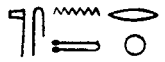
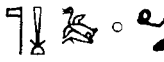
(See also BREASTED, "The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt", p. 103.)

No. 20  *Sutr T3=1* "One Pellet of Incense" (*Wm's, Line 29 C*)

THE MEANING


The meaning of this item is a pellet of incense, therefore, it is more or less a repetition of No. 7, but simpler in form, as the incense only is mentioned, and not the fire.

THE WRITINGS

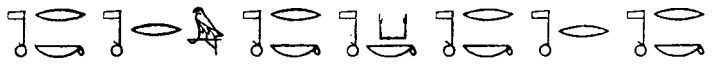
In the royal lists Nos. 143 *H* and 148 *T* this item is written  (see also the private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 139 *T*). In the royal list No. 145 *H* it is written  ; and in the private list No. 136 *H* it is spelt out  ; in list No. 142 *H* we have .


THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 36:—


(28 A)  "The incense is for you, the incense is for Horus, the incense is for you, the incense is for St, the incense is for you, the incense is for Thoth (*Dhotj*)."

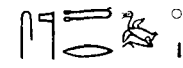
(1) According to Blackman, the King, by means of fumigation and the chewing of natron was mysteriously re-born, and brought into contact with the Gods, whose supernatural qualities he absorbed. His mouth was rendered pure in order that he might be fit to chant the praises of the Sun-god, and recite the sacred formulæ in the Temple ceremonies. (See BLACKMAN, *ibid*, p. 46. Note that the custom of washing the mouth before praying is still practised in modern Egypt. See also SETHE, "Der Nominal satz im Aegyptischen und Koptischen", p. 13.)

(28 B)  “The incense is for you, the incense is for the God. The incense is for you, the incense is for your Ka. The incense is for you, the incense is for your incense (?).”

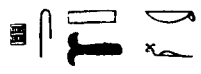
(28 C)  “The incense is for you and this is also in your brothers the Gods (?).”

(29 A)  “Natron is to you, speech is to you (?), you purify your bones absolutely, you are equipped with what is in you (?)”


(29 B)  “O Osiris (*Wsr*), I give to you the Eye of Horus, with which you equip and envelope (?) your face.”

(29 C)  “Incense, One pellet⁽¹⁾.”

This utterance is a variant of the line 27 A-C, which we have already seen in connection with entry No. 19.

No. 21  *Psš-kf* “An Implement used in the Ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’” (*Wnt's*, Line 30 A)

THE MEANING

This item was an instrument used in the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’. It generally has the form , as shown in the determinatives of the name, and actual specimens have been preserved for us. (See, for example, the fine specimen bearing the name of King *Hwfw*, found by Dr. Reisner at Giza [REISNER, “*Mycerinus*”, Pl. 65.].) According to Jequier the *psš-kf* was always made of stone, the most ancient examples being made of flint (*B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254, *ff.*)⁽²⁾.

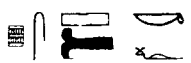
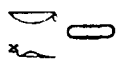
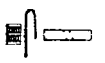
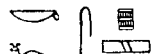
It seems that this implement was used during the Pre-dynastic Period, a fact which suggests that the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’ had an equally early origin. But as we have already pointed out, these implements may have originally been made to serve a practical everyday purpose, and their employment during the dynastic period for this rite may have been purely a religious archaism.

⁽¹⁾ See MASPERO, “*La Table d'Offrandes*”, p. 333.

⁽²⁾ This implement is also called *ps-n-kf*. Under this name it is twice mentioned in Edfu temple in inscriptions referring to the “Opening of the Mouth” of a statue of a divinity (see BLACKMAN and FAIRMAN, “*J.E.A.*”, Vol. 32, p. 88).





THE WRITINGS

The following are the writings employed for this item:—

- (1)  : list No. 143 *H*; (see also the private list No. 138 *P*); (2) 
 : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*, 150 *T* (see also the private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 139 *T*); (3)  : list No. 142 *H*.


THE DETERMINATIVES


The usual determinative for this item is the form of the instrument itself, and may appear as follows:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*, 150 *T* (private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 138 *P*);
 (2)  : list No. 148 *T*; (3)  : private list No. 139 *T*. Notice in this last the unusual form of the implement, which somewhat resembles a vase; (4)  : list No. 142 *H*.



THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 37:—






(30 *A*)  “O *Wn's*,
 fix for yourself your two jaws which are separated | A *psš-kf* implement” (see also MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 334).

Nos. 22 and 23  *Ntr Bjš Šm' Ntr Bjš Mh* “A Divine Instrument of Iron
 of the South and a Divine Instrument of Iron of the North” (*Wn's*, line 30 B)

THE MEANING


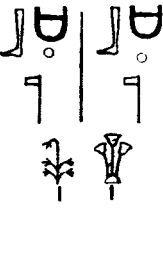
These two instruments of the form  were employed in the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’, one was made of iron of the south and the other was made of iron of the north, that is to say of Upper and Lower Egypt. This instrument seems later to have sometimes been replaced by the angle , small amuletic models of which exist in the various museums ⁽¹⁾. But in a relief from the Tomb of *H'j-m-h:t* which depicts the utensils employed in the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’, these instruments are rectangular in form, and are shown in a set of four (see JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d'Objets*”, p. 323; also *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 171).

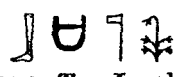
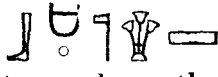
⁽¹⁾ There are specimens of the ‘fish-tail’ implements among the Pre-dynastic flints in the Cairo Museum.

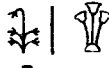



In three of the great private lists of the end of the Sixth Dynasty, these instruments are called *sb*  or * (1) and according to the Berlin Dictionary had the form  but in our material they are determined by  or  (see below).




THE WRITINGS

In some of the lists these two entries are written together in a single rectangle, as in the following:—







(1)  : list No. 143 *H*; (2)  : list No. 145 *H*.

In other lists they are treated as separate entries :  and  list No. 148 *T*; and also in the damaged list No. 150 *T*. In the private lists we have the following writings:—


 (1)  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 139 *T* (*bjz šm' sb*, *bjz, mh sb*); (2)  and 

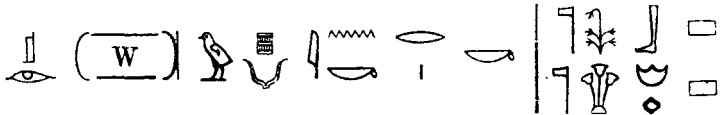
 : list No. 138 *P*; (3)  : list No. 137 *T*; ; (4)  : list No. 142 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

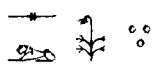
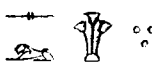
The usual determinative for this item is (1)  : lists Nos. 148 *T*, 137 *T*; (2)  : list No. 143 *H*; (3)  : list No. 138 *P*; (4)   : list No. 139 *T*; (5)  list No. 142 *H*.

THE FORMULA







Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 38 :—

(30 *B*)  “Osiris (*Wm's*), I open to you your mouth. A divine instrument of iron of the South, and a divine instrument of iron of the North.”

(1) *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 81, gives only one example of this word for the Middle Kingdom, but says that it appears in Saitic times. We have three examples in our material, all of which are from the Old Kingdom (see lists Nos. 128 *T*, 131 *P*, 132 *T*).

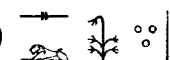
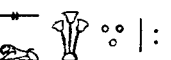
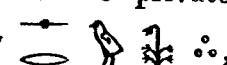
Nos. 24 and 25  |  *Srw Šm' Srw Mh* "Grains of Perfume of the South and Grains of Perfume of the North" (*Wn's*, Line 31 B)



THE MEANING

If the word  (var. ) really means perfume ⁽¹⁾ then the context of the formula which accompanies this item in the Pyramid Texts would suggest that it was some kind of aromatic substance chewed in order to perfume the mouth, perhaps one of the aromatic gums. According to the Ebers Papyrus (98.12) aromatic substances, such as myrrh, broom, frankincense, etc., were pounded together and mixed with honey to form pills, which were chewed by women to make the breath of their mouths sweet (ERMAN, "Life in Ancient Egypt", p. 232). Frankincense is used for the same purpose in modern Egypt. But, on the other hand, Sethe considered *srw* as a kind of food (see "Dramatischetexte", p. 238). This idea was also held by Budge, who translated *srw* as cheese (?) or butter (?) ⁽²⁾. In support of this translation we have certain jars from the First Dynasty Tomb of *Hr-'h3* at Sakkâra, which have been proved by chemical analysis to have contained cheese. These jars were inscribed with the name of the King *Hr-'h3*, followed by  in the case of jar No. 29, and  in the case of jar No. 21. If we may accept  as the ancient form of , then it would seem as though this entry is to be considered as cheese, and not as a perfume (see also MASPERO, "La Table d'Offerandes", p. 336, who defines it as butter).


THE WRITINGS

In the royal lists we have the following writings:—

(1)  | : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*. In this latter list the figures of the lions are cut in half in the middle to render them harmless (see also the private list No. 135 *T*). In list No. 145 *H* the word *srw* is spelt out phonetically ,

. In list No. 139 *T* it is written 

THE DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 139 *T* the determinative is  and represents a priest carrying two pellets of perfume (?) or cheese (?).

⁽¹⁾ See *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 463, "Weihrauchkornar"

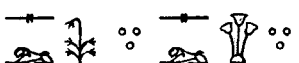
⁽²⁾ БУДЖЕ, "An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary", p. 610 B.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 39:—

(31 A)  “ *Wn's*,

I hand to you the Eye of Hōrus (*Hr*) to which he goes ; bring it to you, place it in your mouth.”

(31 B)  “ “Grains of perfume of the South, and grains of perfume

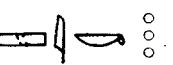
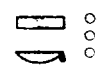


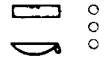
of the North ’ (?) (or pieces of Cheese of the South, etc.)” (*SETHE*, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 238).

No. 26  *Š'ik* “Grains” (*Wn's*, Line 31 C)

THE MEANING

The exact identification of this item is uncertain, but it appears to have been some kind of food. According to Maspero, *š'ik* was a kind of milk (“*La Table d'Offrandes*”. The writing with the determinative \triangle in list No. 148 *T* proves that it is something edible.

THE WRITINGS

We have only three examples of this entry preserved in the royal lists, and in each case the writing is different : (1)  : list No. 143 *H* ; (2)  : list No. 145 *H* ; (3)  \triangle  : list No. 148 *T*. In the private lists we have  : list No. 135 *T*. It also occurred in list No. 139 *T*, but has been almost entirely destroyed. It is omitted from all the other private lists.

THE FORMULA

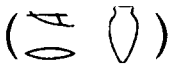
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 40:—

(31 C)  “ O *Wn's*, receive the *š'ik*-grains



of Osiris (*Wsir*). Grains of *š'ik*.”

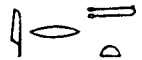
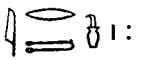

No. 27  *Irtt* "A Jar of Milk" (*Wn's*, Line 32 A)

THE MEANING

The actual meaning of this item as it appears in the list of *Wn's* is simply a jar of milk. But in the list of *Nfr-k3-R'* (No. 145 *H*) the name of the jar () is also given. This is a return to the style of the Archaic lists where the value was placed on the jar rather than on the contents (for the question of the jar and its form, see BALCZ, "Mitteilungen", 1937, Band 7, p. 64). In reality, the libation of milk had the same potent re-vitalizing effect upon the dead as we have previously seen with the libation of water which was supposed to have issued from the corpse of Osiris (*Wsr*).

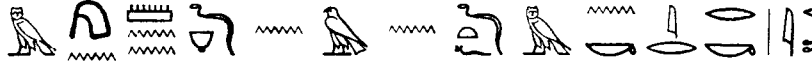
THE WRITINGS

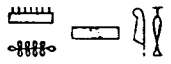
We have only two examples of this item preserved in the royal lists:  : list No. 143 *H* and  : list No. 145 *H*. In the private lists we have the following writings:—

(1)  : list No. 135 *T*; (2)  : list No. 136 *T*; (3)  : list No. 139 *T*. This latter form seems to be a type of jar which we shall see appearing later.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 41 :—

(32 A)  "Take the nipple of the breast of *Horus (Hr)* of his body, take (it) in your mouth | A jar of milk⁽¹⁾."

No. 28  *Mns3 Šw* "An Empty *Mns3*-Jar" (*Wn's*, Line 32 B)

THE MEANING

This item seems to be a reminiscence of the Archaic vase-list, where the fine stone vases were usually the valued offering presented to the dead, while the contents were often of secondary importance. Here we are told that the *mns3*-jar is presented empty, and moreover, it seems to be

⁽¹⁾ See SETHE, "Dramatischetexte", p. 10. As the water libation was supposed to have issued from Osiris (*Wsr*), so here the milk libation was supposed to have issued from *Horus (Hr)*, who seems here to be regarded as the Nile. In later art, the Nile was sometimes depicted in the form of a man with large breasts, from which milk flows onto some sprouting grains, and out of this grain rises the soul of Osiris (see JUNCKER, "Götterdekret", p. 61), Sometimes the Goddess Isis is the source and origin of the milk libation, as in line No. 734, *f.* of the Pyramid Texts (see also MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 336). (For another translation, see GUNN, "Studies in Egyptian Syntax", p. 6: 'Behold the breast of thy . . . sister Isis, which thou art accustomed to take to thy mouth').

the first item in a group of fine stone vessels, as we shall see by the following entries. Jequier, when discussing this item, wishes to identify it with one of the rites of the ceremony of ‘Opening the Mouth’, in which the officiating priest touches the mouth of the deceased with an ostrich feather. But here the feather \bar{h} means *s’w* ‘empty’ (see JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XIX p. 186. For the *mnsj*-jar, see also BALCZ, *ibid*, pp. 71, ff.).

THE WRITINGS

We have only two examples of this item in the royal lists: $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ \overline{h} : list No. 143 *H*, and $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ \bar{h} β : list No. 145 *H*. In the private lists we have the following writings:—

(1) $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ β \bar{h} : list No. 135 *T*; (2) $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ \bar{h} \overline{h} : list No. 137 *T*; (3) $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ \bar{h} β \bar{h} \overline{h} : list No. 138 *P*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 41:—

(32 *B*) $\overline{m} \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{j}$ \bar{h} β \bar{h} \overline{h} “Take the breast (*mnd*) of your sister Isis (*is.t*) which is swollen and bring it to your mouth | An empty *mnsj*-jar”.

Here there would seem to be a connection between the *mnsj*-jar and milk ⁽¹⁾, and consequently between this item and the preceding one. But here it is Isis (*is.t*) and not Horus (*Hr*) who is said to be the origin of the re-vitalizing fluid.


No. 29 \bar{h} β \bar{h} \overline{h} \overline{h} *Dj Kbh.w Šd Mh* “Giving a Libation of Lower Egyptian Natron” (*Nt*, line 102)




THE MEANING

This item, which is a repetition of No. 7, only appears once in the royal lists, namely in the list of Queen *Nt* (list No. 148 *T*). In the private lists, however, it occurs three times.

(¹) See *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 88, *mnsj* “Krug für wasser auch für milch und bier”.


THE WRITINGS


In list No. 148 *T* we have . In the private lists, the following writings appear:—


- (1)  : list No. 135 *T*; (2)  (1): list No. 137 *T*;
(3)  : list No. 138 *P*.


THE FORMULA


In the Pyramid Texts of Queen *Nt*, the utterance accompanying this item reads as follows (2):—

(102)  "These your libations, Osiris; these your libations, O *Nt*, which have come forth before your son, which have come forth before *Horus*."

(103)  "I have come, I have brought to you the Eye of *Horus* that your heart may be cool by it, I bring it to you . . ."

(104)  "Take to yourself the flood which comes out of you; thus your heart will not be fatigued by possessing it."

(105)  "To be said four times: 'Take that which comes to you at the voice | Giving a libation of Lower Egyptian natron'" (compare with *Nfr-k3-R'*, line 24 *A*).

Nos. 30 and 31  *H3ts Mnw Hd Mnw Km Ir.t Imn.t.t, Ir.t I3b.t.t* "A *H3ts*-Vase of White *Mnw*-Stone, the Right Eye [of *Horus*], and a *H3ts*-Vase of Black *Mnw*-Stone, the Left Eye [of *Horus*]" (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 33 b)

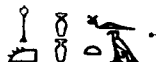

THE MEANING

This item seems to record the presentation of a vase of white and black stone. The vase according to the various writings, was of the type called ' *h3ts* ', which, according to Balcz



(1) This is combined with No. 38, the *qsr.t* offering-table.
(2) JACQUET, "Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit", Pl. X, lines 102-105 (see also Pyramid Texts, line 22, ff. (above p. 179).





(*ibid.*, p. 66) was a vase or flask with a wide rim, long neck and narrow base. The *hsts*-vase was apparently made of black and white stone, or perhaps, which is more likely, they were a pair of vases, one made of black and the other of white stone, either basalt or granite (*see* BALCZ, *ibid.*), and as we shall see later, they were identified with the two eyes of Hōrus (*Hr*). Maspero, on the other hand, considers this entry to mean two kinds of wine, one black and the other white (MASPERO, “*La Table d’Offerandes*”, p. 339. *See* also SETHE, “*Dramatischertexte*”, p. 10, 164).


THE WRITINGS

The simplest form of this entry is in list No. 143 *H*, where it is written . In list No. 145 *H* and also apparently in the damaged lists Nos. 146 *T* and 147 *T*, and also in No. 148 *T*, we have  which seems to read “A *hsts*-vase of white *mnw*-stone, the right Eye [of Hōrus]. A *hsts*-vase of black *mnw*-stone, the left Eye [of Hōrus].”

In the private lists the reference to the Eyes of Hōrus is lacking and we have simply the

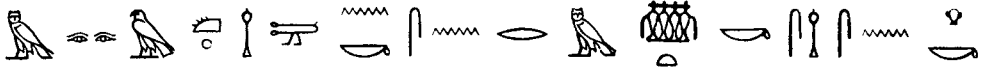
writings  : list No. 135 *T*;  : list No. 137 *T*. In list No. 138 *P*


this item is treated as two separate entries:  =  and  =  , and the colour of the stone is not mentioned.

In this writing the sign  is parasitical.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 45 :—

(33 A)  “Take the two Eyes of Hōrus (*Hr*), the black and the white, bring them in your front; therefore they make your face shine.”

(33 B)  “A jar of white (*mnw*-stone) and a jar of black (*mnw*-stone) : to serve (1).”



(1) Var. in the text of *Nfr-k1-R*: “A *hsts*-vase of white *mnw*-stone, the right Eye (of Hōrus). A *hsts*-vase of black *mnw*-stone, the left Eye [of Hōrus]” (*see* also SETHE, “*Dramatischertexte*”, p. 164).

No. 32  *Pw.t Wdwt* "A Healthy Loaf of *Pw.t*-Bread" (*Wn's*, Line 34 D)





THE MEANING

This is another or variant entry of the *pw.t.* or *ps.t.*-bread, which appears again in its simplest form as No. 135 of the list, where it will be dealt with in full. Here the *pw.t.*-bread is described as being a healthy loaf, in the meaning of being sound and clean ⁽¹⁾.

THE WRITINGS

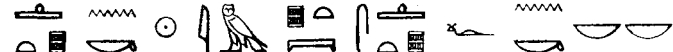
In the royal lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*, and 148 *T*, this item is written  (so also apparently in the damaged lists Nos. 146 *T* and 147 *T*). The same writing is found in the private lists No. 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 137 *T*. In list No. 138 *P* we have ." data-bbox="615 435 735 460"/>

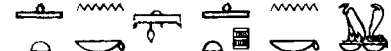
FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 140 *T* the sign  should be , and in list No. 138 *P* the sign  should be .

THE FORMULA

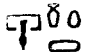
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 44:—


(34 A)  "R' is gracious to you in heaven, he renders the *Nb.wj* (Horus and Set) gracious to you."

(34 B)  "The night is gracious to you, the *Nb.tj* are gracious to you (the two goddesses, Nekhbit and Wazit)."

(34 C)  "Food is that which is brought to you, food is that which you see, food is that which you hear ⁽²⁾."

⁽¹⁾ See MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 238.

⁽²⁾ Proof that the spoken word became materialized food, the .


No. 34  *Psw.t nt Wdn* "Bread of Offering" (*Wni's*, Line 35 C)



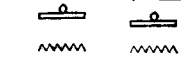

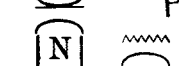
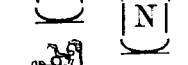

THE MEANING

This is really only another entry of *psw.t*-bread, here qualified as the bread of offering.




THE WRITINGS




The following are the writings of this entry as it appears in the royal offering-lists:—



 : list No. 143 *H*. In list No. 147 *T*, the bread is combined with the formula for the royal offering; here, of course, the funerary meal in general, and is mentioned as being expressly for the Ka of King *Ppjj II*.




In reality, this writing contains the first part of the formula which accompanies the presentation of this item, according to the Pyramid Texts, line 35 *B*.

In list No. 145 *H*, we have the writing  , which is simply a repetition of No. 32. In list No. 148 *T*, the item is split up into two entries  and  . In the private lists we have the following writings:—

 : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 140 *T*. This is similar to that in list No. 147 *T*. We have also  : lists Nos. 137 *T*. and 136 *H*; and  : list No. 138 *P*.

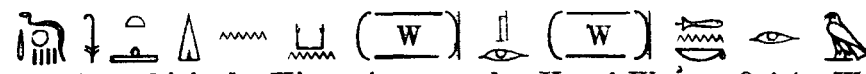



THE DETERMINATIVES



In list No. 147 *T*, we have  . The two halves of the circular loaf upon the offering-table are curious. The other royal lists have no determinatives. In the private lists we have  : list No. 138 *P*. This represents a tall conical loaf laid upon its side  : list No. 137 *T*, the *hnt*-basin, which had become stereotyped, and could be employed to determine any item.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 46 :—

(35 B)  “To be said four times: ‘An offering which the King gives to the Ka of *Wn̄s*. *Osiris Wn̄s*, take to yourself the Eye of *Hr̄*’.”

(35 C)  “It is your bread which you eat | Bread of offering.”

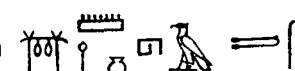
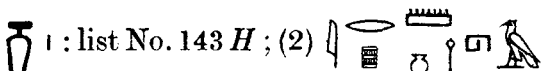
No. 35  =  : *Irp Mnw Hd H̄ts* “Wine (in) a *H̄ts*-Jar of White *Mnw*-Stone” (*Wn̄s*, Line 36 B)

THE MEANING

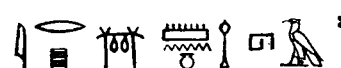
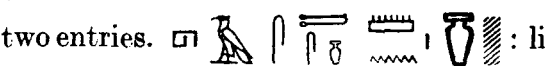
We have already seen the enumeration of the empty vases of fine stone; now we have them presented again, but this time with their contents. In the present case, the item is a *h̄ts*-jar of wine, made of white *mnw*-stone (*W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 482).

THE WRITINGS

The following writings are found in the royal lists ⁽¹⁾ :—

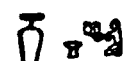

(1)  : list No. 143 *H*; (2)  : list Nos. 145 *H*, 146 *T* (?), 147 *T*, 148 *T*.

In the private lists we have the following ⁽²⁾ :—

 : list No. 137 *T*. See also lists Nos. 135 *T* and 140 *T*, where the word *h̄ts* has to serve for two entries.  : list No. 138 *P*. Here the name of the colour of the stone and the contents of the vase are not given.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are found in the royal lists :—

(1)  : list No. 146 *T*; (2)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*. See also the private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*.

⁽¹⁾ It is to be noted that the positions of this and the succeeding item are reversed in the private lists.

⁽²⁾ This determinative has to serve for the two entries, Nos. 35 and 36, hence the two jars which the priest is carrying.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 47 :—

(36 A) “Osiris (*Wsir*) *Wnis*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) which you have liberated from *St*, and which you seize in your mouth.”

(36 B) “And by which you open your mouth | Wine (in) a *hts*-jar of white *mnw*-stone (1).”

(See also GUNN, “*Egyptian Syntax*”, p. 6 : ‘Take to thee the Eye of Horus, which has been mulcted from Set, and which thou shalt (?) take (from me) to thy mouth, and with which thou art accustomed to open thy mouth.’)

No. 36 “Wine (in) a *hts*-Jar of Black *Mnw*-Stone” (1) (*Wnis*, Line 36 C)

THE MEANING

This item is similar to the preceding, the only difference being in the colour of the *mnw*-stone, which is here said to be black (see *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 72).

THE WRITINGS

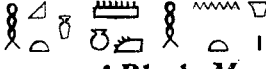
In both the royal and private lists, the writings are all exactly the same as those employed for the previous entry, with the exception that here the sign “black” appears instead of “white”, as being the colour of the *mnw*-stone.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 48 :—

(36 C) “Osiris (*Wsir*) *Wnis*, open your mouth with that which you fill (*i.e.* the Eye of Horus). | Wine (in) a *hts*-jar of black *mnw*-stone.”

(1) See *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 72 : ‘a kind of stone for making vases’.

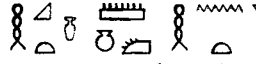
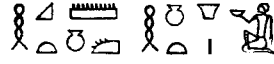
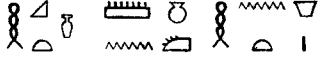
No. 37  *Hnk.t Mnw Km Hnt* “Beer (in) a *Hnt*-Basin of Black *Mnw*-Stone” (*Wn's*, Line 37 A)

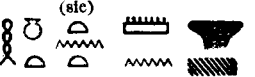
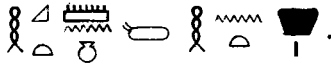
THE MEANING

This item is a *hnt*-basin made of black *mnw*-stone, and containing beer. According to the Berlin Dictionary the  basin was a vessel of stone or metal to contain beer or wine (*W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 106).





THE WRITINGS

In the royal lists we have the following forms of writings for this entry: —



(1)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*: (2)  : lists Nos. 147 *T*, 146 *T* (?); (3)  : list No. 145 *H*.



In the private lists the writings are similar to the above, except No. 138 *P* which has  , and No 137 *T* which has .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 138 *P*, the sign  is omitted from the *mnw*-stone, and the word *hnt*-beer is also omitted⁽¹⁾. In lists Nos. 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 140 *T*, the sign  is defective, and in the latter list the sign  should be .


THE DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 143 *H* and 145 *H* there are two determinatives,  and . The first determines the words *hnt*-beer, and the second is for the *hnt*-basin.


In list No. 147 *T* we have  , and in list No. 148 *T* it is . For this last, see also the private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 140 *T*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 49 :—

(37 A)  “Osiris (*W'sir*) *Wn's*, take to yourself the juice (the flood) which comes out of you | Beer (in) a *hnt*-basin of black *mnw*-stone.”




(1) The destroyed signs could only have been the numeral.

No. 38  *Dsrt* "An Offering-Table" (*Wn's*, Line 37 D)

THE MEANING



The meaning of this item is a rectangular offering-table, apparently made of wood, on which offerings were to be placed. Such tables are frequently seen in the representations of the funerary offerings.

THE HISTORY


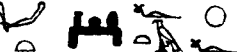

This item dates back to the Archaic Period, for in the Third Dynasty list of *H'j-bw-Skr* we have the entry  which seems to be a similar type of article (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, pp. 97, 102. In this latter list it is placed, together with the head-rest  under the common heading .

THE WRITINGS

In the royal lists we have the following writings:—

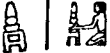



- (1)  : list No. 143 *H* (also, but with variant determinatives, in lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*); (2)  : lists Nos 147 *T*, 146 *T*.

In the private lists we have the following writings:—






- (1)  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 140 *T*; (2)  "a *dsrt*-table is carried (or served) before his face" : lists Nos. 137 *T*, 136 *H*; (3)  : list No. 138 *P*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The determinatives for this item are very interesting as they show us the forms of the table and the offerings placed upon them. In the royal lists we have the following types:—


-  : lists Nos. 147 *T*, 146 *T*(?). Here the bread on the table is very curiously arranged. A round loaf is placed in a *hnt*-basin and a large conical loaf is then seemingly balanced on top of it. In reality, of course, the round loaf is flat, like the modern Egyptian loaf, and the conical loaf would rest naturally upon its upper surface. In list No. 143 *H* we have  which carries a round loaf flanked by two conical loaves.  : list No. 148 *T*. Here the table carries a jar of wine and a round and conical loaf.  : list No. 145 *H*.


In the private lists we have the following :—

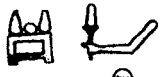
- (1)  : list No. 135 *T*. Here the table carries nothing but a jar of wine  (see also list No. 140 *T* (?); (2)  : list No. 137 *T*. The table carries a jar of beer and a round and conical loaf; (3)  : list No. 138 *P*. This table carries nothing but drinks; (4)  : list No. 136 *H*.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 50 :—

(37 *B*)  “O *R*’, those who are in heaven adore you, and you are adored by *Wni*’s, the Master of All (1).”

(37 *C*)  “To yourself all things, to the Ka of *Wni*’s all things, to himself all things (2).”


(37 *D*)  (3) “A *dsr.t* offering-table.”


Nos. 39 and 127  “*Dpt.j*-Bread” (*Wni*’s, Lines 38 A, 74 D)

THE MEANING

This item which appears again as entry No. 134 in the royal lists, occurs once only in the ordinary private lists, where it is placed as No. 34. *Dpt.j* is one of the varieties of bread, and the loaf, generally conical in form, is mostly presented in quantities of four. Maspero (“*La Table d’Offerndes*”, p. 386) describes *dpt.j* as a triangular loaf in the form of a wedge (*W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 447, “a pastry”).

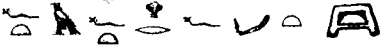
THE HISTORY

This is another of the very old items in the offering-list, it having occurred in the Second Dynasty, on the Stele of Princess *Shjnr*, where it is written  (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 93).



In the early Fourth Dynasty Grave No. VIII of Junker, it is written  (JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. I, *abb.*, 59, p. 225).

(1) Or “Master of All Things” (see the following line).



(2) See SUTHER, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 97.

(3) Variant in the text of *Nfr-k1-R*:  “Carry before his face a *drt* offering-table.”

THE FOURTH DYNASTY






The first appearance of *Dpt.j* in our material occurs in the list of *Hwt.j* (No. 2) where it is written phonetically,  : see also lists Nos. 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 7 *T*, 12 13, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. In list No. 8 *H*, it is written  *dp.tj.w*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 9 *P*, the sign  is replaced by .




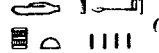
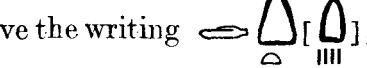




THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for this period:—






- (1)  : lists Nos. 2, 11, 12, 13, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*;
 (3)  : 7 *T*. In list No. 3 we have   where the forms of the loaf are differentiated.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We now find the writing *dpt.jw* more frequently employed, especially in the lists which date from the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Thus, we have the following writings for this period:—







- (1)  : lists Nos. 53, 71, 75, 67 *H*, 51 *P*, 52 *P*; (2)  : list No. 54;
 (3)  : list No. 69; (4)  *dpt-j*, four portions : list No. 59 *H*. In lists Nos. 38 *H* and 39 *H*, we have the writing  , which at first glance seems to be faulty, and lacking the sign  . But, in reality, it would seem that the loaf  itself should be pronounced *dpt.j*, and that the other signs are merely phonetic compliments, just as we shall see in the case of the *šns*-loaf (see below, p. 287) and also the sign  in the *hnsm*-beer (see below, p. 299). Proof for this seems to be forthcoming from the old writing on the stele of Princess *Shfnr*; and also from several examples which we shall meet with during the Sixth Dynasty. In list No. 73, we have  which seems to read *dpt.j.t*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 24 *H* the sign  is an error for  . In list No. 71 there is a parasitical sign  . In list No. 72 the group  seems to replace the sign  (?).






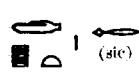

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—





- (1)  : lists Nos. 68, 70; (2)  list No. 69; (3)  : lists Nos. 37, 60 *H*; 61 *H*;
 (4)   list No. 54; (5)  : list No. 73.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The new writings which we have for this period are as follows:—


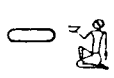









- (1)  : list No. 131 *P* (this is the full writing of the name); (2)  : lists Nos. 90, 93 *P*; (3)  : list No. 112 *T*. These latter writings all seem to prove that the loaf  should here be pronounced *dpt.j*. We have also the writings 
 : list No. 138 *P*, and  : list No. 136 *H* (first appearance, entry No. 39).

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 148 *T* of Queen *Nt* (entry No. 39), the sign  is parasitical, or is an error for the loaf . In list No. 108 *H* there is a parasitical sign , and in list No. 124 *P* the sign  is omitted.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—


- (1)  : lists Nos. 128, 86 *H*; (2)  : list No. 87; (3)  : list No. 88;
 (4)  : lists Nos 100 *H*, 137 *T* (second appearance), 131 *P*; (5)  : list No. 124 *P*;
 (6)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 136 *H* (second appearance, entry No. 127); (7)  : list No. 84 *P*; (8)  : list No. 109 *T*; (9)  : list No. 145 *H*; (10)  : list No. 138 *P*;
 (first appearance, entry No. 39); (11)  : list No. 108 *H*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 95 *H* the two loaves are defective. In list No. 113 *T*, the second sign  should be the loaf .

THE FORMULA

In its first appearance in the royal lists this entry is accompanied in the Pyramid Texts by Utterance No. 51:—


(38 A)  " *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus* (*Hr*) which you taste | A *dpt.j*-loaf."

In its second appearance in the royal lists, *dpt.j* is accompanied by Utterance No. 115.

(74 C)  "Osiris *Wn's*, I place your eye (as food)."

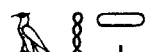
(74 D)  "Four *dpt.j*-loaves."

Notice that in its first appearance only one *dpt.j*-loaf is to be presented, but at its second appearance, four loaves are required.

No. 40  $\overline{\text{H}}$ *h*₃-Pastry (*Wm's.* Line 38 B)


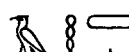
THE MEANING

This item seems to have been a kind of thin pastry, like the modern Egyptian *fattir* (*Arabic*) “*فطير*”

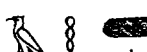

The origin of the name (which is also sometimes written  *sh*) is somewhat obscure, and may have been derived from the verb *sh-sh* ‘to beat’, but which may also mean ‘that which is brought under the earth’. That is to say *h*₃ or *sh*-pastry may symbolize the corpse of Osiris, and be identified with him; an early appearance of the idea of the sacramental bread, by means of which the worshippers may eat of the body of their God. For other ideas concerning this item, see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 214; also JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XIX, p. 67 (*W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 12 “a kind of paste”).

THE WRITINGS






In the royal lists we have the following writings for this item:—

(1)  : list No. 143 *H*; (2)  : list No. 145 *H* (see also the following lists, but with variant determinatives: lists Nos. 146 *T* (?), 147 *T*, 148 *T*).

In the private lists we have the following writings:—

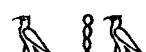


(1)  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 140 *T* (?); (2)  : lists Nos. 137 *T*, 138 *P*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

In the royal lists the most frequent determinative for this item is the oval loaf  (see lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*. In lists Nos. 146 *T* (?) and 147 *T* we have . In the private lists Nos. 135 *T*, 136 *H*, we have the oval loaf ; in list No. 137 *T* it is , and in list No. 138 *P*: .


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 52:—

(38 B)   |  “He whom you brought under the earth and is in darkness | One *h*₃-pastry” (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 214).

Nos. 41 and 140   (Variant  ) “*Shn-Meat*” (*Wn's*, Lines 38 C and 80 D)





THE MEANING

There are several different opinions concerning the meaning of this item. Junker identifies it as the spleen (milt) (“*Gîza*”, Vol. V, pp. 94, 95). On the other hand, Maspero defines it as a sirloin of beef (“*La Table d’Offrandes*”, p. 390); while Murray suggests that it might be part of an animal (“*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 38), and Budge calls it the breast (“*The Liturgy of the Funerary Offerings*”, p. 121). GARDINER, “*Onomastica*”, II, p. 253, *ff.*, suggests that it may be the pancreas or “sweet-breads”, or more probably the suet with the kidneys enveloped in it. The general determinative for this item during the Old Kingdom is , which denotes flesh in general. As the items *swt*, *hps*, *iw* and *spr* (see below) all represent cuts of meat which contain bone, and have determinatives which attempt to reproduce their forms and which show the bone, then *shn* should be a soft boneless cut of meat, or an organ; and in view of the determinative in lists Nos. 14, 3, 112, 72, 108 H, the suggestion that it is the sweet-breads seems to be a sound one (see also *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 470).












THE HISTORY

This is another of the items which came late into the offering-list, and does not seem to have occurred before the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.




THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This item first occurs in our material in the list of *Snfru-snb* (No. 3) where it is written  . In list No. 5 T, properly speaking, the sign  belongs to the writing of *shnuj*, the reed-floats, and its use for the word in its present meaning is incorrect, but not, as we shall see, uncommon. Its use may be due to the similarity of the sign  and the shape of the organ sweet-breads, and this writing may be another piece of evidence for this identification.





Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 7 T; (2)   : list No. 9 P; (3)    : lists Nos. 11, 16 H; (4)   : list No. 8 H (here the sign  is omitted); (5)   : list No. 15 H.


FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 13 there is a parasitical sign . In list No. 15 H the sign  is attached to the top of the arms. It is the sign .

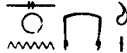

THE DETERMINATIVES

The common determinative for this item is the piece of flesh , which occurs in lists Nos. 11, 13, 7 T, 8 H, 15 H, 16 H. In list No. 4 T we have , and in list No. 5 T it is . In list No. 3 we have .



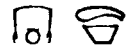
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 9 *P* we have the determinative . This represents the ribs of beef, and should only be used in entry No. 142.

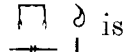








THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find that two forms of writing enjoy almost equal prominence but each have several minor variations. Thus, the full writing  occurs twenty times (with variant determinatives), while , which only occurred once in the Fourth Dynasty list No. 15 *H*), now appears twenty-one times.




The following forms are new:—

(1) : list No. 61 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 31 *H*, 50 *H*, 55 *H*; (3) : list No. 143 *H*.




FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 34 the group  is probably an error for , and in list No. 22 *H* the sign  in the same group is wrongly replaced by . In list No. 62 *H*, the sign  should be , while in list No. 44 the sign  is defective. In list No. 23 *H* the sign  should be .


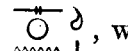



THE DETERMINATIVES

The only new determinatives occur in lists Nos. 69 ; : list No. 70; : list No. 72.





FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 23 *H*, the sign  should not be employed for this item, and in list No. 42 *T* the sign  is wrongly replaced by .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

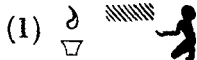








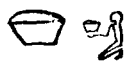
The only new writing which we have for the Sixth Dynasty is , which occurs in list No. 145 *H* (second appearance). During this period, the writing , which during the Fifth Dynasty had a minority of one only, now occurs forty-eight times; while the form   occurs only eleven times. A characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty writings is the increased tendency to place the determinative between the arms, thus . This form occurred only once during the Fourth Dynasty (see list No. 7 *T*), four times in the Fifth Dynasty, (see lists Nos. 76, 70, 28 *H*, 49 *H*), but now it occurs (with variations) in twenty-nine lists.

FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 124 *P* the group , which really ought to read Ka-servant, should be . In lists Nos. 86 *H* and 95 *H*, the sign  is defective. In list No. 133 *T* the sign  is lacking.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—



- (1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 88; (3)  : list No. 102; (4)  : list No. 115; (5)  : list No. 128; (6)  : list No. 103 *T*; (7)  : list No. 127 *T*; (8)  : lists Nos. 108 *H*, 107 *H*; (9)  : list No. 86 *H*; (10)  : list No. 142 *H* (second appearance).


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 123 *P* the sign of the joint of meat  should not have been used to determine this item.


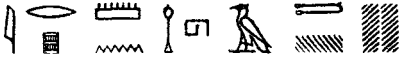
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterances Nos. 53 and 128 :—



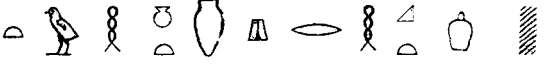

(38 *C*)  “*Wnis*, I hand to you the Eye of *Horus*, which you have encountered (or found). One *shn*-meat” (see *SETHE*, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 233) (see also *GARDINER*, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54:  “*Zhnw*-meat, Take to thyself the Eye of *Horus* which thou lightest upon.” See also *MASPERO*, *ibid*, p. 341).

No. 42  *Irp Mnw Hd Hnt* “Wine (in) a *Hnt*-Basin of White *Mnw*-Stone” (*Wnis*, Line 39 B)

THE MEANING


This is a similar entry to No. 37, but here the *mnw*-stone is white, and in lists Nos. 143 *H*, 146 *T*, 147 *T*, 148 *T* and 150 *T* the contents of the basin is wine and not beer. In list No. 145 *H* we have  where the contents of the basin is beer. In list No. 150 *T* the writing is  where the *hnt*s-jar replaces the *hnt*-basin.

In the private lists the sequence of this and the following item is mostly reversed. For these lists we have the following writings:—

- (1)  : list No. 137 *T*; (2)  : list No. 135 *T*;
 (3)  : list No. 136 *H*; (4)  : list No. 138 *P*.

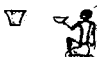
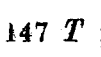

This list mentions the *hnt*-basin but not the contents. The fact that some lists give beer and some give wine as the contents of the *hnt*-basin; but all agree on the form, suggests that here, as in the Archaic lists, the jars and not the contents were the most valued.


FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 136 *H* the group  has no meaning here.



THE DETERMINATIVES

In the royal lists we have the following determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 147 *T*; (2)  : list No. 145 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*.


In the private lists we have :  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 140 *T*.

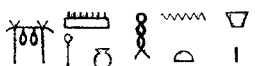
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 136 *H* the vase  is given instead of the basin .

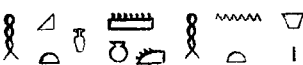
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 54:—


(39 A)  "Wni's, take to yourself the Eye of HORUS which had been freed from *St*, and which is seized by you, and by which you open your mouth."

(39 B)  "Wine (in) a *hnt*-basin of white *mnw*-stone."







(See also BREASTED, "*The Development of Religion and Thought*", p. 79: 'O King X! Handed to thee is the HORUS-eye which was wrested from Set, rescued for thee, that thy mouth might be filled with it. Wine, a white jar.')

No. 43  *Hnk-t Mnw Km Hnt* “Beer (in) a *Hnt*-Basin
of Black *Mnw*-Stone” (*Wn's*, Line 39 C)




THE MEANING

In all the royal lists, and in the private lists No. 137 *T*, this entry is simply a repetition of No. 37. In list No. 138 *P*, the basin only is given, and not the contents . In list No. 135 *T*, wine and not beer is the contents of the *hnt*-basin.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 136 *P*, the sign  should be , and the first group  should be . In list No. 145 *H*, the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 147 *T*, we have . Other determinatives for this item are : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*. In the private lists, we have : list No. 137 *T*.




FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

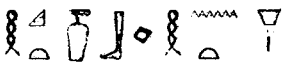
In list No. 136 *H*, the first sign  should be .

THE FORMULA



Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 55 :—

(39 C)  “*Wn's*, take to yourself the juice coming out of Osiris (*Wsir*) | Beer in a *hnt*-basin of black *mnw*-stone.”

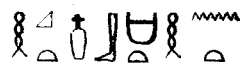
This passage, in which there is a play on the word  *hnk* “juice” coming out of Osiris (*Wsir*) and the word  “beer”, is interesting. Firstly, it seems to confirm Gardiner's theory that  was originally pronounced *hnk.t* (see GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 552). Secondly, it confirms the tradition that Osiris was the originator of the brewing of beer (Diodorus, I, 14-16). Thus, beer might well be likened to the juice coming out of Osiris.


No. 44  *Hnk.t Bjt Hnt* “Beer (in) a *Hnt*-Basin
of Metal” (*Wm's*, Line 40 A)

THE MEANING






This item consisted of beer presented in a metal (iron?) *hnt*-basin. This should mean that here the *hnt*-basin is regarded as a drinking-vessel, and not as a container, for beer is harmful if kept in a metal vessel for any length of time. The word  is usually translated ‘iron’ but the identification is not quite certain. No specimens of iron drinking-vessels have been preserved to us, so far as I am aware, but small cups of the form  (which is that of the *hnt*-basin) and made of copper, are fairly plentiful in the tombs of the Old Kingdom (see above, p. 41, for actual specimens found in our excavations at Giza).

THE WRITINGS








In the royal lists we have the writings: : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 146 *T*, 148 *T*, 150 *T* (?).

In list No. 143 *H* the writing is similar, but the word *bjt* is written .

In the private lists we have the following writings:—




: lists Nos. 135 *T*, 141 *T*. In the latter list, the word  “beer” serves as a common heading for this, the preceding and the following items. In list No. 136 *H* we have , and in list No. 138 *P* , where the preposition  *nt* is given, but not the contents of the vessel.

FAULTY WRITINGS








In list No. 137 *T* the second sign  may be an error for . In list No. 140 *T* the second group  should be , and in list No. 141 *T* the sign  may be an error for  or .

THE DETERMINATIVES



In the royal list we have the following determinatives:—

(1) : list No. 147 *T*; (2) : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 145 *H*; (3) : list No. 148 *T*.

In the private lists we have the following:—

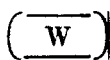

















(1) : list No. 140 *T*; (2) : list No. 137 *T*; (3) : list No. 138 *P*; (4) : list No. 135 *T*; (5) : list No. 137 *T*; (6) : list No. 136 *H*; (7) : list No. 141 *T*.





















FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 136 *H* the first sign  should be .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 56 :—

(40 *A*)                   “*Wn's*,
take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which you have saved, and do not separate it from you |
Beer (in) a *hnt*-basin of metal (*bjj*).”

































No. 45                     *Hnk.t Htm* (or *Hsj*) ⁽¹⁾ *Hnt* “Beer (in) a *Hnt*-Basin
of *Htm*” (*Wn's*; Line 40 B)

THE MEANING
























































This is simply the presentation of beer in a *hnt*-basin made of *htm* (or *hsj*) ⁽²⁾, an unidentified mineral substance (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 199).

THE WRITINGS





In the royal lists we have the following writings :—

(1)                      : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 148 *T*; (2)            : lists Nos. 145 *H*,
146 *T* (?).

In the private lists we have the following :—



(1)                      : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 141 *T* ⁽³⁾; (2)            : list No. 137 *T*;
(3)                        : list No. 138 *P*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 140 *T* the second group   should be  .






⁽¹⁾ *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 199, gives the pronunciation *htm* for this word, but BALCZ, “*Mitteilungen*”, 1936, p. 75, gives the pronunciation *hsj*.

⁽²⁾ See the variant writing   : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 137 *T*.





⁽³⁾ The word   here serves as a common heading for entries Nos. 43, 44, 45.

THE DETERMINATIVES

In the royal lists the determinatives are as follows :—

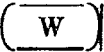



















(1)   : list No. 143 *H*; (2)  : list No. 148 *T*; (3)   : list No. 145 *H*.

In the private lists we see :—

(1)  : list No. 138 *P*; (2)  : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 140 *T*; (3)  : list No. 141 *T*,  : list No. 137 *T*.


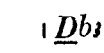
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 57 :—


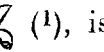
(40 *B*)                     “ *Wnis*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus with which you are equipped (or ornamented) | Beer (in) a *hnt*-basin of *htm*. ”

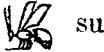
THE ROYAL REGALIA

We now come to a group of items which only appear in the royal lists, and consists of royal garments, insignia and weapons, most of which had no place in the private lists during the Old Kingdom, although they appear almost in full upon the painted wooden sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom.


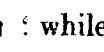

No. 46   *Db*: “ A Decorated Kilt ” (*Nfr-k3-R*, Line, 41 *A*)

THE MEANING




This item, which is also sometimes written   (1), is a form of kilt, to which, in the list of *Nfr-k3-R* (No. 145 *H*), the ceremonial bull's tail is attached.




In the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) there is no tail, although the kilt is nearly of the same form as that of *Nfr-k3-R*. The presence of this tail, which in the dynastic period is exclusively the insignia of kings, as well as the writing of the word with the sign  suggests that it may have been an ancient royal garment exclusive to the kings of Lower Egypt. According to the representations in the wooden sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom the *db*-kilt was adorned with coloured patterns of various designs (2).

THE WRITING

We have only two examples of this item in our material, one of which (list No. 145 *H*) is written   : while the other, in list No. 148 *T*, has a similar writing, but the kilt has the form .

(1) See JEQUIER, “ *Les Frites d'Objets* ”, p. 19.
 (2) *Ibid*, p. 18



In the list of *Nt* (No. 118 *T*) this item is repeated three times (Nos. 48, 217, 221), each time with the same writing and the same formula, but the determinatives are somewhat different. Thus, in No. 48 it is , in No. 217 it is  and in No. 221 it is . This would suggest that three different objects were indicated. The name *hbs.t* can also be applied to the false beard worn by gods and kings, and such an object seems to be represented on some of the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi (see LACAU, *ibid*, Pl. L, Fig. 412, Nos. 28092, 93; 28094, 12).

Nos. 49 and 50    : “*Idmj-Cloth of Four Strands*” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 42 C)

(This item is repeated twice in Neit [see Pl. 146])

THE MEANING

This was a kind of linen material woven with four strands to the thread, and was one of the most prominent funerary offerings in the Archaic Period, and, moreover, was the first of the items to be arranged methodically in properly formulated lists (see for this subject “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 108, ff.).






















The prominence given to the *idmj*-cloth over the other material shows how important it was in the eyes of the Egyptians, and the use of the signs  and  in its writing indicates its sacred character. It was, in fact, superior in both material and workmanship to the other kinds of linen. The *idmj*-cloth might be of various colours; during the Old Kingdom it is mentioned as being green (Pyramid Texts, line 1202 *B*) red or purple (Arabic ‘دموى اللون’). During the Middle Kingdom it is usually shown as white when represented upon the wooden sarcophagi but during the New Kingdom, when materials of different colours were generally accorded a special name, *idmj* was employed to denote a dark red material. The fact that *idmj*-cloth was retained by the royal lists shows how ancient the origin of these lists really is, for, as we have already seen, this item had passed out of general use in the private lists as early as the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, and only appeared in rare exceptions, usually at the end of the normal canonical lists, while all the stuffs and garments are replaced by the single entry of *whnwj* (see below No. 95).

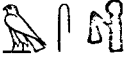
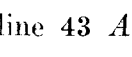







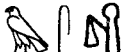

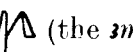



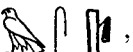
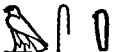



THE WRITINGS












In list No. 145 *H*, we have the writing    , and in list No. 148 *T*, it is   .



THE FORMULA

In the royal list of the kings, this utterance is destroyed, but we have it preserved intact in the texts of Queen *Nt* (JEQUIER, *ibid*, lines 305, 306):—

(305)                      “Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nt*, you had given him that which belongs to him, so that his heart may be vigilant for you | ‘*Idmj*-cloth of four strands.’”

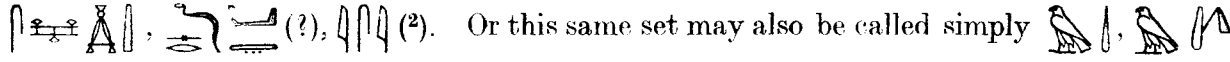


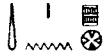
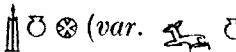


but in the Pyramid Texts we have , line 43 A; , line 44 B; , line 45 C; , line 47 D;  *Nt*, line 307;  *Nt*, line 313. In these writings the presence of the sign  needs some explanation. According to Sethe (“*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Agyptens*”, Vol. V, p. 129; “*Dramatistexte*”, p. 130), these divine sceptres, like the crowns, seem to have been personified as goddesses, here as the daughters of Horus. Thus, we may compare the well-known forms  *sm'-s*, the Upper Egyptian crown, and  *mh-s*, the Lower Egyptian crown, with  *Hr-s* (Pyramid Texts, line 43),  (the *ms*-sceptre),  *hk3.s* (Pyramid Texts, line 452 A),  *mk-s* “Guardian Sceptre”. In each of the above examples, the sign  seems to be the feminine personification. There seems to be some confusion concerning the form of these two sceptres of Horus, as we may see by the determinatives in the royal offering-lists of the Pyramid Texts, even when occurring in the same list. Thus, *Nt*. gives  line 307;  line 310 and  line 313, while in *Nfr-k3-R'*, we have  line 43 A;  line 45 C; and  line 47 D.




The difference between the forms  and  is easily explained, as we have already seen that they are two distinct objects, but what of the difference between  and  in *Nt*, lines 307 and 310 and  and  in *Nfr-k3-R'*, lines 45 C and 47 D. In reality, it seems as though each of the main divisions into which the batons fell, were again subdivided, so that there was more than one class of baton coming under the heading of the two main types⁽¹⁾. This is further borne out by the writings of the different names of batons which are also classed as *Hr-s*-batons, and these are  *db3* (Pyramid Texts, line 43 A)  *mh3n* (Pyramid Texts, line 44 B)  *sr* (Pyramid Texts, line 44 B and  *db3* or *mks* and  *Iwn.w* (lines 308 and 312 of *Nt*).

During the Middle Kingdom we know from the representations on the painted wooden sarcophagi that the *hr-s*-batons were produced in two sets of four, each of which had its special name and function. One set was called in general  “The four batons of the country (or field)” which were used when traversing the dry lands. The other set was called  “The four batons of the marshes (or lakes)” and were used when travelling over the inundated land. These latter were also known as ‘the batons of the marshes of the South, North, West and East’, that is to say they were named after the four cardinal points, and thus permitted their owner to traverse the inundated land in any quarter of the universe. This is in keeping with what we know of the procedure by which the officiating priest recited the offering-formulae four times, and invoked the gods of the four cardinal points (see above, p. 161). But this last class of batons does not concern us.


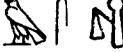




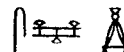

(1) See also SETHE, “*Dramatistexte*”, p. 133.




The set of four batons called the batons of the country however, are those with which we have to deal, for in addition to their general appellation, each baton also possessed its own name, which in the Middle Kingdom were, according to JEQUIER, as follows (1):—

 Or this same set may also be called simply 
 or  “The batons of Horus”,  “The baton of Buto”;  (var. 
 “The baton of Heliopolis”, .

Some of these we shall see in the royal lists. In addition to these, we have in Pyramid Texts, line 522 C, the *ms*-sceptre mentioned as the two batons of Horus, and each determined differently,  and . It is well known that the sign  alone may be read *ms* (see GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 486).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 145 H we have the somewhat puzzling writing . Here we have  as a general heading, below which are  and . Although it is by no means sure, the sign  may perhaps be understood as the *Hr-s*-mace, while  is the *db3*-sceptre. Concerning this last variety, which appears to be written  (3) in the Middle Kingdom, Jequier (*ibid.*, p. 161) considers it as an error for the writing of *ntr ms*  which he says is once applied to the four batons (4).

In list No. 148 H this entry is simply  the *Hr-s*-sceptre and the *db3*-sceptre. In the group  the sign  is ambiguous, for it can also be read as the *mks*-sceptre (see JEQUIER, *ibid.*, p. 173, ff. and LACAU “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Pl. XLIV, lines 300, 298; *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 163).


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 62 :—

See also the pyramid of Queen *Nt* (JEQUIER, “*Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apout*”, Pl. XII, lines 307, 308):—

(43 A)  Words spoken :
 ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*’ take to yourself the water that belongs to the Eye of Horus, in order that you may be relieved by it.’”

(1) JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d'Objets*”, p. 161.

(2) This is a later form of the word  (*Pyramid Texts*, line 44 B).

(3) Here the group  may be a reversed writing of  *Hr.s*. Compare with  of *Pyramid Texts*, line 44 B



(4) On the outer sarcophagus of *Spj* in the Louvre.

No. 56  "A *Hr-s-Staff*" (*Njr-k3-R*, Line 45 C)

THE MEANING

This is another entry of the *Hr-s-staff*. Here it appears as a single item, whereas before we have only seen it as an explanation or heading for another named staff.

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H*, it is written  and in list No. 148 *T* it has the same writing, but is determined by .

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 65 :—

This utterance is destroyed in the king's texts, but is preserved in those of Queen *Nt*, where it reads (JEQUIER, *ibid*, line 310) :—

(310)  "Words spoken : 'Osiris *Nt*, you love the *swt*-joint of meat of *Horus* (*i.e.* the Eye of *Horus*, or offering) | A *Hr-s-staff*.'" "Words spoken : 'Osiris *Nt*, you love the *swt*-joint of meat of *Horus* (*i.e.* the Eye of *Horus*, or offering) | A *Hr-s-staff*.'" "


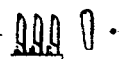
No. 57  " *Ht-Sht-Staff*" (*Njr-k3-R*, Line 46 A)

THE MEANING

This is another of the *Hr-s-staves*, which because of the writing with the sign  has led some Egyptologists to mistake the scenes where it is presented to the gods, for scenes depicting the presentation of fields or cultivated land to the temples (see KEES, "*Der Opfertanz*", p. 154, ff.), where the whole question has been discussed, especially its use in the *hb-sd*-festival. Also JEQUIER, "*B.I.F.A.O.*", Vol. XIX, p. 124.

The identification of this item with the *Hr-s-staves* may be seen by the fact that in the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) it occupies a single rectangle with three other well-known *Hr-s-staves*. So also during the Middle Kingdom and late periods we have this item appearing among other named *Hr-s-staves* (see KEES, *ibid*, pp. 156, 157). Regarding its form, the determinatives in list No. 145 *H* give it as a kind of mace with an elongated head. But in list No. 148 *T* it is a heavy staff, slightly thickened at its upper end. Its name *ht* indicated that it was made of wood.

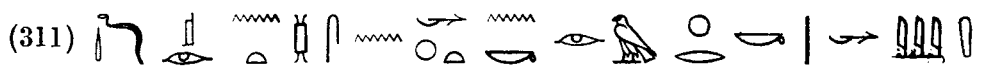
THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H* this item is written \rightarrow  and in list No. 148 *T*, it is \rightarrow .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 66 :—

This utterance is destroyed in the King's texts, and the following version is from the pyramid of Queen *Nt* (JEQUIER, *ibid*, line 311) :—



(311)  “ Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nt*, I make strong for you the Eye of Horus, in order to be with you | A *ht-sht*-staff of wood’ .”

No. 58  *Iwn.w*-Staff “The Staff of Heliopolis” (*N/r-ka-R'*, Line 46 C)

THE MEANING

This is one of the last of the four staves from the group of *Hr-s*-batons. According to the determinative in lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T* this was a mace. According to Jequier (*B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 124) the baton of Heliopolis might be either a straight cane, similar to the *ms* with a metal ferrule and handle, or a club, thick and heavy at its lower part (1).


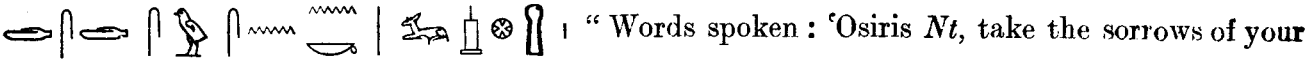
THE WRITINGS


In list No. 145 *H* this item is written as  . In list No. 148 *T* it is written  where the explanation of *Hr-s* is given.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 67 :—

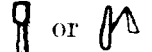
See also the version from the texts of Queen *Nt* (JEQUIER, *ibid*, line 312) :—

(46 B)  (46 C)  “ Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nt*, take the sorrows of your face, place it in your hand. Thus, they (*i.e.* the followers of *St*) became insignificant concerning you (?). | A Heliopolitan mace or staff (or a support Horus mace)’ .”


(1) See also LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. I, p. 105, 47, where it is inscribed  , Pl. XLVI, 348.


No. 59  "A *Hr-s-Staff*" (*Njr-k3-R*, Line 47 D)

THE MEANING

This is yet another of the *Hr-s-staves*, but of a different form and according to the accompanying formula, it is the *ms-staff*. This *ms-staff* or baton was one of the most notable items of the royal regalia and we find it frequently mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, where its nature is made clear, and where it is usually mentioned in connection with the mace *hd*, which was also one of the *Hr-s-batons*. Proof for this is in the fact that both the *ms* and *hd* may be determined by , which, as we have already seen, are the common determinatives of the *Hr-s-staves*.


In line 1374 of the Pyramid Texts, which describes the investiture of the dead as a king in heaven, it says:—


(1374 A)  "Mr-n-R' appears as a King, and Mr-n-R' mounts on the throne like Wp-wwt." “Mr-n-R'

(1374 B)  "He receives the white crown and the green crown."

(1374 C)  "The *hd-mace* of Mr-n-R' is in his hand, the *ms* of Mr-n-R' is in his grip."

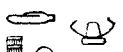
A similar idea is expressed in line 1166, but here we are told the purpose of each sceptre:—

(1166 A)  "You receive your mace and your *ms-sceptre*."


(1166 B)  "In order to direct those who are in *Nwn* and in order that you command the Gods."


Here the *hd-mace* symbolizes the dead King's command over the dead ('those who are in *Nwn*' (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, Part I, p. 169), while the *ms-sceptre* gave him command over the gods.

In the Pyramid Texts, lines 2004–2005, the *hd* and *ms* are held by the King when he is said to judge the gods.

During his life on earth the King carried the *ms-sceptre* on solemn occasions, and in the inscriptions of *R'-wr* ⁽¹⁾ we learn that the King carried the *ms* on the occasion of a ceremony connected with the divine boat . This inscription goes on to relate an incident wherein *R'-wr* was accidentally struck upon the leg by the *ms-sceptre* of the King, who promptly



(1) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 15, #.

made a public apology and explanation, to assure the onlookers that the blow was accidental, and that *R'-wr* had not been beaten in anger. The determinative of the word *ms* in this inscription has the form . In line 274 *A* of the Pyramid Texts, the King is said to use the *ms*-sceptre in order to threaten unruly spirits or gods, and in line 522 *C*, which is a magical spell for warding off sickness, the King is said to threaten to beat an evil spirit called 'Hippopotamus out of Eternity' with one of the two *ms*-batons of Horus:—

(522 *C*)  “So that he has one of the two *ms*-sceptres of Horus held up, so that he beats you with it.”

Notice that here the *ms* are called ‘of Horus’, conclusive proof that they are to be classed among the *Hr-s*-sceptres. Also note that they are of two forms, one a straight wand, the other a club, slightly thickened at the bottom, and both are associated with the so-called flail. It is possible that the name *ms* is derived from *m*, ‘the fist’, with the *s* | as the feminine personification as with all the *Hr-s*-batons (see above). From the incident in the biography of *R'-wr*, plus the above-quoted lines from the Pyramid Texts, it is clear that the *ms*-sceptre was associated with the idea of corporal punishment, and that the *ms* is to be regarded as a solid, heavy club, rather than a light symbolic emblem. Sethe identifies the two *ms*-sceptres with the two Eyes of Horus⁽¹⁾ (for this item, see JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XIX, p. 124).


THE WRITINGS


In list No. 145 *H* this item is written  and as the formula accompanying it is nearly all destroyed, we cannot say if it was referred to as the *ms* as in the list of Queen *Nt* where it is written  : list No. 148 *T*.

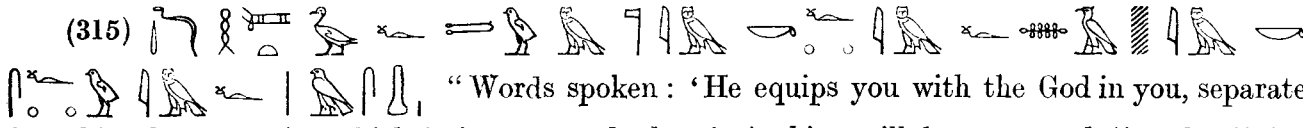
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 68:—

This utterance is badly damaged in the King's texts and the following version is from the texts of Queen *Nt* (JEQUIER, *ibid*, lines 313–315):—


(313)  “Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nt*, take to yourself the water which is in the Eye of Horus, O this *Nt*.’”

(314)  “Words spoken : ‘Fill your hand with the *ms*-baton, equip yourself with the *ms*-baton.’”


(315)  “Words spoken : ‘He equips you with the God in you, separate from him the protection which is in you, and what is in him will be separated (i.e. the divine protection (?) | A *Hr-s*-baton.’”

⁽¹⁾ SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 131.

THE WRITINGS


We have only one example of this item in our material, and this is in list No. 148 *T*, where it is written .


THE DETERMINATIVES

It is the determinative of this word which is the most interesting part of its writing, and may explain to us a problem which has not yet been solved by Archæologists. Jequier, in his book "*Les Frises d'Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*" (p. 205, ff.) describes a certain mace with a cutting edge. This weapon has the form of an ordinary *hd*-mace, but at the end of the head, is attached a metal blade like an axe-head, which means that the end of this weapon is composed of two parts, the stone pear-shaped head, and the metal blade, and these are represented in the determinative ●  and this will solve the unsettled question discussed by Jequier concerning this weapon.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 70 (Nt 317) :—

(317)  " Words spoken: 'Osiris *Nt*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*, indeed, it is the end part (head) of the finger of *St*' | The head and blade of the *hd*-mace."

No. 62  " *D*'*m*-Sceptre " (*Nt*, Line 318)

THE MEANING


The *d*'*m*-sceptre in the Old Kingdom was a sceptre which is seen in the hands of gods, goddesses (1) and kings. The form of the sceptre is similar to that of the *wss* (2) though originally the two objects seem to have been different from each other. In the Pyramid Texts, the *d*'*m* is mostly referred to as a staff upon which the gods lean or stand. Or it may even personify the gods or the dead king (see lines 288, 339, 348, 355, 360, 815, 1000, 1385, 1432, 1456-1458, 1483, 1510, 1762, 1822).

In the Middle Kingdom this sceptre has an undulated stem (see JEQUIER, "*Les Frises d'Objets*", p. 178); see also *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 8).

(1) Usually goddesses carry the papyrus wand. For goddesses carrying the *d*'*m*, see JEQUIER, "*Le Monument Funeraire de Pepi II*", Vol. II, Pls. 50, 56.

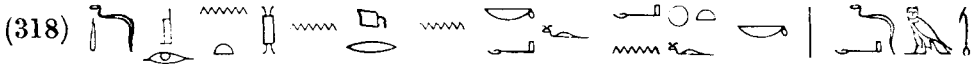
(2) See Pyramid Texts, lines 1456, 1457, 1458.


THE WRITINGS











This item does not occur in Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts, but it is found in the texts of Queen *Nt*. It also occurred in the list of *Nfr-k3-R'* (List 145 *H*) as it came to light upon some fragments of this list, which were discovered by Jequier too late to be included in Sethe's great work. In both lists this item is written .

FORMULA


Nt, Line 318 :—

(318) .

No. 63  (?) "The *ws*-Strap (?)” (*Nt*, Line 319)

According to a fragment found by Jequier (*Le Monument Funeraire de Pepi II*, Vol. I, Pl. IV, line 305, list No. 145 *H*) this entry should be the *ws*-sceptre, a tall wand having the head of a long-eared, long-snouted animal, and a forked end, the fork having two prongs bent slightly inwards. In primitive times it may have been formed from the natural branch of a tree. During the Old Kingdom it is represented in the hands of the gods and kings, but never, so far as I am aware, in the hands of private persons (1). In the publication of the list of Queen *Nt*, (JEQUIER, *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit*) the reproduction on Pl. XII, line 319, shows the determinative  which Jequier somewhat ambiguously corrects on p. 26 by saying: "Line 319 (rubrique). Le determinatif, une combinaison du  avec ". So far as I am aware, the only sceptre which is a combination of  and  is seen in the hands of the god *Pth* of Memphis, and even then it also usually includes the element  (see ENGELBACH, *Riqqeh and Memphis*, Vol. VI, Pls. LVIII, LIX, LVI). The only other sign which can be said to resemble a combination of  and  is the mace  with a strap around the handle (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 497, T. 4). The fact that Jequier's draughtsman gave the determinative of this entry the form  shows that the large loop was a prominent feature, and it is quite likely that this latter supposition of the mace with the strap is the correct one. In this case the word *ws* should not be applied to the whole object, but only to the strap, which was perhaps intended to be worn around the wrist, and thus prevent the chance of the mace falling, or being snatched from its owner. It is to be noted also that we have already had two component parts of this weapon enumerated separately, namely the handle (No. 60) and the head (No. 61). Furthermore the idea of a strap or cord is also borne out by the context of the formula.

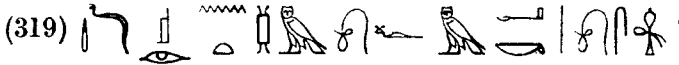
THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H* this entry is damaged, but in list No. 148 *T* it is written  (?)

(1) For a description of the *ws*-sceptre, see JEQUIER, *Les Frises d'Objets*, p. 176, ff.

THE FORMULA


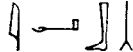

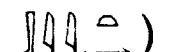
Nt, Line 319 :—

(319)  ? “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nt*, take its rope in your hand | A *w3s*-strap (?)’.”


This is in favour of the identification of this object as a strap or cord.

No. 64  “The *bt*-Staff (or *bw.t*)” (*Nt, line 320* ⁽¹⁾)

THE MEANING

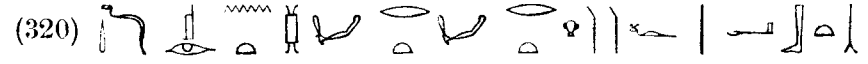
These long forked staves are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in lines 955 *B* and 1471 *C*, where the meaning given by Sethe is a baton of office. In line 1471 *C*, *R*' is said to have given his *bt*-staff to the dead king. In reality, it is the staff shown in the hieroglyph , and its name comes from the stem  “to assimilate” “to incorporate” (see also SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 196, line 83 *D*). According to JEQUIER this kind of staff is usually found in groups of four or eight, and this would define them as walking-sticks which would enable their possessor to walk through the entire universe without fear of danger. During the Middle Kingdom the name of this staff is written  (*var.* ). For this item, see JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d'Objets*”, pp. 166-167, also LACAU, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 94, Pl. XLV, 309).

THE WRITINGS


We have only one example of this item in our material and that is in list No. 148 *T* where it is written .

THE FORMULA


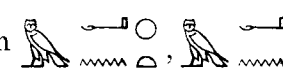
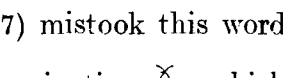
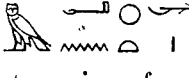



Nt, Line 320 :—

(320)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nt*, who elevates what is to be elevated upon his two fingers | An *bt*-staff” (*cf.* GUNN, “*Studies in Egyptian Syntax*”, p. 28).


(¹) See *F.B.*, Vol. I, p. 176, also GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 502.

No. 65  *M-^snh* “A Javelin” (*Nt*, Line 321) (1)

THE MEANING

There is no doubt about the identification of this item as a weapon, first by reason of its inclusion in a group of known arms in the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) and also by its mention in line 815 *A* of the Pyramid Texts where it is written  and is called the “Javelin of Truth”. In LACAU, “*Textes Religieux Egyptiens*”, LXXV and LXXVI, it is written   or . JEQUIER (“*Les Frises d’Objets*”, p. 66, Note 7) mistook this word for the counterpoise of a necklace, basing his conclusions on a faulty determinative , which he attributes to line 815 of the Pyramid Texts, but which in reality is . In list No. 148 *T* this item is determined by  which may be a scribal error. SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. IV, line 815 *A*) considers this staff as the baton, by means of which the door-keeper of heaven opened the door to the newly-arrived dead who had previously been declared justified, and by means of which he drove away the unjustified.

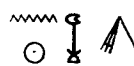
THE WRITINGS

We have only one example of this entry in our material, and this is in the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) where it is written .

THE FORMULA

Nt, line 321:—

(321)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nt*, you are living a living | A javelin (?)’.”

No. 66  *Nh3-h3* “A Whip or Flagellum” (*Nt*, Line 322)

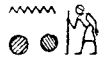

THE MEANING



This is the so-called flail, whip or flagellum, one of the characteristic emblems carried by Osiris (*Wsir*) *ndtj*, *Mnw* and other gods. In the case of the last-named divinity he does not hold it in his grasp, but balances it over the top of his upraised hand.

(1) See *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 47.





It was also held by the king during the rites of the *hb-sd*-festival, and like the shepherd's crook (also carried by Osiris) a specimen was housed in the temple of Heliopolis, where it seems to have a cult object, and was under the charge of a special priest (NEWBERRY, " *The Shepherd's Crook and the So-called Flail or Scourge of Osiris* ", J.E.A., Vol. XV, p. 84, ff.).

There is some difference of opinion concerning the exact identification of this object. Newberry (*ibid*) denies that it can be a whip on the grounds that the peculiar form of the head to which the thongs are attached would render it practically useless for such a purpose. He wishes to identify it with an implement still used in Crete to collect ladanum from the cistus plant.


Jequier, after describing these objects as they are found in actual fact in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom, puts forward an interesting theory (*ibid*, p. 189). He traces the name *nhsh* (with variants) to the root  *nshh* "advance in age", "old man" and also perhaps to  "young man", and thus it symbolizes the course of human life.

He sees, as confirmation of this, the resemblance between the triple lashes of the flail and the sign  which has the meaning of birth, and in carefully executed examples represents three fox skins suspended by their muzzles. As this emblem of the flail is held by the gods Osiris, (*Wsr*) and Min (*Mnw*), both of whom are gods of nature and personify regular and perpetual, re-birth its connection with the sign  is not impossible.

Furthermore, this flail was also carried by the kings during the *hb-sd*-festival, a ceremony designed to assure the continuity of the Kingdom of Egypt. All these facts seem to Jequier to prove that the *nhsh* is to be regarded as the emblem of re-birth and powerful vivication.

As we have already seen, this emblem is sometimes shown in conjunction with the club , thus , especially as a determinative for the *ms*-sceptre or some of the *Hr-s*-batons (see above, p. 217). In addition to being carried by the great gods just mentioned, the *nhsh* may also be shown with certain sacred animals and birds, as for instance  and , the latter being the general sign for a divinity.

THE WRITINGS

We have only one undamaged example of this item in our material, and this occurs in list No. 148 *T* where it is written .

THE FORMULA



Nt, Line 322 :—


(322)  "Words

spoken: 'Osiris *Nt*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which is distended with milk for his children | A *nhsh*-whip'."


















No. 67  "w.t-Sceptre" (1) (Nt, Line 323)

THE MEANING

This is a straight staff, the upper end of which is curved into a crook head, and is, in fact, nothing more or less than a form of the shepherd's crook. Hence we find the writing   for small cattle.




In Green's tomb at Hierakonpolis, which dates from the pre-dynastic period, this crook is shown in the hands of a peasant (QUIBELL, "Hierakonpolis", Vol. II, Pl. LXXIX). Sometimes this form of the crook is shown in the hands of Osiris (*Wsr*), where it replaces the more usual *hks*-crook, with the double bend  (COUYAT, and MONTET, "Les Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques et Hieratiques du Ouadi Hammamat", Pl. XVI, No. 62). So also it was held by the King, and was among the emblems carried by him in the *hb-sd*-festival. The carrying of the shepherd's crook by the King is, of course, in recognition of his role of pastor of his people. It survives in the churches to-day as the crosier or Pastoral Staff.

In line 202 C of the Pyramid Texts, it says:—

(202 C)                 . "May you give the herdsman's staff in the hand of this *Wn's*, in order that Lower and Upper Egypt will bow their heads in submission (see also line 1456 A)."

As we have already pointed out (see Vol. VI, Part I, p. 94) this ancient text, which placed Lower before Upper Egypt, should be of Heliopolitan origin, and Newberry says (2) that the crook, like the so-called flail, was kept as a cult object in the temple of Heliopolis, and was under the charge of a special priest. This line also clearly shows that this emblem was associated with government (3).




THE WRITINGS

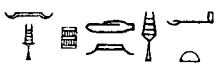
In the only well-preserved example in our material, list No. 148 T, this item is written    (4).

(1) See *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 170.




(2) NEWBERRY, *ibid.*, p. 84.

(3) For a further discussion of this item, see JEQUIER, "Les Frises d'Objets", p. 168.

(4) SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. IV, p. 127, gives a Middle Kingdom variant writing    and is of the opinion that it is another name for the *hks*-sceptre.


In the New Kingdom the *pd-h'* was sometimes personified as a divine being, as in the book "*Imj Dwt*" where it appears in the form of a mummy, which stands behind the jackal Anubis (*Inpw*) and is inscribed  (BUDGE, "*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*", Vol. I, p. 52).

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 148 *T*, the *pd-h'* appears twice, the first time as No. 68 being written simply as  but in its second appearance, as No. 74, it is written . In list No. 145 *H*, the first entry of this item is destroyed, but in the second it reads .


THE FORMULA

Nt, Lines 324 and 328:—



(324)  "Said by this *pd-h'*-arm (1) | A *pd-h'*-arm."


(328) 

"... that bow and this *pd-h3*-arm. The bow of the enemy of this *Nt*, the '*h*' arm of this *Nt* | A *pd-h'*-arm" (?).


No. 69  (2) "*In*-Weapon" (*Nt*, Line 324)

THE MEANING





This is one of a group of weapons of the form  or , which in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi are often shown together, and are named *pd-h3*, *in*, *irj-ntr* and *db3-ntr*. According to the determinative of this item in list No. 148 *T*, the *in*-weapon has its upper part divided into two slender prongs, but this form does not seem to appear among the representations in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi.

Concerning the name, this may be a defective writing of . "That which concerns the God" (see JEQUIER, "*Les Frises d'Objets*", p. 224).

THE WRITINGS


There is only one example of this item in our material, and this is written  : list No. 148 *T*.

(1) Is this an early conception of this *pd-h'* personified?


(2) According to Gardner, "*Egyptian Grammar*", p. 514, the jar , of which this seems to be a faulty form, may read *in* the sam eas . In Pyramid Texts, lines 617 and 725  reads *sin*, and thus  above would read *in*.

THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 324 :—

(324)  “Words spoken: ‘It is Thoth (*Dhwtj*) who brought it. An *in-weapon*’ (1).”

No. 70 (Destroyed)

No. 71  “*Db3-Ntr-Weapon*” (*Nt*, Line 325)

THE MEANING


The exact meaning of this item is uncertain, but it seems to be part of the archer's equipment. The form of the object is like that of the *pd 'h'*, *in* and *irj-ntr*, and sets of four such objects bearing these names are frequently depicted in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. Jequier (*ibid*) suggests that these objects may have been weapons stuck in the ground as a kind of catapult. According to the accompanying formula, it was a divine weapon associated with the God Thoth (*Dhwtj*). The Berlin Dictionary gives this word as existing in the Middle Kingdom coffin texts (2) but does not explain its meaning, but *db3* may sometimes mean a harpoon, or harpoon sheath. If this is its meaning here, then we should translate this item as a ‘Divine harpoon’.


THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H*, this item is written  , and in list No. 148 *T*, it is .

THE FORMULA


Nt, Line 325 :—

(325)  “Words spoken: ‘It is Thoth (*Dhwtj*) who brought it | A *db3 ntr* weapon (Harpoon).”

No. 72  *Hw Rwd Gn* (?) “A Strong Fly-Whisk *Gn*” (*Nt*, Line 325)



THE MEANING

This item appears to be some kind of fly-whisk.

(1) Note here the play upon one of the epithets of Thoth (*In-sw* ) which is also a verification of the pronunciation of the name of the object as *in*, as we have already said (see BOYLAN, “*The Hermes of Egypt*”, p. 73. See also below and p. 275).

(2) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 560.

THE WRITINGS

In the list of *Njr-k3-R'* (No. 145 *a*) this item is written  ; while in the list of *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) it is written  (see Pl. CXLVII).



THE FORMULA

Nt, line 325 :—



(325)  . “Words spoken : ‘Lo : I give it to you, I place it for you . . . | *rwḏ gn-k'* (?)”

No. 73  *Iry Ntr* “Divine Guardian-Weapon” (*Nt*, Lines 326 and 327)

THE MEANING

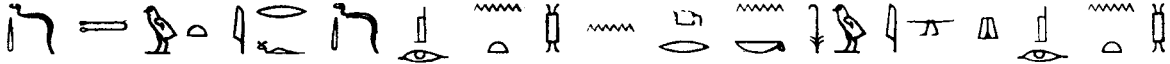
This is another of the group of four weapons of the form  or  , and frequently appears named upon the painted sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom. Gardiner (*ibid*, p. 498) suggests that these four objects should be compared with the mantlet or shelter used by the Babylonian archers. The accompanying formula seems, at any rate, to associate this object with the bow (see JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 224).


THE WRITINGS


In list No. 145 *H*, this item is written  and in list No. 148 *T*, it has the same writing, but the determinative is  .


THE FORMULA

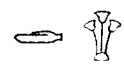
Nt, Lines 326 and 327 :—

(326)  “Words spoken : ‘You are against him’. Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nt*, seize him to you. Hurry towards Osiris *Nt*’.”

(327)  “Words spoken : ‘I am *Gb*, it is Thoth (*Dhwtj*) who brought it: this bow | A divine guardian (or Guardian of the God)’.”


No. 74  *Pd H'* "A Bow-Case (?)" (see above, p. 233)

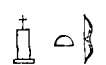
No. 75  Destroyed in List 'A' of *Nfr-k3-R'* and its Equivalent does not seem to have occurred in any of the Other Royal Lists known to us

No. 76  *Dj H3* (?) "Put behind (?)" (*Nfr-k3-R'*)

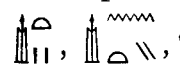


THE MEANING (*cf.* NO. 134 BELOW)

The meaning of this entry may perhaps be 'to be put behind', and refers to the preceding items, which in the Middle Kingdom, were painted upon the inner right-hand side of the wooden sarcophagi (see, for example, LEPSIUS "*Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*", Pl. 23). If this is so, then it is not really an item, although it is put in a compartment like an ordinary entry. It is a direction to the officiating priest, as to the disposition of the preceding entries and may thus be classed with entries Nos. 97, 113, 114 (*see below*, p. 270).

Only a few signs are preserved from the utterance accompanying this entry. These include a mention of "The Great Ennead"  (see JEQUIER, "*Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*", Vol. I, Pl. IV).









No. 77  *Iwn.t* "A Bow" (*Nt*, Line 283) (also No. 81 [*Nt*, Line 287] and No. 213)

THE MEANING

This is one of the two kinds of bows mentioned in the offering-list, and afterwards represented in the painted sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom, where they are given the variant writing of  (1). The form of the bow, according to the determinatives, is a double arc, quite different from the primitive type of weapon, the form of which is preserved in the hieroglyph  *pdt.j*. The importance of the *iwn.t*-bow over the other bow,  *pdt.j* may be seen by the fact that it occurs no less than three times in the list.








(1) See JEQUIER, *ibid.*, p. 212, *f.*










THE WRITINGS



In lists Nos. 145 *H*, and 148 *T*, *iwn.t* is written   , and in the former list has the enumeration 11 = “2”, which accords with the representations in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi, where these bows are usually shown in pairs. In the Cairo Coffin No. 28083 (92) these bows are coloured yellow to represent natural wood, and are inscribed       (see LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, Pl. XLI, No. 231). This inscription, which may read ‘the *iwn.t*-bow in his hand’, accords with the disposition of the represented bows in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi, where they are placed near to the hands of the dead.

THE FORMULA






Nt, Lines 283 and 287 :—

(283)      |   “Words spoken: ‘I bring the Two Eyes of Horus | 2 *Iwn.t*-bows’.”



(287)        |   “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nt*, I bring to you the two Eyes of Horus (*Hr*) | A *Iwn.t*-bow’ (1).”

Nos. 78 and 211   *Hr.t* “A Quiver of Arrows” (*Nt*, Line 284)

THE MEANING










This item was a quiver of arrows, such as we see represented beside the bows in the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. In these representations, the arrows may be bound together by a band round the middle, crossed in pairs, or placed in a quiver which may be short and merely cover the points, or long and reach right up to the feathers. The determinative in list No. 148 *T* (see No. 211) may be a simplified representation of either the bundle of arrows, or the arrows in the large quiver. Moreover, this sign seems to have been mistaken by the later scribes for the sign  , and thus they evolved the Middle Kingdom writing   (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 330) or   (LACAU, *ibid*, p. 106, No. 60, Pl. XLII, No. 241).



THE WRITINGS


In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T* (entry No. 211), this item is written   .

THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 284 :—

(284)      |   |   “Words spoken: Behold! The place in which they (*i.e.* the arrows) are | A quiver of arrows”

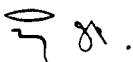
(1) Note the similarity of the *Iwn.t* bow  to the eyes .

Nos. 79 and 212  *Read* "A Sling (?)" (*Nt*, Line 285)



THE MEANING

This item, which occurs once in list No. 148 *T* and perhaps twice in list No. 145 *H*, seems to be a sling. In modern times such slings are still used by the fellahin to scare birds away from the crops. In ancient Egypt slings of this type were used for the same purpose (see WILKINSON, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians", Vol. I, p. 43). They were also used as weapons of war (see NEWBERRY, "Beni Hasan", Vol. II, Pls. XX, V). Therefore, its inclusion among the weapons is logical (see also NEWBERRY, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, p. 65).

THE WRITINGS


In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T* (entry No. 212), the writing is the same .

THE DETERMINATIVES

In the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) the determinative is more detailed, and shows the 'pocket' for the stone or sling-bolt: . In list No. 145 *H* it is simply .

THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 285:—

(285)  "Words spoken: 'Behold them, those which are given to you | A sling (?).'"

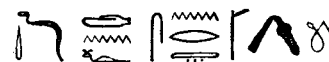
Nos. 80 and 213  (*Nt*, Line 286)


THE MEANING


The meaning of this item is not clear; it seems to be a whip. The utterance from the Pyramid Texts (which is only preserved in the inscriptions of Queen *Nt*) does not throw any light on the subject.

THE FORMULA




Nt, Line 286 :—

 "Words spoken : 'He had placed them to the earth'"


No. 81  *Iwn.t* "A Bow" (see above, p. 237)

No. 82  *Pdt.j* "A Pair of Bows" (*Nt*, Line 288)


THE MEANING

The *pdt.j* was the primitive bow of Egypt, and as we may see by the hieroglyph  or , was of a peculiar type, and not found in any other country. This type of bow was in use during the Archaic Period (1) but seems to have been abandoned during the Old Kingdom when in real life it was replaced by the form . The primitive form consisted of a straight bar terminating at each end in a semi-circular curve, or thin straight bars set at an angle to the main part. The form which replaced it was similar to that of the *iwn.t*-bow, ut has a thicker projection in the middle, which seems, in the detailed representations, to be a binding of some kind (2).

THE WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*, this item is written . In the latter list the determinative is damaged, but seems to have been only one bow.

THE FORMULA

In both the texts of *Nfr-k3-R'* and *Nt*, the formula accompanying the presentation of this item is destroyed and all that we can glean from the latter text is that it referred to the god *St* .

Entries Nos. 83, 84 and 85 are destroyed in the only two lists in our material in which they occur, namely *Nfr-k3-R' A* and *Nt*.

(1) QUIBELL, "Hierakonpolis", Pl. XIX.

(2) For the form of the bows, see JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 212, ff.

THE SEVEN HOLY OILS

We now come to a group of seven oils or ointments, generally called the seven holy oils. Some of these have appeared in the lists as early as the Archaic Period, but it is not until the late Fourth Dynasty that we find them appearing all together in their characteristic group and order (see above, p. 51). In some of the earlier lists of the Fourth Dynasty the group of oils seems to have been condensed into the single entry *hst.t* "Best oil" (see lists Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 T, 5 T, 7 T). This has its parallel in the same lists where the five entries for wine are rendered collectively by the single entry of $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏} \text{ 𓆐} \text{ 𓆑} \text{ 𓆒}$ *irp* "Wine". The first certainly dated list in our material, in which these oils appear as a complete group, is that of *Dbhñj* (list No. 11).

For a full discussion of the subject of the seven holy oils, see MORET, "*Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalier*", p. 70, ff., 193, 194 (1).

No. 86 $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏} \text{ 𓆐} \text{ 𓆑} \text{ 𓆒}$ *Stj-Hb* "Perfume of the Festival" (*Wn's*, Line 50 B)

THE MEANING

The name of this, the first of the group of seven holy oils, means 'the perfume of the festival', which is clear from the two elements $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏}$ *stj* "perfume", and $\text{𓆐} \text{ 𓆑}$ *hb* "festival". The fact that the element $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏}$ *stj* is determined by the bag 'rif' 𓆏 suggests that the aromatic substance whatever it may have been, was of a dry nature. This can be proved by the fact that the bag 𓆏 is also used to determine the two eye-paints (see below), which we definitely know were dry substances. The *stj-hb* was not only used for personal anointing, it was also employed for perfuming the temples (see GARDINER, "*A.Z.*", Vol. 42, p. 15, line 1). Maspero also considered *stj-hb* to have been a perfume, and says that its basis was an oil mixed with some aromatic substance which rendered it thick like ointment (see MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, p. 36) (1). Its thick consistency is vouched for by the form of the jar by which it is usually determined, namely $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏}$. (For the preparation of this perfume, see JEQUIER, "*Les Frises d'Objets*", p. 140; also see p. 146.)

THE HISTORY

This entry does not appear in any of the early lists, so far as I am aware, and its first appearance in our material occurs in list No. 6 H, where it is written $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏} \text{ 𓆐} \text{ 𓆑} \text{ 𓆒}$ (see also lists Nos. 7 T, 15 H). We have also the following writing for this period: $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆏} \text{ 𓆐} \text{ 𓆑}$: lists Nos. 11, 14.






(1) See also "*La Table d'Offerandes*", p. 343 (Note 5), 344.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 16 *H* the sign \equiv is omitted, and the sign \cup below the *hb* is replaced by the bowl ∇ .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the forms of the jars used to determine this item during the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1) , (var. ,  or  (1): lists Nos. **11**, **13**, **14**, 6 *H*, 16 *H* (this is the traditional jar for containing ointment or oil. In list No. 6 *H* it is marked to represent variegated stone, although, in reality, such hard-stone vases had ceased to exist in the private tombs of this period [see above, p. 26]); (2) : list No. 15 *H*; Balcz (*ibid*, p. 82) does not give this form of jar for the *stj-hb*. Note that all these forms represent wide-mouthed jars which is in favour of the idea that *stj-hb* was a thick ointment rather than a liquid oil.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for the Fifth Dynasty:—

(1) $\uparrow \equiv \textcircled{\text{L}}$: lists Nos. **69**, **54**, **32**, 23 *H*, 26 *H*, 29 *H*, **71**, **73**, 74 *P*, **76**, **75**, 35 *H*, 40 *H*, 57 *H*, 67 *H*, **48**; (2) $\uparrow \overline{\text{ooo}} \textcircled{\text{L}} \square$: lists Nos. 47 *H*, 49 *H*, 20 *P*, 52 *P*; (3) $\uparrow \overline{\text{oo}} \textcircled{\text{L}} \textcircled{\text{L}}$: list No. 22 *H*.

A new feature is the inclusion of the pellets ooo which may replace the bag oo as in No. 2, or appear in conjunction with it, as in No. 3.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS






In list No. 59 *H* we have the writing $\textcircled{\text{L}} \textcircled{\text{L}} \square$. Here the sign $\textcircled{\text{L}}$ replaces the group $\uparrow \overline{\text{oo}}$ and has the same value.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 23 *H* the sign $\textcircled{\text{L}}$ is wrongly drawn as $\overline{\text{L}}$, and in list No. 34, the sign \equiv is faulty or perhaps unfinished.





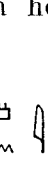
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—





(1) : list No. **69**; (2) : list No. **70**; (3) : list No. 18 *T*; (4)  \square : list No. **41**; (5) : list No. **46** (this latter form is not given by Balcz among the jars for the *stj-hb*); (6) $\text{oo} \textcircled{\text{L}}$: list No. **75**. (7) $\text{oo} \square \text{oo}$: list No. **76**.

(1) BALCZ, "Mitteilung", 1937, p. 82, gives this a tall slender shape which is not found in the original.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY



The chief characteristic in the writing of this word during the Sixth Dynasty is the employment of the sign , or one of its variants , , ⁽¹⁾ to replace the bag . See lists Nos. **102**, **115**, **128**, 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 119 *T*, 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 139 *T*, 86 *H*, 120 *H* (?), 122 *H*, 134 *H*, 89 *P*, 94 *P*, 123 *P*, 124 *P*, 130 *P*, **126**, 131 *P*, 138 *P*. Apart from this feature, there are no new writings for the Sixth Dynasty, but we observe a larger number of lists employing the fuller phonetic spelling. Nevertheless, the simple form  still predominates over all.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **88** the sign  is perhaps an error for . In list No. 101 *H* the sign  should be .











THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

(1) : list No. 112 *T*; (2) : list No. 113 *T*; in actual fact this form of jar belongs to the *Nj-Hnm*-oil, and therefore its use here ought really to be regarded as an error.

THE FORMULA



Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 72:—

(50 *B*)  ()      |    “Osiris (*Wsir*) *Wn's*, I anoint thine eye for thee with ointment ⁽²⁾ | A jar of *stj-hb*-oil” or “Osiris *Wn's*, fill for you your eye with oil | A jar of *stj-hb*-oil.”


In the Tomb of Prince *Mnj* at Denderah, we have the following variant, which occurs with a list of the seven holy oils inscribed upon the wall of the burial-chamber (PETRIE, “*Denderah*”, Pl. III):—

               .

(For a full discussion of this item, see MORET, “*Le Rituel du Culte Divin*”, p. 70, ff.)

⁽¹⁾ For the replacement of the sign  by  in the Middle Kingdom, see GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 478.

⁽²⁾ cf. GUNN, “*Studies in Egyptian Syntax*”, p. 70.

No. 87  “*Hknt-Oil*” (*Wn's*, Line 50 C) (W.B., Vol. III, p. 180)

THE MEANING



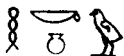
This was the second item in the group of the seven holy oils. Jequier (“*Les Frises d’Objets*”, p. 146) considers it as a natural oil, perhaps of vegetable origin, having similar properties to incense, and like that product, found in the south. But a late inscription at Edfu gives detailed instructions for its manufacture, a complicated process which occupied eleven days (DUMICHEN, “*Ein Salbötrecept aus dem Laboratorium des Edjufempels*,” *A.Z.*, Vol. 17, [1879], p. 100). Maspero calls it ‘Parfum d’Acclamation’ (“*La Table d’Offerandes*”, pp. 344, 345).

THE HISTORY

This is another item which does not seem to have occurred in the Archaic lists. Its first appearance in our material is in the list of *St.w* (No. 6 *H*) where it forms one of a group of four oils.






THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The following are the forms of writing found during the Fourth Dynasty:—


(1)   : lists Nos. 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 11, 14; (2)  : lists Nos. 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed during this period:—






(1)  var.   : lists Nos. 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 16 *H*; (2)  : list No. 15 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 14, 11.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY


The following is the only new form of writing for the Fifth Dynasty:  : list No. 67 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES







The following are the new determinatives:—

(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : list No. 70; (3)  : lists Nos. 46, 22 *H*; (4)  : list No. 53; (5)  : list No. 63.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY








There are no new forms of writing for the Sixth Dynasty; the following form predominates and occurs in forty-one lists: .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 81 *T* the sign  should be . In list No. 101 *H* the entry, which is damaged, appears also to be faulty. In list No. 136 *H* the sign  should be , while  should perhaps be .













THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—



(1)  : lists Nos. 115, 139 *T*, 86 *H*; (2)  : list No. 128; (3) : lists Nos. 137 *T*, 111 *T*; (4)  : list No. 112 *T*.

THE FORMULA




Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 73:—

(50 *C*)   (W)        |    “Osiris *Wni's*, take for yourself the juice which is in its face | A jar of *Hkmt*-oil.”



The variant in the Tomb of *Mnj* at Denderah reads:                 .

No. 88   “*Sjt*-Oil” (*Wni's*, Line 51 A) (W.B., Vol. IV, p. 118)




THE MEANING

According to Maspero, this oil was of a semi-liquid consistency, not so thin as a true oil, nor so thick as ointment (“*La Table d'Offrandes*”, p. 345). Jequier classes it as a vegetable oil, on the grounds that it is sometimes determined by the grains or seeds  or  (“*Les Frises d'Objets*”, p. 147). That it was scented may be seen by the inclusion of the sign  in the writing during the Fifth Dynasty (see lists Nos. 18 *T*, 19 *T*, etc.) (1).

THE HISTORY





This entry had appeared at least as early as the Third Dynasty and occurs in the list of *Hj-b3.w-Skr*, where it is qualified as   “First Class” (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 97).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY



The first certainly dated appearance of this word in our material occurs in the list of *Dbhñj*, (No. 11), where it is written    (see also lists Nos. 6 *H*, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*).

(1) For further ideas on the nature of this oil and the *h3t-nt* 'Š, see GARDINER, “*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*”, p. 8, Note 1.

THE DETERMINATIVES

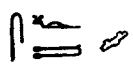

The general determinative during the Fourth Dynasty is the jar  (with its usual variant forms): lists Nos. 6 *H*, 11, 16 *H*. We have also  : list No. 14, and  : list No. 13, and  : list No. 16 *H*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES



In list No. 15 *H* the sign  is an error for .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The following is the new writing for the Fifth Dynasty:—











 This introduces the sign  which is a common determinative for anything perfumed (see lists Nos. 18 *T*, 19 *T*, 30, 58, 63, 44, 46).

FAULTY WRITINGS



In lists Nos. 35 *H* and 71 *P*, the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 30, 58, 63, 18 *T*, 19 *T*; (2)  : lists Nos. 32, 33 (?), 54, 35 *H*; (3)  : list No. 69; (4)  : list No. 70; (5)  : lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27; (6)  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*; (7)  : lists Nos. 44, 46; (8)  : list No. 22 *H*; (9)  : lists Nos. 28 *H*, 31 *H*, 41, 47 *H*, 50 *H*; (10)  : list No. 53.

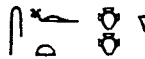


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 17 *H* the sign  is an error for .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

There are no new writings to be observed during the Sixth Dynasty, and the predominating form is  , which now appears in twenty-five lists.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS



















In list No. 112 *T*, we have  for  (1). In list No. 125  may be read “*sft*-oil in a *snw*-jar”.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 103 *T* the sign  is perhaps an error for .





















THE DETERMINATIVES
























It is to be noted that jars of more than one form, and from one to three in number may be used to determine a given item. This seems to indicate that although a certain type of vessel was traditionally reserved for a special commodity, its employment for this purpose was not a strict rule, and other types of containers could be used in place of it. Moreover, it is characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty to employ double, or even treble determinatives as we may see by the following:—

- (1)  : list No. 102 ; (2)  : list No. 139 *T* ; (3)  : list No. 86 *H* ; (4) 
 : list No. 122 *H* ; (5)  : list No. 112 *T* ; (6)  : list No. 125 ; (7)  : list
 No. 81 *T* ; (8)  : list No. 115 ; (9)  : list No. 90 *H* ; (10)  : lists Nos. 110 *T*, 124 *T* ;
 (11)  : list No. 94 *P* ; (12)  : list No. 120 *H* ; (13)  : list No. 121 *H* ; (14)  : lists
 No. 99, 131 *P*, 133 *T*, 134 *H*, 135 *T*, 136 *H*, 143 *H*, 145 *H*, 147 *T* (?) ; (15)  : lists Nos. 118 *T*,
 100 *H* ; (16)  : list No. 132 *T* ; (17)  : list No. 123 *P*.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 74:—

(51 *A*)  (W)                    “Osiris *Wn*’s,
 take to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) by means of which *sftk* is done to him (i.e. *St*
 is punished (2) | A jar of *Sft*-oil” (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, pp. 239-240).

The variant from the Tomb of *Mnj* at Denderah reads:        
              .

(1) For this form, see *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 118.


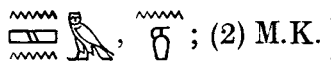

(2) For variants of this utterance in the New Kingdom, see SCHIAPARELLI, “*Libro die Funeruli*”, Vol. II, p. 48 (Abydos) and MORET, “*Rituel du Culte Divin*”, p. 192.

No. 89  *Nšnm* (var. *Nj-Hnm*) "Oil" (*Wn's*, Line 51 B)

THE MEANING

Griffith (" *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* ", p. 39) suggests that this word should be translated as (the God) *Hnm*-oil (*i.e.* that which belongs to *Hnm*), a translation which accords with the pronunciation given by Junker (*see* below). Perhaps this oil came from the land of *Hnmw*, *i.e.* Elephantine, an explanation which is supported by the writing given in list No. 30 which reads: 'The oil belonging to the land of *Hnmw*'. Maspero (*ibid*, p. 345) suggests that this oil was entirely liquid, because it is represented as being contained in a flask with a narrow neck and a short spout. According to Jequier, this was a toilet water, and the translation 'oil of Elephantine' should be eliminated (1).


According to the Berlin Dictionary, this item may be written in any of the following ways (2):—









(1) O.K.  *nhnm*,  ; (2) M.K.  , *Nj-hnm* (*see* also JUNKER, " *Giza* ", Vol. I, p. 108 ; Vol. II, p. 75 ; Vol. IV, p. 70 ; *nhnm*, *ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 99, 100, 101, 245).

THE HISTORY

This is one of the new items added when the canonical list was formed, and thus does not appear before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty. Its first appearance in our material is in the list of *Stw* (No. 6 *H*), where it is placed after *hknu*, instead of in its proper place following *sft*, as in the canonical lists.








THE FOURTH DYNASTY

During the Fourth Dynasty we have only one example of the later normal writing  *nj-Hnm* (list No. 15 *H*). Other writings for this period are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 6 *H* ; (2)  : list No. 14 ; (3)   *nm* (?) : list No. 13 ; (4)   : *M.šnm* or *šnm* (?) : list No. 11 ; (5)  (?)  : list No. 16 *H*. Thus, we see that a stable form of the word had not been fixed by the end of the Fourth Dynasty

THE DETERMINATIVES


The determinatives for this period are as follows:—

(1)  or  : lists Nos. 6 *H*, 15 *H* ; (2)  : list No. 14 ; (3)   : list No. 13 ; (4)  : list No. 11 ; (5)  : list No. 16 *H*. Thus, we see that in most cases the word is determined by a form of the jar *hnm*, which could only be used to contain a liquid.


















(1) " *Frises d'Objets* ", p. 148.

(2) *W.B.* Vol. II. 319.










FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 16 *H* the sign  is parasitical.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY








During this period we still find the writing    , as in list No. 29 *H*, and in some lists it is even written with the flask alone  , followed by a determinative (see lists Nos. **32**, **35 H**, **39 H**) The fact that this flask alone was sufficient to indicate the nature of its contents, shows us that it must have been traditionally used for this purpose, and conveyed the same impression to the mind of the Egyptian as a coffee-cup or a tea-pot does to our minds. (For a sign representing a vessel and used to express the meaning of the contents of the vessel, in the Ptolemaic Period, see FAIRMAN, “ *An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values* ”, B.I.F.A.O., Vol. XLIII, p. 51, *ff.*) But now we see that the writing of *nj-hnm* begins to predominate, and appears with various determinatives, or no determinatives at all. The most frequently found form is    : lists Nos. **53**, **54**, **58**, **69**, **44**, **46**, 17 *H*, 19 *T*, 23 *H*, 25 *H*, 28 *H*, **71**, 74 *P*, **79**, **48**, 51 *P*, 52 *P*, 57 *H*, 67 *H*, 59 *H*. Another new writing is    : lists Nos. **27**, 26 *H*. The curious writing     (list No. **41**) appeared once before in the Fourth Dynasty, in list No. **11** (see above, p. 248). In the list of *Wn's* (No. 143 *H*) we have   .

UNUSUAL WRITINGS






In list No. 18 *T nj-hnm* is written backwards     ; list No. 49 *H* gives    *nj-hnm.ut*. In list No. **30** we have the curious writing   , which read “ Oil of the Land of *Hnm*”.

THE DETERMINATIVES



We now have the following new determinatives :—

- (1)  : list No. **69** ; (2)  : list No. **70** ; (3)  : list No. **46** ; (4)  : list No. 22 *H* ;
 (5)  : list No. 17 *H* ; (6)  : list No. 47 *H* ; (7)  (sic) : list No. 40 *H*.


THE SIXTH DYNASTY

During this period the writing of the name of this oil was    *nj-Hnm* (with variant determinatives) without exception, and the old writing of *hnm* which was still lingering on during the Fifth Dynasty, now disappears altogether. At the same time, the use of the double determinative for this item now increases, as is a characteristic of the writings of the Sixth Dynasty lists. In list No. 145 *H* we have  .

UNUSUAL WRITINGS


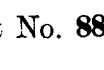

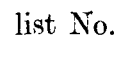







In list No. 128, we have the writing  and in list No. 112 T .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 113 T there is a parasitical sign .



THE DETERMINATIVES

New determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—

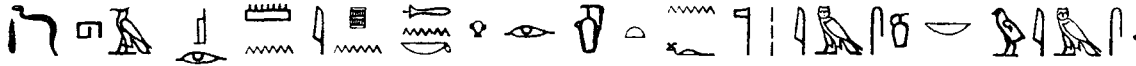
- (1)  : list No. 88; (2)  : list No. 102; (3)  : list No. 115; (4)  : list No. 86 H; (5)  : list No. 139 T; (6)  : lists Nos. 119 T, 121 H; (7)  : list No. 91; (8)  : list No. 96 P; (9)  : lists Nos. 110 T 112 T(?); (10)  : list No. 90 H; (11)  : list No. 95 H.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 75:—

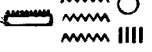
(51 B)  "Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which had been joined to him | A jar of *ns'nm*-oil (var. *nhnm*-oil)." 

In the Tomb of *Mnj* at Denderah, we have the following variant:—



No. 90  "*Tw3.wt*-Oil" (*Wn's*, Line 51 C) (W.B., V, p. 251)

THE MEANING


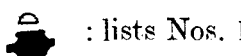
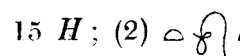
Maspero calls this the 'Parfum de Salat' (*ibid*, p. 345) (*see also* MORET, " *Le Rituel du Culte Divin*", p. 195). According to an inscription at Edfu, it was made from the oil *mn* (?)  goose-grease and a vegetable substance (JEQUIER, " *Les Frises d'Objets*", p. 148, where he says that the name 'Perfume of Salutation' is meaningless to us).

THE HISTORY

This item is another new-comer to the lists, and only appeared during the second half of the Fourth Dynasty. Its first dated appearance in our material is in list No. 11 (*Dbhnj*, reign of King *Mn-k3.w-R'*).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY




We have the following writings in our material for the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1)  : lists Nos. **11**, 15 *H*; (2)  : list No. **14**; (3)  : list No. 16 *H*.

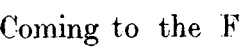


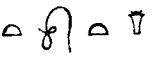
As we may see, the writing of this word is not at all consistent, and in only two examples, Nos. **11** and 15 *H*, is it in harmony with the writing in the Pyramid Texts, and even then the determinative is different in form and character. The form of No. 16 *H* is not given by the Berlin Dictionary, but this is perhaps a faulty writing. In Nos. **14** and 16 *H* the pronunciation seems to be *tw3.t*.

THE DETERMINATIVES


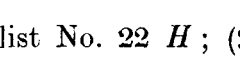


It seems that, like the *nj-hnm*, this was also a liquid oil, as in some cases, the form of the jar, in which it was contained, resembles that of the *nj-hnm*, as we shall see later, and has a narrow neck and a spout. The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1)  : lists Nos. **11**, 15 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. **13**, 16 *H*; ; (3)  : list No. **14**.





THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find that the predominating writing is   *tw3.wt*, which occurs nineteen times, while  *tw3.w* is only found seven times, and  *tw3.t* occurs six times.

The new writings for this period are as follows:—









(1)  : list No. 22 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. **69**, 25 *H*, 28 *H*, **48**, **76**;
(3)  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 67 *H*; (4)  : list No. 49 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS




In list No. **41** the signs  and  are parasitical. In list No. **72** the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES













The following are the new determinatives:—

(1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : list No. **70**; (3)  : list No. **58**; (4)  : list No. 38 *H*; (5)  : list No. 22 *H*; (6)  : list No. 35 *H* (here the oil is represented as though flowing out of the jar); (7)  : list No. **71**; (8)  : list No. **75**.












FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 17 *H* the sign  should be either  or  (see also No. 88 in the same list).

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


















During the Sixth Dynasty the most usual writing of this word is    *tw3.wt* (as in line 51 *C* of the Pyramid Texts). This form now occurs in thirty-one examples. In seven lists it is given its full spelling      : lists Nos. 88, 102, 86 *H*, 89 *P*, 101 *H*, 131 *P*, 124 *P*. This is a new feature, and characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty, for it only occurs once in this form during the Fifth Dynasty (see list No. 49 *H*). The writing     *tw3* now only appears once (list No. 93 *P*), although it was somewhat frequent during the Fifth Dynasty.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 94 *P*, we have a rare form of writing,            , which seems to read *tw3.t*.

















THE DETERMINATIVES



























The determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—


- (1)  : list No. 87 ;
- (2)   : lists Nos. 115, 139 *T* ;
- (3)   ⁽¹⁾ : list No. 86 *H* ;
- (4)   ^{oo}  ^{oo} : list No. 82 ;
- (5)  ^{oo}  ^{oo} ⁽²⁾ : lists Nos. 91, 92, 90 *H* ;
- (6)  ^{oo}  ^{oo} : list No. 93 *P* ;
- (7)    : list No. 112 *T* ;
- (8)  : list No. 118 *T* ;
- (9)  : list No. 142 *H*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 76:—

(51 *C*)                 “Osiris Wn’s, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which the Gods brought back ⁽³⁾ | A jar of *tw3.wt*-oil.”

In the Tomb of *Mnj* at Denderah this text reads                           .

⁽¹⁾ In the original, the priest is holding a wine-jar .

⁽²⁾ This had already appeared in a faulty form in list No. 17 *H*.

⁽³⁾ Or ‘By which he saluted the Gods’.

No. 91 *H3.t.t* 'š "Cedar Oil" (*Wm's*, Line 53 B)

THE MEANING

The general meaning of the word *h3.t.t* is the 'best of' and may be applied to other articles beside oils. In fact, it is an element in the names of two other items in the offering-list, as we shall presently see. In an article in "*The Journal of Egyptian Archæology*" (Vol. 6, pp. 58-60), Blackman suggests that *h3.t.t* here means 'what belongs to the forehead', and that *h3.t.t* 'š was an oil for anointing the brow. In lines 742, 52 *A-B*, 54, 453 *A* of the Pyramid Texts, the play upon the word *h3.t* in its meaning of 'brow' or 'forehead' and the *h3.t.t*-oil lends colour to this theory. But, at the same time, we must not overlook the earlier writing of *tp. h3.t* "first class" which can hardly be applied to the brow; neither can *h3.t wdhw* (No. 93 of the private canonical lists) possibly be applied to the brow, but must mean 'the best of the offering' (see above, p. 104; see also JUNKER, "*Gîza*", Vol. III, p. 52).

Jequier also identifies this item with an unguent for the face, basing his identification on the context of its accompanying formula (JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 148). According to an inscription at Edfu, this unguent was composed of *mn*-oil "essence of pine, and vegetable resin" (JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 148).

THE HISTORY

This item appeared in the Archaic lists under the name of *tp h3.t.t 'd 'š*, "First class cedar oil" (see "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. V, p. 119) (1).




THE FOURTH DYNASTY

From the time of the late Fourth Dynasty till the end of the Old Kingdom, *h3.t.t* 'š always precedes *h3.t.t. Thnw* in the offering-lists, and to such an extent were they associated together, that from the end of the Fourth Dynasty we sometimes find the two items written, side by side, each in its own rectangle, but joined at the top by the common heading *h3.t.t* (see, for example, list No. 14). But this form of writing did not become common until later, as we shall see.


The writing most frequently employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty is (with variant determinatives). See lists Nos. 11, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. In list No. 12 we have instead of .



(1) For the identification of as cedar, see LORET, "*Annales du Service des Antiquités*", Vol. XVI, pp. 32-51.

THE DETERMINATIVES




In four examples this item is determined by  : lists Nos. **11**, **12**, 15 *H*, 16. *H*. In list No. **14** we have  only, a sign which, together with its variants, is the ideogram for a smell, and thus indicated the aromatic nature of this oil. In list Nos. **13** the jar  is the only determinative.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find that the most usual method of writing *h3.t.t* 's' is still  (with variant determinatives), and this form now occurs in twenty-nine lists. We have also the following new writing:—


























 *h3.t.t. nt* 's' (lists Nos. 59 *H*, **69**, 74 *P*, a form which we shall see more frequently employed during the Sixth Dynasty. There are also four examples where *h3.t.t* is written simply as  : lists Nos. **46**, 19 *T*, 25 *H*, **33**.

FAULTY WRITINGS







In lists No. **40** *H* the sign  is lacking. In list No. 22 *H* the sign  is an error for .

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following examples show the number of new determinatives which had developed for this item since the Fourth Dynasty, of which some are faulty:—

- (1)   : lists Nos. 19 *T*, **34**; (2)   : list No. **46**; (3)   : lists Nos. **53**, **71**; (4)  : list No. **30**; (5)   : list No. **27**; (6)   : list No. **69**; (7)  : list No. **70**; (8)   : list No. 22 *H*; (9)  : list No. 61 *H*; (10)   : list No. 25 *H*; (11)   : list No. 35 *H*; (12)  ^(sic)  : list No. 26 *H*; (13)  ^(sic)  : lists Nos. 28 *H*, 31 *H*, 38 *H*, 39 *H*; (14)   : list No. **76**.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 23 *H* the sign  should be , and in lists Nos. 57 *H*, **69** the sign  is faulty. In list No. **32**, the sign  is an error for . In lists 25 *H* and 35 *H* the signs representing meat should be  or its variants.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we now find that the most frequent writing employed for this item is that which joins it to the *Thnw*-oil by means of the common heading  *h3.t.t. nt*

(see lists Nos. **82**, 84 *P*, 86 *H*, **88**, 89 *P*, 94 *P*, **99**, 100 *H*, 109 *T*, 112 *T*, 114 *T*, **115**, **116**, 118 *T*, 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, 123 *P*, 124 *P*, **126**, 130 *P*, 131 *P*, 132 *T*, 134 *H*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, **126**). Or we may have the same writing, but with the element $\overset{~~~~~}{\Delta}$ *nt* omitted: lists Nos. **80**, **91**, **92**, 93 *P*, 106 *T*, 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 127 *T*. The old writing of $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{☐} \end{array}$ now only appears in six lists (Nos. 90 *H*, 96 *P*, **128**, 139 *T*, 145 *H*).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **91** we have the group $\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array}$ for $\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array}$, while in list No. **102** the sign ☐ is lacking. In list No. **82** we have a parasitical sign $\overset{~~~~~}{\text{~~~~}}$, and in list No. 131 *P* there is a parasitical sign ☐ . In list No. 124 *P* the group $\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array}$ is wrongly replaced by $\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{~~~~} \end{array}$, unless we are to read this as ‘one portion of’.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. **87**; (2) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: lists Nos. **102**, **115**; (3) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. **88**;
(4) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 139 *T*; (5) $\overset{\text{sic}}{\text{⦿}} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 86 *H*; (6) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 101 *H*;
(7) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 110 *T*; (8) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: lists Nos. 111 *T*, 113 *T*; (9) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 112 *T*;
(10) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 135 *T*. In list No. 120 *T* the sign is a variant of $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$ and also the sign $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$ in list No. 100 *H* ⁽¹⁾, while $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 136 *H* and $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$: list No. 94 *P*, indicate wood or a tree, the origin of this oil. In list No. 142 *H* we have $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

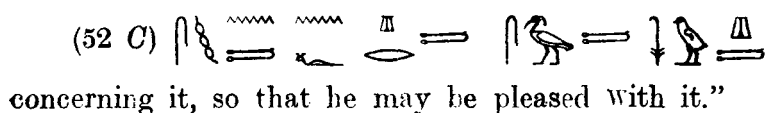
In lists Nos. **82**, 90 *H*, 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 112 *T*, 121 *H*, 127 *T*, the sign ⦿ is faulty. In list No. 86 *H* the sign $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$ is an error for $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$. The sign ⦿ in list No. 124 *P* is an error for $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$.

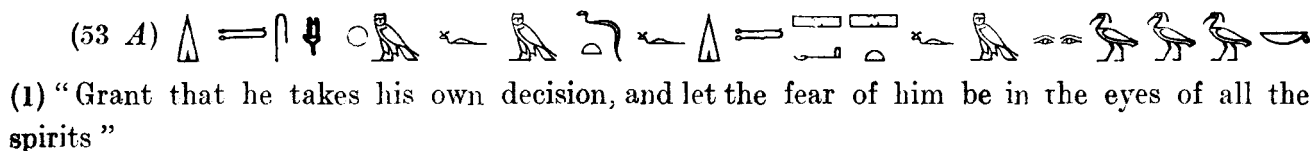
THE FORMULA

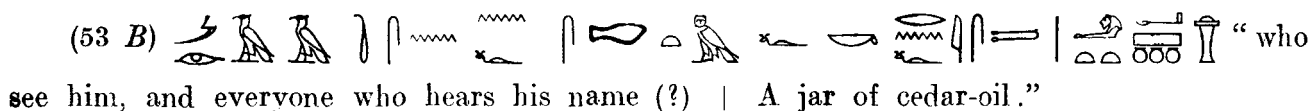
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 77:—

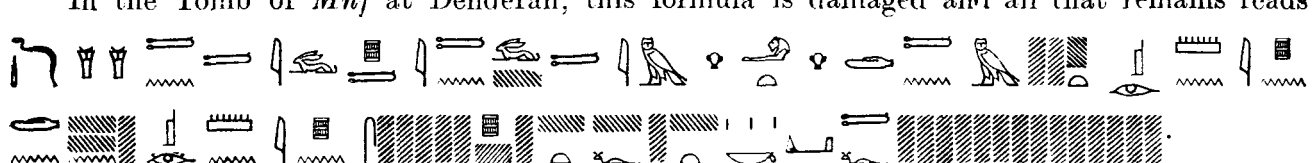
- (52 A) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$ “Oil, oil, rise up hurry ⁽¹⁾! You who are on the front of *Horus* (*Hr*), rise up, you, hurry!”
- (52 B) $\begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{⦿} \\ \text{⦿} \end{array}$ “Hurry to the (front) of *Horus* (*Hr*), attach yourself to the front of this *Wnis* (?.)”

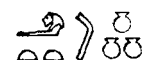
⁽¹⁾ Note that here the oil is personified, as was the incense in line 116 *A-D*.

(52 C)  " Make yourself agreeable to him concerning it, so that he may be pleased with it."



(53 A)  (1) "Grant that he takes his own decision, and let the fear of him be in the eyes of all the spirits"

(53 B)  " who see him, and everyone who hears his name (?) | A jar of cedar-oil."

In the Tomb of *Mnj* at Denderah, this formula is damaged and all that remains reads



No. 92  *Hst.t. Thnw* "Libyan Oil" (*Wins*, Line 53 B)

THE MEANING

This, the last of the group of the Seven Holy Oils, is usually translated as Libyan oil, and as Libya was also called 'the olive-land' one would assume that this was in reality olive-oil (see NEWBERRY, "Ancient Egypt", 1915, pp. 97-100). But according to an inscription at Edfu, it was composed of *mn*-oil  and acacia flowers (see JEQUIER, "Frises d'Objets", p. 149). In spite of the fact that it is commonly determined by the wide-mouthed jar , the *hst.t Thnw*-oil must have been of a somewhat liquid consistency, because it was used as a fuel for the four wicks which were lit for the dead when consecrating the tomb, and when celebrating the *wsg*-festival (see DUMICHEN, "Der Grabpalast", Vol. III, Pls. I, II). This rite seems to have been performed by four persons, who represented the Four Sons of *Horus* (*Hr*) who had originally officiated at the Tomb of Osiris (see also MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 345) (1).

THE HISTORY

Although, as in the case of *hknw* and *hst.t 's'*, the name of this oil is known to us from the Archaic times (see above, p. 50), it does not appear in the offering-lists until the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, where, in our material, we have the first dated example in the list of *Dbhjn* (No. 11).

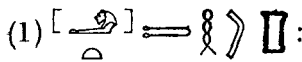
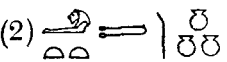
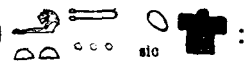
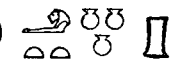

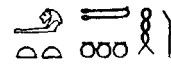
(1) Var. *Nfr-kj-R'* .

(2) See also for this oil, BLACKMAN, "J.E.A.", Vol. VI, p. 58.


THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The writing of this item in the Fourth Dynasty is variable, and out of six examples for the latter end of this period, not a couple are compatibly written and none of them coincide exactly with the writing in the Pyramid Texts of *Wni's*.




The following are the writings for this period:—

(1)  : list Nos. **12**; (2)  : list No. **14**; (3)  : list No. **11**; (4)  : list No. **13** (this last form is curious; it may be a faulty writing omitting the sign ; or, on the other hand, it may be a variant writing of *h3.t.t.* 'best oil' only); (5)  : list No. 15 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS







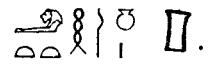
In list No. 16 *H* the sign  is omitted.

THE DETERMINATIVES





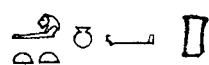





The jar  ,  appears as a determinative in four lists (Nos. **11**, **13**, **12**, 16 *H*). In list No. **11** it is accompanied by  °°° .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find the following new writings:—







(1)  : lists Nos. 23 *H*, 52 *P*; (2)  : list No. 47 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. **69**, 28 *H*, 67 *H*, 59 *H*. There is also a form of writing which includes the sign  or its variants  . This proves that the name should be read as 'Libyan oil', as this sign is employed to determine the names of countries. See for this writing, lists Nos. **30**, **34**, **46**, **58**, 18 *T*, 20 *P*, 19 *T*, 29 *H*, 38 *H*, 67 *H*, 60 *H*, **71**. In list No. 74 *P* we have also the element  *nt*. In list No. **77**, we have .

FAULTY WRITINGS


In lists Nos. **58**, 19 *T*, the sign  is an error for  . In list No. 22 *H* the sign  should be  . In list No. 40 *H* we have the faulty writing  . In list No. **44** the three grains  should be the three jars  . In list No. 38 *H* the sign  is an error for  , and in list No. 61 *H* there is a parasitical sign  .

THE DETERMINATIVES





The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 70; (2)  : list No. 69; (3)  : lists Nos. 27, 30, 26 H; (4)  : lists Nos. 28 H, 38 H, 39 H; (5)  : list No. 22 H; (6)  : list No. 57 H.






















FAULTY DETERMINATIVES




In lists Nos. 38 H, 39 H, the sign  is defective.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY



















During the Sixth Dynasty the predominating writing is a variable arrangement of the signs     (see, for example, list No. 90 H).

The following new writings should be noted:—

- (1)      : list No. 81 T; (2)     : list No. 96 P; (3)      : list No. 124 P; (4)      : list No. 100 H. Here the sign  is a variant of  and determines the name of Libya (see also the faulty writing in list No. 136 H).










We now have seven lists in which the old spelling of the Fourth Dynasty, which included the sign  is revived, after it had entirely disappeared during the Fifth Dynasty (see lists Nos. 125, 126, 101 H, 110 T, 112 T, 113 T, 119 T, 131 P. In the royal lists Nos. 145 H, 148 T, we have a new simple writing of   (see also the faulty form in lists Nos. 128 and 142 H).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 82 the jars pronouncing *nw* are written  and in list No. 86 H the sign replacing  is faulty. In list No. 87 the sign  should be . In list No. 93 P the sign  is written as , and in list No. 95 H the sign replacing  is faulty. In list No. 113 T the sign  should be . In list No. 124 P there is a parasitical sign , and in list No. 128 the jar-sign following  should be . In lists Nos. 94 P and 131 P and No. 137 T the sign  should be , and in list No. 86 H the three pellets  should be  (see also list No. 121 H). In list No. 136 H the group  is an error for  determining the name of Libya.

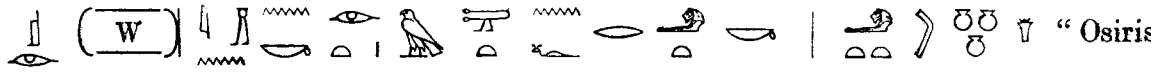
THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 139 T; (3)  : list No. 86 H; (4)  : lists Nos. 94 P, 111 T; (5)   : list No. 112 T; (6)  : list No. 134 H; (7)  : list No. 101 H; (8)  : list No. 142 H.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 78 :—

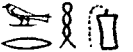


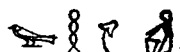
(54 A)  “Osiris
Wnⁱs, I bring to you the Eye of Horus (Hr) which he seized to your front | A jar of Libyan
oil.”

No. 93  Wrh “Ointment” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 50 A)

THE MEANING

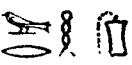
The item, which really forms a summary to the Seven Holy oils, means ‘ointment’. In the temple lists of *Nfr-k3-R'* (Nos. 146 T, 147 T), this item appears at the end of the enumeration of the Seven Oils, and preceding the green eye-paint, but according to Sethe’s edition of the Pyramid Texts it is placed at the beginning of the enumeration of the oils in the Pyramid list of *Nfr-k3-R'* (No. 145 H). It does not seem to have occurred in any other royal list.


THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 H this item is written simply as , and in list No. 147 T the writing is the same, but it is determined by . In list No. 146 T this item is destroyed, and only part of the determinative survives. Notice that in each case the ointment is seen pouring from the jar. (For the pouring out of ointment in the tomb, see above, p. 49.) In the list No. 139 T we have  and in list No. 142 H it is .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 71 :—

50 (A) The line in the Pyramid Texts, which precedes the name of this item and presumably contained the accompanying formula, is destroyed; only the name  (line 50 A) is preserved.

No. 94  *Wsd.w smd.t* "Green and Black Eye-Paint" (*Wn's*, Line 54 D)

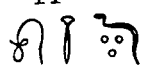
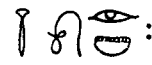
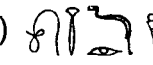
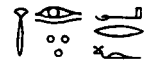



THE MEANING

Wsd.w is a kind of eye-paint, of a green colour, as its name indicates. This paint was made of powdered malachite, and was employed medicinally, either as a preventative or cure for eye-trouble. Hence the Egyptians frequently used the word *wsd.w* to mean the healthy eye (see MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 347, also DE MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour", 1894-1895, pp. 153-164). As we have already seen (above, p. 48), the actual specimens of this eye-paint have been found in the Pre-dynastic graves (1).

THE HISTORY













Although employed as an offering to the dead since the Pre-dynastic times, *wsd.w* did not make its appearance in the offering-list until the end of the Third Dynasty, at least so far as our present evidence tells us, when it appears in the list of *Mtn* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 105) After, this it is one of the items which are seldom omitted.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

Wsd.w first appears in our material for the Fourth Dynasty in the list of *Ms-s3* (No. 1) where it is written  (see also list No. 3). Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are: (1)  : list No. 2; (2)  : lists Nos. 6 H, 7 T, 15 H; (3)  : list No. 14; (4)  : lists Nos. 13, 16 H. The writing of No. 6 H is similar to the old writing of *Ms-s3* (list No. 1), but includes the determinative of the eye . No. 14 introduces the word 'rf.wj' (in the dual). These are the bags in which the dry paint was kept, and of which actual specimens have been found held in the hands of the Pre-dynastic corpses (see above, p. 48). In No. 4 the sign  *dw* gives the pronunciation of *wsd.w*. From the above, it will be seen that towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the addition of the bag 'rf' or the two bags 'rf-wj' into the writing of this word had become a regular feature.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1)  or : lists Nos. 1, 3; (2) : list No. 2; (3)  : lists Nos. 14, 12 (?); (4)  (?): list No. 11; (5)  : list No. 13; (6) : lists Nos. 6 H, 7 T; (7) : list No. 15 H; (8)  : list No. 16 H.

(1) See also for this item, JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 244.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

A feature of the Fifth Dynasty lists is the association of the *wad.w* with the *msdm.t*, as in the royal list No. 143 *H*. This may take the form of writing the names of the two paints in a single rectangle, as in list No. 143 *H* (see also lists Nos. 33, 34, 70, 77, 18 *T*, 40 *H*, 47*H*) or the two eye-paints may each be written in a separate rectangle, but be joined at the top or bottom by the common heading of 'rf *n* (lists Nos. 67 *H*, 72; : lists Nos. 44, 69, 38 *H*, 39 *H*; or 'rf.wj "two bags": list No. 59 *H* or : list No. 75.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 23 *H* the sign is faulty. In list No. 41 the signs are apparently lacking from 'rf, and in list No. 57 *H* the sign is lacking. In list No. 76 the writing of 'rf is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :—

- (1) : list No. 69; (2) : lists Nos. 17 *H*, 40 *H*; 74 *P*, 79; (3) : list No. 23 *H*;
 (4) : list No. 31 *H*; (5) (sic) (1) : list No. 49 *H*; (6) : lists Nos. 72, 75.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for the Sixth Dynasty :—

- (1) (with variant determinatives) : lists Nos. 87, 88, 99, 128, 93 *P*, 94 *P*, 100 *H*, 109 *T*, 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 123 *P*, 131 *P*, 132 *P*, 133 *T*, 134 *T*, 136 *H*, 137 *T*, 139 *T*; (2) : lists Nos. 121 *H*, 122 *H* (this full writing is a characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty lists); (3) 'rf *n* *wad.w* : lists Nos. 91, 82, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*.















FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 112 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, the sign is lacking from the writing of 'rf, and in list No. 128 it is the sign which is lacking. In list No. 120 *H* there is a parasitical sign and the second sign should be . In list No. 136 *H* the sign should be , and in list No. 124 *P* the sign is parasitical.





(1) In this example, the *ms-jar* is perhaps an error for the bag .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 147 *T*; (2)  : list No. 86 *H*; (3)  : list No. 88; (4)  : list No. 93 *P*; (5)  : list No. 102; (6)  : list No. 115; (7)  |  : list No. 128; (8)  : list No. 101 *H*; (9)     : list No. 112 *T*. In list No. 139 *T*,  determines both eye-paints.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 114 *T*, 118 *T* the sign  is perhaps an error for . In list No. 142 *H* the sign  should be .

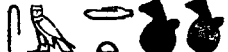
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 79:—

(54 C)  | “To be said four times (1): ‘Osiris *Wn*’s, adapt to yourself the healthy Eye of Horus to your face’.”

(54 D)  “Two bags of green and black eye-paint.”

In one case the living king offers the green eye-paint to his dead father (see *Pyramid Texts*, line 1681 *A*).

No. 95  *Smd.t* or *Msdm.t* “The Black Eye-Paint”

THE MEANING

In the list of *Wn*’s this shares a compartment with No. 94 (see above, p. 261).


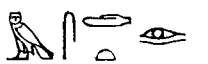

This, the black eye-paint, is a preparation of sulphide of lead or galena, and is still used in modern Egypt under the name of *kohl* or *totia* (see above, p. 48). For a full discussion of this and the green eye-paint, see PETRIE “*Medum*”, pp. 41-44; and L. Florence in DE MORGAN, *ibid*, pp. 153-164 (see also JUNKER “*Giza*”, Vol. I, p. 244).

(1) The instructions ‘to be said four times’ means that the officiating priest should recite the utterance facing to each of the four points of the compass in turn, thus invoking the gods of the four cardinal points on the behalf of the deceased.



THE HISTORY

This item seems to have first appeared in the offering-list early in the Fourth Dynasty, when it was apparently pronounced *smd.t*, a form of the word which was retained in the Pyramid Texts, although during the Fifth Dynasty the later form of the word *msdm.t* had already begun to appear, as we shall see (see also SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 205).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY








The earliest writing we have for *smd.t* in our material is in the list of *Ms-s* (No. 1) where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 2, 11, 7 *T*) and this agrees with the writing in the list of *Wni's* (No. 143 *H*) where, however, it is written in conjunction with *wsd.w*. In list No. 15 *H* we have a single early example of the writing *msd.t* , which, as we shall see, later became common. In list No. 3 we have .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 13 the signs  are omitted, and in list No. 16 *H* the sign  is lacking.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives used during the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 1, 12 (?); (2)  : list No. 6 *H*; (3)  : list No. 15 *H*; (4)  : lists Nos. 11, 16 *H*; (5)  : list No. 2; (6)  : list No. 13; (7)  : list No. 7 *T*.

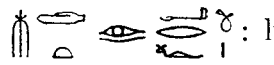
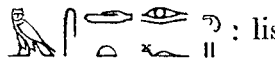
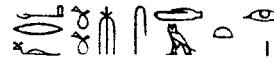
Towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty the bag 'rf, in which the eye-paint was kept, also appeared (see lists Nos. 11, 13, 14 16 *H*) but we do not yet find a list where the bag 'rf stands alone as a sole determinative of this item, as in the list of *Wni's* (No. 143 *H*) (1).

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In lists Nos. 3 and 11 the sign of the eye is faulty.



THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we now find the form *msd.t*, of which we had a single example in the Fourth Dynasty appearing somewhat more frequently, and with the following writings:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 28 *H*, 70, 79; (2)  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 41; (3)  : list No. 59 *H*. In list No. 34 we have the abbreviated writing


(1) For 'rf-*msd.t*, see MORET, “*Le Rituel du Culte Divin*”, pp. 199-200.

, which occurs in the same rectangle as *wj*. In this list we see several such abbreviated writings, which were obviously due to lack of space. We have also the following new writings:—

(1) : *smd.t-wt*: list No. 61 *H*: (2) : list No. 30.








We have also a writing, which by omitting the sign Δ , appears to be faulty, and to be pronounced *smd*; but the fact that it appears thirteen times, and in carefully drawn-up lists suggests that






in reality it is a new form of writing: : lists Nos. 33, 46, 58, 19 *T*, 22 *H*, 25 *H*,

48, 49 *H*, 51 *P*, 67 *H*, 56, 63, 75. In list No. 72 we have the form  *msd*.

FAULTY WRITINGS



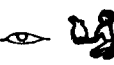






We have the following examples of faulty writings for the form *smd.t*:—

In lists Nos. 20 *P* and 21 *P* the signs  are omitted. In list No. 18 *T* the sign  is lacking. In list No. 47 *H* the sign  should be , and  should be ; while in list No. 56 the jar  should be Δ . For the *msd.t* or *msdm.t* we have the following faulty writings:—



In list No. 22 *H* the sign Δ is omitted, but according to Jequier (“*Les Frises d’Objets*”, p. 154) this writing without Δ is a late form. In list No. 40 *H*, the signs  are lacking. In list No. 41 the correct signs are present, but are displaced, and the reading of them is interrupted by the determinative  (where  should be ). In list No. 44 the signs  and Δ are lacking.



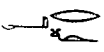



THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

(1) : list No. 29 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 61 *H*, 72, 73; (3) : list No. 69;
 (4) : list No. 70; (5) ∇ : list No. 56; (6) : lists Nos. 44, 76; (7) : lists Nos. 37,
 59 *H*, 23 *H*; (8) : list No. 18 *T*; (9) : list No. 75.




















THE SIXTH DYNASTY

A feature of the Sixth Dynasty writing of this item is the frequency of the two newer forms *msd.t* and *msdm.t*, the former appearing ten times and the latter appearing fourteen times. The form *smd.t* also appears sixteen times. A new writing is the form  (or its variants) ‘*rf n msd.t*’, which now occurs in eleven lists (Nos. 87, 88, 82, 91, 94 *P*, 100 *H*, 109 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*). In two lists we have a return to the writing which includes  ‘*rf.wj*’, a form which had occurred once in the Fourth Dynasty, but had apparently dropped out of use during the Fifth Dynasty (see lists Nos. 84 *P*, 83 *H*). The unusual

form *smd*   still appears: lists Nos. 88, 86 *H*, 142 *H*, 97, 102, 103 *T*, 124 *P*. In list No. 80 we have   the writing: which the Berlin Dictionary gives for the Middle Kingdom   (W.B., Vol. II, p. 153).



























FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 86 *H* there is a parasitical sign . In lists Nos. 100 *H*, 136 *H* the sign  should be . In list No. 113 *T* the writing is     ... which is quite faulty. Perhaps the chick  is for , and the arm  for , in which case the sign  is still lacking, unless it is represented by the curve  over the eye. In list No. 127 *T* we have a parasitical sign ,  as an error for , and the signs  lacking. In list No. 136 *H* there is a parasitical sign . In list No. 148 *T* the sign  is lacking.











THE DETERMINATIVES










The following are the new determinatives:—







- (1)    : list No. 88; (2)    : list No. 87; (3)    : list No. 102; (4)   : list No. 115; (5)   : list No. 127 *T*; (6)   : list No. 139 *T*; (7)   : list No. 147 *T*; (8)   : list No. 81 *T*; (9)   : list No. 86 *H*; (10)   : list No. 94 *P*; (11)  : list No. 128.














THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance, No. 80:—

(55 A)     (N)       "Words spoken. 'Horus who is in Osiris, this *Nfr-k3-R'*, take for yourself the healthy Eye of Horus'."


(55 B)   (N)        "Horus who is in Osiris, this *Nfr-k3-R'*, adapt it to your face."

(55 C)       "Horus has adapted his healthy Eye."

(55 D)  (N)             "O this *Nfr-k3-R'*, take your eye to your face, being healthy, therefore you see by it" (see also SETHE, "Dramatischetexte", p. 204, ff.).

No. 96  *Wnhwj* "Clothes" (1) (*Wni's*, Line 57 E)

THE MEANING

The meaning of *wnhwj* is two pieces of cloth which were presented to the dead, and is all that in the canonical lists regularly replaces the elaborate and detailed cloth list of the Archaic Period and early Fourth Dynasty. What the *wnhwj* actually were is not clear. In the detailed determinatives, and the many representations on the chapel walls (*see* above, pp. 96, 97) they were apparently narrow strips of cloth, wider at the bottom than at the top , but their shape may be due to the fact that the top part is held in the hand of the priest when the full representation is shown, and thus is somewhat gathered together. In the determinatives of lists Nos. 31 *H* and 67 *H* the cloth is of equal width in all its length. In the detailed paintings on the wooden sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom the *wnhwj* is also usually of equal width in all its length, bent over at an angle near its upper end and sometimes garnished at the top with a fringe (*see* JEQUIER, "*Frises d'Objets*", p. 120). Jequier regards these objects as napkins employed in the course of the toilet of the deceased (*ibid*, pp. 120–122). From their place among the rites preparatory to the meal, it is also possible that they were napkins for drying the hands after the purification which preceded the meal (Reisner says that they are towels). On the other hand, the *wnhwj* may represent new or clean clothing presented to the tomb-owner in order to clothe him at the completion of his toilet. This supposition is plausible in view of the fact that the verb *wnh* means 'to clothe' (*see* *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 324). Sethe translates the *wnhwj* as 'two bandages' (MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. II, p. 20) and de Walle as 'bandlettes' (DE WALLE, "*Le Mastaba de Neferirtenef*", p. 67). But bandages do not seem to have any place here, for the deceased is already embalmed and bandaged before the ceremony of presenting the offerings takes place, and moreover, in the offering-scenes he is always **shown** as when in life, and never as a bandaged mummy.





It would be very tempting to consider the *wnhwj* as napkins for use during the meal. But the fact that the verb *wnh* means 'to clothe' in general is a strong argument in favour of the idea that *wnhwj* should be translated as clothes, in spite of the fact that it also occurs in the royal lists, where a detailed list of garments is also given, but in another place.

THE HISTORY

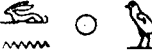
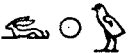

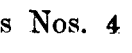
This entry does not appear in any of the early lists, so far as our present evidence shows, and its first appearance in our material is in the list of *Ms-sj* (No. 1).

(1) For this pronunciation, *see* SETHE in MURRAY, "*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. II, p. 20.




THE FOURTH DYNASTY

In the list of *Ms-sj* (No. 1) *wnhwj* is written  and is followed immediately by  and  (*idmj-cloth*). In lists Nos. 4 *T* and 5 *T* *wnhwj* is followed by  (*idmj-cloth*). This shows that although the new item *wnhwj* is now in use, the conservative nature of the Egyptians demanded that the old cloth entry should not be entirely discarded.



Other writings for this period are as follows :—

- (1)  (with variant determinatives): lists Nos. **11**, **13**, 7 *T*, 15 *H*;
 (2)  } ^{sic} } ^{sic} : list No. 16 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, **12**; (4)  : list No. **14**. From the last two examples we see that the pronunciation is *wnh*, having the meaning of clothing in general, or the verb 'to clothe'. *Wnh-wj* does not occur at all in list No. **3**, and its place seems to be taken by a list of seven different kinds of garments.


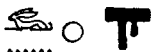
THE DETERMINATIVES

The predominating determinative for this period is the sign  \ \ , which occurs seven times: lists Nos. **11, 12, 13, 14**, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 7 *T*. We also have  : list No. 15 *H*.




FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H* we have } } as an error for  .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY








The predominating writing for the Fifth Dynasty is still  (with different determinatives), but the form  still occurs (see lists Nos. **34, 44, 70** (?), **69**, 28 *H*, **72**, 74 *P*, **76, 78, 79**). There are no new forms of writing for this period.











FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 17 *H*, 23 *H*, 55 *H*, 57 *H*, the sign  is wrongly given for . In list No. 59 *H* there is a parasitical sign .






THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :—



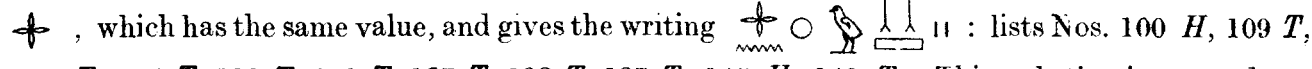



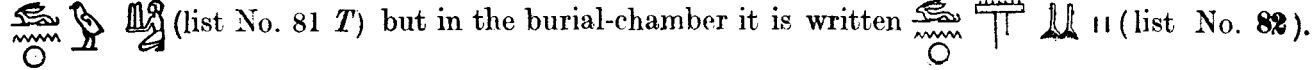
- (1)  : lists Nos. **46, 58, 63**, 17 *H*, 19 *H*, 47 *H*; **48, 71**; (2)   : lists Nos. **44**, 57 *H*, 61 *H*, **72**; (3)  : lists Nos. **27**, 25 *H*, 26 *H*; (4)  : lists Nos. 20 *P*, 21 *P*; (5)   : lists No. **37, 75**;

(6)  : list No. 31 *H*; (7)  : lists Nos. 30, 33, 79; (8)  : list No. 51 *P*; (9)  : list No. 29 *H*; (10)  : list No. 18 *T*; (11)  : list No. 69; (12)  : list No. 70; (13)  : list No. 73; (14)  : list No. 78; (15)  : list No. 77.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES



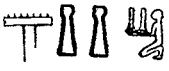


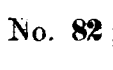
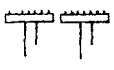




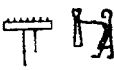
In list No. 23 *H* the determinative should be . In list No. 22 *H* the sign resembling a vase is perhaps an error for , and in the same entry, the drawing of the hare is faulty. In list No. 67 *H* the loaf  is perhaps an error for . In list No. 74 *P* there is a parasitical sign .



THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we are at once confronted with a striking new writing of *wnhwj*, which is absolutely characteristic of this period. This is the replacement of the sign  by , which has the same value, and gives the writing  : lists Nos. 100 *H*, 109 *T*, 113 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 119 *T*, 127 *T*, 132 *T*, 137 *T*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*. This substitution was done, like the curtailment of human and serpent signs, for superstitious reasons, and in our material only occurs in those lists which were inscribed upon the walls of burial-chambers or in sarcophagi. An interesting example is seen in lists Nos. 100 *H* and 101 *H*, both of which are from the same tomb. No. 101 is inscribed in the chapel, and the sign  is employed as usual, but No. 100 is inscribed in the burial-chamber, therefore it was considered safer to substitute the sign  for the hare. In the Tomb of Princess *Idwt* the word *wnhwj* is written in the chapel as  (list No. 81 *T*) but in the burial-chamber it is written  (list No. 82). Here the hare-sign remains unchanged, but both the figures of the chick and the man are eliminated.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 86 *H*; (4)  : list No. 81 *T*; (5)  : list No. 82; (6)  : list No. 94 *P*; (7)  : list No. 109 *T*; (8)  : lists Nos. 100 *H*, 123 *P*; (9)  : list No. 93 *P*; (10)  : list No. 112 *T*; (11)  : list No. 80; (12)  : list No. 142 *H*.

In reality, the form of the pieces of cloth determining *wnhwj* should be either  or , as in the royal lists of the Pyramid Texts, and the other forms are but variants or deformed writings of these.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 81 (see JUNKER, “*Gîza*”, Vol. III, p. 211). (For other translations, see MASPERO, “*La Table d’Ofrandes*”, p. 347; DUMICHEN, “*Der Grabpalast*”, Vol. I, p. 28, and SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 115):—

(56 A) (56 A)

“May you awake in peace, may *Tj.t* awake in peace, may *Tj.t* awake in peace.”

(56 B) (56 B)

“May the Eye of *Horus* awake in peace in *Dp* (Buto). May the Eye of *Horus* which is in the Compartments of *Nt* awake in peace (1).”

(56 C) (56 C)

“Which the *irj-ut* (?) seizes, which the *ur-^c* (i.e. Director of Weaving (2)) decorates.”

(57 A) (57 A)

“You can allow that the Two Lands bow before this *Nfr-k3-R'*, as they bowed before *Horus*.”

(57 B) (57 B)

allow that the Two Lands be subject to this *Nfr-k3-R'*, as they were subject to *St* (3).”

(57 C) (57 C)

‘Place yourself before *Nfr-k3-R'* as his God, open his way before the Spirits.”

(57 D) (57 D)

the Spirits as Anubis (*Inpw*) at the head of the Westerners.”

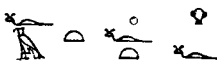

(57 E) (57 E)

to the front, take to the front, for Osiris | Two *wnhwj* cloths’.”

(1) Spiegel considers that here, as in lines 66 and 95, the eye of *Horus* signifies the Crown of Egypt (“*Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth*”, p. 86, Note 2).

(2) For a discussion of this word, see Grdseloff A. S., Vol. XLII, pp. 114, 115, where he gives another meaning.

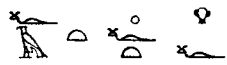



(3) For another translation, see “*Ancient Egypt*” (March 1925), p. 7, ff.

Nos. 97, 113, 114  *F3.t Hft Hr.f* “ Carry it in Front of his Face ” and
 *W3hr T3 Mb3h.f* “ Place it on the Ground before him ” (*Nfr-k3-R'*,
 Lines 62 D, 63 C)

THE MEANING


These two items, which only appear in the royal lists, are really directions to the officiating priest, and apply to entry No. 115 which follows them, and which consists of food and drink. The first of these entries, which is a repetition of No. 97 reads: ‘ Carry it in front of his face ’ that is to say the officiant is to bring the food and drink before the deceased (or his statue); while the second entry says ‘ Place it on the ground before him ’. Thus, having brought in the food and drink, the priest is instructed to place it on the ground before the deceased or his cult-statue.

THE WRITINGS


We have only two lists in which these items are preserved. In list No. 145 *H* they are written separately as  and . In list No. 148 *T* the two entries (Nos. 113, 114) occupy a single rectangle, and are written . In list No. 148 *T*  it occurs as entry No. 97.


THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 93 ⁽¹⁾ :—

(62 A)  “ Carry it before his face.

Raise your face, O Osiris. Raise your face. It is this *Wn's* who runs to his soul ! ”

(62 B)  “ Raise your face, this *Wn's*, be powerful and sharp. ”

(62 C)  “ So that you may see that which comes out of you. ”

(63 A)  “ Wash your mouth, *Wn's*, in order that you open your mouth with the Eye of Horus. ”

⁽¹⁾ See also SETHE, “ *Dramatische Texte* ”, p. 173.

(63 B) "Call upon your Ka like Osiris (*Wsr*), that he may protect you from all anger of the dead (1)."

(63 C) "Wm's, take for you this your bread which is in the Eye of Horus. [To lay on the ground before him] (2)."

No. 98 *Snr Hr* "Burning Incense" (see above, p. 170)

Nos. 99 and 100 *Kbh.w Bd Šm' T3 2* "Cool Water and Two Pellets of Natron of the South", and *Bd Mh T3 2 Rdj.t r'.f* (*Nt*, Line 165)

THE MEANING

These two items are extra purificatory rites, and are only found complete in the texts of Queen *Nt* (list No. 148 *T*).

The first item *kbh.w bd šm' t3 2* means 'cool water and two pellets of natron of the south', and is almost the same as No. 13 of the list.

THE FORMULA

This item does not occur in any of the King's Pyramid Texts, but is preserved in the pyramid of Queen *Nt*, where it reads (JEQUIER, "Les Pyramides des Reines et Apouit", Pl. X, lines 166-167):—

(166) "Words spoken: 'These thy libations Osiris, these thy libations, O

(167) (3) 'Nt which came forth from before thy son, which came forth


(168) (4) 'before Horus (*Hr*)'."

(1) See "BREASTED, "The Development of Religion and Thought", p. 53.

(2) From *Nfr-k3-R'*, line 63 C.


(3) Note that in the texts of *Nt*, the group is merely a meaningless pattern at the head of every line, and if pronounced would destroy the sense of the formula.


(4) For the remainder of this line, which appertains to the following item, see below.

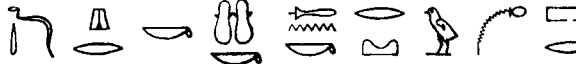
The second entry is almost a repetition of No. 19, and reads  *Bd mh t3 2 rdjt r 'f* “Natron of the North, two pellets, put in his hand.”

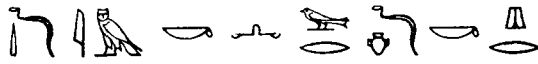
THE FORMULA

This also is only found intact in the texts of Queen *Nt*, where it reads (JEQUIER, *ibid*, Pl. X, lines 168–171):—

(168)  “I have come, I have brought to thee the Horus Eye

(169)  “that thy heart may be cool by it, I bring it


(170)  “under thy sandals. Take to thyself the flood which comes out of thee,

(171)  “thus thy heart will not be fatigued by possessing it.”



This formula also occurs as lines 22 A–23 of the Pyramid Texts and lines 138–140 of *Nt* (see above, p. 179).

No. 101  *Hwt* “An Offering-Table” (*Wn's*, Line 58 B)


THE MEANING

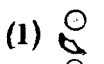
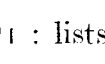
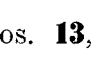
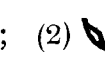
This item consisted of a circular offering-table, the earliest form of which was a bowl placed upon a pedestal (see the BANKFIELD STELE, “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, p. 87). This later developed into an alabaster table  either used alone, or set upon a somewhat tall pedestal. These three forms (and their variants) all appear as determinatives for the different writings of this item. (For the different forms and meanings of these tables, see MASPERO, *ibid*, pp. 321, 322, 353.)

THE HISTORY

The earliest appearance of this item in which it is written out as  seems to be in the list of *R'-htp* at Meydum, where it is said to be made of alabaster (see PETRIE, “*Medum*”, Pl. XIII). This list dates from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. There is, however, the possibility that the sign  on the Berlin niche-stone may also represent the offering-table, or rather the stand which supported the offering-bowl (see “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, p. 91).






THE FOURTH DYNASTY



The first appearance of *hwt* in our material occurs in list No. 8 *H* where it is written . Other writings for this period are as follows : —

(1)  : lists Nos. 13, 14; (2)  : list No. 11; (3)  : list No. 15 *H*; (4)  : list No. 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty :—




(1)  : list No. 8 *H*; (2)  : list No. 14; (3)  : lists Nos. 11, 13; (4)  : list No. 12; (5)  : list No. 15 *H*.

No. 1, the oldest in our material, represents the ancient form of the offering-table, a bowl set upon a pedestal. No. 2 represents the low circular offering-table  set upon the pedestal 



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H*, the determinative is so distorted as to be unrecognizable.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY






Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find a new form of writing    : list No. 67 *H*.







FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 29 *H*, the sign  is faulty, and in list 49 *H* the sign  is omitted.




THE DETERMINATIVES

The outstanding new feature of the determinatives is the representation of the table laden with bread, and other food or drink, which now frequently appears, whereas in our examples for the Fourth Dynasty, all the offering-tables are devoid of offerings. The following are the new forms of determinatives which we encounter during the Fifth Dynasty :—









(1)  : list No. 23 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 30, 48, 51 *P*, 52 *P*; (3)  : lists Nos. 37, 29 *H*, 74 *P*; (4)  : list No. 39 *H*; (5)  : list No. 67 *H*.







In these variants the number of the half-loaves on the table varies from three to seven. In list No. 41 we have a single round loaf on the table ; while in list No. 61 *H* it is a single large conical loaf . In list No. 58 we have  , a conical, round and oval loaf; and in list No. 69 we have the double determinative   and in list No. 71 we have  , two conical loaves of different shapes, and a round loaf.

In list No. 72 we have  where the loaves are represented as a rectangular mass. This is a characteristic form for the Sixth Dynasty (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p.168, *f.*). But in this list the signs are all incised, with the details painted in, and this may have had the loaf forms painted, which have now disappeared. As in the case of the tables shown in the offering-scenes on the panels of false-doors (*ibid*), so also the offering-tables in the determinative sign of the Fifth Dynasty show a similar development, and depict other food than the primitive offering of half-loaves of bread. Thus, in list No. 53 we have  where the loaf and jar represent food and drink in general. The following signs are more elaborate versions of the same motif:—





(1)  : list No. 19 *T*; (2) ⁽¹⁾ : list No. 22 *H*. In list No. 17 *H* the table has raised sides  , and in list No. 70 the determinative is damaged, but seems to have depicted the priest laying his hands upon the offering-table. (For this pose in the rites, see above, p. 92; and for the *hwt*-table with the half-loaves, see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 15.)

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

During the Sixth Dynasty we find several new forms of writing the entry *hwt*, the most interesting of which are ⁽²⁾  : list No. 119 *T*;   : list No. 95 *H*; and  : list No. 145 *H*. In these  examples it is clear that the offering-table alone is no longer thought of. It is the  offering-table upon which is placed the *prt hrw*  , and this accords with those  determinatives where we see the tables laden with food and drink. In *L.D.*, Vol. II, Pl. 128 *A*, it is called ‘The table coming out at the voice’. Other writings for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—


(1)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 110 *T*; (2)   : list No. 108 *H*; (3)    : list No. 128.




FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 114 *T* the sign  is an error for  . In list No. 86 *H* the sign  should be the eagle  .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The characteristic feature of the determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty is the predominance of the tables which bear food and drink offerings, or food offerings only. We have now only eight

⁽¹⁾ In the original, the right-hand oval loaf is a *hnt*-basin  .

⁽²⁾ Perhaps the sign  is a mistake for  which can replace  (*W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 218).

lists in which the table is represented empty (see lists Nos. 80, 97, 98 T, 125, 132 T, 87 (priestly figure), 88, 126. The following are the new determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty:—

- (1) : list No. 82; (2) : list No. 128; (3) : list No. 92; (4) : lists Nos. 121 H, (5) : list No. 106 T; (6) : list No. 111 T; (7) : list No. 112 T; (8) : list No. 114 T; (9) : list No. 118 T; (10) : list No. 120 H; (11) : list No. 123 P; (12) : list No. 127 T; (13) : lists Nos. 130 P, 138 P; (14) : list No. 134 H; (15) : list No. 131 P; (16) : list No. 113 T; (17) : list No. 110 T; (18) : lists Nos. 109 T, 148 T; (19) : list No. 87; (20) : list No. 102; (21) : list No. 135 T; (22) : list No. 88.

From this it can be seen that the representation of the offering-table was largely a matter of choice, and there does not seem to have been any rigid rule governing the form of it. In Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18 and 21, the form of the table is typical of those seen in the offering-scenes of this period, and which had only appeared twice in the earlier material.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 96 P, 123 P and 137 T, the half-loaves on the table have the form . This is due to the fact that the original form of the half-loaves (*gsw*) had become stereotyped. (Another distorted form appears in the lists Nos. 109 T and 148 T, where the half-loaves are shown as a solid rectangle. For this subject, see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 168, ff.).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 82:—

(58 B) | "Thoth (*Dhutj*) is he

who carried him with it (*fem.*): He is come out (*pr*) with (*hr*) the Eye of Horus (*Hr*)." (See SETHE, *Dramatischetexte*", p. 10, ff. and p. 173; BOYLAN, "*The Hermes of Egypt*", p. 34;

BREASTED, "*The Development of Religion and Thought*", p. 129, where he says that sometimes it is Thoth who conveys the food from the tomb to the sky, and delivers it to the dead King. See also JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. III, p. 109.)

No. 102 *Dj Prj Hrw* "To Give the Funerary Meal" (*Nfr-kj-R'*, Line 58 B)

THE MEANING

In reality, this item means 'the presentation of this offering which comes forth at the voice' (1), that is to say when the formula is recited, and it may be attached to the preceding

(1) For a discussion on the , see CLÈRE, "*L'expression pri Hrw*", "*MELANGES MASPERO*" Vol. I, p. 753, ff.

entry, as in the list of King *Nfr-k3-R'* (No. 145 *H*) and the private list No. 112 *T*. Or in the private lists of the Sixth Dynasty it may stand alone as a separate or extra entry slipped in between Nos. 15 and 16 of the private canonical list (see lists Nos. 100 *H*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 127 *T*, **128**, 148 *T*).

THE WRITINGS

This item appears in the early Fourth Dynasty in the list of *Ms-s3* (No. **1**), where it is written as though it were two items: $\overline{\Delta} \triangle$ and $\overline{\nabla} \circ \delta$. It precedes the entries *htp njswt* and (*htp*) *wsht*, just as we shall see in the later lists. It does not occur in the Fifth Dynasty, so far as the evidence of our material tells us.

In the royal lists we have only two examples of this entry preserved, and in each case the writing is identical $\overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla}$: lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*.

In the private lists we have the following writings:—

(1) $\overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla} \delta \circ$: lists Nos. 113 *T*, 100 *H*, 119 *T*, 127 *T*, 137 *T*; (2) $\overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla} \triangle \delta \text{☩}$: list No. **128**.

THE DETERMINATIVES

In the royal lists this entry has no determinatives, but in the private lists it may have the signs $\delta \circ$, which is the usual determinative for $\overline{\nabla}$ *prj-hrw*, and means food and drink in general (see lists Nos. 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 100 *H*, 127 *T*, 137 *T*). In list No. **128** we have $\triangle \delta \text{☩}$, and in list No. **1** it is $\circ \delta$ and in 112 *T* it is $\overline{\nabla} \delta$.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 28:—

In the texts of *Wn3's* this line is included in the utterance accompanying the presentation of the offering-table (see above). The following version is from the texts of *Nfr-k3-R'*:—

(58 *B*) $\text{☩} \overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla} \delta \circ$ | $\overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla}$ “Words spoken: ‘He is come out with the Eye of Horus | To give a funerary offering’” (see also *SETHE, ibid*, p. 10).



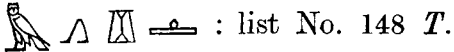
No. 103 $\text{☩} \overline{\Delta} \overline{\nabla} \delta \circ$ | *Igr m Htp Njswt* “O come with the Royal Offering”
(*Wn3's*, Line 58 *C*)

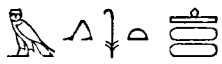
THE MEANING

This is an extra item which is not generally found in the private lists, and seems really to be intended as an introduction to the two following items.

THE WRITINGS

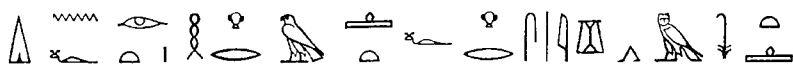
We have only three examples of this item preserved in the royal lists, and these are written as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 143 *H*; (2)  : list No. 145 *H*; (3)  : list No. 148 *T*.

In the private list No. 128 we have the writing  , which seems to be an abridged or faulty form of this item.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 83 :—

(58 C)  “ Thus, the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) is given to him, that he may be pleased with it | O Come with the Royal Offering” (or “approach with the King’s meal”) (see also DUMICHEN, “*Der Grabpalast*”, Vol. I, Pl. IX, lines 64-65, pp. 29-30).

No. 104  *Htp Njswt 2* “ A Royal Offering, Twice” (*Wm's*, Line 59 A)

THE MEANING

We have already discussed the meaning of this item (see above, p. 78. *ff.*), and it is sufficient to repeat here that its original significance as an offering provided by the bounty of the King had become narrowed down to either a bread-offering, or the food-offering in general but not, as before, the whole tomb and its equipment. This meaning is the one employed in the dramatic text (1); but in the Pyramid Texts the *htp njswt* is regarded in its narrowest sense as a bread-offering. In the private offering-lists the general determinative for this item indicates an offering of bread, but the position of the entry at the end of the preliminary rites, and preceding the actual meal, seems to indicate that *htp njswt* included not only the bread, but all the food and drink of the subsequent meal. This is further borne out by some of the determinatives, as in list No. 1, where the loaves of bread and jar of drink symbolize food and drink in general (see below) (2).

THE HISTORY

Htp njswt first makes its appearance in the offering-list in the early Fourth Dynasty (see the stele of *Nfr*, Barraco collection, WEILL, “*La II et III Dynasties*”, Pl. IV) when it usually heads the lists.

(1) SETHE, “*Dramatische Texte*”, pp. 190, 210.

(2) See Pyramid Texts, lines 210, 1651 A, where *htp-njswt* is treated as the offering as a whole, (see also MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 352).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of the item in our material occurs in the list of *Ms-sj* (No. 1) where it is written $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ (1). The following forms of writing are also employed during this period:—

(1) $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 4 *T*; (2) $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 5 *T*; (3) $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: lists Nos. 6 *H*, 11, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (4) $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 9 *P*; (5) $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 8 *H*.

Notice that the element $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ "give" disappears early in the Fourth Dynasty, and the entry thus reads *htp njswt* 'a royal offering', instead of 'a boon (or offering) which the King gives', and this is consistent with its change of meaning.

A glance at the lists of the Fourth Dynasty will show that the item *htp njswt* had not attained an established place in the lists until the end of the Dynasty. Thus, in lists Nos. 4 *T* and 5 *T*, it heads the list. In list No. 1, it is placed Sixth, in list 6 *H* it follows the *sft*-oil, in list No. 7 *T* it follows the black eye-paint, in list No. 8 *H* it follows the libation water. In list No. 9 *P*, it attains its canonical place in the private lists, which it holds in all the lists following *Hj*. *f-Hwfw* (No. 9 *P*).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1) $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: lists Nos. 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 13, 16 *H*; (2) \circ : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 12; (3) $\circ\circ$: list No. 11; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 14; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 9 *P*; (6) $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 15 *H*; (7) $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$: list No. 1.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find that the new form of the writing of *htp njswt* is the employment of the group $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ to head both this entry and the following one of *htp wsht* (or *imj wsht*) (see lists Nos. 67 *H*, 59 *H*). The old form of writing, which included the element $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ has completely disappeared.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 49 *H* this entry is repeated twice, once with the writing $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$, and again as $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$. In list No. 53 we have $\downarrow \overset{\circ}{\Delta} \overset{\circ}{\Delta}$.












FAULTY WRITINGS.

In lists Nos. 25 *H* and 26 *H* the sign \downarrow should be \downarrow .



(1) See also lists Nos. 12, 13, 14.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following are the new forms of determinatives:—

- (1) : list No. 17 *H*; (2) : list No. 26 *H*; (3) : list No. 27; (4) : lists Nos. 37, 29 *H*; (5) : lists Nos. 48, 71; (6) : lists Nos. 59 *H*, 74 *P*; (7) : list No. 69; (8) : list No. 44; (9) : list No. 67 *H*; (10)  : list No. 72.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 19 *T* the sign  is an error for .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY






























The most marked characteristic of the writing of this item during the Sixth Dynasty is the inclusion of the element , which we have only seen in one instance during the Fifth Dynasty (list No. 53). It now occurs in five lists Nos. 80, 87, 99, 86 *H*, 95 *H*. We also find a greater number of lists where  appears as a common heading for the two entries *hṭp njswt* and *imj wsht*; this form now occurs in twelve lists.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS



In list No. 123 *P* we have the writing  which seems to indicate that the bread offered should be of the kind called *imj t3* (see below, p. 326, *f.*).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty:—

- (1)  : list No. 126; (2) : lists. Nos. 91, 92; (3) : list No. 82; (4) : list No. 94 *P*; (5)  : list No. 112 *T*; (6) : list No. 124 *P*; (7) : list No. 120 *H*; (8)  : list No. 123 *P*; (9) : list No. 96 *P*; (10) : list No. 99; (11)  : list No. 102; (12)  : list No. 115; (13) : list No. 88; (14) : list No. 87; (15)  : list No. 86 *H*; (16) : list No. 90 *H*; (17) : list No. 109 *T*; (18) : list No. 101 *H*; (19)   : list No. 128; (20) : list No. 127 *T*; (21) : lists Nos. 146 *T*, 147 *T*. Form No. 19, like that of list No. 1 of the Fourth Dynasty, signifies food and drink in general.

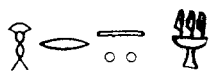
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In lists Nos. 93 *P*, 110 *T* and 131 *P*, the sign  is an error for the conical loaf .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 83 :—

(59 A)  “ Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus* with which he is pleased | A royal offering.”

This is followed in the text of *Nfr-k3-R'* by the directions  “ Place on the earth an offering-table.”

Nos. 105 and 189  || *Htp Wsh.t* “ An Offering of the Large Hall, Two Meals (or ‘Two Offering-Tables’)” (*Wn's*, Line 59 C) ⁽¹⁾

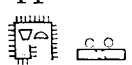
THE MEANING


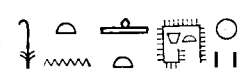

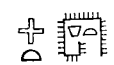
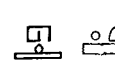
According to Sethe (“*Dramatischertexte*”, p. 190) the meaning of this item is ‘the offering of the Court’ (*i.e.* of the King). According to Murray (“*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 36), it means ‘the offering in the fore-court’ (of the tomb). She explains the item *htp-njswt* as being the offering placed before the false-door in the chapel, while the *htp-wsh.t* was the offering made in the fore-court or outer chamber of the tomb, where, in the case of the Tomb of *Wsr-ntr*, there was a special niche constructed for this purpose. For the mention of the *wsh.t* in the Pyramid Texts as the place from whence bread is issued, see lines 807 B, 866 A, 869 E (in these last two passages the *wsh.t* is parallel with the butchery), 1946 B, 905 B, where the King as *Horus (Hr)-imj-wsh.t* is the giver of the meal. See also lines 2194 E, 103, 597 for the *htp-meal* of the *wsh.t*; and line 1069 A, where it also refers to the *sw.t*-meat.

THE HISTORY

This item apparently first occurred in the lists in the early Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *htp-wsh.t* in our material occurs in the list of *Ms-s3* (No. 1) where it is written  . Other writings for this period are the following :—

(1)  :lists Nos. 6 H, 14; (2)  : lists Nos. 8 H, 15 H; (3)  : list No. 11; (4)  : list No. 9 P; (5)  : lists. Nos. 13, 16 H.

⁽¹⁾ See also SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 156, for the meaning of this item.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1) $\bigcirc\bigcirc$: lists Nos. **11, 14**; (2) $\overline{\bigcirc\bigcirc}$: list No. **1**; (3) $\overline{\bigcirc\bigcirc}$: list No. **13**; (4) \triangle : list No. 16 *H*;
 (5) \bigcirc : list No. 8 *H*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find the following new forms of writing:—

- (1) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \triangle \bigcirc \square \uparrow$: list No. **78**; (2) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \uparrow \square \square \square \bigcirc \bigcirc$: list No. 18 *T*; (3) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \overline{\bigcirc} \uparrow \square \bigcirc$:
 lists Nos. 28 *H*, **76, 79**; (4) $\overline{\bigcirc} \uparrow \square \square \square$: lists Nos. **33, 32** (?); (5) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \overline{\bigcirc} \square$:
 list No. **44**; (6) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \overline{\bigcirc} \square$: list No. 74 *P*. In list No. **72** this item shares a single
 rectangle with *hms* (see below).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 25 *H* the sign \updownarrow is an error for \downarrow . This mistake is probably due to the modern copyist who prepared the offering-lists in Dumichen's book "Der Grabpalast", and who had apparently substituted the sign \updownarrow for \downarrow in every example which he employed. In list No. 23 *H* the sign \updownarrow should be \downarrow and \cup should be \triangle .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new forms of determinatives:—

- (1) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: list No. **70**; (2) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: lists Nos. **48, 71**; (3) ∇ : list No. 17 *H*; (4) \bigcirc : list No. 29 *H*;
 (5) $\bigcirc \triangle$: list No. 60 *H*; (6) $\bigcirc \bigcirc$: list No. **44**; (7) \bigcirc : list No. 59 *H*; (8) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: list No. 25 *H*;
 (9) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: list No. **27**; (10) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: list No. **69**; (11) $\overline{\bigcirc}$: list No. 143 *H*; (12) \bigcirc : list No. **73**.




THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The chief characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty manner of writing this item is the more widespread employment of the form *htp imj wsht* or even simply *imj wsht*. This form now appears in thirty-two lists. The following are new forms of writing for the Sixth Dynasty:—










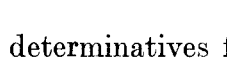
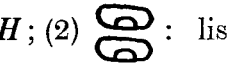

- (1) $\overline{\bigcirc} \overline{\bigcirc} \uparrow \triangle \square \square \square$: lists Nos. 111 *T*, 131 *P*, 134 *H*; (2) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \square \square \uparrow \overline{\bigcirc} \square \square$: list No. 95 *H*;
 (3) $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \overline{\bigcirc} \uparrow \square \square \square \square \square \square \square \square$: lists Nos. 84 *P*, **115**; (4) $\overline{\bigcirc} \square \square \square \square$: list No. **99**;
 (5) $\uparrow \triangle \square \square \square$: lists Nos. 110 *T*, 119 *T*; (6) $\overline{\bigcirc} \square \square \square \square$: list No. 135 *T*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 123 *P* we have the writing $\downarrow \overline{\bigcirc} \square \square \square$. In list No. 124 *P* we have an interesting example of the Egyptian practice of employing one sign or group of signs for two

























readings. Thus, in a single rectangle we have the following writing:  which reads *htp njswt* and *htp wsht*, the group *htp*  serving for both items; while the determinative  also serves for the two items (for further examples of this practice, see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 195-197).

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 86 *H*, the sign  should be , while the sign  reading *wsht* is placed in the space below the entry, as though it were the determinative. In list No. 93 *P* the sign  may be an error for , or else the sign  has been omitted. In list No. 125 the sign  may be an error for  or . In list No. 127 *T* we have an example of the senseless division of the item into two entries, a practice frequent in the Sixth Dynasty, particularly in those lists occurring in the burial-chambers. Here we have *htp imj wsht* divided into two distinct entries:  and . Note that each has its own numeral, and that even these are inconsistent. In list No. 81 *T* there is a parasitical sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty :—


- (1)  lists Nos. 91, 120 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 82, 130 *P*; (3)   : list No. 87;
- (4)  : list No. 112 *T*; (5)  : list No. 124 *P*; (6)  : list No. 123 *P*; (7)  list No. 81 *T*;
- (8)  : list No. 88; (9)  : list No. 99; (10)  : list No. 128; (11)  : list No. 137 *T*;
- (12)  : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*; (13)   : lists Nos. 111 *T*, 93 *P*, 131 *P*, 134 *H*, 80; (14)   : list No. 84 *P*; (15)   : list No. 86 *H*; (16)   : list No. 94 *P*; (17)    : list No. 102.

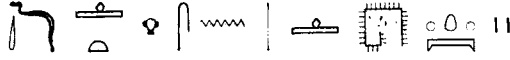
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In lists Nos. 93 *P*, 131 *P*, the sign  should be the loaf .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 85 :—

(59 *C*)  || “*Osiris Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus in order to be pleased with it | An offering of the large hall, two meals (or ‘two offering-tables’)” (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 190; see also Utterance No. 178).

(103 B)  " Words spoken: ' Be pleased because of them' | An offering of the large Hall" (see also MASPERO, " *La Table d'Offrandes*", p. 359).

No. 106  *Hms Igr Prj Hrw Njsut* " Sit, be silent ! A King's Offering which comes forth at the voice" (*Wm's*, Line 59 D)

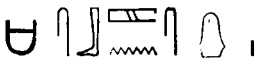
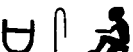
THE MEANING

In reality, this item is an invitation to the deceased to come and sit down to his offering-meal, and logically it ought to follow the presentation of the *hrw.t* offering-table. Thus, the intervention of the two items *htp njsut* and *htp wsh.t* is clearly an artificial arrangement, as we have already seen (see above, p. 78, ff.).

THE HISTORY




This seems to be one of the entries that were added when the canonical list was drawn up, as, so far as I am aware, it did not appear in any of the lists before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY


The first appearance of this item in our material is in list No. 9 *P*, where it is written , and shares a rectangle with the *šns*-bread. Another writing for the Fourth Dynasty is  : lists Nos. 11, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

In the Fourth Dynasty this item is consistently determined by the figure of a seated man, which only varies in its attitude, and that very slightly. Thus, we see the following forms:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 13, 15 *H*; (2)  : list No. 11; (3)  : list No. 16 *H*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 9 *P* the sign  is perhaps an error for the figure of the seated man.











THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find that the two forms of the Fourth Dynasty writing still continue in use, with the form $\text{U} \parallel$ predominating. But we have also the following new writings:—


(1) $\text{U} \parallel \text{H} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 28 *H* (this is a simplification of *hms i'gr prj hrw njswt*, which occurs in the royal list of *Wni's*) (list No. 143 *H*); (2) $\text{U} \parallel \text{H} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 29 *H*. In list No. 72 *hms* shares a single rectangle with *htp-njswt wsh.t*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The figure of the seated man is still the determinative for this entry but we now find more variation in the pose of the figure. The new forms are as follows:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 28 *H*, 46, 58, 77; (2)  : list No. 21 *P*; (3)  : list No. 23 *H*; (4)  : lists Nos. 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 55 *H*, 59 *H*; (5)  : list No. 35 *H*; (6)  : list No. 40 *H*; (7)  : list No. 54; (8)  : list No. 19 *T*; (9)  : list No. 78; (10)  : list No. 42 *T*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 34 the sign Q replaces the figure of the seated man. In list No. 41 *hm* is determined by Δ . In list No. 74 *P* the sign  is an error for the seated man.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the fuller writing *hms i'gr* or *hms i'gr prj hrw njswt* which had appeared at the end of the Fifth Dynasty in the list of *Wni's* (No. 143 *H*) and in a modified form in list No. 28 *H*. The new writings for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—

(1) $\text{U} \parallel \text{H} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*; (2) $\text{U} \parallel \text{H} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 112 *T*; (3) $\text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 137 *T*; (4) $\text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 109 *T*; (5) $\text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: lists Nos. 113 *T*, 127 *T*; (6) $\text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$: list No. 135 *T*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS





In list No. 128 we have the writing $\text{U} \parallel \text{H} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$, where the seated figure reads *hms*. In list No. 127 *T* $\text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel \text{U} \parallel$, seems to be an abridged writing of the above. In list No. 126 we have simply $\text{U} \parallel$ without any determinative.

FAULTY WRITINGS













In list No. 100 *H* this item is divided into two entries each having its own determinative and numeral. Thus, we have $\text{U} \text{P} \text{[figure]}$, and $\text{U} \text{[figure]} \text{[figure]}$. This seems to confirm the translation given by Sethe for this item of the Pyramid Text, line 59 *D* (see below). Note that although this list belonged to a woman, the determinative figures are male. This also applies to the other lists belonging to women (see lists Nos. 81 *T*, 82 *T*, 127 *T*, 128, all of which are lists of women.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are absolutely characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty, and are the outcome of the same belief which prompted the curtailment of some of the animal and serpent signs:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 99, 93 *P*, 94 *P*, 120 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 111 *T*, 130 *H*, 135 *T*, 138 *T*, 135 *T*; (3)  : lists Nos. 110 *T*, 113 *T*; (4)  : list No. 127 *T*.

Other new determinatives are as follows:—

(1)   : list No. 87; (2)   : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 125; (4)  : list No. 91; (5)  ^{sic} : list No. 100 *H*; (6)  : list No. 103 *T*; (7)  : list No. 90 *H*; (8)   : list No. 112 *T*.


The Sixth Dynasty is also characterised by the great number of lists which omit the determinative altogether. In this case, it is doubtless due to the same motive which prompted the curtailment of the human figure. Thus, we find that in the following lists the human determinative is omitted (Nos. 89 *P*, 109 *T*, 112 *T*, 114 *T*, 116, 118 *T*, 131 *P*, 132 *T*, 134 *H*, 137 *T*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*). In the the Tomb of *Nj-nh-Ppjj* the list in the chapel (No. 115) retains the human determinative, but the list in the burial-chamber (No. 116) omits it. As we have already seen in list No. 112 *T*, the 'dangerous' human figure is replaced by the 'safe', but here meaningless, basin.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 91 the figure holding the sceptre ought really to be considered here as a faulty sign, as its real function in the offering-list is to determine the *hns*-beer (see below, p. 298, *f*).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 86:—

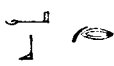
(59 *D*)  "Words spoken: 'Conduct it to you. Sit, be silent! A King's offering which comes forth at the voice'."

Nos. 107 and 122  $\overset{\delta}{i}w \overset{\delta}{s}ns \underline{Dw}jw$ "Breakfast (of Bread and Beer)"
 (Wn's, Lines 60 A and 72 F)


THE MEANING






This entry, which is repeated again in the offering-list as No. 122, is to be literally translated as 'washing the mouth, bread and beer', but really means breakfast (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 244).

THE HISTORY

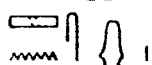
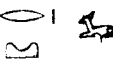
This item does not occur in any of the very early Archaic lists, its first appearance seemingly being in the list of *Hknn* (WEILL, "La II et III Dynasties", p. 296, f.) and in Grave VIII of Junker's concession at Giza ("Giza", Vol. I, abb. 59) which may date from the end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. The earlier writing of this entry was  $\overset{\delta}{b}i'w$ (SMITH, "The Coffin of Min-khaf", J.E.A., Vol. XIX, p. 151).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY





The first appearance of this item in our material is in the list of *Ms-s* (No. 1) where it is written  and occurs only once. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

(1)  list No. 2; (2)  : list No. 6 *H*. Here it is treated as two separate items (in each of these lists this item only occurs once). In list 8 *H* this item occurs twice, and the first time it is written , while in its second appearance it is written . For this latter simple writing, which agrees with that of the royal list No. 143 *H*, see also lists Nos. 11, 14, 15 *H*. In lists Nos. 12 (second appearance), 13 and 16 *H* we have the writing  "Bread and beer for breakfast".



FAULTY WRITINGS

In both appearances of this item in list No. 16 *H* the jar-sign is faulty. In list No. 9 *P s'ns* written , occupies the same rectangle as *hms* (see above, p. 284), but $\overset{\delta}{i}w \underline{dj}w$  occupies a separate rectangle to itself.















THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this item is the loaf and the jar  (see lists Nos. 8 *H*, 14, 11, (second appearance); or the loaf  and jar  : list No. 9 *P*; or the conical loaf and the jar  : lists Nos. 15 *H*, 16 *H* (faulty). On the other hand, as we have already seen, the loaf and the jar may be ideograms for *sns* and *dwju* respectively.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY




There is one new form of writing for the Fifth Dynasty :  : list No. 75 ; and the chief innovation is the appearance of the sign  for breakfast, which gives a clear idea of the sense of 'washing' or 'purification' (and even this may have been intended in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Dbhnj*). This form occurs in lists Nos. 32, 35, 47 *H*, 50 *H*, all of which are in the second appearance of this item in the lists.

FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 23 *H* the sign  is wrongly replaced by  . In list No. 24 *H* (second appearance) the sign  should be  : while in list No. 64 the element  is omitted. In lists Nos. 24 *H*, 28 *H* the sign  is wrongly replaced by  . In list No. 26 *H* (second appearance) the *dwju*-jar is replaced by  which properly belongs to the *kmhw*-bread (see below, p. 335). In list No. 24 *H* (second appearance) there is also a parasitical sign  , unless this is a faulty drawing of the loaf  . In list No. 42 *T* (second appearance) the sign  is an error for  , and  should be the *dwju*-jar. In list No. 76 (second appearance) the sign  is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES


In addition to the loaf and the jar signs which have already appeared, we now have the following new determinatives :—

(1)  : list No. 70 ; (2)  : list No. 69 ; (3)  : list No. 76.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 23 *H* the jar  is wrongly represented as a fish.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


















The characteristic writing for this period, which contains the element n  is as follows:—



With slight variants: lists Nos. **87**, **88**, **99**, **115**, **116**, **125**, 90 *H*, 94 *P*, 100 *H*, 101 *H*, 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 112 *T*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, 124 *P*, 120 *H*, 123 *P*, 130 *P*, 131 *P*, 132 *T*, 134 *H*, **126**. There is also the reversed form: With slight variants: lists Nos. 107 *H*, **102**, 106 *H*, all of which are second appearances in the lists. Another new innovation is the introduction of the sign  in the writing of *dwjw*: lists Nos. 136 *H*, 109 *T* (second appearance), 110 *T*, **99**, 100 *H*, 86 *H*, 127 *T* (faulty).





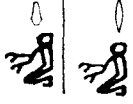


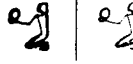





FAULTY WRITINGS

In the first appearance of this item in list No. 86 *H* the signs  are parasitical, and in the second appearance of this item in the same list the sign  is faulty. In list No. 90 *H* the sign  should be above the . In the second appearance of this item in list No. 81 *T* the sign  should be  (for this error, see also lists Nos. 100 *H*, 101 *H*, 110 *T*, 127 *T*, **128** (second appearance). In list No. 108 *H* (second appearance) the sign  is wrongly drawn as . In list No. 120 *H* *s'ns* is written as a single entry, while *dwjw* is joined to entry No. 108 by means of the group ; while in list No. 124 *P* (second appearance) the *dwjw* is omitted, and *s'ns* is joined by  to entry No. 123. In list No. 131 *P* the element  is omitted in the second appearance of this item. In list No. 100 *H* (second appearance) the animal  has long horns, while in list No. 101 *H* (also second appearance) it resembles the jackal . In list No. 127 *T* this entry is divided into three parts, each having its own numeral. In the element *dwjw* the bird is perhaps an error for . In list No. 119 *T* the sign is  parasitical, and in list No. 118 *T* (second appearance) the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—

- (1) : list No. **128**; (2) : list No. **128** (second appearance); (3) : list No. 81 *T*,
 (4) : list No. 81 *T* (second appearance); (5) : list No. 86 *H*; (6) :
 list No. 86 *H* (second appearance); (7) : list No. **115**; (8) : list No. **115**
 (second appearance); (9) : list No. **88**; (10) : list No. **87**.

(1) In the original, the priest is holding a wine-jar .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In the first appearance of this item in list No. 14 the sign \circ is perhaps an error for \triangle .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for this item:—

- (1) 𐀀 : lists Nos. 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 8 *H* (second appearance), 12 (second appearance), 13 (second appearance), 15 *H*, 16 *H* (second appearance); (2) 𐀁 𐀂 : list No. 9 *P*; (3) 𐀃 : list No. 14; (4) \circ list No. 11; (5) 𐀄 𐀅 : list No. 3. (Note the slight difference in the shape of the two loaves.)

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H* the sign \triangle should be 𐀆 .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The only new writing for the Fifth Dynasty is 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 : list No. 69. On the other hand, the arrangement of the signs 𐀇 𐀈 varies considerably, and suggests different pronunciations. Thus, 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 : list No. 30 may be pronounced *t-wt*, but 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 : list No. 17 *H*, and 𐀇 𐀈 : lists Nos. 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 27, etc., all seem to read *t.tw*. On the other hand, 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 : list No. 48 can only be read *twt*. In list No. 69 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 : seems to read *t-t*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 29 *H* the sign 𐀊 should be 𐀋 . In list No. 22 *H* the sign \circ is an error for \triangle or \triangle .

THE DETERMINATIVES



The new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1) 𐀌 𐀍 : list No. 18 *T* (compare with No. 9 *P* of the Fourth Dynasty); (2) 𐀎 : list No. 34 (second appearance); (3) 𐀏 : list No. 69; (4) \circ 𐀐 : list No. 70 (second appearance); (5) 𐀑 : list No. 69 (second appearance); (6) 𐀒 : list No. 59 *H*.


The common determinative for *tw.t*-bread is, however, the loaf 𐀓 , which would give us to understand that a *s'ns*-loaf made of barley dough was meant. In general, we may say that in dealing with the bread items in the offering-lists, the entry gives the name of the kind of dough employed, while the determinative shows us the shape of the loaf. Thus, as we shall see, the *s'ns*-loaf may be made of *twt*, *ht*, *nhrw* or *dpt.j* dough (see also FAIRMAN, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XLIII, p. 99, where he gives examples from the Ptolemaic Period of a single sign representing more than one idea).

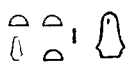

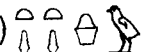
This, however, does not necessarily apply to all the later lists, especially those inscribed in the burial-chambers of the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty, where the determinatives have become stereotyped; and the whole list very carelessly written.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES




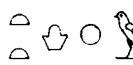

In list No. 22 *H* the sign ∇ is an error for \triangle . In list No. 49 *H* the sign \circ should be the round loaf, which in itself is incorrect as a determinative for the *tw.t*-bread. In list No. 79 (first appearance) the determinative is , which in the second appearance is given as .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY






Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find that some lists adopt a writing for this item which eliminates the sign  now considered objectionable by some persons, especially when inscribed in the burial-chamber. Thus, we find the following forms:—

- (1)  : list No. 84 *P*; (2)  [sic] : list No. 95 *H* (second appearance); (3)  : list No. 99 (see also list No. 112 *T* where *tw.t* is incorporated with *t-rth*-bread).

Other new forms of writing are as follows:—











- (1)  : list No. 81 *T* (second appearance); (2)  (with variant determinatives): lists Nos. 109 *T*, 110 *T'*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*, 130 *P*, 137 *T* (second appearance), 138 *P*; (3)  : list No. 101 *H*; (4)  : list No. 115; (5)  : list No. 120 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS





In list No. 86 *H* (second appearance) the sign  is an error for , and in list No. 95 *H* (second appearance) the sign for the *sn*-loaves is drawn to resemble trees (see also lists Nos. 110 *T*, 119 *T*, 124 *P*). In list No. 113 *T* the sign \square should be the loaf \square . List No. 111 *T* (second appearance) gives only   .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—


- (1)  : lists Nos. 116, 120 *H*; (2)  : list No. 124 *P*; (3) \circ  : list No. 87; (4) \circ  : list No. 88; (5) \circ  : list No. 88 (second appearance); (6) \triangle  : list No. 102; (7) \triangle  : list No. 128; (8) \circ  : list No. 128 (second appearance); (9) \triangle : list No. 101 *H*; (10)   : list No. 101 *H* (second appearance).

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 86 *H* the sign  should be the loaf . In list No. 95 *H* (second appearance) the two *šns*-loaves are distorted into . Strictly speaking, the determinative  of list No. 101 *H* is faulty, as these represent the half-loaves, and should determine the *gsw* (see above, p. 102).

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 88 :—

(60 *B*)  "Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn's*,

accept the Eye of Horus (*Hr*), after you have prevented that he (*St*) destroys it | A *twt*-loaf" (see SETHE, "*Dramatischetexte*", p. 127).

The formula accompanying this item in its second appearance in the list reads as follows :—

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 111 :—

(73 *A*)  "Osiris *Wn's*, accept the Eye of

Horus, which had been destroyed by *St*."



(73 *B*)  "A *twt*-loaf."

Nos. 109 and 124  "T-rth-Bread" (*Wn's*, Lines 60 *C*, 73 *C*, *D*) ⁽¹⁾

THE MEANING

The latest translation of this item is 'baker's bread' but Griffith (in PETRIE'S "*Kahun*" p. 41) describes it as 'a large round cake made of dates'. On what grounds he bases this theory we do not know. On the other hand, Maspero ("*La Table d'Offrandes*, p. 382) describes it as a thin, flattened round loaf; but as we shall see, it had other forms.

THE HISTORY

This is one of the very old items in the offering-list, having appeared as early as the Second Dynasty, where it appears upon the stele of Princess *Shfnr* (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 95). The oldest form of the writing is simply , of which the writing in the royal list, No. 143 *H*, is simply the reversal of the signs , but may convey the meaning *t-rth*.

⁽¹⁾ See also Pyramid Texts, line 214 *C*, SETHE, "*Kommentar*", Vol. I, p. 155.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in the list of *Hwt.j* (No 2) where it is written $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} t-rth$. Other writings for this period are as follows:—

- (1) $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \text{ } |$: lists Nos. 13, 7 *T*, 16 *H*; (2) $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \circ |$: lists Nos. 11, 14, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 12 (?) (second appearance); (3) $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \text{ } |$: list No. 6 *H*; (4) $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \text{ } |$: list No. 15 *H*;
 (5) $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \circ \Delta$: list No. 3.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this item is the round loaf \circ or Δ (see lists Nos. 2, 11, 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 8 *H* (second appearance), 9 *P*, 15 *H* (second appearance). Other determinatives are as follows:—

- (1) \circ : list No. 13; (2) Δ : list No. 14; (3) Δ list No. 15 *H*; (4) $\circ \Delta$: list No. 3.
 Note the two distinct forms of the loaves. This proves that *t-rth* may be made in either round or conical loaves.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 8 *H* the sign Δ may be an error for \circ or Δ (see also list No. 15 *H*).

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The characteristic writing for the Fifth Dynasty is that in which the pronunciation is *t-rth*, namely $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \text{ } |$ (with slight variations). See lists Nos. 30 (second appearance) 41, 54, 58, 69, 19 *T*, 26 *H*, 28 *H*, 73, 75, 76, 38 *H*, 39 *H* (second appearances). In list No. 59 *H* we have the writing $\frac{\Delta}{\circ} \frac{\Delta}{\circ} \text{ } |$.

Another new feature is the form of the sign Δ ; see lists Nos. 32, 40 *H*, 47 *H*, 49 *H*, 50 *H* (second appearance), 56.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 28 *H* (second appearance), the loaf signs are faulty. In list No. 24 *H* (second appearance) the second sign Δ should be Δ . In list No. 70 (second appearance) the sign Δ is omitted, and in lists Nos. 56 and 22 *H* (second appearance) this sign is either faulty or unfinished.

THE DETERMINATIVES

Although the round loaf still holds its place as the common determinative for *t-rth*, we find, also the following new forms for the Fifth Dynasty:—


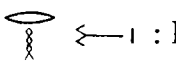
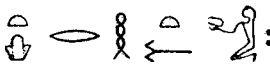


- (1) \circ : lists Nos. 27, 34 (second appearance), 17 *H*, 25 *H*, 35 *H* (first appearance), 44, 51 *P*, 52 *P* (second appearance), 71, 75, 78, (2) Δ : list No. 69; (3) Δ : list No. 70;
 (4) $\circ \circ$: list No. 54; (5) Δ ^(sic) Δ : list No. 61 *H*; (6) Δ : list No. 143 *H*; (7) Δ : list No. 72.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 51 *P*, 52 *P*, 61 *H*, the sign \triangle should be either \circ or \sqcap .












THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The only new forms of writing for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—



- (1)  : list No. 86 *H*; (2) \triangle  : list No. 113 *T*; (3) \triangle  : lists Nos. 115, 110 *T* (second appearance); (4) \triangle  : list No. 101 *H* (second appearance); (5) \triangle  : list No. 112 *T* (second appearance).

THE DETERMINATIVES

We now find a number of new determinatives employed along with the older signs:—

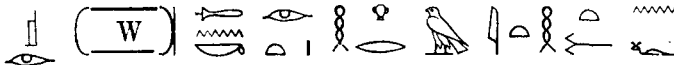
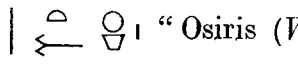
- (1)  : lists Nos. 91, 116, 120 *H* (second appearance), 131 *P*; (2)  : list No. 102; (3)  : list No. 115; (4)  : list No. 87; (5) \circ  : list No. 88; (6) \circ  : list No. 88 (second appearance); (7)  : list No. 124 *P*; (8)  : list No. 81 *T*; (9)  : list No. 86 *T*; (10) \circ : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T* (second appearance); (11) \otimes : list No. 90 *H* (second appearance); (12) \ominus : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*; (13)  : lists Nos. 110 *T*, 119 *T*, 112 *T*, (second appearance), 150 *T*; (14) \triangle  : list No. 128.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 90 *H* the sign  is faulty, as this sign properly belongs to the *kmhw*-bread (see below). In lists Nos. 112 *T*, 135 *T*, the final sign  should be either \bullet or \blacktriangle .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 89:—

(60 *C*)  |  | “Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn*is, take to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) which he (*St*) had snatched | A *t-rth*-loaf.”

This same formula is repeated as Utterance No. 112 (line 73 *C, D*) where it accompanies the second appearance of *t-rth* in the list.

Nos. 110 and 157 , "Dsr.t-Beer" (*Wni's*, Line 61 A)



THE MEANING




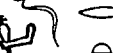
This item is sometimes thought to be a preparation of milk (see *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 616), but we have it mentioned in the lists as a kind of beer; see list No. 29 *H* (second appearance).


THE HISTORY


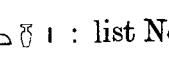


Dsr.t as a drink does not occur in any of the early lists so far as I am aware and its first appearance seems to be upon the stele of *Nfr* in the Barraco collection (WEILL, *ibid*, Pl. IV).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in the list of *Hwtj* (No. 2) where it is written . The commonest writing for the Fourth Dynasty is  (with slight variations); see lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 11 (second appearance), 13 (second appearance), 14 (second appearance), 16 *H*. We have also the following writings for this period:—


(1) : list No. 3; (2) : list No. 7 *T*; (3) : list No. 8 *H* (second appearance); (4) : list No. 15 *H* (second appearance).

There are also examples where the entry reads d*sr.t-nms.t*, *nms.t* being the name of the jar in which the d*sr.t*-beer was contained. Indeed, it is possible that we should read all those entries which are determined by the jar  as d*sr.t nms.t*, as this is the form of the *nms.t*-jar. The following are examples of this writing:—






(1) : list No. 8 *H*; (2) : list No. 6 *H*; (3) : list No. 9 *P*; (4) : list No. 14.

As we shall see, the inclusion of the name of the jar *nms.t* most frequently occurs in the first appearance of the item d*sr.t* in the lists, and is seldom found in its second appearance.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 15 *H* the sign  is faulty (second appearance).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The common determinative for d*sr.t* in its first appearance is  the *nms.t*-jar (see lists Nos. 2, 14, 6 *H*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 15 *H*). On the other hand, when d*sr.t* occurs for the second time in the offering-list, the usual determinative is the basin  (see lists Nos. 11, 13, 14, 9 *P*, 16 *H*, 10 *P*). This suggests that when this item is determined by the jar  we should pronounce it as d*sr.t nms.t*, making the sign  at once an ideogram and a determinative. In list No. 3 we have .

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 9 *P* the vase $\overline{\text{V}}$ wrongly replaces the *nms.t*-jar, and in list No. 16 *H* the flask $\overline{\text{F}}$ should be $\overline{\text{f}}$.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The new writings for this period are as follows: —

- (1) $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{F}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$: list No. 19 *T* (second appearance); (2) $\overline{\text{F}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$: list No. 67 *H* (second appearance); (3) $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$: list No. 63 (second appearance).



A characteristic feature of the Fifth Dynasty lists is the tendency to amalgamate *dsr.t* with other drinks, either the *hnsn*-beer or *irt.t* (prepared milk). Its association with the latter drink no doubt led to the erroneous conclusion that *dsr.t* itself was a preparation of milk. For the association of *dsr.t* with *hnsn*-beer, see lists Nos. 29 *H*, 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 67 *H*, 69 *H*, 75. For its association with *irt.t*, see lists Nos. 30, 55 *H*, 71, 72, 73, 74 *P*, 75, 76, 77, 79. Another new writing is to be seen in lists Nos. 67 *H*, 69 where we have the writing *nms.t nt dsr.t*. This form is even more frequently used during the Sixth Dynasty. In list No. 28 *H* (second appearance) we have $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ *hnk t dsr.t* which proves that *dsr.t* is a kind of beer and not milk, also in list No. 76.








UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 28 *H* and 76 we have the entry $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ occurring alone as No. 157 of the list, but followed by *dsr.t* repeated twice in a single rectangle, along with *irt.t* and *hnsn* (1). In lists Nos. 41 (second appearance), 63 (second appearance), 64 (second appearance) we have the addition of $\overline{\text{V}}$ "two portions", included in this entry.

FAULTY WRITINGS











In the damaged entry in list No. 22 *H* the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ should be $\overline{\text{V}}$. In lists Nos. 25 *H* (second appearance) and 26 *H* the sign $\overline{\text{F}}$ is faulty. In list No. 28 *H* the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ is omitted from *nms.t* and $\overline{\text{V}}$ is replaced by $\overline{\text{V}}$ (see also lists Nos. 19 *T*), while in list No. 42 *T* only the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ is present. In list No. 34 the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ is wrongly replaced by $\overline{\text{V}}$. In list No. 35 *H* we have the writing $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ for *nms.t dsr.t*. In list No. 49 *H* the sign $\overline{\text{F}}$ is omitted but $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ is present. In list No. 54 (second appearance) the writing $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$ is meaningless. Either the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ should be $\overline{\text{V}}$ and the first sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ should be $\overline{\text{V}}$ or else the sign $\overline{\text{V}}$ should be $\overline{\text{V}}$ and the first $\overline{\text{V}}$ an $\overline{\text{V}}$; in which case, the sign $\overline{\text{F}}$ would still

be lacking, but we have such a writing for the Sixth Dynasty in list No. 123 *P*. In list No. 59 *H* the first sign  should be . In list No. 65 (second appearance) we have strange writing:

 Here the destroyed sign was probably , the sign  should be , and  should be , while the group  is parasitical.












THE DETERMINATIVES





The following are new determinatives:—

- (1) : list No. 51 *P*; (2)   (1): list No. 69; (3)  : list No. 69 (second appearance); (4) : list No. 53; (5) : list No. 38 *H*; (6) : list No. 32; (7) : list No. 68; (8) : list No. 77.









THE SIXTH DYNASTY


New writings for this period are as follows:—

- (1)    : lists Nos. 115, 138 *P*; (2)    : list No. 95 *H*;
 (3)  : list No. 88 (second appearance).


A greater proportion of lists now include the element  *nt* in this entry, of which we had two examples from the preceding period (2). This form now occurs in thirteen lists. In the writing of *nms.t* we now find a number of examples, where the sign  or  is replaced by , which is a late Old Kingdom form, derived from the hieratic (see lists Nos. 86 *H*, 94 *P*, 112 *T*, 120 *H*).

FAULTY WRITINGS












In list No. 98 *T* the sign  is omitted from *nms.t*. In list No. 100 *H* the sign  is reversed in direction to the rest of the signs, and in lists Nos. 107 *H* and 108 *H* (second appearance) this sign is defective. In list No. 109 *T* the first sign  should be . In list No. 134 *H* the entry *dsr.t* is replaced by *nmst nt hnk.t hnsn*, arranged as a double entry. In list No. 124 *P* the sign  should be , and the  should be .

(1) In the original the priest is holding a wine-jar .

(2) In list No. 126 it is    .

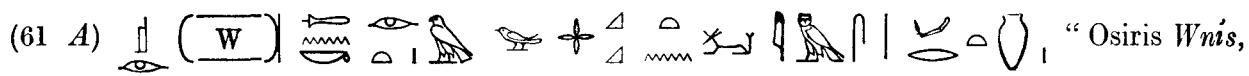
THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—


- (1)  : lists. Nos. **85, 88**; (2)  : lists Nos. 81 *T* (second appearance), **128** (all second appearances) (these last two examples, where the priestly figure is holding the vase  and the basin  occur in the same order as we have previously seen these vessels when they occur alone); (3)  : list No. **115**; (4)  : list No. 86 *H*; (5)  : list No. 94 *P* (second appearance); (6)  : list No. **128**; (7)  : list No. **87**; (8)  : list No. **87** (second appearance); (9)  : list No. **88** (second appearance).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 90:—

- (61 *A*) , “Osiris *Wni's*, take to yourself the small eye of *Horus*, which *St* has eaten | A jar of *dsr.t*-beer.”





The same formula is repeated as Utterance No. 145, line 88 *C, D*, where it accompanies the second appearance of this item in the list.

Nos. 111 and 159  “*Hnsm*-Beer” (*Wni's*, Line 61 *B*)



THE MEANING

Hnsm, or as it is frequently written *hnk.t hnsm* (or *hnms*) is a kind of beer, as one of its names proves. Whether this name has any bearing on the word *hnms*, ‘friend’ is not clear (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, pp. 294, 295). Maspero (*ibid.*, p. 383) calls it ‘*La biere de chef*’, i.e. beer of first quality.


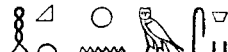
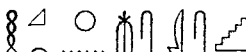

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to occur in any of the very early lists, and its first notable appearance seems to be on the stele of *Nfr* of the Barraco collection, where it is written . Here the sign  is an error for the basin , or for the jar .





THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material is in list No. 6 *H*, where it is written  and shares the signs  of *nms.t* with the preceding entry *dsr.t* (1). For this simple writing, see also lists 12 (second appearance), 13, 14 (second appearance), 15 *H*, 16 *H*.


Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—





- (1)  : list No. 8 *H*; (2)  : list No. 11 (second appearance); (3)  : list No. 9 *P*; (4)  : list No. 10 *P*.

FAULTY WRITINGS




The sign  which itself may read *hns*, should have the man holding the baton , which may either be in his outstretched hand, or carried over his shoulder. Therefore, the forms of this sign in the lists Nos. 6 *H*, 14, 16 *H* are all faulty. In list No. 10 *P* the sign  is parasitical, or is an error for  "portion".

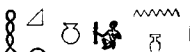

THE DETERMINATIVES

The commonest determinative for the Fourth Dynasty is the basin , which mostly occurs with the second appearance of this item in the list, as in the case of the *dsr.t*-beer (see lists Nos. 10 *P*, 11, 13, 16 *H*). We have also the following forms:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2)  : list No. 8 *H*; (3)  : list No. 15 *H* (second appearance); (4)  : list No. 9 *P*.


THE FIFTH DYNASTY

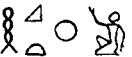








A new writing for the Fifth Dynasty is  : list No. 28 *H*. Here the presence of the sign  makes the pronunciation still *hns*, but in the writing  : lists Nos. 20 *P*, 21 *P* (second appearance), the reading *hns* seems to be a faulty one. Nevertheless, this form also occurs in the lists Nos. 40 *H*, 41, 47 *H*, 61 *H*, 62 *H*, 77. We have also the following forms which have not appeared before this period:—

- (1)  : list No. 26 *H*; (2)  : list No. 34.

(1) See above, p. 295.










FAULTY WRITINGS

In the following lists, the sign  is faulty :—



Nos. 23 *H* (second appearance), 29 *H*, 39 *H*, 49 *H*, 51 *P*, 52 *P*, **54, 56, 64, 65** (these last three are all in its second appearance). In the case of list No. 23 *H* (second appearance) this faulty sign renders the writing  , unpronounceable as *hnk.t hnsn*. The same is the case in list No. 55 *H*  . In list No. 19 *T* the sign  is lacking from *nms.t*. In list No. 26 *H* the sign  is parasitical. In list No. 33 (second appearance), the sign  is lacking. In list No. 61 *H* the sign  is an error for  . In list No. 78 the man  is an error for  .

THE DETERMINATIVES




The new determinatives are as follows :—

(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : list No. 69 (second appearance); (3)  : lists Nos. 51 *P*, 52 *P* (second appearance); (4)  : list No. 70; (5)  : list No. 25 *H*; (6)  : lists Nos. 28 *H*, 52 *P*, **58**; (7)  : lists Nos. 39 *H*, 67 *H*; (8)   : list No. 72.



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


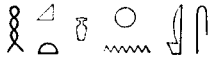





In list No. 23 *H* (second appearance) the determinative is unrecognizable. In list No. 38 *H* the sign  is an error for  . In list No. 66 (second appearance) we have a curious sign which somewhat resembles an offering-table supporting two jars.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The writings of this item during the Sixth Dynasty are so varied that it is difficult to fix upon one form which definitely predominates over the rest. Outstanding new features are  *nms.t. hnk.t hnm*: list No. 112 *T*. In lists Nos. 132 *T* and 138 *P*, the sign  is curtailed purposely to  .










FAULTY WRITINGS

As is usually the case with the Sixth Dynasty lists, there are a number of faulty writings. The most common mistakes seem to be made in the drawing of the sign  , which is frequently shown holding the wrong baton, or even empty-handed: see lists Nos. 84 *P*, **88, 90 H, 97, 101 H, 102, 103 T, 107 H (second appearance), 108 *H*, 123 *P*, 132 *T*, 138 *P* (second appearance). In list No. 116 (second appearance) the sign  is omitted from *hnsn* and it reads *hms*; see also list No. 89 *P*; while the same fault in list No. 94 *P* (second appearance) makes the pronunciation**


hsm. In list No. 113 *T* (second appearance) the writing is  which is unpronounceable, but is perhaps an error for . In list No. 128 we have the curious writing  || "*hmk t hnms*". In list No. 136 *H* (second appearance) the sign  is faulty. The error in the sign  mentioned above also causes a faulty reading in lists Nos. 84 *P*, 87 and 88. In list No. 109 *T* (second appearance) the sign  is lacking. In list No. 126 we have a curiously defective form of the sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—


- (1)  : list No. 81 *T*; (2)  : list No. 96 *P*; (3)  : list No. 99; (4)  : list No. 100 *H*; (5)  : list No. 110 *T*; (6)  : list No. 112 *T*; (7)  : list No. 134 *H*; (8)  : list No. 128; (9)  : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*, 123 *P*, 125, 131 *P*.

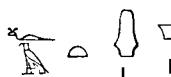
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 109 *T* the sign  is wrongly given for the *nms.t*-jar.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 91 :—

(61 *B*)  “Osiris *Wni's*, take to you the eye of *Horus* which they (*sn* the murderers of Osiris) have taken (?) from him. A jar of *hmsm*-beer” (see also Utterance No. 147, line 89 *C*, *D*, also *MASPERO*, “*La Table d'Offrandes*”, p. 383) (1).

No. 112  *F3.t Šns Hnt* (Var. Queen *Nt: f3.t hnk.t*) “Serving of Bread and Beer” (*Wni's*, Line 61 *C*)

THE MEANING

This is one of the ritualistic entries in the offering-list, and is a ceremony of serving food and drink. Of what this food and drink consisted, may be seen from the determinatives of the

(1) The anonymous mention of the murderers of Osiris by the pronoun *sn*  is familiar in the Pyramid Texts (see also lines 91 *E*, 92 *C*, 98 *B*, etc. See also *SETHE*, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 214).

entry, as well as the various writings. For example, in the Pyramid Texts of *Wn's* the determinative shows a *šns*-loaf and a *hnt*-basin (see list No. 143 *H*). In the variant from the list of Queen *Nt* (No. 148 *T*) we have it definitely stated that the drink served is beer (see below).

THE HISTORY

This is one of the late-comers to the offering-list and does not seem to have occurred in any list before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty. In other words, it is part of the new material added when the canonical editing of the offering-list of the people took place.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in the list of *K3-nj-Njswt* (No. 7 *T*) where it occupies a single rectangle with *šbw*, and is written . This may be read as 'serving food and drink, a *šns*-loaf and a *dwjw*-jar' (1). In list No. 9 *P* we have the following writing which is only a more detailed writing the above, with the addition of "one portion". In list No. 8 *H* this entry is written which still means 'serving a *šns*-loaf and a *dwjw*-jar (of drink) as food, one portion'.

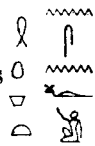


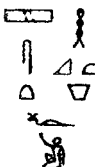
But by the time of the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the elements *fst* and *šb* had become separated into two distinct items and thus we now get the writings : lists Nos. 13, 11 (?), 14, 16 *H*. In list No. 15 *H* only the *šns*-loaf is mentioned



THE DETERMINATIVES

This is one of the entries in which the same sign may be employed as an ideogram and as a determinative. Thus, in list No. 7 *T* the signs while determining the whole entry, may also be pronounced 'a *šns*-loaf and a *dwjw*-jar'. At the same time, the element *šb* is determined by : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 9 *P*. In the latter list we have also the determinative for *fst* and for *dwjw*. The signs and may appear purely as determinatives as in list No. 11, but in lists Nos. 13, 14, 16 *H*, they serve the double purpose of ideogram and determinative.

(1) See JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 171.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

A new writing for the Fifth Dynasty is  || with variant determinatives “a *šns*-loaf and drink are served”: lists Nos. **54, 69, 33** and **78** (where we have the variant writing  for ) , 55 *H*, 59 *H*. In list No. **44** we have the interesting form of  which informs us that the drink is beer.

We now find this entry arranged in a manner which makes the bread and drink two separate items united at the top or bottom by  or  : lists Nos. 35 *H*, 38 *H*, 39 *H*.



There are still two lists where the drink is omitted, and only the *šns* mentioned : lists Nos. 17 *H*, **30**.

THE DETERMINATIVES





The new determinatives are as follows :—








- (1)    : list No. 18 *T* ;
- (2)  : list No. **69** ;
- (3)  : list No. **70**.









FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 24 *H* the sign  should be the loaf  .


THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the division of this item into the separate entries, each having its own numeral  : lists Nos. 93 *T*, 107 *H*, 108 *H*, 111 *T*, 119 *T*, **125**, 130 *P*, 131 *P*. There is also an increase in the number of lists in which *šns* and *dwjw* are treated as two separate items, but joined by the common element *š.t*  lists Nos. 81 *T*, **82**, (?)   : lists Nos. **87, 91, 92**, 96 *P*, **99**, 109 *T*, **115**, 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, 123 *P*,



128, 134 H). In lists No 136 *T* we have a reversion to the old writing of the Fourth Dynasty, which incorporated the item   *šb*, but is here written    . There is also a greater tendency to employ the signs  instead of  in the element *fš.t* (see lists Nos. **87**, 89 *P*, 93 *P*, 94 *P*, **99**, 109 *T*, 111 *T*, 112 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, **128**, 130 *P*, 131 *P*, 134 *H*, 135 *H*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, 143 *H*, 145 *H*, 147 *T*, 148 *T*, 150 *T*).

In the royal list of *Nfr-kš-R'* (No. 145 *H*) we have the writing   |   "serving a *šns*-loaf and a *hnt*-basin". Here, as in the Archaic lists, the name of the vessel (*hnt*) is mentioned, but not the contents. In lists Nos. 148 *T* and 150 *T* we have     "Serving a *šns*-loaf and a *hnt*-basin of beer".

UNUSUAL WRITINGS














In list No. 100 *H*, **116**, 119 *T*, 120 *H*, 134 *H*, 135 *T*, 137 *T*, 138 *P*, the group  is either curtailed in the serpent sign, in the human sign or in both.

FAULTY WRITINGS






In list No. 148 *T* the sign for the *šns*-loaf is wrongly replaced by a jar. In list No. 110 *T* the element *fš.t* is lacking, and in lists Nos. 111 *T* and 123 *P* there is a parasitical sign  in the writing of *fš.t*, while in list No. 86 *H*, *fš.t* seems to be written as  .

THE DETERMINATIVES





The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)   : list No. 81 *T*; (2)   : list No. **85**; (3)    : list No. **86 H**;
 (4)  |  : list No. **87**; (5)  : list No. **88**; (6)  : list No. **128**; (7)  |  : list No. **102**.





FAULTY DETERMINATIVES















In list No. **115** we have the double determinative   . The second figure is faulty as the object which he is holding is unrecognizable. Strictly speaking the round loaf held by the first figure, and also that in the determinative of list No. **128** is also faulty, as the *šns* should be determined by the conical loaf   or  during the Old Kingdom (see for this the lists, and also *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 516).

THE DETERMINATIVES




The usual determinative for this item is  : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, **13**, **14**, 16 *H*. In list No. **14** we have    , and in lists Nos. 15 *H*, 7*T*, 8 *H*, it is $\Delta \bar{\sigma}$, at once an ideogram and a determinative.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY


During the Fifth Dynasty we find that there are a greater number of lists which include the sign  in the writing of *šbw* (see lists Nos. 17 *H*, 19 *T*, 29 *H*, **30**, **34**, 42 *T*, **46**, **48**, 51 *P*, 52 *P*, **56**, 67 *H*). We now find that in several lists this item is arranged as two separate entries, joined at the top or bottom by the word *šbw* :    : lists Nos. **30**, 31 *H*, 35 *H*, 38 *H*, 39 *H*.







50 *H*, 51 *P*, 52 *P*, 67 *H*, **69**, **59**. We also have the writing      | have the writing   | incorporate the element  : lists Nos. **32**, 35 *H*, 49 *H*, 55 *H*, 59 *H*, **69**, **73**, **74**, **79**. In lists Nos. 31 *H*, 50 *H*, **53** the writing of *šbw* as    is associated with the verb *wnm* 'to eat'. In list No. **71** we have also $\Delta \Delta$    |.

FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 24 *H* we have the writing $\frac{||}{\bar{\sigma}}$   , which is faulty and confused. In list No. 25 *H* this item is replaced by a repetition of *šns dwjw f.t.* In list No. 40 *H* the sign  is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 25 *H* we have a rare example where the *šns*-bread is determined by the oval loaf  . The Berlin Dictionary gives this form for the Middle Kingdom only (see *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 516). Other new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1) $\Delta \bar{\sigma} \circ$: list No. **32** (this is a general determinative for food and drink. see also list No. 35 *H*); (2) Δ    : list No. **69**; (3)    : list No. 19 *T*.



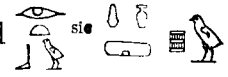


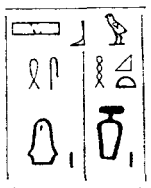
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. **34** the sign  should be the loaf Δ . In list No. **48** the sign \circ is perhaps an error for $\bar{\sigma}$. In lists Nos. 51 *P* and 52 *P* the second loaf should be the *dwjw*-jar.




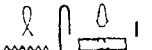

THE SIXTH DYNASTY



As in the case of *šns dwjw f.t* the most notable of the writing of this item during the Sixth Dynasty is the increasing of the number of examples where *šns* and *dwjw* are arranged as two separate entries joined by *šbw* at the top or bottom. See lists Nos. 81 *T*, 84 *P*, 87, 88, 92, 93 *P*, 94 *P*, 96 *P*, 98 *T*, 99, 100 *H*, 102, 106 *P*, 107 *H*, 108 *H*, 109 *T*, 114 *T*, 115, 116, 118 *T*, 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, 132 *T*, 138 *P*, 134 *H*, 135 *T*, 136 *H* (?). There are also a number of lists where this item is divided into two separate entries, and sometimes arranged with a disregard for the proper reading (see below). Lists Nos. 110 *T*, 111 *T*, 119 *T*, 123 *P*, 124 *P*, 131 *P*, 137 *T*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 90 *H* we have a reversion to the old form of the Fourth Dynasty, where *šbw* is indicated only by the sign . In lists Nos. 116 and 123 *P* we have this item divided into three rectangles, in the last of which appears  (list No. 116) and  (list No. 123 *P*). In the royal list No. 148 *T* we have the writing that beer was the drink contained in the *dwjw*-jar. In list No. 128 double, and is written  and again ; the latter similar to that of list No. 145 *H*. In list No. 110 *T* the element *dwjw*  which proves this item is form being is omitted.






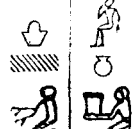

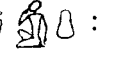
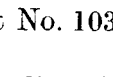





FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 107 *H* the sign  is omitted from *šbw*, and in list No. 123 *P* the  is replaced by . In list No. 111 *T* this item is divided into two entries, but in such a senseless manner that we have the meaningless writings of  and .

For a similar error, see list No. 131 *P* where the sign  is also wrongly replaced by . In list No. 119 *T* this item is again divided into two, and each part is faulty.




THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : lists No. 81 *T*, 102; (2)  : list No. 128; (3)  : list No. 115;
- (4)  (1) : list No. 87; (5)  : list No. 88; (6)  : list No. 86 *H*; (7)  : list No. 84 *P*; (8)  : list No. 103 *T*; (9)  : list No. 122 *H*; (10)  : list No. 120 *H*; (11)  : list No. 125; (12)  : list No. 94 *P*; (13)  : list No. 118 *T*; (14)  : list No. 107 *H*.


(1) In the original the priest is holding a wine-jar .



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 86 *H* the sign of the child  should be . In lists Nos. 106 *T* and 122 *H* the sign  is faulty.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 94 :—







(64 A)  “ Food, a *šns*-loaf and a *dwjw*-jar of drink (beer). ”

Nos. 117 and 118  A *šns*-Loaf, , “ A *dwjw*-jar (of Beer) ” (*Wn's*, Line 64 C)

THE MEANING

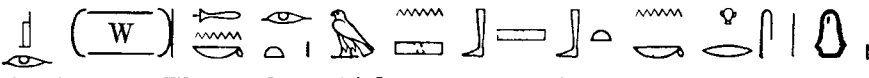
These two items, which in our material only occur twice in the royal list, are nothing but a repetition of the food and drink already mentioned in the preceding entry, namely the *šns*-loaf and the *dwjw*-jar of drink, which in list No. 145 *H* is more explicitly stated to be beer (*see* also item No. 114 in list No. 148 *T*), according to BALCZ, “*Mitteilungen*”, 1936, p. 77, where he says that the colour of the *dwjw*-jar is green.

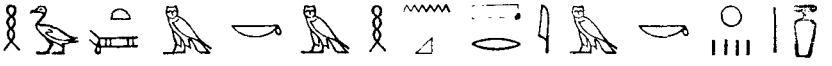
THE WRITINGS


In list No. 143 *H* we have the very simple writing  and . This proves that the sign  may be pronounced *šns* and that  may pronounce *dwjw*. In list No. 145 *H* we have the writing  and  (for a fuller treatment of the *šns*-bread, *see* below, p. 324, *ff.*).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 94 :—

(64 B) , “ Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, by which you are animated | A *šns*-loaf.”

(64 C) , “ Equip yourself with the juice which comes out of you (to be said four times). A *dwjw*-jar (*var.* ‘a jar of beer’).”

Nos. 119 and 141  *Swt* "A Leg of Beef" (*Wni's*, Line 54 D)





THE MEANING

The meaning of this entry is a joint of beef, which from the form on the determinative in the more carefully drawn lists would seem to be the *tibia*. According to Griffith, the *swt* was the haunch or shoulder, shrunk by boiling, so that the bone projects. Gardiner (*"Egyptian Grammar"*) defines *swt* as the leg of beef, *tibia* (p. 457) (1).









THE HISTORY

This is one of the very old items in the offering-list, having appeared as far back as the beginning of the Second Dynasty (see the Berlin nichestone, *"Excavations at Giza"*, Vol. V, p. 89).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 3 where it is written . In list No. 4 *T* it is written phonetically as  (restored from list No. 5 *T*). For this writing see also lists Nos. 9 *P*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, where it occurs twice for the first time in our material. We have only two examples of this writing for the Fifth Dynasty (lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27), both of which occur in the same tomb; and by the time of the Sixth Dynasty it seems to have disappeared altogether from the lists. Thus, we may say that the writing  is characteristic of the Fourth Dynasty. This is evidently the earliest form of the writing, for all the lists which follow 9 *P* (*H'j.f-Hwfw*) have the form ; lists Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The common determinative for this item is a joint of meat from which the bone projects at either end, but the shape of the joint varies somewhat, the most usual form being: (1) : lists Nos. 3, 7 *T*, 8 *H* (second appearance); (2) : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 13; (3) : list No. 8 *H*; (4) : list No. 14; (5) : list No. 11; (6) : list No. 16 *H* (second appearance); (7) : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 16 *H*; (8) : list No. 9 *P*. In this last example our evidence is from printer's type, and we have no guarantee as to its accuracy. The variation of form occurring between this sign when it occurs twice in the same list tempts one to suggest that in these cases the fore and hind legs were intended to be shown.

(1) For limetone models of this and other joints, see JEQUIER, *"Tombeaux de Particuliers"*, pp. 28, 29.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the writing $\downarrow \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ in common use, and as mentioned above, the old form $\downarrow \text{𓆎} \triangle \text{𓆏}$ now only occurs in lists Nos. 26 *H* and 27 in the Tomb of *Hnmw-htp*.

In list No. 71 we have $\downarrow \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. Here the sign 𓆏 may stand for “all”, or it may be an error for the joint of meat.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 25 *H* the sign $\downarrow \text{𓆎}$ should be \downarrow which is evidently an error on the part of the modern copyist (see above, p. 157). In list No. 40 *H* (second appearance) the sign \downarrow should be \downarrow , and the eagle 𓆎 should be the chick 𓆏 .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new :—

- (1) 𓆏 : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 37, 63 (second appearance), 23 *H* (second appearance) 24 *H*. (in these last two examples the joint rests directly upon the basin and no dividing line is shown between them); (2) 𓆏 : list No. 31 *H*; (3) 𓆏 : list No. 47 *H* (second appearance); (4) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 69; (5) 𓆏 : list No. 55 *H*; (6) 𓆏 : list No. 71.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 34 the determinative is faulty in both occurrences of this item, but each vary in form from the other. In list No. 47 *H* the determinative for the first appearance of this item is faulty, but correct, though new, in its second appearance. In list No. 71 the sign 𓆏 is perhaps an error for the joint of meat (?). In list No. 74 *P* the sign of the loaf 𓆏 has no place here.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


















By the time of the Sixth Dynasty, the old writing of $\downarrow \text{𓆎} \triangle$ had completely died out, so far as the evidence of our material tells us, and in spite of the fact that the late Sixth Dynasty was a time when the fuller, phonetic writings were especially favoured.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 119 *T* (second appearance) the sign \triangle is lacking.


THE DETERMINATIVES

As usual, we find many new determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty, although these are in a minority to the general forms which are only the old signs, with slight variants. These variations may be due to the individual style of the scribes and the viewpoint from which the joint is supposed to be seen. The following are the new determinatives:—

(1)  and  : list No. 86 *H*; (2)  and  : list No. 87; (3)   ⁽¹⁾ and  : list No. 88; (4)  : list No. 100 *H*; (5)  and  : list No. 102 (here the two joints are different, and in the second example it is unmistakably the foreleg); (6)  and  : list No. 128; (7)   : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*; (8)  : list No. 113 *T*; (9)  and  : list No. 132 *T*.

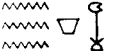
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 96 :—

(64 *D*) , “Osiris *Wn*'s, take to yourself the two fleshy parts of the Eye of Horus | A *swt*-joint” (see also Utterance No. 129, line 81 *A, B*) ⁽²⁾.

No. 120  “*Mw*-Water” (var.  *kbhw* “Cool Water”) (*Wn*'s, Line 72 *B*)

THE MEANING

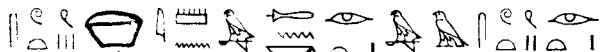
According to the writing in the Pyramid Texts of *Wn*'s, the meaning of this item is ‘two basins of water’ (list No. 143 *H*) (cf.  “One thousand portions of water”, JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 103).


The water presented is for purification, not for drinking, as we may see by the entry of natron which immediately follows it. In reality, these two items (Nos. 120, 121) water and natron, seem to be merely a variant of *kbhw-t3*, but separated into two individual items. For the presentation of water to the dead, see also Pyramid Texts, line 124 *A-D*.

THE HISTORY

This is another of the items which came late into the offering-list, and does not seem to have occurred in this form before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty.

(1) Note that the figure of the priest looks backwards over his own shoulder.

(2) See GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty, Papyrus, IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54 : 

 “*Swt*-meat one. Take to thyself the two fleshy parts of the Eye of Horus.”

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material is in the list of *Ms-s3* (No. **1**) where it is written $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \text{||}$ (see also the list No. **14**). In some of the earlier lists of this period *mw* is replaced by $\triangle \text{||} \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$ *kbhw* “cool water”, which may be a separated repetition of *kbh.w t3*, as seems to be proved by the writings in lists Nos. 5 *T* $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \nabla$ and 4 *T* $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$. Also in $\triangle \text{||} \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \text{||}$: list No. 8 *H* ; $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \nabla$: list No. 9 *P*. In all these lists this entry replaces $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \text{||}$, and in the last two examples, the entry *bd*-natron follows it immediately, as in the case of $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$ in the later lists. In list No. **1** we have also $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \text{||}$ followed by *bd*. The entry *kbhw* disappears from the normal canonical lists after the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \text{||}$: lists Nos. **11**, **12**, **13**, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. This should read: ‘water, two portions’ and the sign ∇ is here a determinative.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 15 *H* the sign $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$ should be $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The common determinative for this item is the basin ∇ : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, **11**, **12**, **13**, 16 *H*. In lists Nos. 5 *T* and 9 *P* we have $\nabla \nabla$, and in list No. **14** the basin ∇ is employed as both an ideogram and a determinative, as in the Pyramid Texts. In the earlier writings, where this item appeared as *kbh.w*, we have also the determinatives $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$: list No. 7 *T*. But in lists Nos. **1**, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, and 9 *P* the sign $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$ is an ideogram for *kbh.w*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 15 *H* the sign $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$ is an error for ∇ .



THE FIFTH DYNASTY

With two exceptions, all the lists in our material for the Fifth Dynasty give the writing $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$ or $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla$ in about equal proportions, so far as the evidence of undamaged entries show, and the only variation occurs in the determinatives. The two new writings are as follows:—

- (1) $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \text{||}$ “two portions of water”: list No. 35 *H*; (2) $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \text{||}$: list No. **53**.

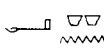
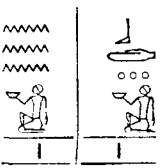
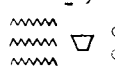

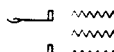
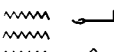
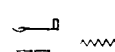
This last gives the phonetic complement $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$. List No. **78** gives: $\begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \nabla \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{~~~~~} \end{matrix}$.

THE DETERMINATIVES





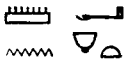




The only new determinatives are (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : list No. **70**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period :—










- (1)  ; list No. **88** (this amalgamation with the natron, *bd* again reminds us of the entry *kbh.w t3*); (2)  : list No. 124 *P* (here again the three pellets suggests the pellets of natron in *kbh.w t3*, which are sometimes three in number; see also list No. 109 *T*); (3)  : list No. 93 *P* (here the pellets are two in number, but in list No. **115** there is only one pellet); (4)  : list No. 95 *H*; (5)  : list No. 106 *P*; (6)  : list No. 122 *H*; (7)  : list No. **126**.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 106 *P* the numeral 1 contradicts the writing  “two portions”. In list No. 119 *T* the writing is simply  and lacks the basin to contain the water. In list No. 136 *H* the sign  is an error for . In list No. 86 *H* *mw* is replaced by    , determined by a priest holding a wine-jar .

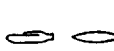


THE DETERMINATIVES
















The only new determinatives are :—
















- (1)  : lists No. **128**, **88**, 81 *T*, 100 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. **87**, 146 *T*; (3)  : list No. 90 *H* (this latter sign represents the ewer and basin for hand-washing, and thus gives us a clue as to the use of the water); (4)  : list No. 89 *P*; (5)  : list No. 93 *P*; (6)  ; lists Nos. 109 *T*, 124 *P*; (7)    : list No. **115**.

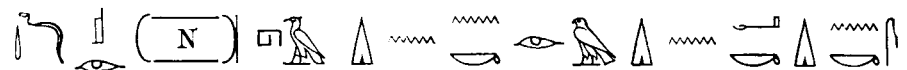
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 97 :—

(65 A)    | “Place on his left-hand side.”

(65 B)   (N)              “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*, this Eye is that which *Horus* has reclaimed from *St*.’”


(65 C)   (N)              “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*, I make *Horus* (*Hr*) to give to you his Eye in your hand’.”

(66 A)  “Words spoken: ‘O Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*, I give to you the Eye of *Horus* which I put in your hand, and which I give you.’”

(66 B)  .

(67 A)  “Place on his left-hand side.”

(67 B)  .

(67 C)  .

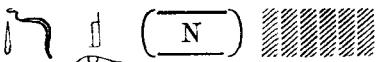
(68 A)  “Words spoken, ‘I am *Horus*, Osiris *Nfr-k3-R* . . .’”

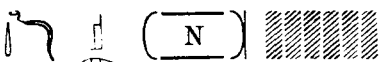
(68 B)  .


(68 C)  .


(68 D)  .

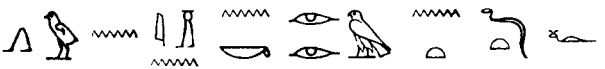
(68 E)  “Place in . . .”

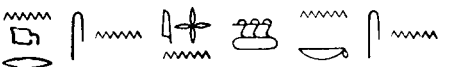
(68 F)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R* . . .’”

(68 G)  “Words spoken; ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R* . . .’”


(68 H)  “Words spoken . . .”


(69 A)  “Words spoken: ‘O this *Nfr-k3-R*, I am your son, I am *Horus (Hr)*.’”

(69 B)  “I come, I bring to you the two Eyes of *Horus* which are his own.”

(69 C)  “Take hold of them, I adjust them to you.”

(70 A)  “I join them to you, I unite them to you entirely . . .”

(70 B)  “*Horus* places them according to the instructions of this *Nfr-k3-R*.”






(70 C)  “This *Nfr-k3-R* leads them to the *Kbhw* ⁽¹⁾ before *Horus*, to heaven before the Great God.”

(70 D)  “This *Nfr-k3-R* protects them from all his enemies.”



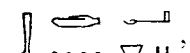
(1) *Kbhw* a name for a part of heaven (see “Excavations at Giza”, Vol. VI (Part I), p. 28).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed during this period :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **7 T**, **8 H**, **11 12**, **14**, **15 H**, **16 H**; (2)  : list No. **2**; (3)  : list No. **4 T**; (4)  : list No. **5 T**; (5)  : list No. **9 P**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY








In the Fifth Dynasty most of the above-mentioned forms continue in use, but the writing with  “Two portions” now only occurs nine times (1), while  has disappeared altogether. In list No. **61 H** the writing is  with four pellets of natron.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **74 P** the writing is all faulty, and only the determinative is correct.




THE DETERMINATIVES

The only new determinatives are as follows :—



- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : lists Nos. **24 H**, **26 H**, **28 H**, **29 H**, **30**, **35 H**; **44**, **53**, **67 H**, **74 P**, **143 H**; (3)  : lists Nos. **38 H**, **40**, **77**; (4)  : list No. **63**; (5)  : list No. **63**; (6)  : list No. **76**; (7)  : list No. **79**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find the following new writings :—












- (1)  : list No. **81 T**; (2)   : list No. **95 H**.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **95 H** the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

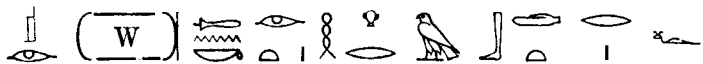
These are new determinatives for the Sixth Dynasty :—


- (1)  : list No. **102**; (2)  : list No. **115**; (3)  : list No. **84 P**; (4)  : list No. **122 H**; (5)  : list No. **134 H**; (6)  : list No. **118 T**; (7)  : list No. **135 T**; (8)  : lists Nos. **88**, **128**; (9)  : lists Nos. **87**, **100 H**, **81 T**, **85**; (10)  : list No. **89 P**; (11)  : list No. **146 T**.


(1) Nos. **28 H**, **35 H**, **41**, **44**, **61 H**, **74 P**, **76**, **79**.


THE FORMULA

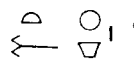
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 109 :—

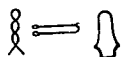
(72 C)  “ Osiris *Wn's*, take for yourself the Eye of *Horus*, by which he cleans his mouth.”

(72 D)  “ Two basins of *bd*-natron. ”

No. 122  “ *I'w s'ns Dwjw* ” (Breakfast of bread and beer) ” (see above, p. 308, ff.).

No. 123  “ *Tw.t*-bread ” (see above, p. 289, ff.).

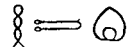
No. 124  “ *T-rth*-bread ” (see above, p. 292, ff.).

No. 125  “ *Ht*-Bread=2 ” (*Wn's*, Line 73 F)

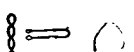
THE MEANING

This item was apparently a large loaf of bread and according to the general form of the determinatives, conical in shape, and resembling the *s'ns*-loaf. The Berlin Dictionary gives the pronunciation of this word as *ht* (W.B., Vol. III, p. 204) and we have writings which corroborate this, but the commonest writing, according to our material, reads *ht*, in the earlier lists, and later *ht.w*, *ht*, *hwt*, or *htw*. It was generally offered in pairs.

THE HISTORY







This is one of the very oldest entries in the offering-list, having appeared as early as the Second Dynasty (see the Bankfield Stele, Berlin niche-stone and the Stele of Princess *Shfnr* (see “Excavations at Giza”, Vol. V, pp. 87, 91, 93). The earliest writing we have seems to be  which is on the Bankfield Stele.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY




The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 3, 4 T, 5 T, 7 T, 8 H, 9 P, 11, 12, 14, 15 H, 16 H). In list No. 9 P this entry occurs twice, once in its normal place, following the second appearance of *t-rth*, and again where it replaces *dpt.j* (No. 36). In its first appearance its accompanying numeral is 11, but in its second appearance it is 1111.





THE DETERMINATIVES

During the Fourth Dynasty the following determinatives for this item are invariably a form of the conical loaf:—

 : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, **11**, **12**, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. Other variants are (1)  : lists Nos. 2, 4 *T*, **1**; (2)  : list No. 5 *T*; (3)   : list No. **3**; (4)  : list No. **14**.




THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find new forms of writing this item, as well as the original simple form which remained in common use. The most frequent of the new writings is  =  

ht.w (lists Nos. 28 *H*, 29 *H*, 30 *H*, **41** (?), **75**). We have also the writing  =    =








ht.wj: list No. **69**, where it occurs on the block of stone which was missing from the offering-list, but which I found during our excavations at Sakkâra and restored to its place.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 24 *H* the sign  should be  (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 204). In lists Nos. **70** and **53** the sign  is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the only new determinatives:—


















(1)  : list No. **70**; (2)  : list No. 19 *T*; (3)  : lists Nos. **37**, 51 *P*, 52 *P*; (4)   : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*; (6)   : list No. **72**. In lists No. **68**, **69**, we have the figure of the kneeling priest, but in each case the object which he carried has been destroyed.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 20 *P* the sign  should be  (also list No. **75**).





THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are new writings characteristic of this period:—












(1)     = : list No. **99**; (2)  =   || : list No. 135 *T* (see also the faulty writing in list No. 24 of the Fifth Dynasty); (3)     || : list No. 136 *H*; (4)    || : list No. 137 *T*. Before this item in the last-mentioned list, the scribe has slipped in a single entry of    |, *nms.t-jar*, which has no connection with either the preceding entry, *t-rth*, or that which follows it, *ht.w*.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following determinatives are new:—

(1)   : lists Nos. **80**, 89 *P*, 111 *T*, 122 *H*, 136 *H*, 137 *T*, 109 *T*; (2)   : lists Nos. **84**, 108 *H*, 110 *T*, **116**, 119 *T*, 120 *H*, 124 *P*, 131 *P*.

These are characteristics of the Sixth Dynasty and do not appear in any earlier lists, so far as our material shows. They coincide with the enumeration 11, which is commonly found with this item, but owing to the carelessness of the scribes, the double determinative does not always coincide with the numeral below, as we may see in list No. 118 *H*, where the numeral given is 111. Other new determinatives are:—


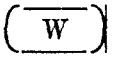





(1)   : lists Nos. **87**, **102**, **128**; (2)    : list No. **115**; (3)   : list No. **88**;
 (4)  : list No. 94 *P*; (5)   : list No. 112 *T*; (6)  : list No. 113 *T* (this latter form does not appear in the Berlin Dictionary in connection with this item).





FAULTY DETERMINATIVES










In list No. 134 *H* the jar  wrongly replaces the loaf. In list No. 137 *T* the sign should be  .





THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 113:—

(73 *E*)  ()      “Osiris *Wn̄is*, hold for you your face.”

(73 *F*)     “*H̄t*-bread, two loaves (1).”

(Variant: GARDINER, “*Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54:          “Seize for thyself thy face.”)




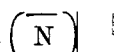










No. 126     “*Nhrw*-Bread=2” (*Wn̄is*, Line 74 B)

THE MEANING

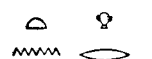

Nhrw or *t-nhrw* was a conical loaf of bread, usually presented in pairs. Junker (“*Giza*”) Vol. I, p. 147) would differentiate the shape of this loaf from that of the *š't* (see below), saying that the *nhrw* is wider and blunter at the top.

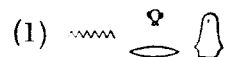



THE HISTORY

Nhrw is another late-comer into the offering-list, and does not seem to have appeared before the early Fourth Dynasty, when it occurs on the stele of *Nfr* in the Barraco collection.





(1) Var. Text of *Nfr-k3-R'*:    ()           “To be said four times by this *Nfr-k3-R'* in the fourfold service | *H̄t*-bread.” This same formula occurs in the texts of *Nfr-k3-R'* for entries Nos. 120–173, after which it is damaged. It occurs in the texts of *Tij* from items Nos. 154–183.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. **2**, where it is written  *t-nhr* without the sign  *w*. Other writings for this period are:—






(1)  : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, **11**, **12**, **13**; (2)  : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 16 *H*; (3)  : list No. 7 *T*; (4)  : list No. **3** (this writing is proof for the pronunciation of *nhr*).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 15 *H* we have . Here the sign  should be  and the sign  is omitted.







THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty:—



(1)  : lists Nos. 5 *T*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, **11**, **12**, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 4 *T*, **14**; (3).  : list No. **2**; (4)   : list No. **3**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period:—











(1)  : lists Nos. 67 *H*, 17 *H*; (2)  : list No. 24 *H*; (3) 
 : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*; (4)  : list No. **69**; (5)  : list No. 57 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS






In list No. 61 *H* the sign  is defective, or perhaps unfinished. In list No. 46 there is a parasitical sign , and in list No. 74 *P* there is another one.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—




(1)  : lists Nos. **37**, **45**, **46**, **54**; (2)  : lists Nos. **68**, **70**; (3)  : list No. **69**;
(4)   : list No. 19 *T*; (5)   : list No. **44**; (6)  : list No. 60 *H*; (7)  : list No. 28 *H*; (8)  : list No. 74 *P*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES




In list No. 17 *H* the sign  should be  and in list No. 42 *T* the sign  should be either the loaf  or the basin .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period:—









- (1)  : list No. **99** (for a discussion of this curious writing, see FIRTH AND GUNN, “*The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*”, pp. 147-148); (2)  : list No. 110 *T* ; (3)  : list No. 136 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 86 *H* the sign  should be  or  . In list No. 95 *H* the writing is completely faulty (*see below*). This list has several other mistakes in its different entries.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)   : lists Nos. **102**, **128** ; (2)  : list No. **87** ; (3)  : list No. **88** ; (4)  : list No. **115** ; (5)  : list No. 86 *H* ; (6)  : list No. 94 *P* ; (7)  : list No. 137 *T*.

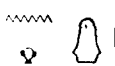
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 90 *H* the sign for the loaf is faulty.

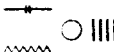
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 114:—

(74 *A*)  “Osiris *Wni*'s is brought to you and assembled before you.”

(74 *B*)  “*Nhr*[*w*]-bread, two loaves.”

No. 127  “*Dpt.j*-Bread” (see above, p. 202, ff.)

No. 128  “*Psn*-Bread” (*Wni*'s, Line 74 *F*)

THE MEANING

This is another of the varieties of bread, the shape of the loaf being generally round or oval, and offered in quantities of four (*see MASPERO, ibid*, p. 386).

THE HISTORY

Psn-bread does not seem to have occurred before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. It appears in Giza in Grave VIII of Junker's concession ("Giza", Vol. I, *abb.* 59) where it is written: $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} & \text{⊖} \end{matrix}$.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{⊖}$ (see also list No. 3). This seems to be another example of semi-ideogrammatic writing. It would appear that the loaf ⊖ may be pronounced *psn*, and it was sufficient only to indicate the initial letter in order to make this pronunciation understood. This we can see by the way in which this writing persisted into the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (see below), and particularly in the list No. 42 *T*, where the writing is simply $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{○} \end{matrix}$, and in list No. 17 *H* where we have $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{○} \text{|||}$. In the Sixth Dynasty we have more proof for this idea in list No. 80 where the later writing *psn.w* is written as $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{○○} \text{|||}$. Here the signs ○○ serve to determine the entry, and, at the same time, give the plural pronunciation of *psn.w*. Other Fourth Dynasty lists employing the writing $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{⊖}$ are No. 4 *T*, 7 *T*, 9 *P*. In list No. 5 *T* we have $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix}$, and in list No. 6 *H* $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{𓆎}$ which is probably an error for $\begin{matrix} \text{—} \\ \text{—} \end{matrix}$ in both cases (see also lists Nos. 10 *P*, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The correct determinative for this entry is the loaf ⊖ : lists Nos. 2, 4 *T*, 7 *T*, or its simple form ○ : lists Nos. 10 *P*, 12, 13, 3, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. In list No. 11 we have the oval loaf ⊖ . In list No. 9 *P*, we have ⊖ (?). This latter sign is doubtful, and is more probably ⊖ .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY










The new writings for this period go to two extremes: On the one hand, we have the abbreviated writing $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{○} \end{matrix}$ in list No. 42 *T*, where the sign serves at once for an ideogram and a determinative; and the full writing $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{○}$ in lists Nos. 67 *H*, 29 *H*. In list No. 69 we have an interesting writing of the plural form *psnw* $\begin{matrix} \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆎} \\ \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{—} \end{matrix} \text{○○} \text{𓆎} \text{|||}$ (the sign 𓆎 is displaced).

FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 22 *H* we have simply the sign 𓆎 which suggests that *psn* was intended, but the determinative is faulty. In the damaged entry in list No. 45 the sign 𓆎 is displaced; so also in list No. 69.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are new:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **68**, **70**; (in these two lists we have the only examples where *psn* is determined by a conical loaf which have so far appeared in our material); (2)  : list No. **69**; (3)  : list No. **64**; (4)  : list No. **32**; (5)  : list No. 17 *H*; (6)  : lists Nos. 31 *H*, 26 *H*, **27**, **36**, 40 *H*, **41**, 47 *H*, **58**, 59 *H*, **44**; (7)  : list No. 74 *P*. (For the replacement of  by , see GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 480.)

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


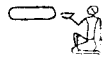

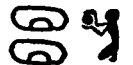
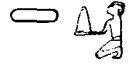










In list No. 22 *H* the sign of the loaf is wrongly replaced by the bow .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY





Characteristic of this period is the full writing  which appeared twice before in the Fifth Dynasty, in lists Nos. 67 *H* and 29 *H*. See for the Sixth Dynasty, lists Nos. **87**, 93 *P*, 111 *T*, 123 *P*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 137 *T*, 131 *P*.

THE DETERMINATIVES






The following determinatives are new:—

- (1)  : list No. 84 *P*; (2)  : list No. **87**; (3)  : lists Nos. **88**, **102**; (4)  : list No. **115**; (5)  : list No. **128**; (6)  : lists Nos. 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (7)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 136 *H*; (8)  (?) : list No. 89 *P*; (9)  : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*; (10)  : lists Nos. 94 *P*, 112 *T*; (11)  : list No. 123 *P*; (12)  : list No. 124 *P*; (13)  : list No. 81 *T*; (14)  : list No. 134 *H*; (15)  : list No. **80**.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 86 *H* the sign  is an error for . In list No. 90 *H* the sign  should be .

CONCLUSIONS


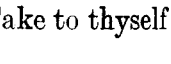

The classical form of the *psn*-loaf seems to be  as we may see by the more ancient writings, but as early as the middle of the Fourth Dynasty (see list No. **11**) it could assume a short oval form . However, the oval shape is elongated to  and may be either detailed or simple, according to the style of work employed in the tomb. Thus, the oval loaf may sometimes be drawn , or even .

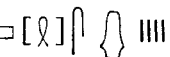
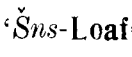
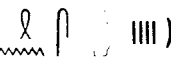

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 116 :—



(74 E)  | “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*, prevent him from stumbling upon it.”

(74 F) ⁽¹⁾  | “Four *psn*-loaves.”

(See GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54 :  | )
 “*Pzn*-bread one dish. Take to thyself the Eye of *Horus*; prevent (him) from stumbling (?) upon it.”

No. 129  |  “*šns*-Loaf=4” (*Wn's*, Line 75 B) (Var. *Nfr-k3-R'*  | )

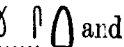



THE MEANING


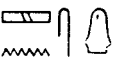
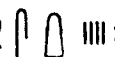
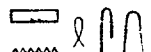
The *šns* was a large conical loaf, usually represented as standing in a dish  and the form was so characteristic that the sign  alone can read *šns*. But as we have seen from other writings, *šns* seems to refer to the shape of the loaf rather than the kind of dough from which it was made. This can be gathered from the number of examples we have, where the *šns*-loaf is employed to determine the names of different kinds of bread.

THE HISTORY






As a single item, *šns* does not appear until well into the Fourth Dynasty. It occurs in the composite item *šns dwjuw* on the stele of *Nfr* in the Barraco collection. Perhaps it was introduced to replace one of the Archaic bread entries which had become obsolete in actual fact (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 114-115).




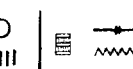
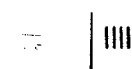
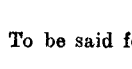
THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *šns* in our material occurs in list No. 6 *H* where it is written  and where the sign  should be , an error that occurs in other lists. See also list 7 *T* where it has the determinative . Other writings of this item for the Fourth Dynasty are :—

(1)  : list No. 8 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 9 *P*, 11, 16 *H*; (3)  : list No. 13; (4)  : list No. 15 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The commonest determinative for the Fourth Dynasty is  which occurs in lists Nos. 6 *T*, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. The form  only occurs twice : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 9 *P*. There are also : (1)   : list No. 11; (2)  : list No. 8 *H*.

⁽¹⁾ Var. *Nfr-k3-R'* :    |  |  |  “To be said four times by this *Nfr-k3-R'* : carrying the offering four times.”

THE FIFTH DYNASTY





There are no new writings to be observed for this period.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The same determinatives continue in use and the form  still predominates in those lists where the determinative is preserved, and occurs thirty times; but the use of the sign  is increasing, and it now occurs fifteen times (*see* lists). New determinatives are as follows:—



















- (1)   : list No. 69; (2)  : list No. 37 *H*; (3)   : list No. 74 *P*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY





In the Sixth Dynasty we have single example of the rare writing which had appeared once in the Fourth Dynasty list No. 8 *H*, namely     : list No. 82. The other writings do not present any new features.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The sign  is now the predominating determinative, and occurs thirty times, while  now only appears seventeen times (*see* lists). We have also the following new determinatives:—








- (1)  : lists Nos. 103 *T*, 125; (2)  : lists Nos. 94 *P*, 112 *T*; (3)    : list No. 86 *H*; (4)   : list No. 87; (5)  : list No. 88; (6)   : list No. 84 *P*; (7)   : list No. 106 *P*; (8)   : list No. 107 *H*; (9)    : list No. 80; (10)  : list No. 113 *T*.








FAULTY DETERMINATIVES







In list No. 95 *H* the sign of the loaf is defective. In list No. 108 *H* the sign  should be , and the jar  should be the loaf , unless the scribe had confused this item with *šns dwjw*.



THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 117:—

(75 *A*)        “Osiris *Wn's*, take for yourself your head.”

(75 *B*)        “To be said four times : ‘Four *šns*-loaves’.”

(*See* also GARDINER, “*Chester Beatty Papyrus No. IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54:       “*Šns*-cake, 1 dish. O Amun, receive unto thyself thy head”.)

No. 130   III “*Imj-t3-Bread*” (*Wnis*, Line 75 D)



THE MEANING







The meaning of this item is ‘Bread of the land’ or ‘Country Bread’. (1), perhaps equivalent to the English ‘farmhouse bread’, and the modern Egyptian: ‘aish fallahi’ (*Arabic* عيش فلاحي).

THE HISTORY





This item does not seem to have appeared in the offering-list until the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 1, where it is written   *t-imj-t3*. Other writings for this period are as follows:—





(1)  +  (with variant determinatives): lists Nos. 13, 15 H, 16 H; (2)  +  IIII: list Nos. 14, 9 P; (3)  +  IIII: list No. 7 T.

FAULTY WRITINGS




In list No. 8 H, the sign  , which is doubtful, should be  , and the group  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty:—









(1)  : lists Nos. 11, 13, 14; (2)  : lists Nos. 1, 15 H; (3)  : list No. 9 P; (4)  : list No. 7 T.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 8 H and 16 H the sign  may be an error for  . On the other hand, it may be replacing  , which is permissible (see GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 480).










THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We now have the following new writings:—

(1)    IIII : lists Nos. 34, 38 H, 39 H, 43 (with slight variations); (2)  +  IIII : lists Nos. 29 H, 67 H; (3) in list No. 55 H we have simply  ; (4)  +  IIII : list No. 73.






(1) See SETHE in MURRAY, “*Sakkara Mastabas*”, Vol. II, p. 17.

FAULTY WRITINGS




In lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, the sign  should be the loaf Δ . In list No. 47 *H* we have the strange writing  . In list No. 18 *T* the sign  is faulty, and in list No. 58 the second sign Δ should be Δ , while  is perhaps an error for , unless it is replacing . In list No. 73 the sign  is perhaps an error for .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—


























- (1)  : list No. 69 (note that although the priest is shown carrying three loaves, the numeral for this entry is four); (2)  : list No. 68; (3)  : list No. 73; (4)  : list No. 54; (5) ∇ : list No. 67 *H*; (6)  : list No. 143 *H*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES



The commonest error made in determining this item is the substitution of the sign  for the loaf . This occurs in lists Nos. 19 *T*, 30, 31 *H*, 41, 50 *H*, 46, 56, 58, 79. In lists Nos. 57 *H*, 64 the loaf is wrongly replaced by the sign . In lists Nos. 39 *H*, 47 *H*, 55 *H* this determinative is also faulty.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are new writings for this period:—









- (1)       : lists Nos. 87, 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 115, 116; (2)       : lists Nos. 109 *T*, 114 *T*; (3)   +     : list No. 112 *T*; (4)   +    : list No. 95 *H*. Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the writing of *ts* by  instead of .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 86 *H* the sign  is an error for $+$. In lists Nos. 97 and 98 *T* the second sign Δ should be Δ . In list No. 103 *T*, we have a parasitical sign .


THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—


- (1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 88; (3)  : list No. 86 *H*; (4) \circ  : list No. 128; (5)  : list No. 114 *T*; (6)  : list No. 116; (7)  : list No. 134 *H*; (8)  : list No. 145 *H*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 118 :—

(75 C)  “ Osiris *Wn's*, behold your Eye which you have seized.”

(75 D)  “ To be said four times : | ‘ Four ‘*imj-t3*-loaves’ ” (Country bread) ’.”

Nos. 131, 171 and 199  “ *Hnfw*-Bread ” (*Wn's*, Line 76 B)
(see W.B., Vol. III, p. 63)

THE MEANING

This item seems to have been a variety of bread or cake, of a small size, and usually offered in a dish. This we may see from the determinative while the fact that the inscription of *Hp-df3* at Assiut requests the presentation of two hundred of these cakes on the part of each priest suggests that they must have been small. They appear first in the lists among the bread and cake entries, and in the second appearance they immediately follow the wines, a fact which tempts us to surmise that they were small sweetened cake somewhat like the modern ‘ wine biscuits’.

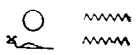


On the other hand, *hnfw* frequently appears among the grain and dried fruit in the representations of granaries and their named contents, which occur in the burial-chambers of some of the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty (see, for example, the Tomb of *Š3.jj*; JEQUIER, “ *Tombeaux de Particulieres Contemporains de Pepi II* ”, p. 61, Fig. 69).



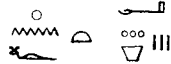
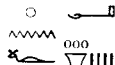

This is one of the items which never attained a fixed place in the lists, and it sometimes precedes and sometimes follows *hbnnt* (see the lists). Also in its first appearance it is generally accompanied by the numeral 1111 whereas in its subsequent appearance, the numeral in reliable lists is 11 or more rarely 1. Maspero describes *hnfw* as a loaf which looks like a long spindle (“ *Table d’Offrandes*,” p. 386). We have no determinative in our material which accords with such a description.

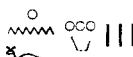


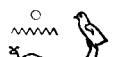
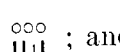
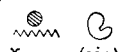


THE HISTORY

This entry does not seem to have appeared in any of the early Archaic lists. One of its first known occurrences is in the list of *Mrrjj* (WEILL, “ *La II et III Dynasties* ”, p. 300).




THE FOURTH DYNASTY

Hnfw first appears in our material in the list of *Ms-s3* (No. **1**), where it is written   *hfnnt*. It occurs only once in this list, and follows *hbnnt*. In list No. **2** it is written  *hfnnt*, and also appears only once.

In list No. **3** it is written  and follows *hbnnt*, while in list No. **7 T** it is written  “*hnf*, four portions”. In list No. **9 P** we have  “*hnf.t*, four portions” but in list No. **10 P** which is from the same tomb, it is written , as in list No. **7 T**. In list No. **8 H** we have . Other writings for this period are as follows:—








- (1) ; lists Nos **11, 14**; (2)  and ; list No. **13**; (3) ; and ; list No. **15 H**; (4)  (sic)  and ; list No. **16 H**.

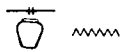
FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **8 H** (second appearance) the sign  should be . In list No. **16 H** the sign  is defective.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1) : lists Nos. **9 P, 10 P, 11, 13, 14, 15 H** (second appearance); (2) : lists No. **7 T, 12** (second appearance), **8 H**; (second appearance); (3) : list No. **8 H**; (4) : lists Nos. **1, 15 H**; (5) : list No. **2**; (6)  : list No. **3**.


From this we can see that the writing of this item was most unstable and so was its position in the early lists. Thus, in list No. **1** it follows *hbnnt* and precedes *ist.t*. In list No. **2** it follows ‘*gt w3d*’ and precedes the *ht*-bread. In list No. **5 T** it follows an item called  and precedes a damaged entry. In list No. **7 T**, it occupies its correct canonical position following *imj-ts* and preceding *hbnnt*, and the same in lists Nos. **8 H, 9 P**, and all the lists which follow them.

These facts seem to prove that *hnfw* was indeed a late comer to the lists, and it was not until the second half of the Fourth Dynasty that it began to assume its proper form and place.



THE FIFTH DYNASTY


We have no new forms of writing for this period, and the most usual writing is   (with variant determinatives) which now occurs seventy-nine times (see lists). At the same time, we find that the place of this item has become more stable, and now, with a very few exceptions, it precedes *hbnnt* at its first appearance, but follows it at its second appearance.










FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No, 22 *H* there is a parasitical sign .


THE DETERMINATIVES








The most interesting of the new determinatives are those of lists Nos. 69 and 68. In the former we have . This shows the *hnfw* as four small round cakes. In list No. 68 we have  where only one cake is shown, though the numeral is for four. The small size of the cake is in contrast to the large size of the *t-imj t3* which immediately precedes it.

The usual determinative of *hnfw*  together with its second appearance among the dried fruits and also its presence named in the Sixth Dynasty paintings of granaries would suggest that *hnfw* was a kind of grain or a berry, but these two determinatives, each of which is from high-class tombs, employing careful workmanship, prove that here we are dealing with cakes and not grain. Perhaps the truth is that *hnfw* is the name of some kind of grain or dried fruit, and also the name of a special kind of cake made from it (*see*, for example, *nbs* and *t-nbs*, below, pp. 421-426). Other determinatives for the Fifth Dynasty are as follows :-

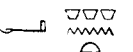



- (1)  : lists Nos. 31 *H*, 50 *H*; (2)  : list No. 32; (3)  : list No. 58; (4)  : list No. 57 *H*; (5)  : list No. 52 *P*; (6)  : list No. 24 *H*; (7)  : list No. 22 *H*; (8)  : list No. 76; (9)  : list No. 79.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY




There are no new forms of writing for this period in the private lists, but the most usual form is the writing which gives the full spelling .

This form appears seventy-seven times in our material (*see* lists). Compare this stabilized writing with the varied orthography of the Fourth Dynasty. This proves that this item had been newly introduced into the list during this latter period. In the royal lists we have the new writings: In list No. 147 *T* we have    and in list No. 145 *H* (entry No. 199) we have    .

UNUSUAL WRITINGS
























In list No. 88 *hnfw* and *hbnnt* are joined by a single heading of  “three portions of”. The determinative in each case show the kneeling priest presenting three small cakes in a basin (*see* below) but the numeral under each entry is for 1111. In list No. 87 ‘three portions’ are also asked for, and it is written , but again the numeral is for four. The same writing occurs again in list No. 120 *H* (second appearance), but the numeral is for 11 two. In the royal lists this item is again repeated as entry No. 199 and is written.   : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T* (*see* below).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 95 *H*, we have a parasitical sign  and . In list No. 109 *T* (second appearance) the sign  is defective, but this was probably done intentionally.

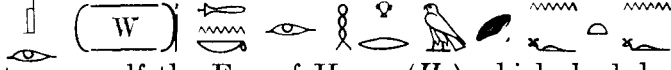
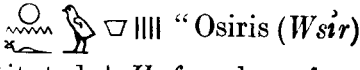
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—


- (1)  : list No. 81 *T*; (2)  and  : list No. 87; (3)  : list No. 88; (4)  : list No. 83 (second appearance); (5)  : lists Nos. 102, 142 *H*; (6)  and  : list No. 115; (7)  and  : list No. 128; (8)  : list No. 85 (second appearance); (9)  : list No. 86 *H*; (10)  : lists Nos. 82, 107 *H*, 108 *H*; (11)  and  : list No. 116; (12)  list No. 84 *P*; (13)  : list No. 109 *T*; (14)  and  : list No. 114 *T*; (15)  and  : lists Nos. 130 *P*, 138 *P*; (16)  and  (entry No. 199) : list No. 145 *H*.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 119 :—

(76 A)  | 76 B  “Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn*'s, take to yourself the Eye of HORUS (*Hr*) which had been substituted | *Hnfw*-cakes, four basins” (see also Utterance No. 159, line 95 *A, B*; SETHE, “*Dramatischetexts*”, p. 158).

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 188 :—

(108 A)  “Words spoken : ‘Take the Eye of HORUS, which is necessary for him, and which HORUS had given you | Two basins of *hnf* [*w*] cakes.’”

Notice that here only two loaves are requested, against the four loaves asked for in the previous entries. The same thing is to be observed in the case of the *hbnnt*-cakes (see below).

Nos. 132, 170, and 198  “*Hbnnt*-Bread” (*Wn*'s, Line 76 D)

THE MEANING

Hbnnt seems to have been small round cakes or loaves, similar to the *hnfw*, as we may see by the writing in list No. 88, where *hnfw* and *hbnnt* are united by a single heading, a writing only adopted when the two entries are of a similar nature.

THE HISTORY

This item does not appear in any of the Archaic lists so far as I am aware, and seems to have appeared early in the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *hbnnt* in our material occurs in list No. **1** where it is written $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$, see also lists Nos. **10 P**, **11**, **12** (second appearance). **14**, **16 H** (second appearance). Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

(1) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: list No. **2**; (2) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$: list No. **16 H**; (3) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$: list No. **9 P**; (4) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$: list No. **7 T**; (5) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$: list No. **3**. From this varied and unstable writing we can see, as in the case of *hnfw* that this item is a new-comer into the offering-list, and even by the end of the Fourth Dynasty it had not attained a uniform writing.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **8 H** *hbnnt* appears twice, for the first time in our material, but each time with a faulty writing. In the first instance it is written $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$ and the second time as $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$. Notice that in each case the sign 𓇔 is lacking. In list No. **15 H** (second appearance) the writing is $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗}$ with the signs 𓇔 lacking. In list No. **16 H** the sign 𓇗 is lacking.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The determinatives are also much varied during this period and we have the following forms:—

(1) 𓇗 : lists No. **7 T**, **11** (second appearance); (2) 𓇗 and 𓇗 : list No. **16 H**; (3) 𓇗 and 𓇗 : lists No. **13**; (4) 𓇗 : list No. **1**; (5) 𓇗 : list No. **7 H** (second appearance); (6) 𓇗 : list No. **3**; (7) 𓇗 and 𓇗 : list No. **15 H**; (8) 𓇗 : lists Nos. **9 P**, **10 P**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The new writings for this period are as follows:—











(1) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: list No. **31 H**; (2) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: lists Nos. **38 H**, **72**, **73**, **74 P**, **75**, **76**, **77**; (3) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$ and $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: list No. **52 P**; (4) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: list No. **67 H**, (second appearance); (5) $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$ and $\text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$: list No. **50 P**.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **22 H**, the signs 𓇓 are lacking, and we have only $\text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘}$. In list No. **24 H** there is a parasitical sign 𓇗 . In list No. **30** the sign 𓇗 should be 𓇗 .


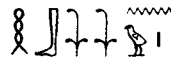

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—






- (1)  : lists Nos. 21 *P*, 32, 46 (second appearance); (2)  : lists Nos. 31 *H*, 37, 50 *H*;
 (3)  and  : list No. 69; (4)  : list No. 68; (5)  and  : list No. 22 *H*; (6)  : list
 No. 26 *H* (second appearance); (7)  : list No. 52 *P*; (8)  list No. 75.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period:—


















- (1)  : list No. 95 *H* (second appearance); (2)  : list No. 109 *T*
 (second appearance). In the royal lists this is again repeated as entry No. 198, and has the
 writing  : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 97 the sign  is lacking. In list No. 136 *H* (second appearance), the sign  should be . In list No. 86 *H* the sign  is lacking, and there is a parasitical sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new forms of determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 81 *T*; (2)  and  : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 87; (4)  : list
 No. 83 (second appearance); (5)  : list No. 85 (second appearance); (6)  : list No. 86 *H*;
 (7)  and  : list No. 128; (8)  : list No. 102; (9)  : list No. 82; (10)  and  :
 list No. 84 *P*; (11)  : list No. 89 *P*; (12)  : list No. 114 *T*; (13)  : list No. 118 *T*; (14)  :
 list No. 142 *H*.

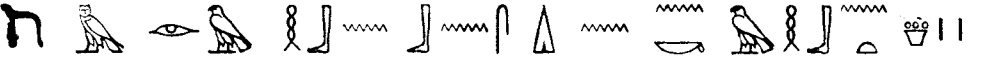
THE FORMULA

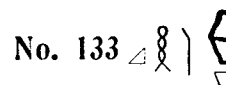
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 120:—

(76 *C*)  | “Osiris *Wni's*, take for your-
 self the Eye of Horus which . . .”

 , *Hbnnt* cakes, four basins.”

See also GARDINER: “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, p. 94). *Pyramid Texts*
 Utterance No. 158, line 94 *C*, *B*, and also Utterance No. 187, line 107 *B*, which reads:—

(107 *B*)  “Words
 spoken: ‘Take the Eye of Horus which . . .’”

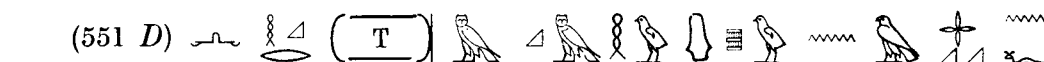
No. 133  IIII "K̄mḥ.w-Bread" (Wm's, Line 77 B) (1)

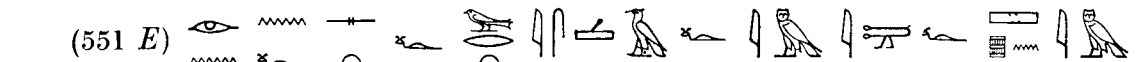
THE MEANING

This seems to be a large loaf of a distinctive shape, made of wheat-flour, which is still called in Egypt 'aish kamḥ: (*Arabic* عيش قمح), literally "wheat bread." This kind of bread is usually eaten by the modern Egyptian peasants on festal occasions only.

In the Pyramid Texts we have the following interesting explanation of the nature of this bread:—

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 338:—

(551 D)  "Ttj is not hungry on account of that wheat-bread of Ḥorus, which he had eaten."

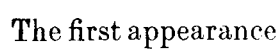
(551 E)  "Which his chief cook (fem.) had prepared. Thus, he is satisfied by it, thus he has regained his normal state by it."

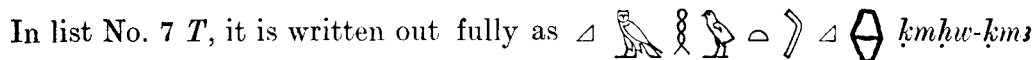
From this we see that the *k̄mḥw* (variant, *k̄mḥ-k̄mḥ*) was a divine bread, which when eaten by the dead, would preserve him from hunger, and restore him to his normal condition. In other words, it was the bread of life which Ḥorus (*Hr*) allowed the blessed dead to eat from (2).

THE HISTORY

This is another of the entries that came late into the offering-list, and it does not seem to have appeared until well into the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY




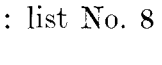

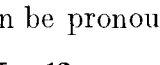
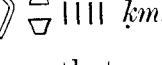
The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 3 where it is written .

In list No. 7 *T*, it is written out fully as  *k̄mḥw-k̄mḥ*. Thus, we see that in this form, the name was composed of two elements, *k̄mḥw* and *k̄mḥ*, but the first one seems to vary in writing and pronunciation. Moreover, we shall see that this item may be indicated by only one of these elements, a fact which is proved by each of them having a special determinative, even when in the composite form, and also by the fact that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, this item is sometimes treated as two separate entries, each written in its own special rectangle.

(1) See also Pyramid Texts, line 551 D, E.




(2) See also MASPERO, *ibid.*, p 386.





This is one of the items where there is a great variety not only in the form of the word, but also in the writings of these various forms. Thus, for the Fourth Dynasty, we find the following variations:—




(1)  $k\dot{h}z-km\dot{z}$: list No. **11**; (2)  $k\dot{h}w-km\dot{z}$: list No. 16 *H*; (3)  $k\dot{h}w-km\dot{z}$: list No. 8 *H*; (4)  $k\dot{h}-km\dot{z}$: list No. 9 *P* (this writing proves that the sign  can be pronounced $k\dot{m}\dot{z}$); (5)  $k\dot{h}-km\dot{z}$: list No. 15 *H*; (6)  $km\dot{z}.t$: list No. **13**.


From this it can be seen that no two lists give an exactly similar writing, and only four lists agree as to a common determinative (for a discussion of the writing of this word, see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. VI, p. 112).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The characteristic determinative for this entry is  or  which appears in three lists: Nos. 7 *T*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*, and also as  in list No. **11**. Other determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

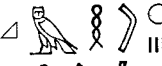
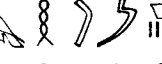
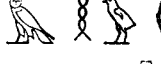

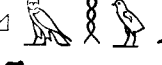



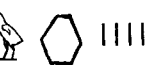
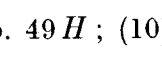


(1) : list No. **13**; (2) : list No. 9 *P*; (3) : list No. **3**; (4) : list No. 8 *H* (see above, p. 323).

Notice that in list No. **11** we have a double determinative, a rarity indeed, in a list of the Fourth Dynasty, but as we shall see later, this indicates that the item consists of two separate elements $k\dot{m}\dot{h}w$ and $k\dot{m}\dot{z}$, each of which may have its own determinative (for further proof of this, see below). On the other hand, the sign  may represent two loaves of the form , placed together. This may be clearly seen in the Sixth Dynasty lists Nos. **99** and 114 *T*, and especially in the royal list No. 145 *H*. For the single truncated conical loaf , see also lists Nos. 86 *H*, 108 *H*. But as these are not taken from originals or photographs, we cannot be sure of their accuracy.






The Berlin Dictionary gives the sign  as a determinative for this word (*W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 40) but it does not appear in this exact form in our material.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we still find a great variety of writings employed for this item, of which the following are new:—





(1)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: lists Nos. 20 *P*, 21 *P*, 24 *H*, 40 *H* (faulty), 47 *H*, **58** (faulty), **77**, **79**;
 (2)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: list No. 18 *T*; (3)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}w$: list No. **64**;
 (4)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}w-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: lists Nos. **41**, **65**; (5)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}w-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, **69**, 28 *H*, **72**, 59 *H*; (6)  $k\dot{m}\dot{h}z-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: list No. **30**;
 (7)  $k\dot{h}w-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: list No. 42 *T*; (8)  $hw-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: list No. 50 *H*;
 (9)  $km\dot{z}.w$: list No. 49 *H*; (10)  $km\dot{z}$: list No. 35 *H*, **48**; (11)  $km\dot{z}-k\dot{m}\dot{z}$: list No. **53**; (12)  $km\dot{z}$: list No. 55 *H*.






FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 25 *H* the sign  is lacking (see also lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27, 34). In list No. 31 *H* the first sign  should be . In lists Nos. 40 *H*, 75 and 58 the sign  should be .





THE DETERMINATIVES

The most important of the new forms of writing are those which possess two determinatives, as in this instance they seem to prove that the entry really did consist of two elements, as we have already remarked. These double determinatives occur in the following forms:—

(1)  : list No. 17 *H*; (2)  : list No. 28 *H*. In list No. 69 the double determinative  has no special significance in this matter because the second sign merely represents the priest presenting the offering, and the same may be said of the damaged entry in list No. 70, and also in list No. 68 where the signs are . Note the form of the large loaf, which is the nearest approach we have in our material to the form given as characteristic by the Berlin: Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 40). Unfortunately, this entry is damaged in this list, and we can only identify it by the position which it occupies in relation to the other items. Other new determinatives for the Fifth Dynasty are as follows:—

























(1)  : list No. 31 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 143 *H*; (3)  : list No. 34; (4)  : list No. 67 *H*; (5)  : lists Nos. 51 *P*, 52 *P*.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 24 *H* both the determinative and the sign  are faulty. In list No. 40 *H* the sign  is doubtless an error for the loaf . In list No. 76 the sign  is out of place here.









THE SIXTH DYNASTY




New writings for this period are as follows:—



















(1)     *kmsh*: list No. 96 *P*; (2)               *khw-km*: list No. 101 *H*. In list No. 125, which is unfortunately damaged, this item is written as two separate entries. Such a writing in the lists of the Sixth Dynasty is frequently senseless, but in this case it seems to corroborate the idea that *khw* and *km*, were two distinct loaves. The remaining signs of these two entries read    *km(h)w* and    *km*. In list No. 94 *P* this item shares a single rectangle with *hbnnt*.

THE DETERMINATIVES


A feature of the writing of *khw-km* during the Sixth Dynasty is the increased number of lists which give the two determinatives for the two loaves. This writing may take the following forms:—

(1)  : list No. 93 *P*; (2)   : list No. 108 *H*; (3)   : list No. 120 *H*; (4)  : list No. 114 *T*; (5)  : list No. 145 *H*. The form  is still predominating, but it now appears in a form

absolutely characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty; in this form the sides of the sign are concave  : lists Nos. **91, 97, 116**, 118 *T*. We have also the forms  : list No. 121 *H*;  : list No. 118 *T*, (compare with *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 40). Other new determinatives are as follows:—










- (1)   : list No. 84 *P*; (2)  : list No. **87**; (3) ,  : list No. **88**; (4)   : list No. **128**; (5)  : list No. 86 *H*; (6)  : list No. **102**; (7)  : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 109 *T*, 149 *T*; (8)  : list No. 113 *T*; (9)  : lists Nos. 131 *P*, 135 *T*; (10)  : list No. 134 *H*; (11)   : list No. 94 *P*; (12)   : list No. **115**; (13)  : list No. **126**.




FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 98 *T*, 127 *T* and 150 *T* the sign  is wrongly replaced by a jar. In list No. 134 *H* the 'loaf' resembles a tree.


THE FORMULA





Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 121:—




(77 *A*)   ()       | “ Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) which had been torn from him.”

(77 *B*)    || . | “ *Kḥ-km's*-loaves, four.”

CONCLUSIONS








1.—This item seems, originally at least, to have consisted of two loaves; *kmḥw* and *km's*. This can be seen by the name itself, and by those determinatives which show the two loaves superimposed .

2.—It was a late addition to the offering-list, as during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties the writing of its name was very variable, and it did not attain a traditionally fixed form until the Sixth Dynasty, when the full writing     |||| is predominant (*see* lists).

No. 134    |||| *Id.t.ḥs.k* “ *Id.t*-Bread behind you ” (*Wn's*, Line 77 *D*)
(*see W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 34)

THE MEANING



The actual name of the bread is *id.t*, and this is the form in which it appears in the earlier writings. The phrase *ḥs.k* (later *wdi* or *rdi ḥs.k*) means ‘ behind you ’, or ‘ placed behind you ’. Thus, the complete entry *id.t ḥs.k* or *id.t wdi ḥs.k* means four round loaves of *id.t* bread which were placed behind the deceased or behind his statue. This was probably done in order to protect the dead from evil spirits who might attack him from the rear. Perhaps it was thought that they would find the bread and thus their evil attentions would be distracted from the deceased (?).




























A lingering trace of this custom still remains in modern Egypt, where loaves are placed in the bier with the deceased in order to protect him. These loaves are placed under the head. Proof that the *idj*-bread was really to be placed behind the deceased is established by the determinatives which show the kneeling priest turning and placing the offering behind him. On the other hand, Maspero in "*La Table d'Offrandes*" (p. 387) translates this item as 'the cake placed behind the Double.' But so far as I am aware we have no example where the sign  replaces  in the lists, and moreover, we have the variant   "behind him" in list No. 54, where the pronoun  "him" proves that the sign  is the pronoun *k*=you, and not the noun  *k3* (concerning this item (see JEQUIER, "*B.I.F.A.O.*", Vol. XIX, p. 55).

THE HISTORY







This is yet another of the entries which came late into the offering-lists, and it does not seem to have occurred until at least the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY




The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 3 where it is written   *id3* (see also list No. 64). Other writings for this period are as follows:--

(1)      : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 9 *P* (note that in these early examples only the actual name of the bread is given. But those lists which follow *Dbhj* (No. 11), and date from the reign of King *Mn-k3.w-R*, all add the phrase *h3.k* or, as in the case of *Dbhj*, *h3* only; (2)       : list No. 11; (3)        : list No. 13. Note that in this entry the element   is placed *after* the numeral, showing that it does not form part of the real name of the item. But this discriminating writing is rarely found, and usually the   precedes the numeral, as in      : list No. 15 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 16 *H* the sign  should be  and there is a parasitical sign , unless it is an error for the round loaf . In list No. 3, the sign  should be the loaf .




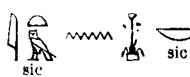

THE DETERMINATIVES


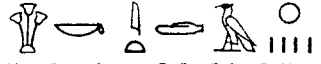
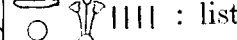
The characteristic determinative for this item is the round loaf  which occurs in lists Nos. 9 *P*, 11, 13. In list No. 6 *H* we have , and in list No. 8 *H* it is .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY





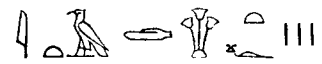
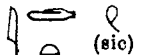
The most striking characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty lists is the preponderance of those including the element *h3.k*, which is now only omitted in four lists Nos. **71**, **74 P**, **18 T** and **53**; and in the latter case there is some doubt as to the real date of the list, as it is inscribed upon a false door which originally belonged to a man of the Fourth Dynasty. It was subsequently usurped by a woman of the Fifth Dynasty named *Hmj*, or *Hm-R'* who substituted her name and titles for those of the original owner, but we cannot be sure if the offering-list as it stands is a part of the original inscription, or if it was added or amended by the usurper.

In the full writing of this item we also have some new variations, which are as follows:—














(1)  : list No. **59 H**. *id3.t h3 wd3.k* “*Id3t*-bread placed behind you”. This may also be the writing in lists Nos. **19 T** and **22 H**, if we can consider the sign  as an error for  (see below). (2) There is also the form  : list No. **24 H**, which also contains faults, but presents us with an early example of the writing which includes the element . Other new writings are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. **69** (here the determinative shows the priest placing the offering behind him); (2)  : list No. **30** “behind you is *id3t*-bread”; (3)  : list No. **48** “*Id3t*-bread behind” (see also list No. **126** of the Sixth Dynasty).

UNUSUAL WRITINGS






In lists Nos. **26 H**, **27** we have the writing  where the first sign  replaces . In list No. **30** the element *h3.k* precedes the name of the loaf. In list No. **44** we have . In list No. **54** we have  “*id3t*-bread placed behind him”. In list No. **74 P**, we have  (sic).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. **19 H** and **22 H** the sign  should be . In lists Nos. **20 P** and **24 H** the sign  should be . In lists No. **40 H** the sign  is an error for . In list No. **42 T** the sign  should be ,  should be , and  should be . In list No. **50 H** the sign  is omitted. In list No. **76** the writing of *h3.k* is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The circular loaf still holds the first place as the determinative for this item, but we now find also the following new forms:—

(1)  : list No. **69** (this illustrates the *h3.k* “behind you”); (2)  list No. **68**; (3)  : list No. **42 T**; (4)  : lists Nos. **38 H**, **39 H**; (5)  : list No. **44**.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 18 *H* the sign for the round loaf is faulty (*see* list). In list No. 74 *P* the sign \mathcal{Q} should not be used here.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period :—

(1) \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} (with variant determinatives) : lists Nos. 96 *P*, 104 *T*, 106 *T*, 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 135 *T*, 132 *T*; (2) \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} : list No. 123 *P*; (3) \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} : list No. 124 *P*; (4) \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} (1) : list No. 128; (5) \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} : list No. 145 *H*. In lists Nos. 119 *T* and 150 *T* the old form of *id3t* without the *h3.k* persists.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 100 *H* this item is divided into two entries \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ “four '*id3.t* loaves”, and \mathcal{Q} $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{V} $\overline{\Delta}$ “put behind you”. If this has been rightly copied by the modern draughtsman then it shows a complete ignorance on the part of the ancient scribe. The same writing is found in list No. 113 *T*, but here the sign Δ is substituted for $\overline{\Delta}$, while other signs are also faulty (*see* below).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 112 *T* the sign \mathcal{Q} should be $\overline{\Delta}$, and in list No. 93 *P* the sign \mathcal{Q} is altogether omitted. In lists Nos. 80, 100 *H*, 112 *T*, 121 *H* the sign \mathcal{Q} should be $\overline{\Delta}$. In lists Nos. 113 *T*, and 119 *T*, the sign \mathcal{V} is defective, and in No. 113 *T* the group $\overline{\Delta}$ seems to be an error for $\overline{\Delta}$. In lists Nos. 107 *H* and 108 *H* the sign \mathcal{Q} should be $\overline{\Delta}$. In list No. 142 *H* the sign \mathcal{Q} should be \mathcal{O} . In list No. 124 *P* the arrangement of the signs is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives :—


(1) \mathcal{V} : list No. 128; (2) \mathcal{V} : list No. 115; (3) \mathcal{V} : list No. 81 *T*; (4) \mathcal{Q} : lists Nos. 87, 142 *H*; (5) \mathcal{Q} : list No. 88; (6) \mathcal{V} : list No. 102; (7) \mathcal{V} : list No. 86 *H*; (8) $\overline{\Delta}$: list No. 94 *P*; (9) $\overline{\Delta}$: list No. 120 *H*; (10) $\overline{\Delta}$: list No. 122 *H* (this writing with the three small pellets underneath the real determinative is a characteristic of this list, and appears in other entries); (11) $\overline{\Delta}$: list No. 125; (12) $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{Q} : list No. 107 *H*; (13) $\overline{\Delta}$ \mathcal{Q} : list No. 113 *T*; (14) $\overline{\Delta}$: list No. 84 *P* :

(1) This entry reads “*id3.t*-bread given behind you” and is illustrated by the figure of the priest turning round and placing the bread behind him.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 122 :—

(77 C)  | “ Osiris *Wn's*, take the Eye of Horus which will be placed to you in your mouth. ”

(77 D)  | “ Four *id.t* loaves behind you ” (see SETHE, “ *Dramatische-texte*”, p. 238).

Gunn suggests the following translation :—

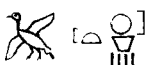
“ Osiris *Wn's*, behold the Eye of Horus, which I shall place in thy mouth for thee ” (“ *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*”, p. 6).

CONCLUSIONS

1.—The earliest form of this item was a simple entry of bread.

2.—By the end of the Fourth Dynasty this kind of bread had gained a special magical significance and purpose, namely to be placed behind the deceased or his statue in order to appease evil spirits.(?).

3.—This latter form became predominant, and by the time of the end of the Sixth Dynasty only two lists in our material are still using the old simple form of *id.t*.

No. 135  *P3.t* or *P3.w.t* Bread (*Wn's*, Line 78 B)

THE MEANING


This is another variety of cake or bread. According to Sethe (“ *Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 236), the name comes from the root *p3*, meaning ‘ primeval times ’, and he says that it was an established offering presented by the King.




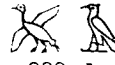






It was originally a special offering-bread. In lines 117 and 447 of the Pyramid Texts, *p3.t* is the bread of the Gods, and in line 501 of the King.

THE HISTORY




This is another of the items which were apparently only introduced into the offering-list when the canonical redaction was made at about the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, and so far as I am aware, it does not occur in any of the earlier lists.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The earliest occurrence of *pswt* bread in our material is in list No. 4 *T*, where it is written  (see also with variant determinatives: lists Nos. 9 *P*, **11**, **13**, 16 *H*). Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—













(1)    *pswt*: list No. 7 *T*; (2)    *pswt*: list No. 8 *H*; (3)    *pswt*: list No. 15 *H*. Perhaps the pellets  here represent round loaves. Maspero *ibid.*, p. 386) describes the *pswt* as smaller loaves than the *Hbnn.t*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The commonest form of determinative for this item during the Fourth Dynasty is the round loaf ; see lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, **11**, **13**, 16 *H*. Other determinative signs are: : list No. 15 *H*; : list No. 4 *T*.


THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—

(1)    : lists Nos. 51 *P*, 52 *P*; (2)    : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 41 *H*, **72**, **76**;
(3)     *pswt*: lists Nos. **53**, 67 *H*.







During the Fourth Dynasty we saw that the predominating writing was that which pronounces *ps.t*, and which occurred seven times, while *psw.t* only occurred twice. Now the situation is reversed and *psw.t* is the predominating writing, while *ps.t* occurs seventeen times.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. 38 *H* the sign  is displaced.

THE DETERMINATIVES


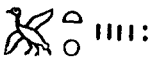
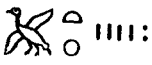
The following are the new determinatives:—

(1) : lists Nos. 31 *H*, **44**; (2) : list No. **69**; (3) : list No. 143 *H*; (4) : list No. 24 *H*; (5) : lists Nos. **34**, **41**; (6) : list No. 57 *H*.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. **43** the sign  ought to be the sign .



THE SIXTH DYNASTY

In the Sixth Dynasty we still find the writing *psw.t* predominating, and it now occurs thirty times in our material, but the only new form is the full phonetic writing  : No. 119 *T*. *Ps.t* now occurs eighteen times, and the only new writing is : lists Nos 145 *H*, 142 *H*, 150 *T*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS










In list No. **115** we have a new form of word which reads:  *p33.t* (?).

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. **92** the second sign  may perhaps be an error for the sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—


(1)  : list No. **87**; (2)  : list No. **88**; (3)  : list No. **102**; (4)  : list No. **115**; (5)  : list No. **128**; (6)  : list No. **125**; (7)  : list No. 120 *H*; (8)  : list No. 94 *P*; (9)  : lists Nos. 90 *H*, **91**, 107 *H*, 108 *H*.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 142 *H* the sign  should be .

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 123 :—

(78 *A*)  “Osiris *Wn*'s, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, your bread which you eat.”

(78 *B*)  |||| “Four *P3.t*-loaves.”

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest form of this entry was *p3.t*, and this is the classical form as preserved in the royal lists.

No. 136  |||| “*33.t*-Bread” (*Wn*'s, Line 78 *D*)

THE MEANING

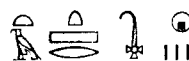
33.t or *t-33.r* (or as it is sometimes called *t-33.r.t*) means literally ‘roasted bread’ (*Arabic* ‘عيش ملدن’), and the word *33.r* in the meaning of ‘roasted’ occurs again in the lists as entry No. 143, where it refers to some meat items (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 21). Murray suggests that *t-33.r* may be a doubly baked bread, either biscuits or toast (MURRAY, “*Sakkâna Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 38). But perhaps it was akin to the small cakes of dhurah flour which the modern Egyptian peasants still make.


These loaves are first lightly baked in batches, and then are re-heated for each meal as required. As we shall see, the shape of these loaves, according to the determinatives, is sometimes rather strange and also it is clear that in some of the later lists the scribes had confused this item with *ʒšr* (No. 143) which refers to the roast meats (*see*, for instance, list No. 69).



THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared before the introduction of the canonical list of the people, that is to say during the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY





The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 7 *T* where it is written  *t-ʒšr*. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 13; (2)  : list No. 9 *P*; (3)  : list No. 11; (4)  : list No. 16 *H*.

From these we see that *t-ʒšr* is the predominating writing, and *t-ʒš.t* only occurs once (list No. 16 *H*). In list No. 15 *H* we have the writing  where the sign  may be read *ʒšr*.




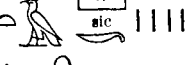


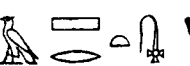

THE DETERMINATIVES

The determinatives for this item are somewhat varied, and the following are the forms found during the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1)  : list No. 7 *T*; (2)  : list No. 16 *H*; (3)  : list No. 8 *H*; (4)  : list No. 9 *P*.















THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—

(1)  *ʒšr* : list No. 25 *H*; (2)  *t-ʒšr* : list No. 69; (3)  : list No. 51 *P*; (4)  : lists Nos. 71, 72; (5)  : list No. 70 (this writing proves that the sign  can read *ʒšr* in the writings of this item); (6)  : list No. 73; (7)  : list No. 75.















Thus, it will be seen that the predominating writing is still *t-ʒšr*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 22 *H* the sign  is an error for . In list No. 41, the sign  is simplified, and in list No. 49 *H* the sign  should be the loaf . The writing in list No. 55 *H* has  and an unrecognizable determinative (*see* list). In list No. 64 we have a parasitical sign , and the sign  should be . In list No. 65, the sign  should be . In list No. 25 *H* the sign  is defective. In list No. 75 the sign  is wrongly replaced by  (?). In list No. 79 the writing is altogether faulty.


















THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—







- (1)  : list No. 58; (2)  : lists Nos. 67 *H*, 72; (3)  : list No. 31 *H*;
 (4)  : list No. 40 *H*; (5)  : list No. 24 *H*; (6)  : lists Nos. 30, 46; (7)  : list
 No. 143 *H*; (8)  : list No. 70; (9)  : list No. 69 (in the last example, and perhaps in the
 fifth, the scribe has clearly confused this entry with No. 143, the roast meat, and has
 depicted the priest holding a joint of meat instead of a loaf. This confusion was perhaps
 increased by the fact that the loaf determining this item is often of an unusual shape);
 (10)   : list No. 73; (11)   : list No. 75; (12)  : list No. 71.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

New writings for the Sixth Dynasty are as follows:—




















- (1)     : list No. 91; (2)     : list No. 92; (3)     :
 list No. 123 *P*. Note that these three writings, like that which we have already seen in list
 No. 15 *H* prove that the sign  or  may be pronounced *šr*. There is also the new writing
   : list No. 106 *T*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

The writing of list No. 112 *T* is so faulty as to be unrecognizable, except for its position in
 the list. Here the sign  is lacking, and the sign  wrongly replaces . In list
 No. 120 *H* the sign  is an error for . In list No. 142 *H* the sign  is faulty.

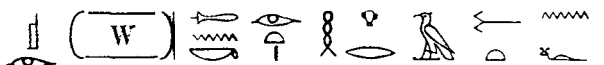
THE DETERMINATIVES

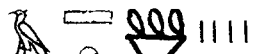
The following determinatives are new:—


- (1)  : list No. 81 *T*; (2)  : list No. 99; (3)  : list No. 103 *T* (see also the damaged
 sign in list No. 82, also list No. 73 of the Fifth Dynasty, where it appears with the sign of fire.
 For this form of loaf in the offering-scenes, see DAVIS, “*The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and
 Akhetetep*”, Vol. II, Pl. XXIV, where it is carried by the fifth male offering-bearer from
 the right-hand end of the third register from the bottom); (4)  : list No. 92 (see also the
 fragment of the list of *Pr-nb*, published by Caroline Williams in “*The Decoration of the Tomb
 of Per-neb*”, Pl. XII); (5)  : list No. 91 (for this form, see the table of bread in the
 offering-scene of *Wsr-ntr*; MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. XXIII); (6)  :
 list No. 128; (7)  : list No. 145 *H*; (8)  : list No. 125; (9)  : list No. 121 *H*;
 (10)  : list No. 107 *H*; (11)  : list No. 106 *P*; (12)   : list No. 84 *P*; (13)  :
 list No. 87; (14)  : list No. 88; (15) ^{sic} : list No. 102; (16)  (sic): lists Nos. 94 *P*, 134 *H*;
 (17)  : list No. 142 *H* (note that in these last four lists the scribe has made a mistake
 and confused this entry with No. 143); (18)  : list No. 146 *T*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 124:—

(78 C)  | “Osiris *Wm's*, take for you the Eye of Iorus (*Hr*) which he (*i.e. St*) had snatched.”



(78 D)  | “Four *š.t*- loaves (roast bread).”

No. 137  “*Hdw*-Onions” (*Wm's*, Line 79 B)






THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is onions, which, as we shall see by the Pyramid Texts, were likened by the Egyptians to the white teeth of Horus (*Hr*). Once this item was introduced into the list, it was rarely omitted, and the fact that it precedes the meat items proved that the ancient Egyptians, like their modern descendants, were fond of this form of relish with their meat. We have already seen in the royal lists and the great private lists of the end of the Sixth Dynasty that there was a previous entry of onions in the first group of food items (*see* No. 33). But these latter were to be presented in quantities of five bulbs, whereas in this entry they are to be presented in bundles. It may be that these are not the ordinary round onions, perhaps they are spring onions, leeks, or even garlic (*see W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 342). (For a full discussion of this item, *see* MASPERO, “*La Table d'Offrandes*”, p. 388.)





THE HISTORY

This is one of the older items in the offering-list, it having appeared upon the false-door of *H'j-bj.w-Sk*, of the Third Dynasty, where it is written with the sign  inside the granary  and placed among a series of dried fruits and grain (*see* “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 97). This seems to prove that it was some article which could be dried and stored in magazines, thus the common round onion, or garlic.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *hdw* in our material occurs as a damaged entry in the list of *Nfr-njsut* (No. 5 *T*), where it is written  (perhaps for ). The most usual writing for the Fourth Dynasty is  : lists Nos. 11, 12 (?), 13, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. Other writings for this period are : (1)  : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 9 *P*; (2)  : list No. 8 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The commonest determinative during the Fourth Dynasty was: (1) the *hnt*-basin  : lists Nos. 11, 13, 14, 7 *T*, 8 *H*; (2)  : list No. 16 *H*; (3)  : list No. 15 *H*; (4)  : list No. 9 *P*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the writing $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\nabla\text{IIII}$ still prevailing. The following forms, however, are new:—

- (1) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$: list No. 30 : (2) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$: lists Nos. 34, 32 (3) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$: list No. 18 *T*; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$: list No. 24 *H*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 70 the signs $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ are replaced by drawings of onions on a bent stalk (*see the lists*).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new:—

- (1) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 69 : (2) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 70 : (3) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 38 *H*; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 39; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 18 *T*; (6) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 29 *H*; (7) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 35 (compare with list No. 5 *T* of the Fourth Dynasty); (8) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 143 *H*; (9) $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$: list No. 30.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The usual writing for the Sixth Dynasty is still the old form $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\nabla\text{IIII}$ (with variant determinatives), but in addition, we have the following new writing:—

$\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$ "Two portions of onions" list No. 95 *H*. The element $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ is a feature of this list and appears in many other entries.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 100 *H* we have the writing $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$. If we can trust to the accuracy of this writing, then the man kneeling in adoration below the onions reminds us of the classical story that the Egyptians worshipped the onion (*see Juvenal*)⁽¹⁾. Actually, it is probably an isolated example of the kneeling priest presenting the offering. In list No. 103 *T* the onions are treated naturally as in list No. 79 of the Fifth Dynasty. In list No. 142 *H* we have $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\text{IIII}$.


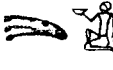











FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 86 *H* the signs $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ should be the onions $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$. In list No. 113 *T*, the sign $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ defective, and the sign $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ is an error for $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$.


⁽¹⁾ SAYCE, "The Religion of Ancient Egypt", p. 101.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new :—

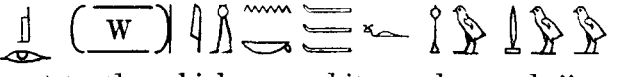
- (1)  : list No. 115 ; (2)  : list No. 128 ; (3)  : list No. 87 ; (4)  : list No. 88 ; (5)  : list No. 102 ; (6)  : list No. 125 ; (7)  : lists Nos. 109 T, 132 T ; (8)  : list No. 100 H ; (9)  : list No. 127 T (notice that this is the only example we have where four onions are shown in a bundle, the usual number being three) ; (10)  : lists Nos. 120 H, 121 H ; 122 H. These three lists, which are all from Meir, are the only ones in which the general determinative for a plant  is used to determine this item. Perhaps it is a local custom peculiar to Meir. It is also found in the New Kingdom (see GARDINER, "Chester Beatty Papyrus IX", Vol. II, Pl. 54)  . (11)  : list No. 142 H.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

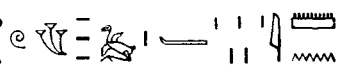
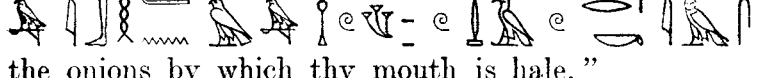
In list No. 86 H the sign for the onions is defective. See also list No. 113 T, where it somewhat resembles the sign  .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 125 :—

(79 A)  | "Osiris (*Wsi'ir*) *Wni's*, I bring to you his (*Horus*) teeth, which are white and sound."

(79 B)  | "Four bundles of onions."

GARDINER ("The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX", Vol. II, Pl. 54) gives:   "Take to thyself the teeth of *Horus*, the onions by which thy mouth is hale."

No. 138  | *Hps'* "The Foreleg of Beef" (*Wni's*, Line 79 D)

THE MEANING

As we have already seen (see above, p. 96) the *hps'* was the chosen foreleg cut from the living ox. Nevertheless some of the printed and hand-copied lists persist in giving the determinative of this item the form of the hind leg. But so far as the evidence of our material shows, all the lists, of which we have either the originals or good photographs, show the foreleg, except, of course, those lists which give only the top part of the leg, as in list No. 11 (for other decisive proofs for this identification, see above p. 95, and MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 389).

THE HISTORY

This item is represented pictorially along with the other meat-offerings in the panel-scene on the false-door of *Mtn* (*L.D.*, Vol. III, Pl. 3), where it has its place among the food-offerings inscribed above the offering-table. But *hps'* does not appear to have been written phonetically until well into the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, and on the panel of *Hwtj* it appears with the other meat items in representation only, as in the case of *Mtn*.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in the list No. **3**, where it is written (see also lists Nos. 4 *T*, **11** (?), **13**, **14**, 5 *T*, **12**, 15 *H*, 16 *H*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*). We have also the writing "First-Class foreleg": list No. 9 *P*. This writing also appears again in lists Nos. 51 *P* and 52 *P* of the Fifth Dynasty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The usual determinative for this item is the complete leg of the animal, including the hoof. This, of course, should be the foreleg as in lists Nos. **13**, 7 *T*, but as we have already mentioned, the sign is frequently given the form of the hind leg in the printed and hand copied lists. Thus, we have : lists Nos. 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*. We have also a sign which represents only the thick upper part of the leg : : lists Nos. **11**, **14**, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, and in list No. **3** the sign represents a joint of meat with a bone.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The only new writing for this period is : list No. 25 *H*, in which the piece of meat may perhaps be pronounced *hps'* unless the sign has been omitted. In list No. 24 *H* *hps'* shares a single rectangle with the *iw'*-joint.

FAULTY WRITINGS


In list No. 22 *H* the sign is defective.

THE DETERMINATIVES



Although the general writing of this item remains the same as we have seen during the Fourth Dynasty, we have several new determinatives:—

(1) : lists Nos. **44**, 42 *T*, 18 *H* (here the joint still lacks the hoof and fetlock, but it is longer than that determining Nos. **11** and **14** of the Fourth Dynasty); (2) : lists Nos. **54**, 49 *H*; (3) : lists Nos. **37**, 143 *H* (for a schimatized form of this, see lists Nos. 22 *H*, 24 *H*); (4) : list No. 47 *H* (in list No. 29 *H* we have a conventionalized form of this); (5) : list No. 40 *H*; (6) : list No. **69**; (7) : list No. **71**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY























Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find only one new writing:  : list No. 135 *T*, which also seems to prove that the leg of beef may be pronounced *hps̄* (see also the faulty writing in list No. 102 *P*).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 106 *P*, the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—











- (1)   : list No. 87; (2)   : list No. 88; (3)   : list No. 102; (4)   : list No. 115; (5)   : list No. 128; (6)  : list No. 81 *T*; (7)   : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*; (8)   : lists Nos. 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 123 *P*; (9)  : list No. 113 *T*; (10)   : list No. 86 *H*; (11)  : list No. 145 *H*; (12)   : list No. 84 *P*;
(13)  : list No. 96 *P*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 126 :—

(79 *C*)       | “Osiris *Wn̄s*, take the *hps̄* which is the eye of *Horus* (1).”


(79 *D*)   | “A foreleg.”

(See also for this, GARDINER, *ibid*, Vol. II, Pl. 54:           “Take to thyself the foreleg which is (?) the Eye of *Horus*.”)

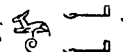


CONCLUSIONS

The salient feature of this entry is the general uniformity of the writing, throughout all the Old Kingdom. This speaks for the great antiquity of the item, as the newer entries in the list usually display many variants during the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties, and sometimes do not arrive at a stabilized writing until the Sixth Dynasty. In the case of *hps̄* we know that it appeared early in represented form (see above) and it seems to have been well established before the first phonetic writing was employed in the lists.

(1) See above, p. 163.

No. 139  *iw'* "The Femur" (*Wm's*, Line 80 B)



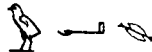
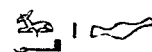
THE MEANING

Junker ("Giza", Vol. I, p. 147) identifies this joint of meat as the femur. On the other hand, Griffith suggests that it is the shoulder, with the flesh shrunk by boiling (MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, p. 37). But the writing  determined by the testicles (MORET, "Rituel du Culte Divin", p. 122) seems to indicate that the *iw'*-joint was cut from the hind quarters of the animal; unless, of course, the sign of the testicles is only a corruption of the sign  (see list No. 86 *H*, of the Sixth Dynasty). Maspero (*ibid*, p. 389) describes it as a bone surrounded by flesh, or a femur garnished with that portion of flesh which the butchers call ' *Le tranche et le gite chez le boeuf, le cuissot et la rouelle chez le veau*'. That the meat was veal is very probable in view of the sign  used in its writing, and especially in the list No. 69 of the Fifth Dynasty. It most probably represents a haunch of veal.



THE HISTORY

This item appears in representation in the very earliest Archaic lists known to us (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 117, No. 48). It still appears in this form on the panel of *Hwtj*, but it does not seem to appear written phonetically until well into the Fourth Dynasty. This was probably done in order to distinguish it from the other meat items, for, as we shall see in the case of the determinatives, these forms were so varied by the different scribes that it would be difficult to distinguish one joint from another unless we had the phonetic signs to indicate the pronunciation.


THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *iw'*, in our material occurs in list No. 3 where it is written , in list No. 4 *T*, where it is written phonetically as []  (see also lists Nos. 5 *T*, 8 *H*). But the common writing for the Fourth Dynasty is  : lists Nos. 11, 13, 14, 7 *T*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES


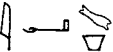

The common determinative for this item throughout the Old Kingdom is the joint of meat  (or its variants) but in many reliable lists, and naturally in the hand-copies, this form is considerably varied. This determinative occurs in lists Nos. 11, 13, 14, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*. In list No. 3 the detailed determinative appears as .

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H* the sign  is deformed.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find some new writings in use:—






- (1)  : list No. **36**; (2)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, 59 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 39 *H*, 24 *H*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS


In list No. **69** this word is written with a standing instead of a couchant animal. In list No. 24 *H*, the *iw'*-joint is written in a single rectangle with *hps'*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

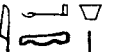
In addition to the sign ϕ and its numerous variants, we now have the following determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : lists Nos. 143 *H*, **48**; (3)  : lists Nos. **54**, 24 *H* (this latter is a simplified version of No. 3); (4)  : list No. 47 *H*; (5)  : list No. **72**.

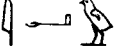


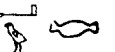
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 22 *H* the sign  is faulty.


THE SIXTH DYNASTY

During the Sixth Dynasty we find several new writings introduced, as well as an increase in the use of the simple writing  which in the preceding period had only appeared twice (lists Nos. 143 *H*, 59 *H*). This form now appears in twelve lists, most of which date from the latter end of the Dynasty, *see* lists No. **128**, etc.).

New writings for this period are as follows:—










- (1)  : lists Nos. 112 *T*, 131 *P*; (2)  : list No. 84 *P*; (3)  : lists Nos. 109 *T*, 132 *T*; (4)  : lists Nos. 110 *T*, 113 *T*, 119 *T*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 100 *H* the sign  is replaced by a horned animal which is a characteristic of this list. In list No. 134 *H*, this item is written in a single rectangle with *hps'*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

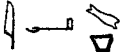
As usual with the lists of the Sixth Dynasty, we find a number of new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. **128**; (2)  : list No. **115**; (3)  : list No. **88**;
 (4)  : lists Nos. 107 *H*, 108 *H*, 110 *T*; (5)  : list No. 81 *T*; (6)  : list No. 86 *H*;
 (7)  : list No. 84 *P*; (8)  : list No. 106 *H*; (9)  : list No. 142 *H*.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 172 :—

(80 A)  “ Osiris Wnis, dance, Geb did not cut to pieces his bodily inheritor. ”


(80 B)  “ An iw joint of meat. ”

No. 140  “ *Shn-Meat* ” (see above, p. 206, ff.)

No. 141  “ A Leg of Beef ” (see above, p. 309, ff.)

No. 142  “ *Spr-Ribs* ” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 81 D)



THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is ribs, presumably of beef, a fact which is plainly shown by the usual determinative (*see lists*). In the earlier lists this item has the simple writing  *spr*, and is usually determined by a representation of the ribs. But by the end of the Fourth Dynasty there appeared a new writing, *sph.t spr*, which means a side of beef, or more exactly the whole set of ribs such as we often see carried by the offering-bearers in the scenes on the chapel walls (*see MURRAY, "Sakkâra Mastabas"*, Vol. I, Pl. XXIII, where it appears among the offering on stands, below the left-hand end of the offering-list and is carried by the fourth man from the right, in the bottom register). (*See concerning this item, SETHE, "Kommentar"*, Vol. I, line 230 A, p. 194.)

THE HISTORY








This is another item that appeared in representation as early as the list of *H'j-b3.w-Skr* of the Third Dynasty (*see "Excavations at Giza"*, Vol. V, p. 97, but did not appear written phonetically until the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY


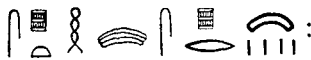




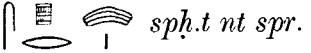


The first appearance of *spr* in our material is in list No. 3, where it is written . The usual writing, however, is  : list No. 4 *T* (*see also, but with variant determinatives, lists Nos. 5 T, 7 T, 9 P, 11, 13, 15 H, 16 H*).

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following are the determinatives employed during this period :—

(1)  : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*; (2)  : list No. 7 *T* (this is the form of the real ribs of beef which we found in actual fact in the intact burial-chamber of the Princess, daughter of *H'j-f-R'*, during our seventh season's excavations (*see above, p. 8*); (3)  : lists Nos. 9 *P*, 15 *H* (this is almost the same as the preceding, but has three ribs instead of four); (4)  : list No. 11 (a simplified form of the preceding); (5)  : list No. 16 *H*; (6)  : list No. 12; (7)  : list No. 3.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY


















Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we see a great number of lists employing the form *sph.t spr* (often written ornamentally with the sign  displaced). Thus, we have  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 75. Here each element, *sph.t* and *spr*, has its own determinative.  : lists Nos. 65, 54, 76, 61 *H*, 28 *H*, 23 *H* (for this writing, see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. IV, p. 89, where he regards it as an error for  or ). This last writing seems to prove that the determinative of the ribs may also read *spr*. In list No. 67 *H* we have a single example of a form which became more common during the Sixth Dynasty:   *sph.t nt spr*. We have also the writing  : lists Nos. 43, 46, 48, 51 *P*, 52 *P*, 58 63, 19 *T*. Another new writing is  : lists Nos. 30, 53, perhaps the plural of *spr*.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In lists Nos. 38 *H* and 73, the second sign  should be . In list No. 41 there is what is apparently a very faulty writing of *Sph.t spr*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

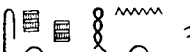

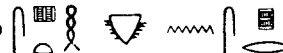
Although the common determinative for this item is still the ribs of beef, we now have the following new variant forms :—

(1)  : lists Nos. 36, 43, 46, 58, 63, 64, 65, 66; (2)  : list No. 20 *P* (this is a simplified form of the preceding); (3)   : list No. 69; (4)  : lists Nos. 17 *H*, 18 *T*, 19 *T*, 38 *H*, 39 *H*, 47 *H*; (5)  : list No. 37; (6)  : list No. 44; (7)  : list No. 30; (8)  : lists Nos. 35 *H*, 48; (9)  : list No. 23 *H*; (10)   : list No. 28 *H*; (11)  : list No. 55 *H*; (12)  : list No. 57 *H*; (13)  : lists Nos. 71, 143 *H*; (14)  : lists Nos. 72, 73; (15)  : list No. 79.





FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

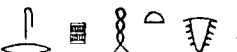


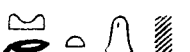
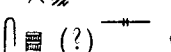



In list No. 40 *H*, the sign  should be  (or a similar form), and in lists Nos. 30, 76, 77 and possibly 79, the wrong joint of meat is depicted.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The salient characteristic of the writing of this entry in the Sixth Dynasty is the increased number of lists which employ the form *sph.t nt spr*, which now appears twenty-one times; it has the following new writings:  : lists Nos. 138 *P*, 112 *T*. This writing seems to be clear proof that the ribs of beef should be pronounced *spr*. We now have the writing *sph.t nt spr.w*  : lists Nos. 87, 115, 125, 126; and also  : lists Nos. 123 *P*.




































FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 138 *P* there is a parasitical sign  and in list No. 86 *H* there is a parasitical sign . In list No. 103 *T* the sign  should be  (this is a notoriously faulty list). In list












No. 118 *T*, the writing is blundered into . In list No. 120 *H* the sign \triangle should be . In list No. 124 *P* we have a writing which proves that the scribe was quite ignorant of what he was doing. Here we have  as a separate entry, followed by  which has no place here at all, and finally . All three writings are treated as separate entries, and each has its own numeral, which in the case of the first two is destroyed. In list No. 125 the sign  is lacking. In list No. 113 *T* the signs  and \triangle are lacking from *sph.t*. In list No. 112 *T* the sign  is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES


A characteristic of the lists of the Sixth Dynasty is the treatment of *sph.t-spr* as two separate entries, as we have already seen in the case of *kmhw kmz* (see above, p. 335). This is shown by the fact that in a number of lists the two elements, *sph.t* and *spr*, each has its own individual determinatives. This may be seen in the following lists:—

List No.	<i>Sph.t</i>	<i>Spr, Spr.w or Spt.</i>	General
86 <i>H</i>			
93 <i>P</i>			—
107 <i>H</i>			
108 <i>H</i>			
110 <i>T</i>			
111 <i>T</i>	—		—
112 <i>T</i>	—	—	
113 <i>T</i>			—
119 <i>T</i>			
120 <i>H</i>			—
121 <i>H</i>			—
122 <i>H</i>			—
123 <i>H</i>			—
132 <i>T</i>			—
134 <i>T</i>			—
135 <i>T</i>			—

We have also the following new forms of determinatives :—






- (1)  : lists Nos. **85, 87** ; (2)   : lists Nos. **102, 88** ; (3)   : list No. **128** ;
 (4)   : list No. **115** ; (5)  : list No. **126** ; (6)  : list No. **84 P** ; (7)  : list No. **114 T** ;
 (8)  : list No. **109 T** .





FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. **93 P** the sign  should be a rib.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 130 :—

(81 *C*)  (W)     “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Rebel (*St*) who is against you (?)”

(81 *D*)     [||||] “To be said four times: ‘Four ribs of beef’.”

No. 143    *šr.t* “Roast Meat” (*Wn's*, Line 82 B)



















THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is exactly the same as in No. 136, namely ‘roast’. But here it refers to meat and not bread, and embraces the four flesh-items which follow it, as we may see in lists No. 145 *H* and 148 *T*. Jequier points out that these flesh items are always represented as small pieces (*B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 226).


THE HISTORY

This entry is another late-comer to the offering-list, and does not seem to have appeared before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.









THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This item first appears in our material in list No. **3** where it is written     . In list No. **4 T** it is written     , and in list No. **5 T** it is     (see also lists Nos. **11, 12, 13, 14, 15 H, 16 H**). In list No. **9 P** we have the interesting writing       “All roast meats”, and the four meat entries which normally should follow it are omitted, as being understood to be included in this single item.

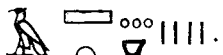
THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this item is the piece of flesh  : lists Nos. **11, 15 H, 16 H**.

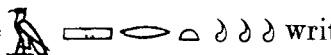
We have also the following variants :—

- (1)    : list No. **13** ; (2)   : list No. **4 T** ; (3)  : list No. **5 T** ; (4)   : list No. **9 P**.


THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The only new writing for this period is in list No. 34 : .

UNUSUAL WRITINGS









In list No. 18 *T* we have  written horizontally across the top of the four subsequent meat items, to which it forms a general heading. This informs us that these four latter items are all roast flesh and should be of a similar nature (see also the royal lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 40 *H* and 51 *P* and 52 *P* the sign  is omitted.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows :—













- (1)  : lists Nos. 69, 70 ; (2)  : lists Nos. 54, 67 ; (3)  : list No. 34 ; (4)  : list No. 23 *H* ; (5)  : list No. 47 *H* ; (6)  : lists Nos. 73, 29 *H*, 49 *H* ; (7)  : list No. 57 *H* ; (8)  : list No. 143 *H*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

There are no new writings for this period.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are new :—


- (1)  : lists Nos. 85, 86 *H*, 88 ; (2)  : list No. 87 ; (3)  : list No. 115 ; (4)  : list No. 128 ; (5)  : list No. 129 ; (6)  : list No. 81 *T* ; (7)  : list No. 82 ; (this table of bread also suggests a confusion with entry No. 136) ; (8)  : list No. 84 *P* ; (9)  : lists Nos. 94 *P*, 107 *H*, 108 *H* ; (10)  : lists Nos. 110 *T*, 112 *T*, 113 *T* ; (11)  : list No. 119 *T* ; (12)  : list No. 89 *P*.

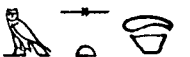
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 131 :—

(82 *A*)  ()      “ Osiris *Wnis*, take to yourself your roast.”

(82 B)  "To be said four times: 'One roast meat'."

See also GARDINER, "The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX", Pl. 54:  "Roast meat, one dish. O Amon, take to thyself thy roast."

No. 144  "Mist-Liver" (*Wn's*, Line 82 D)


THE MEANING

This is the first of the meat items which are embraced by the general heading *šrt* 'roast meat', and is the liver (1). Perhaps this and the three following entries correspond to the modern 'roasted meat' (*Arabic*: kabâb "كباب") which consists of small pieces of different kinds of meat, threaded on iron spits and roasted over a charcoal fire, and which sometimes includes pieces of liver.





THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

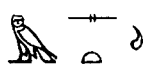

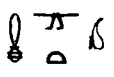

The first appearance of *m'st* in our material occurs in the list of *Snfr.w-snb*, where it is written  (list No. 3). This writing, but with variant determinatives, remains unchanged throughout all the Fourth Dynasty, so far as the evidence of our material tells us.

THE DETERMINATIVES




The general determinative for this item is : lists Nos. 11, 7 T, 8 H, 15 H, 16 H. Other forms are: (1) : list No. 5 T; (2) : list No. 4 T; (3) : list No. 3.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—

(1) : lists Nos. 31 H, 34, 50 H; (2) : lists Nos. 53, 23 H; (3) : list No. 69 (this writing gives us a clue to the real pronunciation of the name by the inclusion of the sign  is).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 23 H the sign  is an error for . In list No. 75 the sign  is faulty, and in list No. 76 the writing is almost unrecognizable.








UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 37, 77 55 H, *m'st* and *nnšm* are written together in a single rectangle.





(1) see also GARDINER, "Onomastica", II, p. 245, f.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are new :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **69, 70** (?); (2)  : lists Nos. 23 *H*, 61 *H*, **71**; (3)  : list No. 51 *P*;
 (4)  : list No. 52 *P*; (5)  : list No. **32**; (6)  : lists Nos. **54**, 67 *H*; (7)  : list No. **73**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY













The only new writing we have for this period is     : lists Nos. **87, 95** *H*.
 It is a full form of writing, characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty.

FAULTY WRITING

In list No. 105 *T* the writing of this item is  which is altogether faulty.













THE DETERMINATIVES



















The following are the new determinatives :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*; (2)  : list No. 136 *H*. These two forms represent the liver. See JEQUIER “*Le Monument Funéraire du Pepi II*”, Vol. II, Pl. 56, where in a butchery scene a man is depicted as holding the heart and liver, drawn in the form , which have been taken from a dismembered ox. (3)  : list No. **128**; (4)  : list No. **129**;
 (5)   : list No. **87**; (6)   : lists Nos. 115, 86 *H* (?); (7)  : list No. **85**; (8)  : lists Nos. **91, 92**, 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (9)  : list No. 101 *H*.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 122 :—

(82 C)  (W)            “Osiris *Wnis*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, go after it.”

(82 D)    | “One liver” [see also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, p. 54 :                “Take to thyself the Eye of Horus, which (he) carried” (sic).]

(¹) Here there seems to be a confusion with entry No. 157, *mst*-food.

No. 145  "Nns̄m-Spleen" (*Wni's*, Line 83 B)

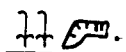
THE MEANING


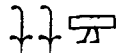
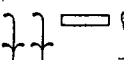
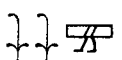
This item is perhaps the spleen, and is the second in the group of roast meats⁽¹⁾.

THE HISTORY



Nns̄m does not occur in any of the early lists, and seems to appear for the first time during the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material is in list No. 3 where it is written .

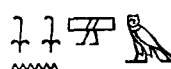
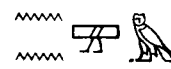
In list No. 5 *T* it is written phonetically  (see also list No. 4 *T* (?). In list No. 7 *T* it is written  δ^1 (see also lists Nos. 11, 13, 16 *H*). Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are (1)  δ^1 : list No. 8 *H*; (2)  : list No. 15 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this item during the Fourth Dynasty is the piece of meat δ which appears in all the lists for this period in our material, except No. 4 *T* which has , and 5 *T* which has .





THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The Fifth Dynasty gives us the following new writings:—

(1)  δ^1 : lists Nos. 65, 28 *H*; (2)  : list No. 143 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : lists Nos. 23 *H*, 71, 61 *H*; (3) $\circ\circ\circ$: lists No. 51 *P*, 52 *P*;
(4)  : list No. 143 *H*; (5)  : list No. 79.











THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—

(1)  δ^1 : list No. 82; (2)  : list No. 81 *T*; (3)  : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *H*.















⁽¹⁾ For this identification, see GARDINER, "Onomastica", II, p. 245, *f*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 86 *H* the sign  is wrongly given as , and  should be  (for the latter fault, see also list No. 87). In list No. 119 *T* the signs  should, of course, be , and there is a parasitical sign . In list No. 112 *T* there is a parasitical sign , and in list No. 138 *P* the sign  should be .





THE DETERMINATIVES






















The following are the new determinatives:—



- (1)  : lists Nos. 88, 129; (2)   : list No. 87; (3)  : list No. 128; (4)  : lists Nos. 85, 102, 86 *H* (?); (5)  : list No. 115; (6)  : list No. 116; (7)  : lists Nos. 84 *P*, 108 *H*; (8)  : list No. 95 *H*; (9)  : lists Nos. 96 *P*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*, 91, 92; (10)  : list No. 97; (11)  : lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*; (12)  : list No. 93 *P*; (13)  : list No. 94 *P*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 193:—

(83 *A*)  ()   | “Osiris *Wn*'s, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*” to which he went.”

(83 *B*)   | “Spleen” (see also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”: Vol. II, Pl. 54:                   ).
 “Take to thyself the Eye of *Horus*, to which he went, one spleen (see also for this items JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 94, 95).

No. 146   | (“*H*’-Flesh” (*Wn*'s, Line 83 D)

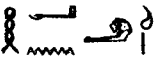


THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is somewhat obscure. The word *h*' means ‘a member’, and from its association with the item *iwf h3.t* and especially from the fuller writing in list No. 7 *T*, etc., we may conjecture that it is some organ or piece of flesh from the forepart of the animal, perhaps the lungs (?). Maspero (*ibid*, p. 390) considers it as the part of the chest which contains the heart, as indicated by a passage in a Bulac Papyrus.

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared before the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *h'* in our material is in list No. 7 *T* and 8 *H*, where it is written  *h' n h3.t* "member of the breast". See also list No. 14 where it is written  *h3.t h'*. The other writing for the Fourth Dynasty is simply *h'*  (see lists Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*).

THE DETERMINATIVES




The general determinative for this item is δ which appears thus in all our lists for the Fourth Dynasty, except No. 15 *H* which has $\delta\delta\delta$, and No. 8 *H* which has $\delta\delta$.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

In list No. 37, 40 *H*, 47 *H*, 55 *H*, 75, 77, *h'* occupies a single rectangle with *h3-iw3* otherwise the writings are all the same as we have already seen, and the only innovation is in some of the determinatives.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative is still the piece of flesh δ ; but we now have the following new forms:—

(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : lists Nos. 23 *H*, 71; (3) $\delta \nabla$: list No. 61 *H*; (4) ∇ : list No. 36; (5)  : list No. 73.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY








There are no new writings for this period.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 138 *P* we have a parasitical sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 86 *H*; (3)  : list No. 115; (4)  : list No. 116; (5) $\delta^{\circ\circ}$: lists Nos. : 91, 92, 120 *H*, 121 *H*; (6) δ° : list No. 93 *P*; (7)  : list No. 81 *T*; (8)  : list No. 84 *P*; (9)  : list No. 107 *H*.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 134 :—

(83 C)  | “Osiris *Wn̄s*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*, which is in his front.”

(83 D)  | “One *h̄* flesh.”

CONCLUSIONS

The outstanding feature of this item is the remarkable unity of writing throughout all the period of the Old Kingdom. This is very unusual in items which come late into the list, and suggests that *h̄*-meat was an article in common use, the writing of which being a set, established fact, well known to everybody.

No. 147  | “*H̄s iwf*-Flesh of the Forepart” (*Wn̄s*, Line 84 B)




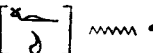
THE MEANING

H̄s-iwf (or *iwf h̄s*) means ‘flesh of the forepart’, and is the last item in the group of roast meats (see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. VI, pp. 52, 237).



THE HISTORY

This item does not appear before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.



THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This item first appears in our material in list No. 4 *T*, where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 5 *T*, 11, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*). In list No. 14 we have  , but in list No. 7 *T*, it is only  . In list No. 12, we have  | *iwf n h̄s.t* a form which was destined to appear more frequently later.

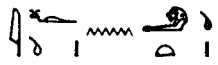
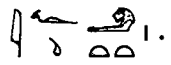
THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this entry is  or  which appears in every list in our material for this period.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H* the sign  should be  .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY







A salient feature of the lists of the Fifth Dynasty is the greater increase in the writing of 'iwf n h3.t which now appears twenty-one times. The following writings are new:  lists Nos. 19T, 72, 75. Here the two elements 'iwf and h3.t are treated as two separate items and each has its own determinative and numeral. In list No. 23 H, we have .

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 61 H, the writing of 'iwf h3.t is so corrupt as to be almost unrecognizable.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1)  : list No. 70; (2)  : list No. 69; (3)  list No. 143 H; (4)  : list No. 18 T; (5)  : list No. 71; (6)  : list No. 73.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY













There are no new writings for the Sixth Dynasty but the form 'iwf n h3.t is now the predominating form, and occurs forty-one times in our material.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 81 T, the sign  is faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

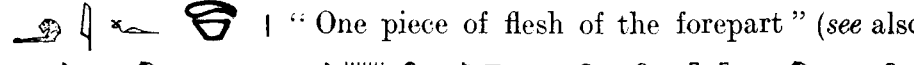
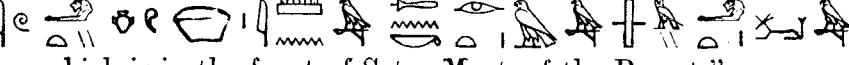
The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 129; (2)  : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 87; (4)  : list No. 86 H; (5)  : list No. 116; (6)  : list No. 89 P; (7)  : list No. 92; (8)  : list No. 128; (9)  : list No. 99; (10)  : list No. 131 P; (11)  : lists Nos. 107 H, 108 H; (12)  : list No. 91.

THE FORMULA

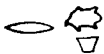
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 135:—

(84 A)  “Osiris Wn's, take the Eye of Horus which is in the front of St.”

(84 B)  | “One piece of flesh of the forepart” (see also GARDINER, *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 54)  “Take to thyself the Eye of Horus, which is in the front of Set. Meat of the Breast.”
















CONCLUSIONS



Like the preceding entry, *iwf h3.t* is remarkable for the stability of its writing throughout the Old Kingdom.










No. 148  | “R3-Goose” (*Wn's*, Line 84 D)

THE MEANING

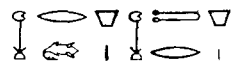





We now come to a group of poultry, which in the canonical lists follows the fixed order of *r3* (or *sr*) *trp*, *st*, *s*, and *mnw.t* and which are often named in this order in the wall scenes of the chapels (see the Tomb of *K3-h3f*, JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. VI, Pl. XI), and also *Nj-'nh-Hnmw* of our excavations (Vol. VI of this work, Part III). But in the earlier lists, this group was not fixed either as to the number or order.













The poultry are among the oldest items in the offering-list, and we may encounter them in representation as far back as the early Second Dynasty. On the Bankfield Stele they are four in number and are unnamed, but seem to be the crane (*d3r.t*) , a goose , a duck (?), , and a pigeon  (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 87). On the Stele of Princess *Shjnr* they are three in number, and have the abridged writings sometimes found in later lists,   *trp*,  *re*,  (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 92, 93). In the Third Dynasty list of *H'j-b3.w-Skr*, the poultry items are reduced to two   the *d3r.t*-crane and   the *s*-duck (*ibid*, p. 103). In the list of *Mtn* we have only   , a crane and two geese (*L.D.*, Vol. III, Pl. 3).















From the time of the early Fourth Dynasty we get the conventional item   “Thousand of Geese” (see the Stele of *Nfr-i3btj.t*; BOREUX, “*Revue de l'Egypte Ancienne*”, Vol. I, p. 5, ff.). In those lists of the Fourth Dynasty which had not yet attained a canonical form, we have the following varied arrangement:—

In list No. 3 we have six poultry items, all of which are enumerated in quantities of 1,000 each , although none of the other items in this list possess a numeral. These poultry items are: *sr*, *trp*, *smn*, *st*, *s*, *mn.t* (1). In lists Nos. 4 *T* and 5 *T* we have seven poultry items; *d3r.t*, *sr* (for *r3*) *trp*, *st*, *s*, *smn*, *mnw.t*. In list No. 7 *T* the group of six reads: *r3*, *trp*, *smn*, *st*, *s*, *mnw.t*. In list No. 2 we also have six items: *trp*, *d3r.t*, *r3*, *smn*, *mnw.t*, *st*. In list No. 8 *H* it is reduced to four: *r3*, *trp*, *sr* and *mnw.t*. After the final editing of the canonical list the crane, and the birds *smn* and *smn.t* dropped out of the group, but continued to play a part in the rite of *w3h-'h*, (see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 96, ff.). In some cases the whole canonical group of poultry may be repeated again outside the list, where they are enumerated in quantities of one thousand each. Thus, on the panel of the false-door of *'nh-irjs* (on the jambs of which is inscribed list No. 30 of our material we have this group:        . In the original the forms of the bird determinatives are differentiated. This group follows the







(1) For this item see GARDINER, “*Onomastica*”, Vol. I, p. 9.

enumeration of cattle and game animals, as in the Archaic lists (see MURRAY, “*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. XVIII). At the end of the list of *nh-m-kj* we have , also following the cattle and game animals. In the Sixth Dynasty list of *Mrw* (No. 101 *H*) there is a group of four unnamed birds enumerated among the conventional ‘offerings in thousands’ and placed at the end of the list. In the Tomb of *Tjj* at Sakkâra (STEINDORFF, “*Das Grab des Tj*”, Pl. 129) is represented a fine group of poultry which, together with the cattle, are being paraded before the tomb-owner and his family. The poultry group is led by the *rj* goose, followed by the *trp*, both fine, large birds of identical appearance. Next comes a slightly smaller goose called , which may mean a white bird (see *W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 210) followed by three small, unnamed birds, which seem to be ducks. Below is a  bird, which as far as I am aware does not seem to appear in the offering-lists during the Old Kingdom, and which from its smaller size, seems to be a duck. This is followed by a  *st*-duck and a  *ph.t*-duck, the latter being a fat bird with a distended crop and similar to, but fatter than the  *s*-duck of the canonical list. Finally come four pigeons, which are unnamed, but are presumably the *mnw.t*. At the opposite end of the register is a large group of cranes, controlled by two herdsmen.

Concerning the names of these poultry items we encounter some difficulty. For instance, the first of the group may be written either  or , or  (see lists). The Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 191) defines the latter writing as the name of a kind of goose, so written during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but which was later written . So far as the evidence of our material goes, the contrary is the case, and the earlier lists give the writing , while  (which never became common during the Old Kingdom) does not appear until the very end of the Fourth Dynasty. During the Fourth Dynasty, we have the writing  appearing eight times,  appears five times, and  only twice. In the Fifth Dynasty  appears twenty-one times,  appears nineteen times and  only three times.







But during the Sixth Dynasty there was a return to the Archaic form , which now occur thirty-nine times, while  occurs thirteen times, and  is again only twice. This seems to prove that  is the original writing but not necessarily the correct pronunciation, because on the stele of Princess *Shfnr*, we have  and  and we know by later writings that the latter was called *trp*. Therefore,  may be only an abridged form of  or . Weight is given to this theory by the utterance in the Pyramid Texts which accompanies the presentation of this item. Here is a play on the words  *srj* (variant *sr*) and the name of this bird (see line 85 *A*). See also the parallel pun on the name of the *st*-duck (line 85 *C*), and the  pigeon (line 86 *C*), etc. A similar abbreviation is seen in the case of the *st*-duck , the full writing and presumably the pronunciation, being sometimes given as  *mst* (see lists). Therefore,  may simply be an abbreviated writing for *sr* or even *srw*.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written simply as , and is placed in close connection with the *drt*-crane. Other examples of this abbreviated writing occur in lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 12. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are:  : lists Nos. 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 11, 13, 14, 9 *P*;  : lists Nos. 15 *H*, 16 *H*. Thus, we have the form  occurring eight-times,  occurs five times, and  only appears twice.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are determinatives employed for this writing:—

The earliest form seems to be: (1)  : lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*; (2)  : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 14; (3)  : lists Nos. 11, 12; (4)  : lists Nos. 9 *P*, 16 *H*; (5)  : list No. 13; (6)  : list No. 15 *H*.






Junker ("Giza", Vol VI, p. 112) remarks that in the offering-lists of the Old Kingdom, the goose-determinative was represented as a live or dead bird, but never placed on a stand. Nevertheless, we have this form in list No. 15 *H*, which seems to date from the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY



No new writings of this item appeared during the Fifth Dynasty, and the only innovations are to be seen in the determinatives.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—











(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : lists Nos. 38 *H*, 39 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 34, 43, 47, 20 *P*; (4)  : lists Nos. 56, 29 *H*, 67 *H*; (5)  : list No. 23 *H*. This last represents the decapitated but unplucked bird.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY




The only new writings which we have for this period are  : list No. 89 *P*, and  : list No. 135 *T*. These are unique in our material. The latter form is especially interesting as it is properly the recognized writing for the name of the fourth bird of the group and its employment here causes a repetition (*see* lists).

THE DETERMINATIVES

As usual in this period, we have a number of new determinatives:—

(1)  : list No. 88; (2)  : list No. 128; (3)  : list No. 87; (4)  : list No. 115; (5)  : lists Nos. 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (6)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 107 *H*, 108 *H*, 84 *P*; (7)  : list No. 86 *H*; (8)  : list No. 94 *P*; (9)  : list No. 100 *H*; (10)  : list No. 104.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES












In list No. 93 *P* we have , but as this is taken from a published printed copy, it may be that the sign  is, in reality, the bowl  erroneously reversed when the type was set up (see also list No. 90 *P*).


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 136 :—

(84 *C*)  (W)       →  | “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the heads which are the followers of *St* the Prince.”

(84 *D*)  | | “One *R3*-goose.”

(See also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, p. 54)    
       “Take to thyself the heads which are after *St*”. *R3*-goose”.
 Concerning these geese, see JUNKER, “*Giza*” (Vol. VI, p. 112; MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 391).

No. 149  | | “*Trp*-Goose, (*Wn's*” Line 85 B)







THE MEANING






This, the second of the group of poultry, was a large, heavily built bird, similar to the *r3*-goose (see also MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 391).

THE HISTORY

As we have already seen above, this is one of the old entries in the offering-list, and appears named upon the Stele of Princess *Shfnr* (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 93).







THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The *trp*-goose first appears in our material in list No. 2 where it has the ancient writing  (see also list No. 12 where it is determined by , also list No. 7 *T*. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are :   : lists No. 13, 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 9 *P* ;   : lists Nos. 11, 14, 15 *H*, 16 *H*, 8 *H*.








From this we can see that the three forms of writing are nearly equal in frequency.  
trp, the full writing occurs five times, while   and  each occurs four times.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are determinatives employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—






(1)  : lists Nos. **2, 3, 4 T, 5 T**; (2)  : lists Nos. **11, 12**; (3)  : list No. **13**; (4)  : lists Nos. **14** (in this list the forms of the birds are carefully differentiated from each other), **7 T, 8 H**; (5)  : lists Nos. **16 H, 9 P**; (6)  : list No. **15 H**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY






The only new writing is   which occurs in lists Nos. **65, 18 T, 40 H**. The predominating writing for this period is   which occurs 26 times;  appears 12 times, and the new writing  occurs 4 times, but  has dropped out entirely, although, as we shall see, it re-appears again in a few lists of the Sixth Dynasty.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following determinatives are new:—

(1)   : list No. **69**; (2)  : lists Nos. **34 43, 39 H, 47 H, 20 P**; (3)  : lists Nos. **29 H, 67 H**; (4)  : list No. **23 H**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


















There are no new writings for this period, and the form   continues to hold first place for frequency. It now appears in forty-one lists.  occurs eight times, and  , which has re-appeared, occurs five times, while  only appears thrice.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 107 *H* the sign  is a faulty restoration for .


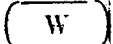





THE DETERMINATIVES

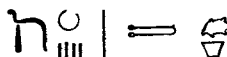
The following determinatives are new:—

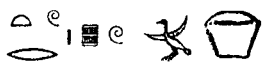
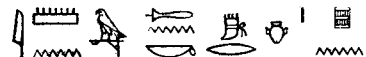
(1)   : list No. **128**; (2)   : list No. **115**; (3)   : list No. **87**; (4)   : list No. **88**; (5)   : list No. **86 H**; (6)   : list No. **82**; (7)   : lists Nos. **101 H, 107 H, 108 H, 84 P**; (8)   : lists **94 P**; (9)  : list No. **100 H**.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts. Utterance No. 137 :—

(85 *A*)  ()      “ Osiris *Wni's*, take for yourself this end of the heart (the Eye) ”


(85 B)  "To be said four times : 'One *trp*-goose'."

(See also GARDINER, "The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX", Vol. II, Pl. 54 : 
 "Take to thyself this end of the heart (the eye) | *Trp*-goose."

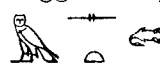
No. 150  "St-Duck" (*Wm's*, Line 85 D)

THE MEANING

The named representations of poultry that occur in the scenes on the chapel walls show the *st*-bird to be a duck (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI, Pl. XI and "Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, Part III). Murray ("Sakkâra Mastabas," Vol. I, p. 39) suggests that this is a she-drake. Griffith ("Hieroglyphs," p. 23) defines the *st* as a domesticated duck, and points out that it is never absent from scenes of the poultry farm. According to line 1224 B of the Pyramid Texts, it was a female bird, as opposed to the male *sr* :—

(1224 B)  "It is the bird *sr*, bring him ; it is the bird *st*, bring her."


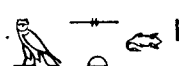


Gunn ("Studies in Egyptian Syntax," p. 60) gives : "It is a *sr*-gander who has brought himself ; it is a *st*-goose who has brought herself."

Gardiner ("Egyptian Grammar", p. 462) identifies the *st* as the pin-tailed duck (*darfila acuta*)⁽¹⁾ and suggests a pronunciation of *zt* or *zst*, which, however, does not accord with the full writing *mst* , but according to the play upon the words in its accompanying utterance in the Pyramid Texts, it ought to be pronounced *ms:t* (line 85 C). The Berlin Dictionary gives only *st*. (*W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 407).

THE HISTORY


This is not one of the original items of the lists, and does not occur in any of the very early lists, so far as I am aware. It seems to appear first in the Fourth Dynasty. As it does not occur in any list which includes *smn.t*, perhaps it was added to replace this latter item which became obsolete, and was deleted from the lists.






THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of the *st*-duck in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written ; see also lists Nos. 3, 4 T, 5 T, and with variant determinatives : lists Nos. 7 T, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 H, 9 P. In list No. 16 H we have the full writing  *mst*. Thus, the general writing for this period is  *st* which occurs 11 times, while  *mst* only occurs once.



⁽¹⁾ See also MASPERO, "La Table d'Offrandes", p. 392.

THE DETERMINATIVES





The oldest determinative for this item which we have is  : lists Nos. **2, 3, 4 T, 5 T**. The following forms also appear during the Fourth Dynasty :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **14, 7 T** ; (2)  : lists Nos. **11, 12** ; (3)  : lists Nos. **9 P, 16 H** ;
 (4)  : list No. **13** ; (5)  : list No. **15 H**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY







Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we do not find any new forms of writing. The form  ⁺ _△ *st* is still predominating, and now appears thirty-eight times ; while the full writing  ⁺ _△ *mst* only occurs in four lists.

FAULTY WRITINGS




In list No. **28 H** the sign  is an error for  , and in list No. **31 H**, the sign  is lacking, and the item is written  .

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are new :—

- (1)   : list No. **69** ; (2)  : lists Nos. **34, 20 H, 21 H, 47 H** ; (3)  : lists Nos. **56, 29 H, 67 H** ; (4)   : list No. **38 H**

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


















The only new writing for this period is the abbreviated form  | : list No. **127 T**.  ⁺ _△ *st* now appears forty-nine times, and  ⁺ _△ *mst* occurs six times.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **106 T** there is a parasitical sign  .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are new :—

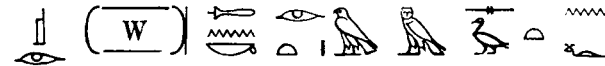
- (1)   : list No. **87** ; (2)   : list No. **128** ; (3)   : list No. **115** ;
 (4)   : list No. **86 H** ; (5)   : list No. **82** ; (6)   : lists Nos. **84 P, 101 H, 107 H, 108 H** ; (7)   : list No. **94 P** ; (8)  : list No. **100 H** ; (9)   : list No. **88**.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 93 *P*, the sign \triangle is probably a modern copyist's error for the basin ∇ (see also No. 148 of the same list). In list No. 119 *T*, the sign \square is perhaps an error for an offering-table.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 138 :—

(85 *C*)  “ Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wns*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) which is not joined to him (*St*).”

(85 *D*)  | “ One *St*-duck.”

No. 151  : “ *Sr*-Duck” (*Wns*, Line 86 *B*)

THE MEANING

Murray (“*Sakkâra Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 39), suggests that this bird may be the teal. In some of the poultry farm scenes, and in the detailed determinatives (see list No. 14) it appears as a fat duck, smaller than the $\overline{\triangle}$ *st* and having a distended crop (but in the majority of the lists the forms of the birds are not differentiated one from another) (see *K3-hif*, JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. VI, Pl. XI, also MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 392).

THE HISTORY






This item is one of the oldest that we have, and seems to appear upon the Stele of Princess *Shfnr* (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 92) and also *H'j-b3w-Skr*. (*ibid*, p. 97).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 3 where it has the Archaic writing $\int \curvearrowright$ (see also lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T* and with variant determinatives, lists Nos. 14, 13, 7 *T*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*). In lists Nos. 8 *H* 11 (?), and 16 *H* we have the writing $\int \leftarrow \curvearrowright$, thus raising a confusion with No. 148, which may also have the same writing.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The oldest determinative we have is : \curvearrowright ; lists Nos. 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T* which agrees with that on the Stele of Princess *Shfnr*. Other determinatives for this period are as follows :—

(1)  : lists Nos. 14, 7 *T*, 8 *H* ; (2)  : list No. 11 ; (3)  : list No. 13 ; (4)  : list No. 15 *H* ; (5)  : lists Nos. 9 *P*, 16 *H*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We have no new writing for this period. The abbreviated writing 𓆎 occurs forty-two times, while the fuller form 𓆏 now occurs four times.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) 𓆎 𓆏 : list No. 69 ; (2) 𓆏 : lists Nos. 56, 29 H, 67 H ; (3) 𓆏 : lists Nos. 34, 20 P, 21 P, 47H ; (4) 𓆏 : list No. 38 H ; (5) 𓆏 : list No. 23 H.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

There are no new writings for the Sixth Dynasty, but we now see a great increase in the employment of the new fuller writing 𓆏 which now occurs in twenty-one lists, although the abbreviated form 𓆎 is still in the majority, and appears thirty-four times. In list No. 103 T 𓆏 appears both for this item and for No. 148.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 87 ; (2) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 128 ; (3) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 88 ; (4) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 86 H ; (5) 𓆎 𓆏 : lists Nos. 84 P, 101 H, 107 H, 108 H ; (6) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 94 P ; (7) 𓆏 list No. 100 H.

THE FORMULA

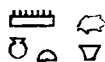
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 139 :—

(86 A) 𓆏 (W) 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 | “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of 𓆏 orus, which he carried (sic).”

(86 B) 𓆏 𓆏 | | “One *Sr*-duck.”

(See also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus*” XI, Vol. II, Pl. 54: 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 | “Take to thyself the Eye of 𓆏 orus which he carried [sic].”) 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 𓆏 |

As the play of words is upon 𓆏 𓆏 (var. 𓆏 𓆏) and the name of the duck, this gives us a clue as to the real pronunciation of the latter.

No. 152  : “*Mnw.t-Pigeon*” (*Wm's*, Line 86 D)


THE MEANING

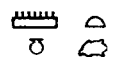
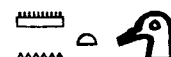
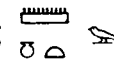
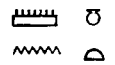

The meaning of this item is a pigeon, an identification which is easily proved by the representations on the chapel walls, and by the determinatives of the word (see MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 392, who calls it the ring-dove).

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared in any of the Archaic lists, but may have been added early in the Fourth Dynasty, as we find it occurring in four lists of the pre-canonical form, namely lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, 5. *T*







THE FOURTH DYNASTY

Mnw.t first appears in our material in the list of *Hwtj* (No. 2) where it is written  see also lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 13. Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—


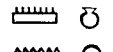

(1)  : lists Nos. 11, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 16 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 3, 14, 15 *H*. Thus, for this period we have the writing  occurring five times,  occurs four times, and  appears thrice only.

THE DETERMINATIVES





The oldest determinative for this word is  : lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, 5 *T*. We have also the following signs for this period:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 14; (2)  : lists Nos. 11; (3)  : list No. 13; (4)  : list No. 15 *H*; (5)  : list No. 16 *H*; (6)  : list No. 9 *P*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY





We have no new writings for this period, but we now find the writing  occurring thirty-one times,  appears 13 times, and  only occurs thrice.

FAULTY WRITINGS

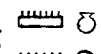


In list No. 40 *H* the sign  should be  (see also list No. 63) and in list No. 76 the first sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES










The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) : list No. 69; (2) : lists Nos. 56, 29 H, 67 H; (3) : lists Nos. 34, 47 H; (4) : list No. 39 H.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


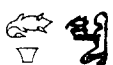

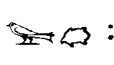





There are still no new writings to be observed but we now find the writing  predominating. It occurs 29 times,  occurs 20 times, and  appears 7 times.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 94 P the sign  should be , and in list No. 95 H the sign  should be . In list No. 103 T the sign  is faulty. In lists Nos. 107 H and 108 H the sign  should be  (see also lists Nos. 130 P, 136 H, 138 P). In list No. 112 T the first sign  should be .

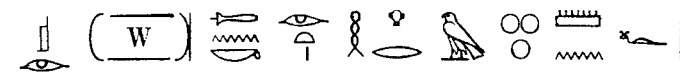
THE DETERMINATIVES

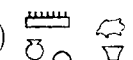
The new determinatives are as follows:—


- (1) : list No. 115; (2) : list No. 87; (3) : list No. 88; (4) : list No. 82; (5) : lists Nos. 101 H, 107 H, 108 H, 84 P; (6) : list No. 86 H; (7) : list No. 100 H; (8) : list No. 94 P; (9) : list No. 104 T.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 140 :—

(86 C)  “Osiris Wni's, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, prevent him from suffering in it.”

(86 D)  “One pigeon.”

(See also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II., Pl. 54:  “Take to thyself the Eye of Horus, prevent him from suffering in it.”

No. 153 $\triangle \rightarrow \updownarrow \times \circ$ “*T-sif-Bread*” (*Wn's*, Line 86 F)

THE MEANING

The *t-sif* was a kind of bread, or more likely cake, the form of which according to the varied determinatives, was not fixed (see MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 392).

THE HISTORY

This is another of the new additions which did not enter the lists until the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *t-sif* in our material occurs in list No. 3, where it is written $\frac{\triangle}{\times} \circ \circ$ (see also lists Nos. 8 *H*, 14). In list No. 7 *T*, it is written $\hat{\triangle} \rightarrow \updownarrow \times \triangle$. There is also the writing $\triangle \rightarrow \updownarrow \times \circ$: lists Nos. 11, 13, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following forms are employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1) $\hat{\triangle}$: lists Nos. 7 *T*, 13, 14; (2) \circ : list No. 11; (3) $\overset{\text{ac}}{\circ}$: list No. 8 *H*; (4) $\circ \circ$: list No. 3.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 16 *H* the sign \triangle is an error for the loaf \circ .




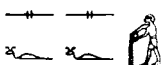
THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We have no new writings for this period, and the predominating form is $\hat{\triangle} \rightarrow \updownarrow \times \triangle$ which now appears twenty-six times, while the erstwhile common form $\hat{\triangle} \rightarrow \updownarrow \times$ now appears twenty-four times.







FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 28 *H* and 49 *H* the sign $\sim \sim \sim$ should be \rightarrow , and in list No. 70 the sign \rightarrow is faulty. In list No. 54 the first sign \times should be \rightarrow . In list No. 74 *P* the writing of this item is altogether faulty.








THE DETERMINATIVES

Among the new determinatives the most interesting occurs in list No. **69** , and list No. **23 H**; . In each of these we have the figure of a priest placing his hands upon an offering-stone, upon which water is pouring from a jar. (In list No. **23 H**, the sign of the loaf is faulty.) In the damaged entry in list No. **70** , the priest seems to be holding a *nms.t*-jar. In the first two examples the signs are like those which we have already seen determining the entry *sst.w* (see No. 5) and its connection with cake or bread is not at all clear. Perhaps there is some connection between the name of the cake *t-sif* and the word  *sfsf* meaning "to pour a water libation" (see *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 118). In the new Kingdom we frequently see scenes depicting the Goddess *Ht-Hr* or *Nwt* leaning from the branches of a sycamore tree and pouring-water upon some loaves which she is presenting to the deceased (see BUDGE, "The Book of the Dead", Vol. I, p. 204, Ch. LIX).










Other new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1)  : list No. **68**; (2)  : lists Nos. **44**, *59 H*, *31 H*, *35 H*, **72**; (3)  : list No. *49 H*; (4)  : lists Nos. *51 P*, *52 P*, **63**; (5)  : list No. *17 H*; (6)  : lists Nos. **34**, *40 H*, *47 H*, *20 P*, *21 P*, *74 P*. This last sign of the basin suggests a food that is either soft or wet, or else in very small pieces (see also the succeeding items).

THE SIXTH DYNASTY
















Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find that the most usual form of writing is now once more  —   , as we have seen it during the Fourth Dynasty. This writing now appears thirty-seven times, while   , appears seventeen times. There are no new writings.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. **86 H** the serpent  should be . In list No. **112 T** the sign  should be , and in list No. **131 P** the sign  is either an error for the loaf  or is replacing . In list No. **137 T**, the sign  is wrongly replaced by a loaf .








THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **87**, **88**; (2)  : lists Nos. **102**, *81 T*; (3)  : list No. **128**; (4)   : list No. **85**; (5)   : list No. **115**; (6)  : list No. *86 H*; (7)   : list No. **97**; (8)  : list No. **116**; (9)  : list No. *105 T*; (10)  : list No. *90 H*; (11)   : list No. *84 P*.


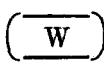






FAULTY DETERMINATIVES



We now come to a group of determinatives which are in reality faulty, as they are signs for determining meat, and should not have been employed here. But they are very interesting, for they prove that some of the scribes of the late Sixth Dynasty were simply copying the tomb inscriptions blindly, and had little knowledge of the real meaning of what they were writing. This confusion arose from the similarity of the group of signs  to  *iuf* "flesh". Therefore, we now find the following determinatives in use:—




(1)  : lists Nos. 109 *T*, 95 *H*, 101 *H*, 134 *H*; (2)   : list No. 111 *T*; (3)  : list No. 100 *H*; (4)  : list No. 120 *H*; (5)  : lists Nos. 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (6)  : list No. 113 *T*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 141 :—

(86 *E*)  ()       | "Osiris *Wni's*, take to yourself the "Eye of Horus which he snatched."



(86 *F*)    | "One *t-sif-loaf*."

No. 154    | "Š't-Cakes" (*Wni's*, Line 87 A)






THE MEANING

This seems to be another variety of fancy bread or cake, and according to the usual determinatives, it was of a tall, narrow conical shape. A scene from the New Kingdom Tomb of the Vizier *Rh-mi-R'* shows Servants of the House of Dates making *š't*-cakes; near to them is a jar of honey (VIÉRY, "*Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*", Pl. XI). This would suggest that *š't*-cakes were made with dates and honey, but the question remains whether we are justified in accepting the evidence of a New Kingdom scene in order to identify an Old Kingdom item (see, also MASPERO, *ibid*, p. 392; MURRAY, *ibid* pp. 33, 39; JUNKER, "*Giza*" (Vol. I, pp. 147, 244).

THE HISTORY




This is one of the older items in the offering-list having appeared as far back as the Third Dynasty in the list of *H3.j-b3.w-Skr* (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 99) where it is written   .

THE FOURTH DYNASTY



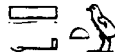
The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written   (see also lists Nos. 3, 12, 14, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 10 *P*, 16 *H*). The other writing for the Fourth Dynasty is    | : lists Nos. 11, 7 *T*, 8 *H*, 15 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES





The following are the determinatives for this period :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **2, 3, 11, 14**, 8 *H*, 16 *H*, 15 *H*, 10 *P*; (2)  : lists Nos. **13**, 4 *T*, 5 *T*; (3)  : list No. 7 *T*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY







The predominating writing for this period is   *l*, while  only occurs ten times. There are no new writings.

FAULTY WRITINGS





In list No. 17 *H* the sign  is omitted. In list No. 74 *P*, this item is written simply  *l*, where the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES



The following are the new determinatives :—

- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : list No. **68**; (3)  : list No. **32**; (4)  : list No. 18 *T*; (5)  : list No. 51 *P*; (6)  : list No. 52 *P*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY






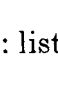
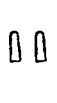

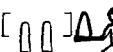













We have now the new writing   : list No. 100 *H*. The form  *l*, however remains the usual writing, and appears in forty-seven lists, while the writing  *l*, now only appears five times.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In lists Nos. **91, 92**, the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :—

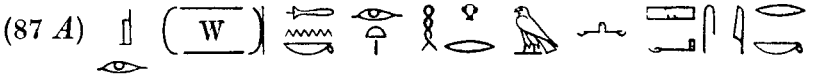
- (1)   : list No. **115**; (2)  : list No. **102**; (3)    : list No. **88**; (4)   : list No. **128**; (5)  : list No. **85**; (6)   : list No. **87**; (7)    : lists Nos. 134 *H*, 112 *T*, 94 *P*; (8)   : list No. 100 *H*; (9)   : list No. 86 *H*; (10)   : list No. 81 *T*;
- (11)   : list No. **126**.

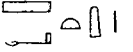
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In list No. 90 *H*, the sign  should be .

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 142:--

(87 A)  "Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*, it will not be separated from you (again)."

(87 B)  "Two *s'rt*-cakes."

See also Gardiner (*ibid*)  "Take for thyself the Eye of *Horus*, it shall not trickle away (?) from thee. *S'jt*-cakes, twenty" (p. 83, Note 2).

See SETHE. "*Dramatischertexte*", p. 121, line 19 B. ("The *s't*-bread is, naturally, made of barley.) "I present to you the Eye of *Horus*. It will not be separated from you (again)".

Nos. 155 and 202  "*Np1.t*-Cakes" (*Wn's*, Line 87 D)

THE MEANING


This seems to be another kind of small cake which was usually presented in the *hnt*-basin. Murray suggests that it was seed-corn (1) which, indeed, some of the determinatives would seem to indicate (*see* lists). Maspero (*ibid*, p. 393) was of the opinion that both *np1.t* and *mst* were a kind of paste prepared in granular form, like the modern European semolina.

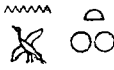



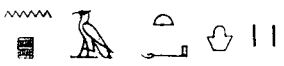
THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to appear in any list before the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 2 where it is written:






 . Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. 3, 11, 14, 15 H ; (2)  : lists Nos. 13, 16 H ;
- (3)  : list No. 7 T, "*npw.t* two portions"; (4)  : list No. 8 H ; (5)  : list No. 10 P .

(1) MURRAY, "*Sakkara Mastabas*", Vol. I, p. 39.































THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for this period —

- (1)  : list No. **2**; (2)  : lists Nos. **13**, 7 *T*, 15 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. **11**, **14**, 8 *H*, 16 *H*; (4)  : list No. 10 *P*; (5)  : list No. **3**.







THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—




- (1)     : list No. **53**; (2)       : list No. **44**; (3)     : list No. 29 *H* (this last writing seems to have been confused with No. 135, the *prt*-bread as the sign  has been omitted); (4)   : list No. **75**; (5)     : list No. 74 *P*. The predominating writing is now    which occurs thirteen times,    occurs thirteen times, and the fuller writing    three times.

THE DETERMINATIVES




















The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : list No. **54**; (3)   : list No. **70**; (4)  : list No. 59 *H*; (5)  : list No. 23 *H*.



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 42 *T*, the second sign  should be either a loaf  or another *hnt*-basin .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY








A characteristic writing of the Sixth Dynasty is that which omits the sign . This gives a pronunciation of *npɜ* or sometimes *npɜ.w*: (1)     : lists Nos. **99**, 111 *T*; (2)       : list No. **126**; (3)     : list No. 113 *T*; (4)     : list No. 95 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **102** the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are new:—

- (1)  : list No. **115**; (2)  : list No. **128**; (3) ^{oo}  : list No. **88**; (4)  : lists Nos. **116**, 89 *P*, **126**; (5) ^{ooo} : lists Nos. 90 *H*, 120 *H*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*; (6)  : list No. 112 *T*; (7) ^{ooo}  : list No. **102**; (8)  : list No. 136 *H*.


THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 143 :—

(87 *C*)  “Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn's*, acknowledge to yourself the Eye of Horus (*Hr*).”



(87 *D*)  “Two basins of *npj.t*-cakes.”

Also *Utterance No. 191* :—

(109 *A*)  “Words spoken: ‘Take the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) which had been acknowledged by him, and which Horus had given to you, *npj.t*-cakes’.”

No. 156  “*Mst*-Food (*Wn's*, Line 88 B)
(see Junker, “Giza”, Vol. II, p. 204)




THE MEANING


The meaning of this item is a kind of food prepared from grain, perhaps from the   *swt*-corn (?) (see below, p. 416). Its nature can be gleaned from the various determinatives which show a basin, and also, particularly during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, a basin and three grains (see the lists).

THE HISTORY

This is another new item in the offering-list, and does not seem to have appeared before the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material is in list No. **3** where it is written    (see also lists Nos. **13**, **14**).

In list No. 7 *T*, it is written  " *msw.t*, two portions". For the writing *msw.t*, see also lists Nos. 11, 8 *H*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 10 *P*, the sign \triangle is omitted.

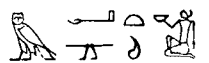
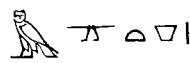
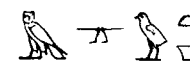
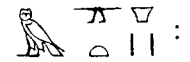
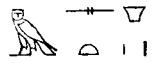
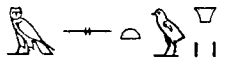
From the above writings we see that the earliest form of the name was *msw.t*, and this writing was in the majority during the Fourth Dynasty.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The general determinative for this item is the basin ∇ , which seems to indicate that the *msw.t* was either a dry food in small particles, or a grain, or a semi-liquid composition (see list Nos. 11, 14, 8 *H*). In list No. 10 *P* the determinative is \triangle , and in lists Nos. 13, and 7 *T*, it is $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$. In list No. 15 *H*, we have ∇ , and in list No. 3 it is $\circ\circ$ which suggests some kind of cake or bread.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The only new writings for this period are the following:—




(1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : list No. 67 *H*; (3)  : list No. 29 *H*; (4)  : list No. 73. But we now find that the predominating form of the name is  which occurs thirty times, while the older form  *msw.t* now occurs in eleven lists.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 42 *T* the sign $\left[\overset{\circ}{\text{bird}} \right]$ should be , and in list No. 49 *H*, the sign \rightsquigarrow should be \rightarrow while in list No. 56, the sign \rightarrow is omitted. In list No. 74 *P*, the writing is altogether faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The new determinatives are interesting, as they indicate that *mst* (or *msw.t*) was a kind of grain or a food made of prepared grain, and we now find that the general determinative is the basin ∇ in conjunction with the signs $\circ\circ\circ$ or $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$ (see lists Nos. 79, 27, 33, 34, 37, 41, 44, 53, 56, 17 *H*, 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 19 *T*, 42 *T*, 31 *H*, 39 *H*, 51 *P*, 62 *H*, 71, 50 *H*, 46). Other determinatives for this period are as follows:—

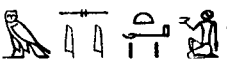
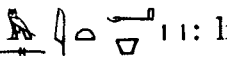
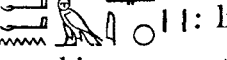
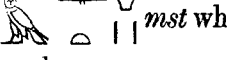
(1) (sic)  : list No. 69; (2) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla} \nabla$: list No. 79; (3) $\overset{\text{III}}{\nabla}$: list No. 23 *H* (this last is in reality the same as the first-mentioned forms); (4) \circ : list No. 143 *H*; (5) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$  : list No. 70; (6)  : list No. 68.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES



In list No. 69 the sign for meat should not be used here.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find an entirely new spelling which is characteristic of this period, and may appear in the following forms:—







- (1) : lists Nos. 87, 123 *P*, 136 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 120 *H*, 121 *H*;
 (3) : list No. 95 *H*. However, the predominating form is still  *mst* which occurs thirty-seven times, while the old form *msw.t* now appears nine times only.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 95 *H* the sign  should be .

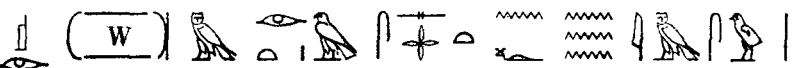
THE DETERMINATIVES

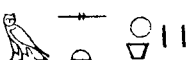
The new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1) : lists Nos. 87, 88, 102, 81, 100 *H*; (2) : list No. 128; (3) : list No. 115;
 (4) : lists Nos. 116, 89 *P*; (5) : lists Nos. 135 *T*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 93 *P*, 131 *P*; (6) : list No. 95 *H*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 144:—

(88 A)  | “ Osiris *Wn's*, take the Eye of Horus (*Hr*), of which he had cured the water in it.”

(88 B)  | “Two basins of *ms.t*.”

No. 157  || “*Dsr.t*-Beer” (see above, p. 295, ff.)

No. 158  *Ist.t* “Prepared Milk” (*Wn's*, Line 89 B)


THE MEANING


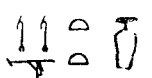

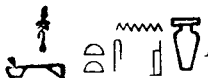
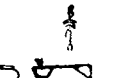



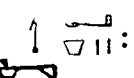

The meaning of this item is a food consisting of prepared milk, or perhaps the milk itself.

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared in the lists before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty.


THE FOURTH DYNASTY

Ist.t first appears in our material in list No. **1**, where it is written  (see also list No. **2**). Other writings for this period are as follows:—

- (1)  $\bar{\text{Ist.t}}$: lists Nos. **4 T**, **5 T**; (2)  : list No. **15 H**; (3)  : list No. **7 T** “*Ist.t* two portions”; (4)  *Ist.t nms.t* “*Ist.t* in a *nms.t*-jar”: list No. **8 H**, (this is an extra entry slipped in after the *dsr.t*-beer); (5)  : list No. **3**. We have also a number of lists where the writing includes the element *dsr.t*:  *dsr.t-ist.t*: lists Nos. **13**, **16 H**;  : list No. **14**;  “*dsr.t-ist.t*, one portion”: list No. **8 H**;  : list No. **10 P**;  *ist.t-dsr.t*: list No. **11**.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following determinatives are employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1) ∇ : lists Nos. **11**, **13**, **14**, **10 P**, **16 H**; (2) $\bar{\text{Ist.t}}\nabla$: lists Nos. **7 T**, **15 H**; (3) $\bar{\text{Ist.t}}$: lists Nos. **1**, **2**, **3**, **8 H**; (4)  : lists Nos. **4 T**, **5 T**; (5) \cup : lists No. **8 H** (second appearance).

THE FIFTH DYNASTY



There are no new writings for this period.

FAULTY WRITINGS


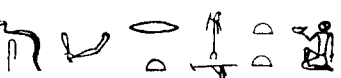

In list No. **49 H** the sign  is defective.

THE DETERMINATIVES



The new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2) $\nabla\nabla$: list No. **29 H**; (3) $\bar{\text{Ist.t}}$: list No. **51 P**; (4) ∇ : list No. **70**

THE SIXTH DYNASTY








Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the full writing (1):  : lists Nos. **120 H**, **121 H**, **122 H**, **123 P**; (2)  : lists Nos. **81 T**, **84 P**, **90 H**; (3)  : list No. **82**. During the period there is a greater tendency to amalgamate this item with the *dsr.t*-drink (see above, p. 295 ff.).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 107 *H* the sign  is defective. In list No. 115, the group  seems to be a faulty writing of *nms.t-dsr.t*.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 87; (2)  : list No. 99; (3)  : list No. 102; (4)  : list No. 113 *T* (5)  : list No. 115; (6)  : list No. 112 *T*; (7)  : list No. 128.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 146:—

(89 *A*)  “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, they (the enemies of Osiris) had come and *š'n* in it.”

(89 *B*)  | *It.t* “Prepared Milk, 2 Basins.”



No. 159  “*Hnsm-Beer*” (see above, p. 298, ff.)

Ncs. 160 and 194  “*Hnkt-Beer*” (*Wn's*, Line 90 B)

THE MEANING

This item means simply beer, apparently of the ordinary kind.

THE HISTORY

This is one of the oldest items in the offering-list. It occurs in the Second Dynasty on the Stele of the Bankfield Museum, where it is represented by its characteristic jar  : (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 87), while on the Berlin niche-stone, it is written . The determinative of the loaf may here mean a general sign of food and drink, or it may indicate that the beer was made of soaked and fermented bread, as the modern *booza* (1).

(1) ‘*Booza*’ is the Arabic word used in Egypt for a native liquor obtained by the fermentation of the bread or malt for a considerable time.

This kind of intoxicant originated in the Sudan, where it is called ‘*Mareesa*’.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

Hnk.t first appears in our material in the list No. 3 where it is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (see also list No. 5 *T*) (in list No. 4 *T*, only the sign 𓆎 is preserved). This spelling is found throughout all the Fourth Dynasty, but we have also the form $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ “*Hnk.t*, two portions” in lists Nos. 9 *P*, 10 *P*. and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$: list No. 8 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1) 𓆏 𓆐 : lists Nos. 3, 5 *T*; (2) 𓆏 : list No. 15 *H*; (3) 𓆏 : list No. 11; (4) 𓆐 : list No. 8 *H*; (5) 𓆐 : lists Nos. 13, 14, 9 *P*, 10 *P*, 16 *H*. The form 𓆏 seems to indicate that the beer was made of grain in this case.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We do not find any new writings for this period.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 143 *H* (entry No. 194), the sign 𓆏 should be 𓆏 .

THE DETERMINATIVES

Although there are no new writings for this period, several new determinatives are introduced, of which the most frequent is 𓆏 : lists Nos. 36, 37, 41, 73, 74 *P*, 75, 43, 44, 45, 46, 53, 63, 19 *T*, 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 42 *T*, 32, 35 *H*, 56, 61 *H*, 67 *H*, 143 *H*. Other new determinatives are as follows:—

(1) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 69; (2) 𓆐 : list No. 18 *H*; (3) 𓆐 𓆏 : list No. 70.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The writing remains unchanged for this period, but we have some new determinatives.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—


(1) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 83; (2) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 88; (3) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 102; (4) 𓆏 𓆏 :

list No. 115; (5) 𓆏 𓆏 : list No. 86 *H*; (6) 𓆏 : lists Nos. 116, 89 *P*; (7) 𓆏 : list No. 93 *P*; (8) 𓆏 : list No. 111 *T* (the latter is a return to the determinative of a loaf which had appeared before in the Second Dynasty [see above]); (9) 𓆏 : list Nos. 94 *P*; (10) 𓆏 : list No. 113 *T*; (11) 𓆏 𓆐 : list No. 112 *T*.


THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 148 :—

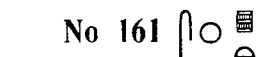
(90 A)  | “Osiris *Wni's*, equip yourself with the fluid which comes out of you.”

(90 B)  | “Two basins of beer.”



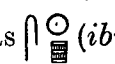
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 183 :—



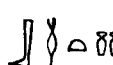



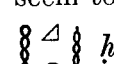
(105 B)  Words spoken : ‘ Take to yourself the fluid which comes out of Osiris. (Two) jars of beer’, ”.

(See also GARDINER, “ *The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX* ”, Vol. II, Pl. 54 :  ‘ Take for thyself the juice (?) which comes forth from Osiris (Beer).’

No 161  “ *Shp.t-Drink* ” (*Wni's*, Line 90 D)

THE MEANING

This item is another kind of drink, as we may see by the determinatives. Maspero (*ibid*, p. 393). classes it as a kind of beer, but Murray (“ *Sakkâra Mastabas* ”, Vol. I, p. 39) mentions the older identification of cucumbers (?), but expresses the opinion that *shpt* may be either a drink made from fruit juice, or a very juicy fruit, perhaps the green-striped melons (?) carried by the farm-women (*ibid*, Pl. IX). We cannot see, however, any grounds for this identification, as all the determinatives are in the form of jars or basins, except in list No. 12 where we have  which may determine grain or fruit, but which, as we have already seen above, may be used to determine beer. In the Third Dynasty list of *Ht-Hr-nfr-htp*  appears as a heading for a class of vessel (MURRAY, *ibid*, Pl. II). But in the contemporary list of *Hj-b3.w-Skr* it is written simply as  (*ibid*, Pl. I) (see also “ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. V, p. 101).

This last writing also appears on the Stele of the Princess *Shfnr* (Second Dynasty) where it is determined by two jars  and placed among the drinks (see “ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. V, p. 94). In the list of *Mtn* it is written  and placed among the drinks, next to  *bnr.t*. In the Tomb of *R'-htp*, of Meydum, (PETRIE, “ *Medum* ”, Pl. XI), two male offering-bearers are carrying jars of drink. The first holds two jars bound together  in his right hand and a single jar in his left hand, and is labelled *irp*-wine. The second carries a jar  in his right hand, and apparently a similar one in his left hand (damaged), and is labelled . This would seem to read “ *shpt bnr.t* ” sweet *shpt*, for which we have a parallel in the list of *Ht-Hr-nfr-htp* in  *hnk.t bnr.t* “ sweet beer. ”

THE HISTORY

This is one of the older entries in the offering-list, and if we can accept the writing $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ of the stele of Princess *Shfnr*, it dates back to the Second Dynasty. Certainly the form $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ dates from the Third Dynasty, as we may see by the above-mentioned list of *Mtn*.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. **1** where it is written $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ ̅ 11, see lists Nos. **2**, **4 T**, **3** (where it occurs twice) **13**, **11**, **12**, **14**, **15 H**, **16 H**. We have also the writing $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ ̅ 11 “ *shpt*, two portions ” lists Nos. **7 T**, **6 H**, and $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ ̅ ̅ ̅ : lists Nos. **5 T**, and **8 H**. Dr. Junker suggests that this last is a faulty writing for $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$, but we find it occurring fairly frequently in our material. Thus, we have it twice in the Fourth Dynasty, once in the Fifth Dynasty, and six times in the Sixth Dynasty.

FAULTY WRITINGS

Apart from the above-mentioned possibility that $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ may be an error for $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ (lists Nos. **5 T**, **8 H**), we have the writing $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ ̅ ̅ ̅ in list No. **10 P**.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The most usual determinative for this period is the basin ∇ (see lists Nos. **11**, **13**, **14**, **6 H**, **7 H**, **10 P**, **16 H**). Other determinatives are as follows:—

(1) ○○○ : list No. **12**; (2) ̅ ̅ : lists Nos. **4 T**, **5 T**; (3) ∇ : list No. **8 H**; (4) ̅ ∇ list No. **15 H**; (5) $\nabla \nabla$: list No. **3**; (6) $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$: list No. **3** (second appearance).

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

There are no new writings for this item during the Fifth Dynasty.

In list No. **45**, the first sign Δ should be ⊕ . In list No. **42 T**, we have the writing $\int_{\text{III}}^{\text{O}} \Delta$ ̅ ̅ 11 where the sign Δ is omitted. On the other hand, this may be a return to the old writing of the Archaic Period (see above, p. 388). In list No. **37** the signs ⊕ and ⊙ are reversed. In list No. **74 P** the sign ⊕ is omitted.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The only new determinatives are the following:—

(1) ∇ ⊕ : list No. **70**; (2) ⊕ : lists No. **69**; (3) ⊕ : lists Nos. **36**, **45**, **72**, **55 H**;
(4) $\text{⊕} \nabla$: lists Nos. **57 H**, **74 P**, **75**; (5) $\nabla \text{○○○}$: list No. **79**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY









Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find that the writing of this item remains unchanged.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. **116**, **132 T** and **90 H** we have the writing $\left| \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \square \\ \nabla \nabla \end{array} \right|$ which omits the sign \triangle (see above).







THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) $\overline{\delta}$ : list No. **83**; (2) $\overline{\delta}$ : lists Nos. **87, 88**; (3) $\overline{\delta}$ : list No. **102**; (4) ∇ : list No. **115**; (5) $\overline{\delta}$ : list No. **82**; (6) $\overline{\delta}$ : list No. **86 H**; (7) : lists Nos. **107 H, 116, 89 P**; (8) $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\circ}{\circ}}$: list No. **112 T**; (9) $\overline{\delta}$ ∇ : list No. **93 P**; (10) : list No. **136 H**.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts Utterance, No. 149:—

(90 C) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{W} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$   ---   ---   --- | "Osiris *Wn's*, equip yourself with the fluid which comes out of you."

(90 D) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \square \\ \triangle \end{array} \right| \nabla \left| \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \end{array} \right|$ | "Two basins of *skp.t*-drink."

No. 162 $\left| \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \right| \nabla \left| \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \end{array} \right|$ "*Pk*-Drink" (*Wn's*, Line 90 F)

THE MEANING

The word *pk* (or *pkj*) can mean either a drink prepared from a fruit, or the fruit itself, a fact that can be seen from the majority of the signs employed to determine this item. Maspero (*ibid*, p. 393) calls it a kind of beer, or a cereal, while Murray (*ibid*, p. 40) suggests slices of bread, apparently basing her identification upon the meaning of the word *pkj* 'divided'.

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have been added to the lists before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *ph* in our material is in list No. 3 where it is written . In list No. 6 *H*, it is written (see also lists Nos. 14, 7 *T*). Other writings for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

- (1) : list No. 8 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 11, 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed during the Fourth Dynasty:—

- (1) : lists Nos. 13, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 11, 14, 6 *H*, 7 *T*; (3) : list No. 8 *H*; (4) : list No. 3.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty we find the following new forms of writing:—

- (1) : lists Nos. 51 *P*, 65, 73; (2) : lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27; (3) : list No. 143 *H*.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

In list No. 69 we have the unusual writing . Here the offering-table should be pronounced *h3* the same as the sign which appeared in the Fourth Dynasty lists Nos. 14, 6 *H* and 7 *T*. (For the writing of this item with the offering-table during the Sixth Dynasty see lists Nos. 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*; and for the writing with the sign , see lists Nos. 80, 99).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 46, 66, 19 *H* the sign should be . In list No. 61 *H* the sign should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES





These are the new determinatives for the Fifth Dynasty:—

- (1) : lists Nos. 70, 68; (2) : list No. 69; (3) : lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27; (4) : list No. 52 *P*; (5) : list No. 46.




THE SIXTH DYNASTY











Characteristic of this period is the simple writing which is the one employed in the royal offering-lists (see lists Nos. 144 *H*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*, 149 *T*, and in the private lists 114 *T*, 118 *T*, 120 *H*, 121 *H*, 122 *H*). We have also the writing : lists Nos. 99 and 82. This latter writing proves by the presence of the sign that (variant) should be pronounced *h3*.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In lists Nos. 86 *H* and 131 *P* the sign  should be  and in list No. 113 *T*, the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES

As frequently happens at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, we find that some of the scribes had mistaken the nature of the item, confusing it with the word  which perhaps means slices of bread (*W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 542), and used the sign of the loaf  or  as a determinative (see lists Nos. 93 *P*, 123 *P*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 111 *T*, 137 *T*). Other determinatives for this period are as follows:—

(1)  : lists Nos. 87, 81 *T*; (2)  : list No. 86 *H*; (3)  : list No. 83; (4)  ; list No. 115; (5)  : list No. 89 *P*; (6)  : list No. 113 *T*; (7)  : list No. 123 *P*; (8)  : list No. 111 *T*; (9)  : list No. 117; (10)  : list No. 132 *T*.


FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 93 *P* the sign  is an error for the loaf , which itself is wrongly employed for this item.

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 150 :—

(90 *E*)  “Osiris *Wn's*, equip yourself with the juice which comes out of you.”

(90 *F*)  “Two basins of *pk*-drink.”



CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the formula for this entry is the same as that for the beer and the *shp,t*-drink seems conclusive proof that this was a kind of beverage, and, moreover, that these three drinks were all of a similar nature.

No. 163  “*Hnk.t Ssr*” (*Wn's*, Line 91 B)

THE MEANING


This item is a composite entry, the exact meaning of which is not clear, the difficulty lying in the precise meaning of the word *sšr*. In the Pyramid Texts and some of the late private lists we have *hnk.t sšr*, where the word *sšr* would seem to be an adjective describing the beer. In the majority of the private lists the entry is written *dwjw sšr*, which if we take *dwjw* in its narrower sense as meaning simply a kind of jar, would suggest that *sšr* was the name of a drink contained in it.


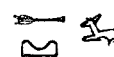

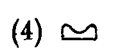

But *dwjw* here may mean both the jar and its contents, as we see by the entries Nos. 107, 122 (see above, p. 286, ff.) and in this case *ssr* would again seem to describe the contents of the jar. Judging by the writing found in the Pyramid Texts and the form of the determinative jar, this drink would seem to be a kind of beer. But we also have a number of reliable lists in which the determinative shows a conventional wine jar, either double  or single ; and this would seem to indicate that wine was the contents of the *dwjw*-jar, although the latter was the characteristic container for beer. As we shall see, there are a certain number of lists in the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties, where the element *ssr* is dropped and the entry remains simply *dwjw* which may be understood in its broader sense of the jar and its contents. Maspero (*ibid*, p. 394) calls *hnkt ssr* the beer of Elephantine, or of Nubia and suggests that it may be equivalent to the modern *booza* (native liquor).

THE HISTORY



This is another of the items which do not seem to have appeared before the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY






The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 7 *T*, where it is written  *dwjw ssr*. It is a characteristic feature of this item, that we find many different writings employed for it throughout all the period of the Old Kingdom. Thus, in our material for the Fourth Dynasty, we have the following writings, of which no two are quite alike:—

- (1)  : list No. 15 *H*; (2)  : list No. 10 *P*; (3)  : list No. 14;
 (4)  : list No. 16 *H*; (5)  : list No. 8 *H*.




THE DETERMINATIVES

The general determinative for this item during the Fourth Dynasty is a jar, which, as we have already remarked, may be either the characteristic vessel for beer or for wine. Thus, we have the form  : lists Nos. 14, 10 *P*, 7 *T*. This is the usual form of the *dwjw* beer-jar (see above). But in lists Nos. 15 *H* and 16 *H* we have  which are characteristic wine-jars.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 8 *H* we have  and in list No. 11 . In each case the sign of the loaf may be an error for the jar, or, on the other hand, the ancient scribe may have confused this entry with Nos. 107 and 122, *sns dwjw r-s'w* which is usually determined by the *sns*-loaf  or  and the *dwjw*-jar .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find a number of new variant writings, which are: (1)  : lists Nos. 46, 19 *T*; (2)  : list No. 76. This writing is of some interest for it proves that  alone may be pronounced *dwjw*, and this confirms the idea that

many of the signs which are apparently determinatives should also be pronounced phonetically, and may either complete or replace the phonetic writing. An even more striking example is seen in list No. 61 *H*, where we have simply } 0 | | . Here the bow reads *ss'r* (not *sti*) and the jar is *dwpw*. Other writings for this period are as follows:—

- (1) | } 𐀀 𐀁 | | : list No. 25 *H*; (2) | 𐀀 } 0 0 | | : lists Nos. 26 *H*, 27; (3) 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 | | : list No. 65; (4) 𐀀 | 𐀀 𐀁 | | : lists Nos. 56, 44; (5) 𐀀 | 𐀁 𐀂 : list No. 69; (6) 𐀀 | 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 | | : list No. 53; (7) 𐀀 | 𐀁 𐀂 𐀃 | | 11 : list No. 28 *H*; (8) | 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 : list No. 66; (9) | 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 | | : list No. 71; (10) 𐀀 | 𐀁 : list No. 72; (11) } 𐀀 𐀁 : list No. 77.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS

We now come to a form of writing where the element *ss'r* is dropped : 𐀀 𐀁 | | : list No. 33, and 𐀀 0 | | : list No. 31 *H*. This form became more common during the early part of the Sixth Dynasty, when it occurs in seven lists in our material. As will be seen from the above writings, the element *ss'r* may be written either with the bow } or the arrow 𐀀, but in list No. 57 *H*, we have both signs 𐀀 0 0 } 𐀀 . For the writing 𐀀 𐀁 } 𐀂 | | : list No. 143 *H*, see below in the royal lists of the Sixth Dynasty.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 17 *H* the second sign 𐀀 should be the bow 𐀀, or the arrow 𐀀, and the signs 𐀀 𐀁 are errors for 0 0 . In list No. 41, the sign 𐀀 is defective, and in list No. 55 *H*, the sign 𐀀 should be either the bow or the arrow.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :

- (1) 𐀀 : lists Nos. 19 *T*, 28 *H*, 36, 46, 56, 64, 65; (2) 𐀀 : lists Nos. 25 *H*, 30, 67 *H*, 74 *P*; (3) 0 : list No. 31 *H*; (4) 𐀀 : list No. 66; (5) 𐀀 𐀁 : list No. 41; (6) 𐀀 𐀁 : list No. 70; (7) 𐀀 : list No. 69; (8) 0 𐀁 : list No. 68; (9) 𐀀 0 0 : list No. 39 *H*; (10) 𐀀 0 0 : list No. 38 *H* | |.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 26 *H*, 51 *P*, and 52 *P* the signs of the two loaves are either an error for the jar or a confusion with entries Nos. 107 and 122 (see above). In list No. 49 *H* the sign 𐀀 is probably an error for the basin 𐀁 .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the writing of this item as $\text{𓏏} \triangle \text{𓏏}$ 𓏏𓏏 which occurs in the royal lists Nos. 144 *H*, 145 *H*, and 148 *T*. and with a variant determinative. in the private list No. 104 *T*. In the lists of *ss.t-in-Ttj* we have two variants of the same name. In list No. 128 it is written $\text{𓏏} \triangle \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ 𓏏𓏏, and in list No. 129, it is $\text{𓏏} \triangle \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ 𓏏𓏏 which seems to be faulty (?). We have also the writing $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (sic) : lists Nos. 109 *T*, and 132 *T*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

We have an unusually large number of faulty writings for this item. In many cases these errors seem to be due to the carelessness of the ancient scribes, but we must also make allowance for the fact that many of the faultily written lists occurring in burial-chambers do not necessarily owe their errors to the carelessness or dishonesty of the scribes, but may be due to the fact that these men were working in a confined space, a frequently stifling atmosphere, and certainly an artificial light. Anyone who has had experience of working under these combined conditions will be surprised to find the lists do not contain even more errors.

In list No. 123 *P* there is a parasitical sign \triangle . In list No. 95 *H*, the sign \triangle should be \bigcirc and the first sign \ominus should be 𓏏 . In list No. 103 *T*, the second sign 𓏏 should be the arrow 𓏏 . The writing of list No. 112 *T* is altogether faulty. In lists Nos. 110 *T* and 113 *T* this item has been divided into two separate entries, each of which has its own numeral. In the last-named list, the whole writing seems to be faulty, and includes the element *irp* 𓏏 𓏏 . In lists Nos. 114 *T* and 130 *P* the sign 𓏏 should be 𓏏 and in list No. 131 *P* the sign 𓏏 is an error for 𓏏 .

THE DETERMINATIVES

New determinatives are as follows:—

(1) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: lists Nos. 88, 128; (2) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: lists Nos. 83, 87, 115; (3) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: list No. 129; (4) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: list No. 81 *T*; (5) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: list No. 117; (6) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$: lists Nos. 91, 92.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES


In lists Nos. 148 *T* and 138 *P* the signs representing loaves are an error for the jar 𓏏 .

THE FORMULA











Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 151:—

(91 A) 𓏏 (W) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 | “Osiris *Wn's*, equip yourself with the juice coming out of you.”



(91 B) $\text{𓏏} \triangle \text{𓏏}$ 𓏏𓏏 “Two jars of *ss'r*-beer.”

Nos. 164 and 204  "D3t-Figs" (Wn's, Line 91 D)


THE MEANINGS








According to the earliest writing of this word which we have up to the present, *d3b* were dried figs. This we may see by the Third Dynasty list of *Hj-b3.w-Skr*, where this item is inscribed along with other dry goods upon the sign of the granary  (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 103). Further proof for this identification lies in the sign  which is often used to determine this item (see lists Nos. 25 *H*, 26 *H*, 27, etc.), and which represents a number of dried figs pierced through the middle and threaded upon a string. In the list of Princess *N/r.t-3btj.t* this is seen even more clearly in the determinative  (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. III). Dried figs threaded in this manner are on sale in Egypt and elsewhere, at the present day. Newberry, in an interesting note in the P. S. B. A. (Vol. XXII, p. 148), records a find of dried figs made by Petrie at Abydos, in the Tomb of King *Dn*. Petrie described these figs as being 'en rouleau, with a hole in them, very probably they were strung'. This fact not only supports the evidence of the sign , but is also a proof that figs were offered to the dead as far back as the First Dynasty, and long before their first-known appearance in the written offering-lists. Sometimes, as we shall see, this item was determined by a single fig  or three such figs. This perhaps led the later scribes to misunderstand the nature of the entry and mistaking the sign  for the *nw*-jar , which it closely resembles, use the latter sign as a determinative for *d3b*, as in lists Nos. 51 *P*, 112 *T*, etc. Such writings may have led others to assume that *d3b* was a kind of drink. But, on the other hand, we have a new writing in the list of *Nj-nh-Ppjj* (No. 115) from our excavations at Sakkâra which clearly proves that here, at least, *d3b* was regarded as a kind of drink made from figs, for we have the determinative . Here the first sign represents a fig, followed by two basins, and finally the priest holding the jar , which was a recognized form of vessel to contain liquids. In list No. 116 from the same tomb, we have also the determinative of a fig and two basins,  but as this list was inscribed on the inside of a wooden sarcophagus, the 'dangerous' sign of the priest was omitted. Maspero, who identified *d3b* as 'a drink made of figs fermented in water', perhaps bases his identification on such a writing as this, from some later lists not included in our material ("*La Table d'Offrandes*", p. 394).

THE HISTORY





Apparently the earliest appearance of this item in the offering list is the above-mentioned example in the list of *Hj-b3.w-Skr*, where it is written  within the sign of the granary  (see above). But as we have already seen, figs were presented as offerings to the dead as early as the First Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *d3b* in our material occurs in list No. 1 where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 11, 12. There is also a form of writing which at first glance seems to read *db*,








as in lists Nos. **2, 3**  , but if we look closely at some of the carefully written lists, we shall see that the top of the sign  is beneath the beak of the eagle , and thus forms a sign-group analogous to the better known form , where the sign,  being placed below the breast of the bird, is pronounced last. Other lists which employ this writing are: lists Nos. **13, 14, 4 T, 5 T, 15 H**. We have also the writing  “figs, two portions”: lists Nos. **7 T, 8 H, 10 P**.

FAULTY WRITINGS




In list No. **16 H** this item is carelessly written. The sign  should be , while the sign  should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES










The determinatives for this item are as follows:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **7 T, 8 H, 15 H**; (2)  : list No. **10 P**; (3)  : lists Nos. **14, 16 H**;
 (4)  : list No. **11**; (5)  : list No. **2**; (6)  : lists Nos. **4 T, 5 T**; (7)  : lists Nos. **1, 3**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY











Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find a new form of writing *d3b* in which the sign  is suppressed.   : lists Nos. **26 H, 27, 36, 68, 143 H**.

FAULTY WRITINGS

For such a simple item as this we have a surprisingly large number of faulty writings. Thus in list No. **29 H** there is a parasitical sign . In list No. **22 H** the sign  is defective, and in list No. **49 H** this sign is lacking. In list No. **43**, the sign  should be  and in list No. **53** the sign  should be . In list No. **72** the sign  should be ; while the writing of No. **74 P** is altogether faulty. In list No. **35 H** the sign  is lacking.

THE DETERMINATIVES

New determinatives for this item are as follows:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **32, 33, 37, 31 H, 23 H, 67 H, 39 H, 62 H, 52 P**; (2)  : lists Nos. **36, 19 T, 47 H, 35 H, 43, 76, 77, 57 H**; (3)  : list No. **69**; (4)  : list No. **68**; (5)  : list No. **46**; (6)  : lists Nos. **26 H, 27, 48**; (7)  : list No. **25 H**; (8)  : list No. **50 H**; (9)   : list No. **73**.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 51 *P* and 72, the sign for the fig δ has been distorted into a *mw-jar* \cup . In list No. 49 *H*, the sign \blacksquare should be ∇ . In lists Nos. 34 and 55 *H* the sign \curvearrowright is distorted.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

During the Sixth Dynasty we do not find any new writings, but we find a number of faulty writings

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No 95 *H*, the writing of this entry is altogether faulty. The first two signs \cup \cup are out of place here, the sign \cup should be \cup (see also list No. 103 for this error). In lists Nos. 106 *T* and 80; the sign \cup should be \cup . In list No. 120 *H* the signs \cup and \cup are omitted. In lists Nos. 130 *P* and 138 *P*, there is a parasitical sign \blacksquare .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:--

- (1) \cup \cup : list No. 129 ; (2) \cup \cup : list No. 102 ; (3) \cup \cup : list No. 115 ; (4) \cup \cup : list No. 83 ; (5) \cup : list No. 81 *T* ; (6) \cup : list No. 86 *H* ; (7) \cup : list No. 116 ; (8) \cup : lists Nos. 114 *T*, 118 *T* ; (9) \cup : list No. 145 *H* ; (10) \cup \cup : list No. 89 *P* ; (11) \cup \cup : list No. 96 *P* ; (12) \cup \cup : list No. 121 *H* ; (13) \cup : list No. 94 *P* ; (14) \cup \cup : list No. 112 *T* ; (15) \cup : list No. 95 *H* ; (16) \cup \cup : list No 117.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In the very faulty list No. 95 *H* the sign \cup should be \cup , and perhaps the oval loaf in list No. 96 *P*, is the same error. In list No. 137 *T*, the sign \cup should be the fig δ .

THE FORMULA

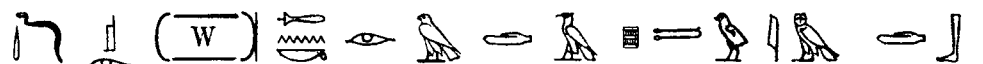
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 152 :—

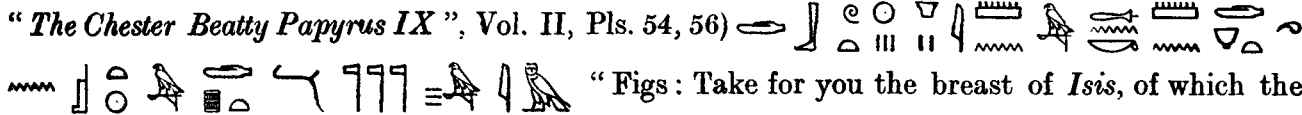
(91 *C*) \cup (\cup) \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup (1) “ Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the breast of *Horus* by which they are nourished ” (for *dsp*, see *W.B.*, Vol. *V*, p. 476).

(91 *D*) \cup \cup \cup \cup | “ Two basins of figs. ”

(1) \cup \cup “ *They* ”, here means the Gods (SETHE, “ *Dramatische* ”, p. 214)

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 193 :—

(110)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris *Wn̄s*, take to yourself the eye of *Horus* by which you are nourished | Figs 2 plates’.”

For variants of this formula, see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 214, also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pls. 54, 56)  “Figs: Take for you the breast of *Isis*, of which the gods taste (*Var.* Pl. 56). Take to thyself the breast of *Horus*, of which the gods taste.”

Nos. 165 and 196  “*Irp Mh̄*” (*Wn̄s*, Line 92 B)






THE MEANING


We now come to a group of entries enumerating the various wines presented to the dead. Wine was clearly an important beverage to the Egyptians, and its use as an offering can be dated back clearly as far as the First Dynasty by the number of wine-jars and jar-sealings found in the Archaic mastabas of this period. From the time of the Old Kingdom onwards vintage scenes are among the commonest of the representations on the chapel walls, and show us that the fruit was placed in large shallow tanks, where it was trampled upon by two or more men in order to extract the juice. After this the residue was placed in a sack and the remaining juice extracted by twisting the sack tightly (for this scene, see the Tomb of Prince *Nb-m-ḥt*, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV. p. 140). The juice was then placed in large earthenware jars where it was allowed to ferment. When the process of fermentation was complete, the wine was poured off into smaller jars, the mouths of which were closed usually with a clay cap and sealed with the name of the owner. Such sealings from the royal tombs of the Archaic Period are of great value to us for the study of chronology, and also for the early hieroglyphic writing.







Erman states that under the Old Kingdom, white, red and black wines were known to the Ancient Egyptians⁽¹⁾. But as Lucas points out in his book “*Ancient Egyptian Materials*” (p. 15), we have as yet no inscription informing us of the colour of Egyptian wines. However, as the colour of the wine depends upon the colour of the grape from which it is prepared, or whether the skins of the black grapes were present during the process of fermentation, it is probable that much of the Egyptian wine was of the red variety, as, when we have coloured representations of grapes preserved, they are usually shown as blue, in imitation of the bluish bloom on black grapes⁽²⁾ and these, together with the primitive method of extracting the juice, which would allow the skins to remain for some time in contact with the juice, together with the rapid fermentation due to the hot climate, would impart a red colour to the wine.

(1) ERMAN, “*Life in Ancient Egypt*”, p. 196.

(2) See DAVIS, “*The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*”, Frontispiece, Pls. XXV, XXVI.

Wine was one of the indispensable items of the offering-list and appears in the earliest list so far known to us, namely the Bankfield Stele, which dates back to the Second Dynasty, and where it is written  , the sign of the vine, and the characteristic jar proving the identification (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 88). On the stele of Princess *Shfnr* this item is written   the determinative of the two jars covered with basket work (?) being later a characteristic determinative for wine, and an ideogram for the word ‘*bs̄*’. In the lists of the Third Dynasty and early Fourth Dynasty, only one wine entry is included and this has the general name *irp*  wine, and is usually determined by the two jars with the basket-work protection; see the lists of *H̄j-bz.w-Skr* (*ibid.*, pp. 97, 99); *Mtn* (*ibid.*, p. 104).

During the early part of the Fourth Dynasty, the lists still display a single wine entry, as in the list of Princess *Nfrt-Ibtjt* (*ibid.*, p. 107), and in our material *Ms-sj* (list No. 1). But in lists Nos. 2, 3, 4 *T*, and 5 *T*, although there is still only one wine entry, this item is determined by the three jars  and in lists Nos. 6 *H* and 7 *T*, we have three separate wine entries, but in the latter list they are not grouped together, and two are named. In lists Nos. 8 *H*, and 10 *P*, and those lists which follow them, we have the canonical group of five wine entries, but of these only *irp* ‘*bs̄*’ is specified, the others being referred to simply as *irp*. During the Fifth Dynasty we begin to get lists in which the special names of the last five wines in the group are given, as in list No. 70, which gives *imt*, *H̄mw* and *snw*. Towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty the names of the last four wine entries are given, as in lists Nos. 69 and 67 and finally all five names appear, *irp-mh̄*, *irp-b̄s̄*, *irp-Imt*, *irp-H̄mw* and *irp-Snw*, as in list No. 131 *H*. In the private list No. 44 we have the name of the first wine *irp mh̄*. But as we shall see by the lists, the position of the last three entries was not fixed, and all the lists do not follow the same order of succession. In the lists of the Sixth Dynasty we have the special name of the first wine given as *irp mh̄* ‘Wine of the North’ as in the Fourth Dynasty list No. 7 *T*, where, however, it has changed places with ‘*bs̄*’. Sometimes, towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty, a sixth wine is added, called *irp sm̄* ‘Wine of the South’. Wine of the North may include the Marotic wine, which was made near Alexandria, and was much praised by Athenaeus (The Deipnosophists, line 33). This wine is still made in Egypt. The name ‘*bs̄*’ in *irp* ‘*bs̄*’ seems to refer to the jar in which it was contained, and would thus be analogous to the *dwju ss̄r*, which we have just discussed. *Irp Imt* was the wine of Buto, *Imt* being the capital of the Butite nome, which lay in the north-west of the Delta, and was divided into two parts:

- (1)    “The Front Nome of the King’s Child” and having Bubastis as its capital, and
- (2)    “The Hind Nome of the King’s Child”, the ruins of the capital of which is now known as Tel Nebesche near Tanis.

This town played an important part in the importation of wine from Phoenicia (SETHE. “*Der Name der Phönizier bei Grichen und Agyptern*”, Mitt. Vorderas. Ges., 1916, p. 321) (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 179).

Irp Snw was the wine of Pelusium, and *irp H̄mw*, was, according to Brugsch (“*Dictionnaire Geographique de l’Ancienne Egypte*”, pp. 495, 496), a locality in the great Oasis, famed for its wines, but Breasted considered it as being in the western Delta, in the neighbourhood of Lake Mariotis (“*Ancient Records*”, Vol. IV, Part 734).

The latest addition to the list, *irp šm* means 'Wine of the South', and was perhaps wine of the Thebaid, which was also praised by the classical writers (*see* LUCAS, *ibid.*, p. 20). Thus, we see that from the earliest times to the end of the Old Kingdom, there was a steady development in the enumeration of the wine entries, both as to the number of these items and their specified names, and this may be a great help to us in fixing the date of a list. In this respect we must not forget the importance of the determinative. In the early lists the word *irp* was usually determined by the characteristic jar covered with basket-work (?), as we have already seen, and these jars may be either one, two or three in number. Late in the Fourth Dynasty the word *irp* began to be determined by the sign of the Vine $\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ (1), while the characteristic double jars $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ were seemingly reserved for the named entry *irp* 'bs'. This practice became general during the Fifth Dynasty when we usually find the wines called *irp* only determined by the vine and with perhaps the addition of the basin ∇ , while the specifically named 'bs' has the characteristic wine jars $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ (*see*, for example, list No. 27). But there are still some lists (*see* No. 42 T), which continue to employ the old double jars for all the entries.

During the Sixth Dynasty, when the wines were frequently given their specific names, we find that *irp* is usually determined by the vine, while the individual names have their own determinative, often the *hnt* basin ∇ (*see* list No. 116). Some persons, however, still preferred to determine the word *irp* with a jar, but now the old characteristic jar was not necessarily employed for this purpose, but a squat, two-handled type of vessel may be used ⊕ : *see* lists Nos. 83, 120 H. In lists Nos. 87 and 134 H, the element *irp* is determined by the jar ⊕ , which is really characteristic of beer.

$\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ $\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ ⊕ || " *irp-mh* "Wine of the North"

THE FOURTH DYNASTY



During the Fourth Dynasty, we have only one list which gives the full writing of this item, and that is No. 7 T, where it is written $\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ $\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ ∇ || *irp mh*, "Wine of the North, two portions".



In lists Nos. 9 P, and 10 P we have $\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{d}}$ $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ ∇ || "Wine, two portions", but all the other lists for this period give simply the writing *irp*, with various determinatives.

THE DETERMINATIVES





As we have already remarked, the oldest regular determinative for this entry is the sign of the two wine-jars protected by a band of basket work (?). These two jars may be separate, as in list No. 1, $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$, or they may be bound together, as in lists Nos. 6 H, 7 T, $\text{⊕}\text{⊕}$ or we may find

(1) We must not forget that a form of this sign had appeared once in the Archaic Period, on the Bankfield Stela. *See* above, p. 400).

jars bound together  as in lists Nos. **2, 3, 4 T, 5 T**. It is not until the second half of the Fourth Dynasty that we have the determinatives of the vine added (*see* above, p. 401, where it may be in conjunction with the basin ∇ .  : lists Nos. **11, 12, 13, 16 H**). Other determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty are as follows:—

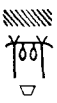



- (1) ∇ : lists Nos. **14, 9 P**; (2)  : list No. 10 *P*; (3)  : list No. 15 *H*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY









The only new writing for the Fifth Dynasty is    ∇  *irp mh*, wine of the North; lists Nos. **44, 143 H**.

THE DETERMINATIVES






The new determinatives are as follows:—

- (1)   : lists Nos. **70, 68, 69**; (2)  : list No. 60 *H*; (3)  : list No. 42 *T*;
(4) $\nabla\nabla$: list No. **71**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY














The characteristic writing for this period is that where  with its determinative is written horizontally across the top of all the five (or six) wine entries, to which it forms a common heading. This form of heading may be seen in lists Nos. 93 *P*, **80, 100 H, 137 T, 144 H**. In list No. 134 *H* *irp* appears as a common heading for *mh* and 'bs', which are written in a single rectangle (*see* also lists Nos. **128, 96 P**). Another new writing for this period is     which occurs in list No. **115**. In list No. 95 *H*, we have    || "Two portions of wine."

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 84 *P*, the sign  seems to be an error for . In lists No. **112** the signs  and  are reversed in order. In list No. **88** there is a parasitical sign .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)   : list No. **83**; (2)   : list No. **128**; (3)   : list No. **102**;
(4)   : list No. **115**; (5)  : list No. 100 *H*; (6)  : lists Nos. 89 *H*, 86 *H*, **116**;
(7)  : list No. 120 *H*; (8)  : list No. 121 *H*; (9)  : list No. **87**.


THE FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

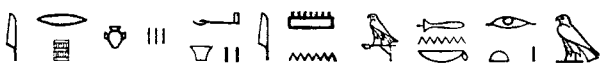
In many of the lists of the Sixth Dynasty the sign of the vine is defective (*see lists Nos. 86 H, 95 H, 110 T, 112 T*).


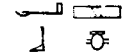
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 159 :—

(92 A)  “Osiris *Wni's*, open your mouth with it (the Eye).”

(92 B)  “Wine of the North, two.”

In “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54, we have the variant : “Take to thyself the Eye of Horus with which the mouth is opened”  (see also *Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 184, line 106 B*).

No. 166  || ‘*bs'*-Wine (*Wni's*, Line, 92 D) (Var.  ‘*bs' Nfr-k3-R'*)

THE MEANING

‘*bs'* means a certain kind of wine-jar, which if we may judge by its most usual determinative, was of the kind protected by a band of basket-work around the middle. It would seem that their form was as characteristic of their contents to the Egyptians, as the rush covered flasks of Chianti are to us to-day. That is to say, the form of the receptacle at once suggested to the beholder the nature of the contents. Thus, we only find *irp*-wine mentioned with the ‘*bs'*, and never any special kind of wine is specified. An interesting writing appears during the Fifth Dynasty which reads ‘*bs' n irp* “an ‘*bs'*-jar of wine” (*see, for example, list No. 35 H*).

On the other hand, Sethe (“*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 199), gives the meaning of ‘*bs'* as boiling or bubbling, and refers to lines 427 C, 507 C, 692 C, and 2186 B of the Pyramid Texts. In this case we might take the word ‘*bs'* here as meaning effervescent or bubbling, or maybe hot wine. The Berlin Dictionary gives simply “verbum” (*W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 179). Junker (“*Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 26) identifies ‘*bs'*, as a jar with a grooved neck.

THE HISTORY

This is one of the first wine entries to be specified, but even so, it does not appear written phonetically before the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *irp* 'bs', in our material occurs in list No. 7 *T*, where it is written ; see also lists Nos. 8 *H*, 10 *P*, 15 *H*. Sometimes the element 'bs' is placed first as : list No. 11. In list No. 14, it is written which is interesting as it proves that the two wine-jars (here with a defective form) may by themselves be pronounced 'bs', a fact that is further confirmed by writings in the later lists. In list No. 16 *H* this entry is written simply as (sic), where the upper group are faulty jar signs, reading 'bs'.

THE DETERMINATIVES

As we have said, the characteristic determinative for this item is the two wine-jars bound together by a band of basket work, and this form, but simplified, is seen in the lists Nos. 8 *H*, 10 *P* . Other examples are: (1) : list No. 7 *T*; (2) : list No. 15 *H*. In list No. 11, we have simply the basin ; while in list No. 16 *H*, it is simply the vine and two wine-jars which are faulty in form .

THE FIFTH DYNASTY


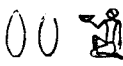





Coming to the Fifth Dynasty, we find a number of new writings, of which perhaps the most interesting is that in list No. 35 *H* 'bs' n *irp* "Two 'bs'-jars of wine". Characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty is the writing : lists Nos. 18 *T*, 19 *T*, 28 *H*, 36, 40 *H*. We have only two examples of this writing for the Sixth Dynasty (lists Nos. 97, 98 *T*), and none at all for the Fourth Dynasty. Also the writing (list No. 66) seems to be confined to the Fifth Dynasty. Other new writings for this period are: (1) : lists Nos. 20 *P*, 21 *P*, 47 *H*; (2) : lists Nos. 41, 32. In each of these two forms the two jars complete the pronunciation of 'bs'; : lists Nos. 32, 33, 66, 45, 46; : list No. 143 *H*, which reads 's'.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In lists Nos. 76 and 52 *P*, the sign is omitted, and in list No. 17 *H*, the sign is omitted. In list No. 34 the sign is defective. In list No. 75, the sign should be , and in list No 79, the sign should be .

THE DETERMINATIVES






The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 69; (2)  : list No. 68; (3)  : list No. 70;
 (4)  : list No. 66; (5)  : list No. 30; (6)  : lists Nos. 20 P, 21 P, 48; (7)  : lists Nos. 35 H, 57.



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 45, the sign  is perhaps an error for the jar .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY




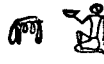
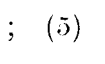


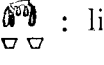
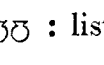


Characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the writing:      : list No 95 H.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 123 P is a parasitical sign  and the sign  is omitted.










THE DETERMINATIVES




The following determinatives are new:—


- (1)  : list No. 128; (2)  : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 102;
 (4)  : list No. 81 T; (5)  : list No. 129; (6)  : list No. 146 T;
 (7)  : lists Nos. 91, 92, 94 P; (8)  : list No. 89 P; (9)  : list No. 109 T;
 (10)  : list No. 122 H; (11)  : list No. 132 T.

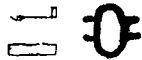
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 154:—


(92 C)  (W)         (2) "Osiris H'nis, take for yourself the Eye of Horus which they have vomited; prevent that he (St) swallows it."

(1)   represent the jars  standing in ring-stands.

(2)  "they": here means the gods, the followers of St; see SETHE, *ibid.*, p. 214.

(92 D)  || "Two 'bs'-jars [of wine]."


See also SETHE, "Dramatischetexte", p. 178; "I hand to you the Eye of Horus which they (the Followers of St) have vomited, and which he (St) swallowed". This is interesting for it shows us that the Horus Eye had its wine by means of the followers of St.

No. 167  || "Imt-Wine" (Wni's, Line 93 B)

THE MEANING






The meaning of this item, Wine of Buto, has already been discussed above.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This, the third of the group of wines, appears first in our material in list No. 7 T, where, however, it has simply the general writing  "wine, two portions", and the full name is omitted.


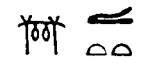



THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1)  : lists Nos 8 H, 10 P; (2)  : lists Nos. 11, 14; (3)  : list No. 15 H; (4)  : list No. 16 H; (5)  : list No. 7 T.



THE FIFTH DYNASTY

This item is only given in full in seven lists for this period, and has the following writings:—

(1)  : list No. 69 (and with a variant determinative, lists Nos. 64, 143 H); (2)  : list No. 70; (3)  : list No. 67 H; (4)  : list No. 30 (here the word *irp* serves for three entries); (5)  : list No. 79.




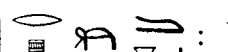

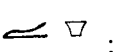
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—





(1)  : list No. 70; (2)  : list No. 69. The other lists for this period give simply the general name *irp*, with the same writing and determinatives as they employ for the first wine entry, when this also is unnamed.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

We now find that *irp imt* appears in its complete form in thirty-seven lists, and has the following new variant writings:—







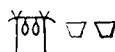



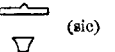
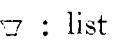


- (1)  : list No. 144 *H*; (2)  : lists Nos. 87, 99, 121 *H*, 122 *H*; (3)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 120 *H*; (4)  : list No. 110 *T*; (5)  : list No. 113 *T*; (6)  : lists Nos. 96 *P*, 100 *H*, 109 *T*, 145 *H*, 148 *T*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 86 *H*, 93 *P*, 114 *T* and 124 *P*, the sign  should be , while in the latter list the sign  is an error for .


THE DETERMINATIVES

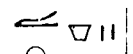
The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. 83; (2)  : list No. 115; (3)  : list No. 87; (4)  : list No. 102; (5)  : list No. 86 *H*; (6)  : list No. 88; (7)  : lists Nos. 116, 89 *P*, 94 *P*; (8)  : list No. 112 *T*; (9)  : list No. 120 *H*; (10)  : lists Nos. 101 *H*, 123 *P*, 124 *P*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*; (11)  (sic) : list No. 122 *H*; (12)  : list No. 134 *H*; (13)  : list No. 128; (14)  : list No. 146 *T*.


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 155:—

(93 A)  “Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn's*, take to yourself the pupil of the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) by which your mouth has been opened.”

(93 B)  “Two basins of *Imt*-[wine].”

See also SETHE. “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 179 (also see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 26).

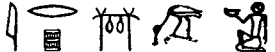
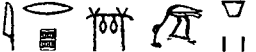

No. 168  “*H3mw Wine*” (*Wn's*, Line 93 D) (see above, p. 400)

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This item, the “Wine of the ‘Oasis’ does not appear in its full form during the Fourth Dynasty, but is simply called *irp* and is written and determined in the same manner as the other unspecified wines.






THE FIFTH DYNASTY

During the Fifth Dynasty we find the full writing of *irp H3mw* appearing in five lists, and having the following writings:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **69**, **70** (?); (2)  : lists Nos. **67 H**, **64**;  : list No. **143 H**.



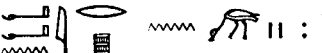
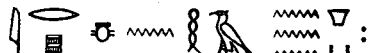
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed for this item:—

- (1)  : list No. **70**; (2)  : list No. **69**; (3)  : list No. **67 H**; (4)  : list No. **143 H**; (5)  : list No. **68**.











THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find that the full name of this item, *irp H3mw* appears in thirty-eight lists, with the following variant writings and determinatives:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **87**, **94 P**, **101 H**, **123 P**, **124 P**; (2)  : list No. **88**; (3)  : list No. **95 H**; (4)  : list No. **144 H**. This last writing, in which *H3mw* is spelt out phonetically and those writings which employ the sign of the bird holding the fish in its beak, are absolutely characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty.

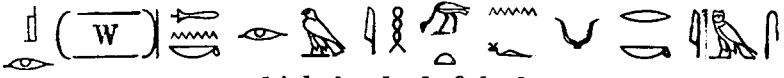
THE DETERMINATIVES

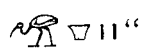
The following are the new determinatives for this period:—

- (1)  : list No. **83**; (2)  : list No. **87**; (3)  : list No. **88**; (4)  : list No. **115**; (5)  : lists Nos. **89 P**, **116**; (6)  : list No. **93 P**; (7)  : list No. **101 H**; (8)  : lists Nos. **109 T**, **138 P**; (9)  : list No. **112 T**; (10)  : lists Nos. **120 H**, **144 H**.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 156 :—

- (93 C)  “Osiris *Wn3s*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which he had fished; open your mouth with it.”

- (93 D)  “Two basins of *H3mw* wine.”

No. 169 $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ " *Snw-Wine, of Pelusium* " (see above, p. 400) (*Wns*, Line 94 B)

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

This item does not appear with its specified name during the Fourth Dynasty, and its place is occupied by the simple designation *irp*, written and determined as the other unspecified wines in the same list.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

We have only five lists for this period in which *Snw-wine* is expressly named, and one of these No. 70 is faulty. These are as follows:—

(1) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 69; (2) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 64; (3) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 67 H; (4) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$: list No. 143 H.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 70 the sign 𓆑 should be 𓆎 , and 𓆏 should be 𓆏 .

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives for this period:—

(1) $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 69; (2) $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 67 H; (3) 𓆑 : list No. 143 H; (4) $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: lists Nos. 70, 68 (?).

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Irp Snw is now expressly named in thirty-seven lists, and we have the following new writings for this item:—

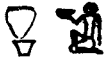


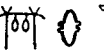
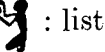


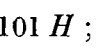

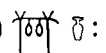

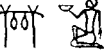



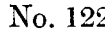

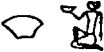
(1) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: lists Nos. 89 P, 101 H, 115; (2) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: lists Nos. 120 H, 121 H, 122 H; (3) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 95 H; (4) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 109 T; (5) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 132 T; (6) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 110 T; (7) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$: list No. 116.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 124 P, the sign 𓆑 is perhaps an error for 𓆏 (?).









THE DETERMINATIVES



The following determinatives are new:—

- (1)  : list No. 83; (2)  : list No 87; (3)  : lists Nos. 85;
 (4)  : list No. 128; (5)  : list No. 115; (6)  : list No. 116; (7)  : list
 No. 101 H; (8)  : lists Nos. 93 P 94 P; (9)  : list No. 88; (10)  : lists
 Nos. 130 P, 109 T, 89 P; (11)  : list No. 120 H; (12)  : list No. 100 H;
 (13)  : list No. 111 T; (14)  : list No. 112 T; (15)  : list No. 122 H; (16)  : lists
 Nos. 123 P, 124 P; (17)  : list No. 134 H; (18)  : list No. 142 H.





THE FORMULA





Pyramid Texts, Utterance No 157:—





(94 A)  (W)         “Osiris *Wni's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, it is not joined to you.”

(94 B)   “Wine of Pelusium, two basins.”




See also SETHE, “*Dramateschetexte*”, p. 180: “I hand to you the Eye of Horus, it ought not to be separated from you (again).”

No. 170     “*Hbnn.t*-Bread” (see above, pp. 331 ff.)

No. 171     “*Hnfw*-Bread” (see above, pp. 328, f.f)

No. 172     “*Is'd*-Fruit” (*Wni's*, Line 95 D)

THE MEANING

The exact definition of *is'd* is not a very easy matter to determine, and thus there are several opinions upon the subject. Certainly, it is a kind of fruit, and Murray suggests apricots (“*Sakkâru Mastabas*”, Vol. I, p. 40), but Jequier, who has treated this subject somewhat fully in *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 221, ff., suggests Lebehk fruits. Although in the offering-list *is'd* is treated as a special kind of fruit, it would seem that it could also mean fruit (perhaps especially, dried fruit), in general, as we have reference to the *pr is'd*    which seems to have been a magazine for dried fruits (see the title of *K3-pw-R'*, MARIETTE, “*Mastabas*”, p. 279).

THE HISTORY

Is'd occurred in the offering-list as far back as the Third Dynasty, when we find it appearing in the list of *H^cj-bz.w-Skr*, where it is written within the sign ∇ of the granary, along with other dried fruits and grain, thus indicating that it was a kind of fruit which could be preserved (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 103 and Fig. 16, p. 97).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of *is'd* in our material is in list No. 1, where it is written $\nabla \overline{\text{---}} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{---} \text{---}$. This same writing was maintained unchanged throughout the Fourth Dynasty, so far as our material tells us, and the only variations are in the determinatives.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 9 *P* and 10 *P*, the sign \triangle is an error for $\overline{\text{---}}$.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The most usual determinative employed for *is'd* during the Fourth Dynasty is $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$ (see lists Nos. 1, 11, 13, 14, 8 *H*, 10 *P*, 15 *H*). We have also the following forms for this period:—

- (1) $\overline{\text{---}}$: list No. 2 ; (2) ∇ : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T* ; (3) $\overset{\text{III}}{\nabla}$: list No. 16 *H* ; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 3 ; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 9 *P*.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The greater majority of the lists of this period still retain the writing of *is'd* as $\nabla \overline{\text{---}}$, but we have also these new forms: $\nabla \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 39 *H*, and $\nabla \overline{\text{---}} \triangle \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{---} \text{---}$: list No. 63.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 74 *P*, the sign --- should be $\overline{\text{---}}$; and in list No. 79, there is a parasitical sign $\overline{\text{---}}$.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 69 ; (2) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 68 ; (3) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 36 ; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 18 *H* ; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: lists Nos. 25 *H*, 26 *H* ; (6) $\nabla \text{---}$: list No. 55 *H* ; (7) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 44 (in this latter example the sign of the vine does not necessarily mean that *is'd* should be understood as grapes, for the vine may be used to determine fruit in general, and we have already seen it employed to determine figs) ; (8) $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \nabla$: list No. 39 *H*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY









We have no new writings for this period, and the only characteristic for this period to be noted is the greater number of lists employing the form $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \Delta$, of which we had only a single example during the Fifth Dynasty. This writing now appears in four lists.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 109 *T*, the sign $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$ should be $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \Delta$.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1) oo  : lists Nos. 87, 128, 81 *T*; (2) ∇  : lists Nos. 83, 142 *H*; (3) oo  : list No. 115; (4)  : list No. 85; (5) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$  : list No. 102; (6) oo  : list No. 86 *H*; (7) oo : lists Nos. 116, 89 *P*; (8) oo : lists Nos. 124 *P*, 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 84 *P*; (9) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$: lists Nos. 95 *H*, 137 *T*; (10)  : list No. 144 *H*; (11) oo : list No. 107 *H*; (12) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \text{oo}$  : list No. 88; (13) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \text{oo}$: list No. 121 *H*; (14) oo : list No. 135 *T*.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 160 :—

(95 C)  $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{W} \end{array} \right)$         “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus*, which he had snatched again from *St*.”

95 D) $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \nabla \text{oo}$ “Two basins of *is'd*-fruit.”

See also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl 54:  oo oo oo .           “*Is'd*-fruit | Take to thyself the Eye of *Horus*, which he removed from him.”

See also SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 111. Also compare with line 1242 of the *Pyramid Texts*.

Nos. 173 and 174 $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \nabla \text{oo}$ *Sht Hd* and $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \nabla \text{oo}$ *Sht-wsd* “White Corn and Green Corn” (*Wn's*, Line 96 B)

THE MEANING

These two items, though often written in separate rectangles, are so frequently combined by the single heading $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$ or $\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right|$, *sht*, and are so inseparable in their appearance, that it

is advisable to treat them together. The meaning of these items seems to be some kind of cereal of two varieties: white and green (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 155, where he points out that they represent the green and white eyes of HORUS, and also the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. For another explanation, see WALLE, “*Le Mastaba de Neferiritenj*”, p. 65).

THE HISTORY

As far as our present evidence tells us, *sht-hd* and *sht-wsd* first made their appearance in the lists during the Third Dynasty (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 116, Nos. 26, 27).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of these items in our material occurs in list No. 2, where they are written separately as $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{A}$ and $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{B}$ (see also lists Nos. 4 T, 5 T, 11, 13, 15 H, 16 H).

Other writings for this period are as follows:—

- (1) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{A}$ $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{B}$: lists Nos. 9 P, 10 P; (2) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{C}$: list No. 8 H; (3) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{D}$: list No. 14; (4) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{E}$: list No. 3.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 10 P, we have two *wsd* signs $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{B}$ instead of $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{A}$ and *wsd*.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty, and it will be noticed that the same sign is used to determine both *sht hd* and *sht wsd*:—





- (1) A : list No. 2; (2) B : list No. 13; (3) C : lists Nos. 11, 14, 9 P, 16 H; (4) D : list No. 15 H; (5) E : lists Nos. 5 T, 10 P.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period:—






- (1) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{A}$ $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{B}$: lists Nos. 18 T, 25 H, 26 H, 27, 69, 75, 62 P, 48, 57 H, 59 H; (2) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{C}$: lists Nos. 19 T, 45, 46, 63, 66; (3) $\overset{*}{\text{P}} \text{—} \text{D}$: lists Nos. 38 H, 39 H (?).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 28 *H*, the sign  should be , and  should be .

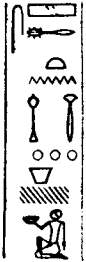
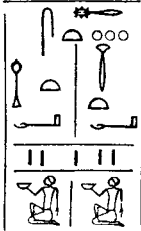
THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—










(1)   : list No. 68; (2)   : list No. 69; (3)  : list No. 61 *H*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty we find the following new writings:—

(1)  : list No. 83; (2)  : lists Nos. 87 *H*. 126.

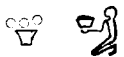






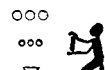






FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. 124 *P*, the sign  in *sh̄t h̄d* is perhaps an error for the pellet , while the sign  in *sh̄t w̄3d* should be . In list No. 100 *H*, the sign  is defective, and in list No. 113 *T*, the element *sh̄t* is omitted from *sh̄t h̄d*, while in *sh̄t w̄3d* the sign  is defective. In list No. 137 *T*, the sign  should be , and the sign  is defective; furthermore, the entry *sh̄t w̄3d* is lacking as also in list No. 112 *T*.

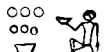





THE DETERMINATIVES

During the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, the two items always had the same determinative. Now in the Sixth Dynasty we find that in some lists there is a variation in the form of the determinatives of the two items.

These varied determinatives are as follows:—


- (1)  and  : list No. 81 *T*; (2)  and  : list No. 85; (3)  and  : list No. 115; (4)  and  : list No. 86 *H*; (5)  and  : list No. 91; (6)  and  : lists Nos. 100 *T*, 113 *T*; (7)  and  : list No. 107 *H*.

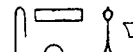
The following determinatives, which are new, are the same for both items:—


- (1)  : list No. 83; (2)  : lists Nos. 87, 102; (3)  : list No. 88; (4)  : list No. 128; (5)  : list No. 116; (6)  : lists Nos. 117, 142 *H*.

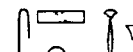
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 161:—


(96 A)  | “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the White Eye of *Horus*, he will prevent that it should be taken.”

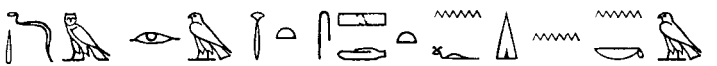
(96 B)  || “Two basins of white corn” (see *SETHE*, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 155).

(96 C)  | “Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Green Eye of *Horus*, he will prevent that it should be taken.”

(96 D)  || | “Two basins of green corn.”

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 189:—

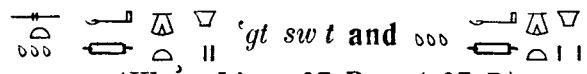
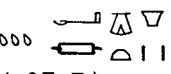
(108 B)  || “Words spoken : ‘Take the white eye of *Horus* which had been snatched from him and which *Horus* had given to you | White corn’.”

(108 C)  || “Word spoken : ‘Take the green eye of *Horus* which had been snatched from him and which had been given to you | Green corn’.”

See also *GARDINER*, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54:—


 “White *sš't*-fruit.
O Amon, take to thyself the white eye of *Horus*, prevent him from . . . ing it.”

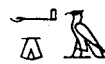


 “Green *sš't*-fruit.
O Amon, take to thyself the green Eye of *Horus*, prevent him from . . . it.”

Nos. 175 and 176  'gt swt and  'gt it "Parched Corn"
 (Wm's, Lines 97 B and 97 D)

THE MEANING

As in the case of the two preceding items, 'gt swt and 'gt it are inseparable and are frequently written in conjunction with each other.

The old opinion held by Maspero, Von Bissing and Murray ("Sakkâra Mastabas", Vol. I, p. 40) that these items meant seed corn, is now no longer held by scholars, and we now recognize 'gt swt and 'gt it as corn and barley parched by artificial heat. This can be proved by the sign of fire  determining 'gt in list No. 7 T. Proof that the ancient Egyptians were in the habit of parching their grain may be seen by the excavations made by Petrie at Abydos (PETRIE and LOAT, "Cemeteries of Abydos", Vol. II, p. 70, ff., Pl. I; Vol. III, Pl. I). This process of parching cereals is still extensively practised in Egypt at the present day.


Jequier (*B.I.F.A.O.* Vol. XIX, p. 65), is of the opinion that swt and 'it are red and yellow grains respectively and that 'gt is perhaps derived from the root 'gz    "to make hot", "to dry", and this is very probable. In the Tomb of K3.j-gmw-nj (BISSING, "Mastaba de Gem-ni-kai", Vol. II, Pl. IX, pp. 25, 29), is a scene of measuring provisions, and a heap of 'gt is placed immediately beside the is'd and sht hd. This led Jequier (*ibid*) to hesitate in his first opinion, and to wonder if perhaps this item might be some kind of small fruit. But the evidence of this scene does not seem to warrant any such conclusion, and as 'gt swt and 'gt it appear written on the granary signs in the list of H'j-b3.w-Skr, it proves no more than that it was some kind of dried provision that could be stored in magazines. In some of the burial-chambers of the Sixth Dynasty tombs we have the named heaps of grain represented. Here 'gt swt and 'gt it, as well as a variety called 'gt it mh are shown along with other dried cereals and fruit (see JEQUIER, "Tombeaux des Particuliers Contemporains de Pepi II", Pl. XIV, pp. 74, 61).

THE HISTORY

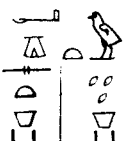


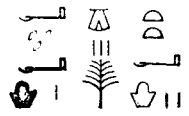
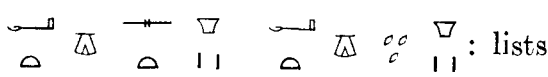
These items appeared in the offering-list as early as the Third Dynasty, as we may see by the list of H'j-b3.w-Skr (see "Excavations at Gîza," Vol. V, p. 103).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. 4 T, where they are











written:  ; see also list No. 5 T.

We have also the following writings for this period :—


- (1)  : list No. **14**; (2)  : list No. **7 T**; (3)  (1) : list No. **9 P**; (4)  : list No. **10 P**; (5)  : lists Nos. **15 H**, **16 H**.

THE DETERMINATIVES

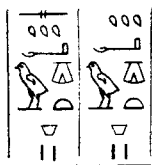
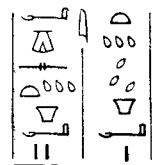

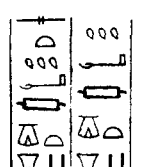
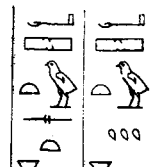
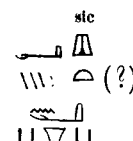
As in the case of *sh*t *hd* and *sh*t *w3d*, the determinatives of these two items are usually identical and the following are the forms employed during the Fourth Dynasty :—

- (1)  : list No. **7 T**; (2)  : lists Nos. **4 T**, **5 T**; (3)  : list No. **9 P**; (4)  : list No. **10 P**; (5)  : list No. **16 H**; (6)  : lists Nos. **14**, **15 H**. In list No. **11**, there is a slight variation :  and  ; also in lists Nos. **13**  and  ; and No. **8 H**.












THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The following writing is characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty :  : list No. **33**.

We have also the following writings for this period :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **30**, **65**; (2)  : list No. **59 H**; (3)  list No. **63**;
- (4)  : list No. **143 H**; (5)  : list No. **73**; (6)  (sic) (?) list No. **74 P**.




FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **27** the sign  should be . In list No. **22 H** the sign  should be , and  is an error for ; while in list No. **28 H** the sign  is wrongly replaced by . In list No. **56** there is a parasitical sign  in 'gt *it*. In list No. **74 P**, the sign  should be , and the arrangement is not understood.

(1) Here the sign  stands for *su.t*

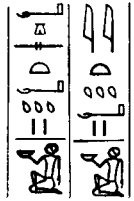

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives :—


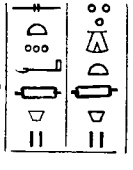
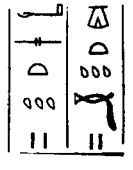
- (1) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: lists No. 25 *H*, 26 *H*, **27**, 59 *H*; (2) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$ and ∇ : list No. **34**; (3) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$ and ∇ : lists Nos. **41, 53, 36, 65, 33, 37, 31, 30, 66, 63, 44**, 49*H*, 28 *H*, 39 *H*, 57 *H*, **64**, 67 *H*, 42 *T*, 47 *H*, 50 *P*, 51 *P*, 61 *P*; (4)  : list No. **69**; (5)  : list No. **68**; (6)  : list No. 62 *H*,

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are new writings characteristic of this period :—







- (1)  : list No. **87**; (2)  : list No. **88** (in this latter form the preposition

$\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ *nt* seems to indicate that 'gt must here be regarded as a noun, that is to say, as some

- preparation of *swt* and *it*); (3)  : list No. **99**; (4)  : list No. 114 *T*; (5) 

'*gt swt*, '*gt it mh* "parched corn, parched barley of the North": lists Nos. 132 *T*, 109 *T*, 93 *P*, 135 *T*.











FAULTY WRITINGS

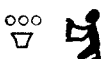









In list No. 144 *H*, the sign  should be . In list No. **82** the sign  should be . In list No. 86 *H*, the first sign Δ should be $\overline{\Delta}$, and in lists Nos. **91** and **92** the sign \bigcirc should be $\overline{\Delta}$, while  should be .

In list No. 95 *H*, there is a parasitical sign . In list No. 142 *H*, the sign  is also faulty.

THE DETERMINATIVES

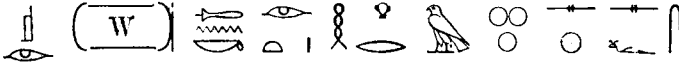
The following determinatives are new :—

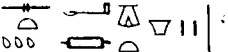
- (1)  and  : list No. 81 *T*; (2) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$  and $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$  : list No. **83**; (3) ∇  and $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$  : list No. **85**; (4) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$  and  : lists Nos. **88, 87, 128**, 100 *H*; (5)  and  : list No. **115**;

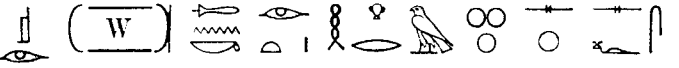
(6)  and  : list No. 86 *H*; (7)  and  : list No. 89 *P*; (8)  and  list : No. 102; (9)  and  : list No. 110 *T*; (10)  and  : list No. 142 *H*.

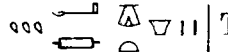
THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance Nos. 163 and 164:—

(97 *A*)  "Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, he forbids that it should be torn."

(97 *B*)  "Two basins of parched corn."

(97 *C*)  "Osiris *Wn's*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, he forbids that it should be torn."

(97 *D*)  "Two basins of parched barley."

Nos. 177 and 191  " *B3-b3.t-Grain* " (*Wn's*, Line 98 *B*)

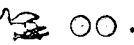
THE MEANING









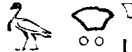
Maspero offered the suggestion that this item should be identified as lentils (PETRIE, " *Royal Tombs* ", Vol. I, Pl. XLII, 64); while Griffith identified it as green corn (" *Beni Hasan* ", Vol. III, p 30). However, the most likely explanation is that it is some kind of edible grain. In the Tomb of *Ppjj-nh* the Middle, at Meir, this grain is represented as being stored in granaries, along with the *sht hd*, *sht w3d*, *nbs*, *t-nbs* and *w'h* (see BLACKMAN, " *The Rock Tombs of Meir* ", Vol. IV, Pl. XVIII).

THE HISTORY

This is one of the items which appeared late in the offering-lists, and does not seem to have been employed before the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

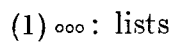
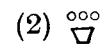





THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material is in list No. 3, where it is written . Other writings for this period are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. 4 *T*; (2)  : list No. 5 *T*; (3)  : list No. 14; (4)  : lists Nos. 13, 16 *H*; (5)  : list No. 12; (6)  : list No. 8 *H*; (7)  : list No. 10 *P*. In list No. 15 *H*, this item is repeated, and appears first as  and secondly as  which may mean justly the grain, and secondly a food prepared from this grain (?).




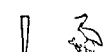

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty :—






- (1)  : lists Nos. **12**, 15 *H* ; (2)  : lists Nos. **14**, 16 *H* ; (3)  : list No. **11** ; (4)  : list No. 4 *T* ; (5)  : list No. 5 *T* ; (6)  : list No. 15 *H* (second appearance) ; (7)  : list No. **3**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY









The following are the new writings for this period :—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **30**, **37**, **68**, **69**, **42**, **67** ; (2)  : lists Nos. **53**, **65**, **73** (this writing became more popular during the Sixth Dynasty when it occurs in nine lists in our material) ; (3)  : list No. 61 *H* ; (4)  : list No. 18 *H* ; (5)  : list No. **72**.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS







In list No. 42 *H*, we have the writing  as an extra entry, and   . Thus, we have *b3b3.t swt* and *b3b3.t it*, which would make the word *b3b3.t* or *b3b3.wt*, seem to be an adjective describing the corn and barley, *swt* and *it*. This writing also occurs in the Sixth Dynasty, in list No. 90 *H*. In list Nos. 51 *P* and 52 *P*, we have the writing  and  treated as separate entries.

FAULTY WRITINGS


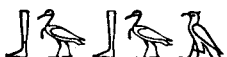
In list No. 28 *H*, the first two signs  should be  (see also list No. **63**). In list No. 49 *H*, the signs   are certainly errors for  . In list No. 74 *P*, the sign  should be  (?).

THE DETERMINATIVES




The following are the new determinatives :—

- (1)  : list No. **69** ; (2)  : list No. **68** ; (3)  : list No. **27** ; (4)  : list No. 18 *T* ; (5)  : list No. 55 *H* ; (6)  : list No. 61 *H*.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY










Although the sign  was employed in the Fourth Dynasty for writing *b3b3.t* (list No. **3**) and had also appeared in one list in the Fifth Dynasty (No. 18 *H*), we find an increase in the use of this sign during the Sixth Dynasty, and it now appears in 6 lists in our material. The following writing is new :  : list No. 131 *P*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list Nos. 109 *T*, we have simply , and in list No. 111 *T* , and in list No. 133 *T* .

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : lists Nos. **102**, **128**; (2)  : list No. **129**; (3)  : list No. **115**; (4)  : lists Nos. **87**, **88**; (5)  [] : list No. **83**; (6)  : list No. 86 *H*; (7)  : list No. **99**; (8)  : list No. 89 *P*.


THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 165 :

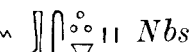
(98 *A*)  | “Osiris *Wni's*, take to yourself the Eye of *Horus* when it makes *nb3-b3*.”

(98 *B*)  | “Two basins of *b3b3.t* grain” (see *SETHE*, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 133).

Also *Pyramid Texts Utterance No. 180 :—*

(104 *A*)  | “Words spoken : ‘ Take Fatigued Eye of *Horus* . . . which *Horus* gave to you : *B3b3.t* 2. ”

(See also *GARDINER*, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54:  | “*B3b3.t*-fruit. Take to thyself the Eye of *Horus* when it *b3b3* . . . from thee.”)

Nos. 178 and 192  | *Nbs* “*Nbk*=Fruit” (*Wni's*, Line 93 *D*)

THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is the fruit of the nebekh-tree, possibly dried, for it is one of the commodities commonly mentioned among the contents of the granaries in the wall-scenes of some of the burial-chambers of the Sixth Dynasty tombs (see above, p. 74). (For the identification of the *nbs* with the nebekh-fruit, see above, p. 47; see also *JEQUIER*, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”; Vol. XIX, p. 222.)

THE HISTORY

This item is found in the offering-lists as far back as the Third Dynasty (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 116).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The first appearance of this item in our material occurs in list No. **2**, where it is written $\overset{\sim}{\text{J}} \overset{\sim}{\text{P}} \text{C}$. This writing, but with different determinatives, occurs in all the remainder of our lists for this period.

THE DETERMINATIVES

Although the writing of this item remains stable throughout all the Fourth Dynasty, there are a number of variant determinatives:—

(1) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: lists Nos. **11, 12, 13, 14**, 6 *H*, 8 *H*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2) C : list No. **2**; (3) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. 5 *T*; (4) $\overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\text{C}}$: list No. 4 *T*; (5) ∇ : list 10 *P*; (6) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. 9 *P*; (7) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla} \overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. **3**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

The only new writing for this period shows the signs P and J reversed $\overset{\sim}{\text{P}} \overset{\sim}{\text{J}} \overset{\circ\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: lists Nos. 18 *T*, 74 *P*. This writing occurs again in the Sixth Dynasty, and seems to be intentional. Perhaps it is an attempt to reproduce an early Archaic writing of the word, which had appeared upon the offering-jars of the First Dynasty (*see above*, p. 47).

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **54**, the sign C should be $\overset{\sim}{\text{C}}$.

THE DETERMINATIVES

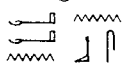
The following are the new determinatives:—

(1) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\text{J}}$: list No. **69**; (2) $\overset{\circ\text{P}\text{J}}{\nabla}$: list No. **68**; (3) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\nabla}$: lists Nos. **44, 52 P**; (4) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\text{J}}$: list No. **54**; (5) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\text{J}}$: lists Nos. 29 *H*, **72, 73**; (6) $\overset{\circ\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. 28 *H*; (7) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. **51**; (8) $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\nabla}$: list No. **75**.

FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

















In list No. 42 *T*, the sign $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\text{J}}$ is probably an error for $\overset{\circ}{\text{P}} \overset{\circ}{\text{J}}$, the general determinative for wood here applied to the fruit-tree. In lists Nos. **45** and 51 *P*, the loaves of bread ought to be trees. The fact that the item 't-nbs' is frequently and correctly determined by the sign of the loaf, probably helped to bring about this confusion.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY


Characteristic of this period is the conjoined writing of *nbs* and *t-nbs* (see lists Nos. 88, 109 *T*, 111 *T*, 102. We have also the new writings :  : list No. 95 *H* (see also list No. 88 where it is amalgamated with *t-nbs*).

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives for this period :—


- (1)  : list No. 87 ; (2)  : list No. 102 ; (3)  : list No. 115 ; (4)  : list No. 128 ; (5)  : list No. 129 ; (6)  : list No. 81 *T* ; (7)  : list No. 100 *H* ; (8)  : list No. 89 *P* ; (9)  : list No. 84 *P* ; (10)  : list No. 86 *H* ; (11)  : lists Nos. 130 *P*, 138 *P*, 131 *P*, 93 *P*, 101 *H*, 124 *P*, 113 *T* ; (12)  : list No. 132 *T* ; (13)  : list No. 141 *T* ; (14)  : list No. 144 *H* ; (15)  : list No. 88 ; (16)  : list No. 90 *H*.

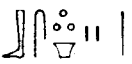
FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In lists Nos. 86 *H*, 107 *T*, 120 *H*, 123 *P*, 121 *H*, the sign of the loaf of bread should be the tree .

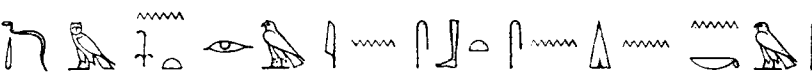
THE FORMULA

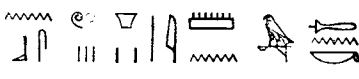

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 166 :—


(98 *C*)  | “Osiris *Wni's*, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which they (1) licked.”

(98 *D*)  | “Two basins of nebekh-fruit.”

Also *Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 181* :—

(104 *B*)  | “Words spoken : ‘Take the Fatigued Eye of Horus which they licked (1) and which Horus had given you | Two basins of nebekh-fruit’.”

(See GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Pl. II, Pl. 54 :  :  *Nbs*-fruit. Take to thyself the Eye of Horus which they relish (?)” ; see also SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 187).

(1)  “They”, i.e. the Gods, followers of *St*, who had murdered Osiris (see SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 214).

No. 179 \triangle $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} T -*nbs* "Bread of *nbs*" (*Wn's*, Line 99 B)

THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is bread made from the *nbs*-fruit, but it is not clear if we are to understand it as being ordinary bread containing whole or chopped *nbs*-fruit, just as our modern fancy bread or cake may contain fruit, or whether the loaf itself was made of a paste of the *nbs*-fruit, dried and ground into flour.

THE HISTORY

This item does not seem to have appeared in the offering-list before the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

The *t-nbs* first appears in our material in the list No. **1**, where it is written \triangle \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ (Curiously enough, this list does not contain the simple item *nbs*). This writing, but with variant determinatives, is seen again in the lists: Nos. **2**, **13**, **14**, 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 6 *H*. We have also the following writings for this period:—

(1) \triangle \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$: lists Nos. **12**, 9 *P*, 10 *P*; (2) \triangle \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$: list No. 8 *H*; (3) \triangle \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$: lists Nos. 15 *H*, **11**, 16 *H*; (4) \triangle \mathbb{J} \mathbb{I} $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ sic : list No. **3**.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following determinatives are employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty:—

(1) $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$: lists Nos. **13**, **12** (?) **14**, 8 *H*, 9 *P*, 15 *H*; (2) \mathbb{I} : lists Nos. **11**, 10 *P*, 16 *H*, (3) $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$: lists Nos. **1**, **3**; (4) \triangle : lists Nos. 4 *T*, 5 *T*, 6 *H*, **2**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY




There are no regular new writings for this period.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. **32**, **65**, 31 *H*, the element *T* \triangle is omitted, while in list No. **54**, the sign $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ is omitted.











THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the new determinatives:—

- (1)  : list No. **69**; (2)  : list No. **68**; (3) $\Delta^{\circ\circ}$: list No. **30**; (4) \ominus : list No. **62 H**;
 (5) $\circ\circ\circ \nabla$: list No. **51 P**; (6) $\sqcup^{\circ\circ\circ}$: list No. **49 H**; (7) $\circ\circ\circ$: lists Nos. **52 P, 73**;
 (8) \circ : lists Nos. **28 H, 31 H, 50 H**; (9)  : list No. **67 H**; (10) \circ : list No. **72**;
 (11) \circ : list No. **75**; (12) $\Delta^{\circ\circ} \nabla \nabla$: list No. **79**.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The following are the new writings for this period:—

- (1)      : list No. **95 H**; (2) \ominus   : list No. **135 T**; (3) 
  : list No. **136 H**.

UNUSUAL WRITINGS












In list No. **116** we have the double writing $\begin{array}{c} \text{~~~~~} \\ \downarrow \uparrow \circ \\ \nabla \quad \nabla \\ \text{||} \quad \text{||} \end{array}$. Here the word $\text{~~~~~} \downarrow \uparrow \circ$ is employed as a heading for both *nbs* and *t-nbs*. In list No. **129** *t-nbs* is divided up into two separate entries, each having its own determinative and numeral.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In list No. **110 T** the sign \downarrow is lacking.

THE DETERMINATIVES


The following are the new determinatives:—


- (1) \circ  : lists Nos. **87, 102**; (2) \circ ∇  : list No. **115**; (3) $\overset{\sim}{\circ}$ (for seed ?)  : list No. **128**; (4)   : list No. **129**; (5) $\nabla \nabla$  : list No. **88**; (6) \circ  : list No. **81 T**;
 (7) $\circ\circ$  : list No. **86 H**; (8) \circ : lists Nos. **116, 89 P**; (9) \circ : list No. **131 P**; (10) \circ : list No. **138 P**; (11) $\circ\circ\circ$: list No. **144 H**; (12)  : list No. **147 T**; (13) \circ : lists Nos. **80, 132 T, 109 T**; (14) $\circ\circ$  : list No. **117**; (15) $\circ\circ\circ$: list No. **141 T**; (16)  : list No. **99**.

THE FORMULA



Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 167 :—


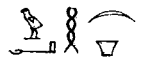

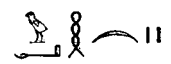

(99 A)  "Osiris *Wn'is*, open your eyes in order to see by them."


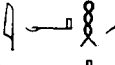


(99 B)  "Two basins of *nbs*-bread."

Nos. 180 and 193  *W'h* "Carob-Beans" (*Wn'is*, Line 99 D)

THE MEANING

According to Dr. Junker, who discusses this item in "Giza" (Vol. V, p. 94), it represents a kind of fruit. Gardiner ("*Egyptian Grammar*" p., 475) defines it more precisely as carob-beans; while Murray ("*Sakkâra Mastabas*", Vol. I, p. 30) calls it durra. If we may judge by the shape of the sign  used in writing the word, we should say that carob-beans was the most likely explanation. The usual pronunciation of this word is *w'h* (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 289), and this agrees with the writing , but this writing is in the minority throughout the Old Kingdom.


Thus, it only occurs once during the Fourth Dynasty, while the writing  which seems to demand a pronunciation of *hw'* occurs twelve times. In the Fifth Dynasty  appears eleven times, and  appears thirty-five times. During the Sixth Dynasty  appears nineteen times and  now appears thirty-nine times.



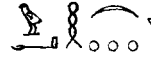

Junker explains the pronunciation *w'h* as being based on the presence of the sign , and he says that is an old form of  (*ibid*). But in the case of the Sixth Dynasty list No. 120 H, this item is written , while the element *i'h* in the personal name of the tomb-owner (*Hw-ti'h* "House of the Moon") is written .

THE HISTORY


This item also dates back to the Third Dynasty and we find it written within the granary sign in the lists of *H'j-bj.w-Skr*, and his wife (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 103).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

W'h first appears in our material in list No. 2, where it is written  (see also lists Nos. 4 T, 5 T). Other writings for this period are as follows:—




- (1)  : lists Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 H; (2)  : list Nos. 8 H, 10 P;
 (3)  : list No. 15 H; (4)  : list No. 3.

FAULTY WRITINGS



In list No. **14**, the sign  is defective.

THE DETERMINATIVES

The following are the determinatives employed for this item during the Fourth Dynasty:—



(1) ∇ : lists Nos. **11**, **13**; 8 *H*, 10 *P*, 15 *H*, 16 *H*; (2)  : list No. **2**; (3)  : list No. 5 *T*; (4)  : list No. 4 *T*; (5) $\circ\circ\circ$: list No. **3**.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY


The only new writings for this period is   $\circ\circ\circ$ \parallel : list No. **77**.

THE DETERMINATIVES





The only new determinatives for this period are as follows:—

(1)  : list No. **69**; (2) $\circ\circ\circ$  : list No. **68**.



FAULTY DETERMINATIVES

In list No. 49 *H*, the sign  should be ∇ .

THE SIXTH DYNASTY













The only new writings for the Sixth Dynasty are  in the royal list No. **145 H**, (entry No. 193) and    \parallel in the private list No. 95 *H*.

FAULTY WRITINGS

In lists Nos. **91** and **92** the sign  is an error for .

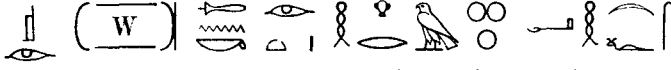
THE DETERMINATIVES


We now find a number of new determinatives:—

(1) ∇  : list No. **115**; (2) ∇  : lists Nos. **102**, **87**; (3) ∇  : list No. **88**;
 (4)  : list No. **129**; (5)  : list No. **81 T**; (6)    : list No. **146 T**;
 (7) ∇ ∇ : list No. **116**; (8)  : list No. **99**; (9)  : list No. **97**; (10) ∇ : list No. **89**; (11) $\circ\circ\circ$: lists Nos. 130 *P*, 138 *P*; (12) \circ : list No. 136 *H*; (13)  : list No. 144 *H*; (14) ∇  : list No. 86 *H*.

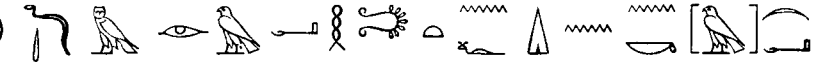
THE FORMULA

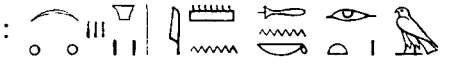
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 168 :—


(99 C)  “ Osiris *Wnʿs*, take to yourself the Eye of Ḥorus which he prevented from falling into a net (?).”

(99 D)  | “ Two basins of carob-beans. ”

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 182 :—


(105 A)  | “ Words spoken : ‘ Take the Eye of Ḥorus, which had been captured by him, and which Ḥorus gave to you’. Two basins of carab-beans ”.

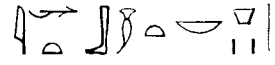
(See also SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 174; cf. GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54 :  “ *Wʿh*-fruit | O Amon, take to thyself the Eye of Ḥorus which he ensnared. ”

Nos. 181 and 205  *Ih.t Nb* [1], *Bnr.t* “ All Sweet Things ”
(*Wnʿs*, Line 100 B) (For this Item, see above, p. 99)

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 169 :—

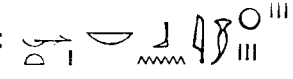
(100 A)  “ Osiris *Wnʿs*, take to yourself the sweet Eye of Ḥorus, take it up (to eat). ”


(100 B)  | “ All sweet things, two basins. ”

(See also GARDINER, *ibid*, p. 94. For the word *h.t*, see *W.B.*, IV, p. 265.

Also Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 194 :—

(111 A)  | “ Words spoken : ‘ O Osiris *Wnʿs*, this sweet Eye of Ḥorus, take it up (to eat) | All sweet things, two basins ’. ”

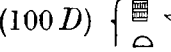
(See also GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, Pl. 54 :  “ All manner of sweet wood. O Amon, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, thou hast made it strong.”)

Nos. 182 and 206 {  *Rnp.ut Nb* “All Year’s Feast Offerings”
(*Wn’s*, Line 100 D) (For this Item, see above, pp. 99, ff.)


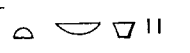
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 170 :—

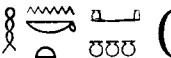
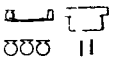
(100 C)  “ Osiris *Wn’s*, take for you the Eye of Horus and count it for you.”

(100 D) {  “ All year’s feast Offering.”

Also *Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 195* :—

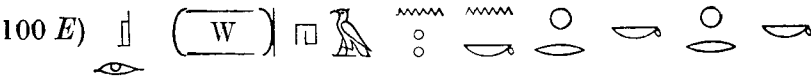
(111 B)  {  “ Words spoken : ‘ Count it (the eye) for you ’.”

(See also SETHE, “*Dramatischetexte*”, p. 208.)

Nos 183 and 207  (Var.  *Nfr-k3-R'*) *Hnk.t*
(*Wn’s*, Line 100 E) (For this Item, see above, pp. 91, 92)


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 171 :—

(100 E)  “ Osiris *Wn’s*, may it be agreeable to (or in) you, to you (*i.e.* the *hnk.t*).”

(100 F)  .


(See also SETHE, “*Kommentar*”. Vol. I, p. 160.)

o. 184  'bt "A Kind of Grain" (*Nfr-k3-R*, Line 101 F)

THE MEANING

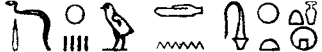
This item is a kind of edible grain (see *W.B.* Vol. I, p. 176).

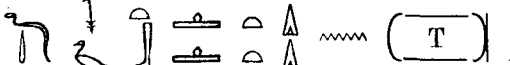
THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H*, this item is written . The same writing is employed in list No. 148 *T*, with a variant determinative (see *PL.* CLVI).

THE FORMULA

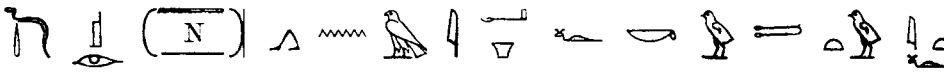
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 172 (1) : —


(101 A)  (T) "To be said four times : 'Offering to *Ttj*'."

(101 B)  (T) "Words spoken : 'May the King and may *Gb* give an offering to this *Ttj*'."

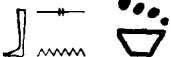
(101 C)  "Given to you are all offerings, all oblations which you can desire"

(101 D)  "and that by which it is well for you with the God for ever."

(101 E) (*Nfr-k3-R*)  "Words spoken : 'Osiris *Ttj*, Horus has come, he joins you, you are his father'."

(101 F)  "bt-grain."

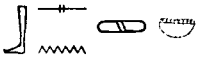


(1) See also BREADED, " *The Development of Religion and Thought* ", p. 80. Also GUNN, " *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* ", p. 8 : " I give thee all festal offerings and all oblations which thou canst desire ". BREADED (*ibid*) " Given to thee are all offerings, all oblations (even)thy]desire, and that by which it is well for thee with the God for ever ".

No. 185  *Bsn* “A Kind of Natron” (*Nfr-k3-R*^c, Line 101 G)

THE MEANING


According to the Berlin Dictionary, *bsn* is a kind of natron (*W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 475)

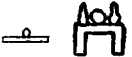
THE WRITINGS

This item occurs in the early Fourth Dynasty in the list of *Hwtj* (No. 2) (see also list No. 3) where it is written  and follows immediately after the ordinary natron *bd*. It is then discarded from the normal private lists, but re-appears in the Sixth Dynasty, where in the royal list No. 145 *H*, it is written . Here the pellets of natron seem to be falling into the basin. In list No. 148 *T*, the writing is the same but the determinative  suggests grains of corn rather than pellets of natron.

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 174 :—

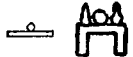

(101 G)  || “Words spoken : ‘Bring yourself to *Gb* | Two basins of *bsn*-natron’.”

No. 186  | *Htp dsr.t* (*Nfr-k3-R*^c, Line 102 A)

THE MEANING


This item seems to mean an offering of bread placed upon the *Dsr.t*-table (for this table or altar, see entry No. 38).


THE WRITINGS

In list No. 145 *H*, this item is written , and in list No. 148 *T*, it is .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 175 :—


(102 A)  ‘Words spoken : ‘*Gb* had given you your eyes, therefore, you are pleased. An offering on the *dsr.t*-table’.”

No. 187  "Kjh-Bread" (*Njr-kj-R'*, Line 102 B)

THE MEANING




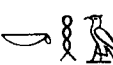
This item is another kind of food, a variety of bread, if we may judge by the determinative.

THE WRITINGS

In lists Nos. 145*H*, and 148*T*, this item has the same writing .

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 176 :—

(102 B)   (N) =  |  "Words spoken: 'Osiris *Njr-kj-R'*, you are his *Ka* | One *Kjh*-loaf'."

Here there is a play upon the word 'ka' and the name of the bread *Kjh*.

No. 188  || *T-wr* "A Great Loaf" (*Njr-kj-R'* (Line 103 A)






THE MEANING

This is a kind of bread which was employed in the offering-lists of the Archaic period, but which was deleted from the private lists when the canonical redaction took place about the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

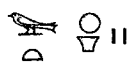
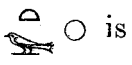
THE HISTORY

T-wr is one of the older items in the offering-list, and appears in the Third Dynasty in the list of *H'j-bj.w-Skr* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 97).

THE FOURTH DYNASTY


In list No. 2, this item is written  , and in list No. 3 it is   which shows that this kind of loaf may be either conical or round in shape. In list No. 7 *T*, it is written . Henceforth we do not find *t-wr* in any normal private list. It reappears again in the royal lists of the Sixth Dynasty, but does not occur in the list of *Wn's* of the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

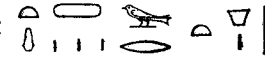
THE SIXTH DYNASTY

In lists Nos. 145 *H*, and 148 *T*, *t-wr* is written . This is really a faulty form, of which the early Fourth Dynasty form  is the correct one (see *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 209).

THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 177:—

(103 *A*)  “Words spoken: ‘Take the two eyes of this Great One, Osiris *Nfr-k3-R'* | Two great loaves’.”

(cf. GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus IX*”, Vol. II, p. 82, Note 10:  | “Great Bread. O Amon, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, that Great One.”)


No. 189  *Htp-wsht* “An Offering of the Broad-Hall” (see above, p. 280)

No. 190  *Htp-n-t* “An Offering of Bread” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 103 *C*)

THE MEANING


This item, as its name clearly states, is simply an offering of bread.

THE WRITINGS


In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T*, the writing of this item is the same .


THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 179:—

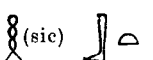
(103 *C*)  “Words spoken: ‘May your face be gracious to Horus, because you are his father | An offering of bread’.”



Here there is a play on the word *htp* ‘gracious’, and *htp* ‘an offering’ (see SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. III, p. 134, line 611 *A*).

No. 191  || “*B3-b3.t-Grain*” (see above, p. 419)

No. 192  || *Nbs* “*Nbk-Fruit*” (see above, p. 421)

No. 193  || “*W'h-Carob-Beans*” (see above, p. 426)



No. 194  (sic)  (var. ) “*Hkt-Beer*” (see above, p. 386)

No. 195  [] “*Tnm-Beer*” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 106 A)

THE MEANING

This item is another variety of beer.

THE WRITINGS

Tnm only occurs twice in our material (lists Nos. 145 *H*, 148 *T*), and each time the writing is the same  [].


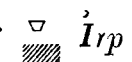
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 184 :—

(106 A)  (N)      []

“ Words spoken : ‘ Take the water which is in your Eye, and which *Horus* had given to you .

[Two] jars of *Tnm*-beer’ . ”



No. 196   *Irpa Mh* “ Wine of the North ” (see above, p. 399, ff)

No. 197  *T-w3d* “ Corn Bread ” (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 107 A)

THE MEANING

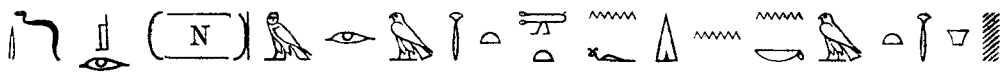
This item was a kind of bread made of corn-flour, perhaps from the grain *sht w3d* (see Nos. 174, 201). It was employed in the early Fourth Dynasty in list No. 2, but was discarded from the normal private lists after the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, but reappears in the royal lists of the Sixth Dynasty.


THE WRITINGS


In list No. 2 of the Fourth Dynasty *t-wd* is written . In lists Nos. 145 *H* and 148 *T* of the Sixth Dynasty this item has the same writing .

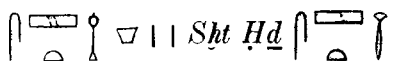
THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 186 :—

(107 A)  “ Words spoken : ‘Osiris *Nfr-k3-R*’, take the green Eye of *Horus* which had been taken out from him, and which *Horus* had given to you | [Two] basins of corn-bread’.”

No. 198  “ *Hbn.t-Bread* ” (see above, p. 331)

No. 199  “ *Hnfw-Bread* ” (see above, p. 328)

Nos. 200 and 201  “ *Sht W3d* ” (see above, p. 412)


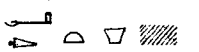
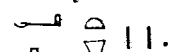
No. 202  “ *Np3.t-Cakes* ” (see above, p. 380)

No. 203  ‘*gt* “ A Kind of Prepared Paste ” (*Nfr-k3-R*, Line 109 B)

THE MEANING

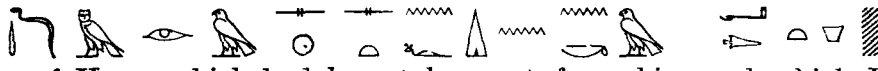
This item seems to have been a food consisting of a prepared paste of some kind of grain. It appears at the end of a repeated group of grains, and perhaps there is a connection between it and the ‘*gt swt*’ and ‘*gt 'it*’ (Nos. 174, 175).


THE WRITINGS

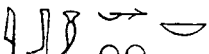
‘*gt*’ first appears in our material in list No. 2, where it is written ‘*gw.t*,  (see also list No. 3). It does not appear again in the normal private lists. In the royal list No. 145 *H*, this item is written , but in list No. 148 *T*, it appears as .


THE FORMULA

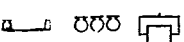
Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 192:—


(109 B)  “ Words spoken :
Take the Eye of Hōrus which had been taken out from him and which Hōrus had given to
yuo | [Two] basins of ‘gt-paste’ ” (see also the formula for No. 198).

No. 204  || “*D3b-Figs*” (see above, p. 396)

No. 205  || *Iht nb Bnr.t* (see above, pp. 99, 428)

No. 206 {  *Rnp.wt nb.t* (see above, pp. 99, 429)

No. 207  [11] *Hnk.t* (see above, pp. 91, 429)


No. 208  *Tjtj-mdr.f* “ To Tread him in his Time ”
(*Nfr-K3-R*, Line 113 B)



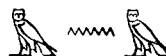
THE MEANING

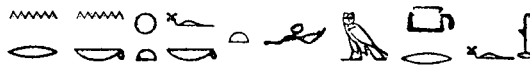
This does not seem to be really an entry at all ; judging by the writing in the list of *Nfrk-3-R*^c (No. 145 H), for in this text it is not placed in a rectangle, and seems to be just a formula connected with the presentation of the offering, as is also the case with Nos. 106, 133, 134, 209. Sethe translate these as formulæ, and does not give an item for them.

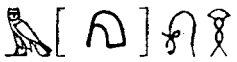
THE FORMULA

Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 198 (Nt, 281) :—

(113 A)  “ Words spoken :
‘Osiris *Nfr-k3.R*, this Eye of Horus is strong, seize it, therefore you are victorious (or powerful). ’ ”

(¹) For a discussion of the verb  = , or  “Powerful”, see SETHE, “Kommentar”, Vol. I, p. 233. Compare with Uttrerance No. 244 and line 614 C.

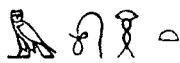




(113 B)  { "Your enemy is terrified before you, your enemy is trodden down in his boundary and at his time" (*cf.* Utterance No. 244).

No. 209  "M [tp] *W3h.t* Behold! A Libation" (*Nfr-k3-R'*, Line 114; *Nt*, Line 282)

THE MEANING


The meaning of this item is a libation, which if we may judge by the context of the accompanying formula, was for the cleansing of the mouth of the deceased.


THE WRITINGS

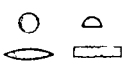
In list No. 148 *T*, this item is written , but in list No. 145 *H*, there seems to have been another sign (now destroyed) following the  and which Sethe restores as . In list No. 150 *T*, this item is nearly all destroyed but the initial sign is  followed by [].

THE FORMULA


Pyramid Texts, Utterance No. 198 (*Nt*, 282) :—


(282)  "Words spoken :
Osiris *Nt*, Horus had washed for you your mouth completely with his Eye | Behold! a libation."

No. 210  *Iwn.t* "Bow" (see above, pp. 237, 240)


No. 211  *Hrt* "Quiver of Arrows" (see above, p. 238)



No. 212  *Rwd* (see above, p. 239)

No. 213  (see above, p. 239)


No. 214  *Mstr.t* "A Kilt or Cloth" (*Nt*, Line 239) (*ibid*, Pl. XII)

THE MEANING

This item may mean either a kilt as a made-up garment, or a kind of cloth, perhaps the latter if we may judge by the determinative, which represents a bundle of cloth rolled up. In the painted sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom, this item (sometimes written) ,


or  may appear twice, once as a kilt, and again as a bundle of cloth (see JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d’Objets*”, pp. 18, 33, 36). But *mstrt* was also one of the most frequently used names for a kilt, which, as pointed out by Jequier, seems to have had no exclusive name (*ibid.*, p. 18). The names *mstrt*, *mstr n mst-sw* may be derived from the word  “to twist a thread” (see JEQUIER, *ibid.*, p. 18. Also JEQUIER, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. XXXIX, p. 148), and the meaning of this item as a garment is corroborated by the formula.


THE WRITINGS


We have only one example of this item in our material, *i.e.* list No. 148 *T*, where it is written .

THE FORMULA

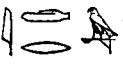

Nt, Lines 293, 294 :—



(293)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris Neit, the eye of Horus belongs to me. Protect it from being destroyed’.”

(294)  “Words spoken: ‘Osiris Neit: take for you the Eye of Horus, which is a garment ⁽¹⁾ for him’.”

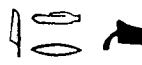
No. 215  *Idr* “A Girdle” (*Nt*, Line 295)

THE MEANING

The meaning of *idr* is a girdle. This word is not found in the Berlin Dictionary, but occurs once on a Middle Kingdom sarcophagus, under the form of  (where the determinative suggests a confusion with the *idmj* cloth), and was employed there to mean a girdle or similar article. It occurs in the plural in Pyramid Texts, line 1462 *D*, where it is written  *idr.wt* and where it is also employed to mean a girdle.

Furthermore, the fact that in the texts of Queen *Nt*, *idr* follows the kilt *mstrt* and proceeds the ceremonial tail *w't.t* makes its identification as a girdle almost a certainty. Later the word may be written either  or  (see JEQUIER, *ibid.*, p. 24).


THE WRITINGS

We have only one example of this item in our material and it is written  : list No. 148 *T*.

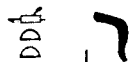
⁽¹⁾ see *W.B.*, V. p. 515.

THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 295 :—

(295)  · Words spoken : ‘ Osiris


Neit, take for you the Eye of Horus, prevent that it should be taken away from him | A girdle’ . ”

No. 216  *W't.t* “ A Ceremonial Tail ” (*Nt*, Line 296)

THE MEANING

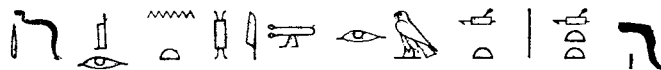
W't.t ‘ the Unique ’ seems to be a ceremonial tail similar to the *hbs.t* (see Nos. 48, 217, 221). But unlike the latter, the *w't.t* has no tuft upon the end. In the sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom the *hbs.t* tail is sometimes represented as attached to the girdle, but the *w't.t* is always represented alone, perhaps on account of its name ‘ unique ’, ‘ sole ’, ‘ only ’ (see LACAU, “ *Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire* ”, Vol. I, pp. 104, 26, Pl. line 409).

THE WRITINGS

We have only one example of this entry (list No. 148 *T*), and here it is written : .


THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 296 :—


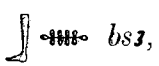


(296)  “ Words spoken : ‘ Osiris *Nt*, take

the unique Eye of Horus | A ‘ unique tail ’ . ”

No. 217  *Hbs.t* “ A Ceremonial Tail ” (see above, p. 215)

No. 218  *Bs3* (?) “ A Bead Apron ” (*Nt*, Line 298)

THE MEANING

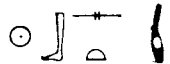
The meaning of this item is very uncertain. We have only one example of it in our materia (list No. 148 *T*), and here it is written  which may be a defective form of  *bs3*, which means a bead apron. The determinative also could easily be a simplified drawing of such an object (compare with the detailed drawings in JEQUIER, “ *Les Frises d'Objets* ”, p. 103, (No. 281) p. 105, (Nos. 285, 286). Furthermore, the context of the accompanying formula with its play upon the word  ‘ protection ’, ‘ guard ’ all suggests that we should read this item as *bs3* (the pun being on the sign *s3* ).

THE FORMULA

Nt, Line 298 :—

(298)  “ Words spoken :

‘ Osiris *Nt*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which is guarded by *Gb* | A bead apron (?) ’ . ”

No. 221  *Ubs.t* "A Ceremonial Tail" (see above, p. 215)

THE ABNORMAL OFFERING-LISTS

In addition to the royal offering-lists, the private lists which copy them to a greater extent, and the canonical lists, we occasionally meet with a fourth type, which because it does not conform to any of the forementioned types of lists, we will call abnormal or irregular. This type of list, of which we have six examples in our material, occurs from the late Fourth Dynasty to the Sixth Dynasty, and are to be found in both princely and private tombs. No two of these abnormal lists are exactly alike, in so far as our material provides evidence, but they contain several items in common. On the other hand, some of them contain items which are individual to themselves. From their structure, one would suggest that they are related to the specialized lists of the Archaic period such as that of *H'j-bz.w-Skr* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 97).

From whence do these apparently abnormal offering-lists originate? It is significant to note that the two earliest examples which we have in our material, those of Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*, and Prince *H'j-f-Mn.w*, are to be found in royal tombs (these date from the Fourth Dynasty). As we have already mentioned no written offering-lists belonging to a reigning monarch of the Fourth Dynasty, or earlier, have come down to us, although the scanty fragments found in the Fourth Pyramid prove that such lists were employed by the Pharaohs themselves. Nevertheless, this is not a proof that such royal lists were not in existence, but were not necessarily engraved upon the walls of the cult chamber; in fact, it is again significant that the two abnormal lists just referred to, those of Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*, and Prince *H'j-f-Mn.w* are both engraved upon the sarcophagus itself.

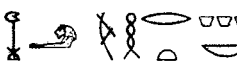
As it is unthinkable that royalty should borrow the customs of the private folk, we may be safe in guessing that these abnormal lists represent the original royal offering-lists, but not necessarily in its complete or original form.

Against this it may be argued that very few items from the abnormal lists are to be found in the great royal lists of the Sixth Dynasty. This, however, may be explained by the possibility, or even almost a certainty that the royal lists had undergone a drastic editing, probably at some time early in the Fifth Dynasty, or a little before (see above, pp. 66, ff).

The few fragments of the early Fifth Dynasty royal lists from Abusir all conform to the canonical style, and do not show any of the items which we find special to the great royal lists of the Pyramid Texts. It is further significant that Queen *Mrs.-'nh III* also has a canonical list in her tomb, which does not include any of the exclusively royal items of the later lists. But the lists of the Queens *Nt*, *Iput* and *Wdbtn*, of the Sixth Dynasty, none of whom could be considered of greater importance than Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*, all had lists which were exactly similar to those of the Kings, even to the inclusion of weapons and royal male garments. If we may draw an analogy from this fact, we may assume that the kings of the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties were thus employing the canonical offering-list of the type employed in the chapel of Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*, and which had already been adopted by many, but not all, of the nobles and private persons. As this canonical list differs considerably in structure and content from the Archaic private lists, we know it to have been a new redaction from which obsolete material had been discarded and new material added (see, above, pp. 52 ff). Therefore, as the abnormal lists contain many of the obsolete items of the Archaic lists (see below), and as they resemble them in structure, perhaps we may see in them survivals of the originals of the royal offering-list., contemporary written examples of which have so far eluded the spade of the excavator.

The Items in the Abnormal Lists

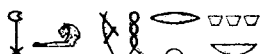

Eliminating the material which we have already studied in the canonical lists, we find the following items occurring in the abnormal lists (Pls. 158-173):—


No. 2  H_3 $H_3.t$ $Mrh.t$ $Nb(t)$ "A Thousand of all First-Class Anointing-Oils"

THE MEANING

This means all first-class anointing-oils and is a condensation of the somewhat lengthy enumeration of oils found in the Archaic lists. It occurs in the Archaic lists of $H'j-b_3.w-Skr$, and his wife $Hthr-nfr-htp$ (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V p. 119 [92]).

THE WRITINGS

In the list of $H'j-f-Mn.w$ (No 151), this item is written . In list No. 154 H , it is .




No. 7  [H_3] $Mnh.t$. "A Thousand of $Mnh.t$ -Linen"

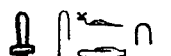
THE MEANING

This is one of the linen fabrics which occur frequently in the Archaic lists (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 120 (110)).

THE WRITINGS

We have the following writings in our material:—

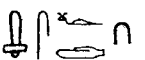

(1)  : list No. 151; (2)  : lists Nos. 152 P , 153; (3)  : list No. 154 H .



No. 14  Hts $Fd(?)$ Mdw "An offering 10"

THE MEANING


The significance and even the pronunciation of this item cannot be given with certainty, and we can only say that it is an offering (see JUNKER "Giza", Vol. V, p. 96).

THE WRITINGS

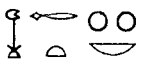
In list No. 155 *T* this item is written  . In list No. 151, it is damaged, and all that remains is .

No. 21   *Hj* '3.t nb (*t*) "A Thousand of all Kinds of Fine Stone Vessels"

THE MEANING

This is another condensation and replaces the detailed lists of stone vases and utensils found in the Archaic lists. For the word  in this meaning, see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 123 (162) (164).

THE WRITINGS

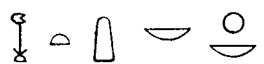

We have only one example in our material, which reads  : list No. 151.

No. 25     *Hj*. *t-nb R' nb* "A Thousand of all Kinds of Bread every Day"

THE MEANING

Another condensation, meaning a daily offering of all the usual bread presented to the dead.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 151 it appears as:  . In list No. 154 *H* it is .

No. 29   *Hj* *It Šm'* "A Thousand of Southern Barley"

THE MEANING

This is one of a series of granaries, each of which is inscribed with the name of the commodity it is supposed to contain. Such lists of granaries and their contents appeared in the late Archaic period—and this particular entry is to be found in the list of *Hthr-nfr-htp* (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 116 (31)).

THE WRITINGS


We have only one example in our material, which reads  : list No. 151


No. 30  *H3 It Mh* "A Thousand of Northern Barley"

THE MEANING






This is almost the same as the preceding item except that the grain is from the north that is to say barley of Lower Egypt.

THE WRITINGS


Again we have only one example, which reads  : list No. **151**.


No. 31  *H3 Bd.t* "A Thousand of Barley"

THE MEANING






This is simply an entry of barley, of a kind not specified as to its origin. The sign  or its equivalents is frequently employed in the normal lists to determine the various kinds of breads especially     *tw.t*-bread (see above, p. 289).

THE WRITINGS


We have three examples of this item in our material, all of which are written  : lists Nos. **151**, 152 *P*, **153**.



No. 32  *H3 Sw.t* "A Thousand of Corn"

THE MEANING

This is a simple enumeration of corn  appears also in the normal lists as     "parched corn" (see above, p. 416). In its present form, this item has already appeared in the Archaic list of *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 115 (29)).

THE WRITINGS



We have again three examples, all of which are written  : lists Nos. **151**, 152 *P*, **153**.



No. 33   H_3 Bs_3 "A Thousand of Bs_3 -Fruit"

THE MEANING

This is a kind of fruit or cereal capable of being dried and stored in granaries, and the item has already appeared in the Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 116 [35]. For a discussion of this item, see GARDINER, "*Onomastica*", II, p. 224, ff.

THE WRITINGS

Again the writing of the three examples in our material is similar   : lists Nos. **151**, **152 P**, **153**.





No. 34   H_3 $Bnr.t$ "A Thousand of Dates"



THE MEANING

As its name denotes, this is an entry of dates, presumably dried to be stored in magazines. Curiously enough, $bnr.t$ with the meaning of dates does not seem to have occurred in the Archaic lists, although $bnr.t$ as date-wine occurs in the Archaic list of $H_3j-b_3.w-Skr$, and again in the Fourth Dynasty list of $Snfrw-snb$ (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. p. 118 [79] and also Pl. VI. of this volume). (For the connection of this item with bs_3 , see GARDINER, *ibid.*)

THE WRITINGS

We have the following forms of writing in our material :—

(1)   : list No. **151**; (2)   : lists Nos. **152 P**, **153**.


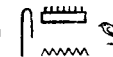
No. 39   H_3 Smn "A Thousand Smn -Fowls"




THE MEANING

The entry of the smn -fowls seems to have appeared late in the Archaic period, and was retained by the lists of the early Fourth Dynasty, but was eliminated by the editors of the normal canonical lists (see the Fourth Dynasty lists of $Snfrw-snb$, $Hwtj$, $K_3-nj-njswt$, $S_3.t-htp$, see also "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, 117 [57]).

THE WRITINGS

We have two examples in our present material which are almost identical:—








(1)  : list No. **151**; (2)  : list No. 155 *T*.




No. 41    *H3 Š3b.t* “A Thousand *Š3b.t*-Boats”

THE MEANING

This is the name of a boat which, according to Junker (“*Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 74), was of a shallow type.

THE WRITINGS



In list No. **151** we have    . In list No. **156**, it is written    with the sign  omitted. According to Junker (*ibid*) this, and the other boats mentioned in the offering-list, are those in which the Glorified Spirits navigate the celestial waters.




No. 42    *H3 W3h.t (?)* “A Thousand *W3h.t*-Boats”

THE MEANING

This is another type of boat, the exact significance of its name being uncertain. If we may trust to the appearance of the determinative, it had a light deck-cabin amidships.

THE WRITINGS

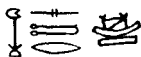
We have only one example of this item in our material, which reads   : list No. **151**.

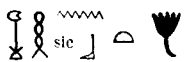


No. 43    *H3 Str* “A Thousand *Str*-Boats”

THE MEANING

This is yet another kind of boat, apparently of a slightly different type to the previous entry, the determinative showing a more pronounced curve to the hull (*see* PI. CLXI).

THE WRITINGS


The only example in our material reads  : list No. **151**.

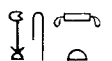
No. 44  Δ   H_3 $N\dot{h}b.t$ "A Thousand $N\dot{h}b.t$ -Boats"

THE MEANING

A kind of boat, apparently of a similar type to the preceding. For the pronunciation of $n\dot{h}b.t$, see SMITH, "J.E.A.", Vol. XIX, p. 152.

THE WRITINGS

Our only example occurs in list No. **151** where it reads .


No. 53  Δ H_3 $St.t$ "A Thousand of $St.t$ -Cakes"

THE MEANING

This is a kind of cake seldom found in the offering-lists. It seems to have appeared at the end of the Archaic period, and occurs in the list of $N\dot{f}r$ (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 115 [22]). It also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty lists of $Hwtj$ and $Sn\dot{f}rw-snb$ (see Pl. II).

THE WRITINGS


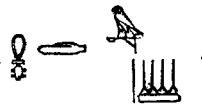
In list No. **151** we have  . In list No. 155 T , it is written .

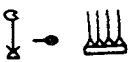
No. 59  H_3 $\dot{I}dmj$ "A Thousand ' $\dot{I}dmj$ -Linen"

THE MEANING

This is a kind of red linen cloth, of a special weave having a thread composed of four strands. It was much in demand as an offering to the dead, and appears in one of the earliest offering-list so far known to us, namely that on the Berlin niche-stone (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 89). $\dot{I}dmj$ -cloth also appears in the Fourth Dynasty lists of M_s-s_3 , $S\dot{s}3.t-htp$, and $N\dot{f}r-njswt$. (see Pls. II, III, V).

THE WRITINGS

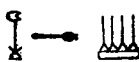
In list No. **151** we have  . In list No. 155 *T*, it is written  .


No. 60  *H3 Sšr* "A Thousand of *Sšr*-Linen"

THE MEANING

This is another kind of linen cloth which appears in the early Archaic lists. Here it is woven of a thread composed of four strands.

THE WRITINGS


This item only occurs once in our material, and is written  : list No. **151**.


No. 61  *H3 M3'-'3* (?) "A Thousand Pieces of *M3'-'3*-Linen"

THE MEANING

'3-linen is well known in the offering-lists of the Archaic period and early Fourth Dynasty, (see Volume V of this work, p. 89). Smith ("J.E.A.", Vol. XIX, p. 153) suggests that in its present form, this item should read 'true '3-linen'.

THE WRITINGS


We have only one example of this item in our material, and this is written  : list No. **151**.


No. 62  *H3 Msh.tjw* "A Thousand *Msh.tjw*-Adzes"

THE MEANING

In list No. **151** this item occurs in a list of tools but there were also instruments of this name and form which were used in the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' (see above, p. 158, *f*).

THE WRITINGS

Our only example reads  : list No. **151**.




No. 63  *H3* 'n.t. "A Thousand 'n.t.-Adzes"


THE MEANING

This is another type of adze. It is interesting to note that in the sets of copper model tools there are two types of adze-blades represented (*see above*, p. 43). According to Smith, the name 'n.t. is not supposed to occur before the Middle Kingdom (*J.E.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 153).

THE WRITINGS

The following are the writings in our material:—

(1)  : list No. **151**; (2)  : list No. **153**; (3)  : list No. **156**.


No. 64  *H3-mib.t* "A Thousand Axes"

THE MEANING

This entry is a round-bladed axe, such as occur frequently in the sets of copper model tools. It is a carpenter's or wood-cutter's axe, not a weapon of war (*see above*, p. 42).

THE WRITINGS

In list No. **151** this item is written  , but in list No. **156**, it is simply .


No. 65  *H3 T/3* "A Thousand Saws"

THE MEANING

Another of the tools; this time a saw. For the question of the saws in the copper model tools, *see above*, p. 43.

THE WRITINGS

In lists Nos. **151** and **156**, we have  . In list No. **153**, it is written .

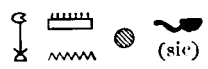

No. 66  *H3 mnk* "A Thousand Chisels"

THE MEANING

This is one of a series of chisels, such as we find in the sets of copper model tools (see above, p. 43).


THE WRITINGS


We have the following writings for this item :—


(1)  (with variant determinatives) : lists Nos. **151**, **153** ; (2)  : list No. **156**.


THE DETERMINATIVES

It is strange that the three examples of this item in our material should each have a different form of determinative :—

(1)  : list No. **151** : This appears to be a faulty form, and, indeed, the sarcophagus of Prince *H'j.f-Mn.w* is by no means notable for the excellence of its engraving.

(2)  : list No. 153 : The first sign is a form frequently seen among the copper model tools (see above, p. 43) ; the second seems to be merely a spike, and shows simply the metal part and not the wooden handle into which it was fitted.

(3)  : list No. **156** : This is the conventional sign for 'chisel', and represents the metal tool in its wooden (or bone) handle.


No. 67  *H3 b3 šm'* "A Thousand Southern B3-Garments"


THE MEANING

This item, which is also found in the Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 121 [118]), means a festal garment, possibly made of real or imitation leopard skin (*cf.* the leopard skin garments worn by men and women during the Archaic period ; *ibid.*, pp. 97, 98, 104, 111. See also SMITH, "*J.E.A.*", Vol. XIX, p. 154, *ff.*). This item also appears in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. VI)

THE WRITINGS

We have only one example in the material at present under discussion, and this reads

 : list No. **151**.


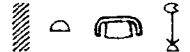
No. 68  *H3 Ntr.t* "A Thousand *Ntr.t*-Garments"


THE MEANING

Another kind of garment. This item is also found in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. VI).

THE WRITINGS

In our material, this item is written in the following manner :—

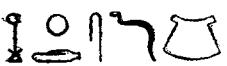
(1)  : list No. **151**; (2)  list No. **153**.


No. 69  *H3 Hsdd* "A Thousand *Hsdd*-Garments"

THE MEANING

This item also appears in the Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 121 [119]), and also in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. VI). It is one of the garments.

THE WRITINGS

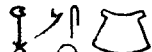

We have only a single example of this item in our material, where it is written  : list No. **151**.

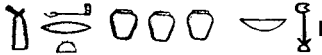
No. 70  *H3 M3.st* "A Thousand *M3.st*-Garments"

THE MEANING

This is yet another kind of garment. It also appears in the Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 121 [120]), and in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. VI).

THE WRITINGS


In our material this item is written  : lists Nos. **151**, **153** (with variant determinative ).


No. 73  'pr.t nb (t) H3 "A Thousand of All 'pr.t-Jars"

THE MEANING

This is an entry for a thousand of all 'pr.t-jars (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 180).

THE WRITINGS


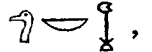

In our only example, this item reads  : list No. 154 *H*.


No. 82  3pd nb W'b H3 "A Thousand of all Pure Fowls."

THE MEANING

This seems to be a condensation of all the fowls ceremonially pure and fit to be offered to the dead.

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 154 *H*, we have the full writing  . In list No. 152 *P*, we have the abbreviated form  , and perhaps the entry  of list No. 153 is the same item (?).


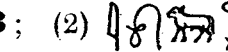

No. 83  R3 iw3 H3 "A Thousand Oxen"


THE MEANING

A kind of ox frequently found in the Archaic lists, even as early as the beginning of the Second Dynasty (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 116 [45]). It also appears in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj*, *Sš3.t-htp* and *Njr-njswt* (see Pls. III, VI).

THE WRITINGS

We have the following variant writings in our material :—



(1)  : list No. 153 ; (2)  : list No. 154 *H* (here the determinative is clearly a calf) (3)  : list No. 152 *P*.


No. 84  *Mj hđ Hj* "A Thousand Antelopes"

THE MEANING


The antelope was one of the game animals of the desert which the Egyptians were fond of capturing alive, and rearing in a semi-domesticated state with their ordinary cattle.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 154 *H*, the writing is . In list No. 153, we have  : *rs mshđ hđ*.


No. 85  : *Ghs Hj* "A Thousand Gazelles"

THE MEANING

Like the preceding entry, this item is one of the game animals of the desert, fattened for the table of the dead. This time it is the dorcas gazelle (see *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 191). It also appears with a faulty writing, omitting the sign , in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. V).

THE WRITINGS

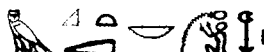
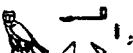

The single example in our material reads  : list No. 154 *H*.

No. 89  *M'k.t nb(t) W'b.(t) Hj* "A Thousand of all Pure Spits"

THE MEANING

According to Junker (*Giza*", Vol. V, p. 96), this is a spit for roasting meat. Here it is qualified as being ceremonially pure.

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 154^r *H*, we have the full writing . In list No. 155 *T*, it is written , but in our list the  is dropped and thus *mk.t*.

No. 91 $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *Bs.t H3* "A Thousand of *Bs.t*-Loaves"

THE MEANING

This is one of the many different kinds of bread offered to the dead (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 476).

THE WRITINGS

We have only one example in our material, which is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$: list No. 154 *H*.

No. 92 $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ *Ds-H3* "One Thousand *Ds*-Jars"

THE MEANING

The *ds* was a kind of large jar ; for particulars, see above, p. 162. It occurs in the royal list of King *Nfr-k3-R'*, where it is said to contain water (see Pl. CXLII).

THE WRITINGS

In our single example, this entry is written $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$: list No. 154 *H*.

No. 93 $\text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙}$ *Nms.t H3* "A Thousand *Nms.t*-Jars"

THE MEANING

This is one of the jars commonly used in connection with the funerary cult of the dead. In the royal list of King *Nfr-k3-R'*, it appears in connection with water (see above, p. 161). It was also used in the ceremonies of embalming (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 81). The *nms.t*-jars occurs in the Archaic lists, and also in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Snfrw-snb* (see Pl. VII).

THE WRITINGS

Our sole example in this material reads $\text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙}$: list No. 154 *H*.

No. 94 $\text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$ *Hbn.t H3* "A Thousand *Hbn.t*-Jars"

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 487). This is a large jar for the storage of beer or incense.

THE WRITINGS

We have only one example in our material, and this reads $\square \int \overset{\text{~~~~~}}{\Delta} \bigcirc \int \mid$: list No. 154 *H*.

No. 95 $\hat{\Delta} \text{---} \int \int \mid$ *T nb W'b H3* "A Thousand of all Pure Bread"

THE MEANING

This is simply a general enumeration of all kinds of bread ceremonially pure, and fit to be offered to the dead.

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 154 *H* this item is written $\hat{\Delta} \text{---} \int \int \mid$.

No. 97 $\int \int \int \int \int \mid$ *Šbw.t m Hwt.'3.t H3*

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 437), the word *šbw.t* or *wš'b* is an offering-food presented to the dead. The word *hwt.'3.t* $\int \int$ literally means 'great castle', or 'great palace', but in the title $\int \int$ it may mean a farm estate, the modern *ezba*.

Therefore, this entry may mean 'offering-food from the great castle', or 'offering-food from the farm estate', most probably the latter.

THE WRITINGS





Our only example of this item is in list No. 154 *H* where it is written $\int \int \int \int \int \mid$.





No. 98 $\hat{\Delta} \text{---} \int \int \int \mid$ *T-Rth m Wsh.t H3* "A Thousand *Rth*-Loaves for the *Wsh.t*-Hall"

THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is a thousand *rth*-loaves for the *wsh.t*-hall. For the meaning of the *rth*-bread and the *wsh.t*-hall, see above, pp. 292 and 280.

THE WRITINGS





Our only example is written  ←    | : list No. 154 H.





No. 99   []  | Št.t H3 “A Thousand Št.t-Cakes”

THE MEANING

The Berlin Dictionary only refers to this word as a kind of food found in the offering-list ; and if we may judge by the form of the determinative given there, it would seem to be a kind of cake or bread (see *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 414).

THE WRITINGS




In our sole example this entry is written   []  | 1.





No. 100   []  | St.t H3 “A Thousand Bread Moulds”

THE MEANING

This item means the moulds or forms in which certain kinds of loaves were baked (*see, for example, the shape of the loaf determining the previous entry*) (*W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 346).

THE WRITINGS





The item only occurs in our material in list No. 154 H, where it is written    |.

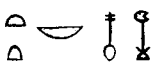
No. 101 +   ()  | Imj Wr.t H3 “A Thousand Imj Wr.t Jars”

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. 1, p. 331), this item is a kind of jar, as the determinative suggests.

THE WRITINGS

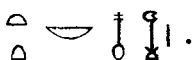
Our only example of this item reads +   ()  | : list No. 154 H.

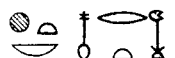
No. 102  | *T nb Nfr H3* “One Thousand of all Good Bread”

THE MEANING

This is simply another general enumeration of bread offerings, and is similar to No. 95, ‘all pure bread’, but here it is described as good.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 154 *H* (our only example), this item reads .




No. 104  | *Īh.t nb (t) Nfr.t H3* “A Thousand of all Good Things”

THE MEANING

The phrase, ‘all good things’ frequently ends the offering-formulæ in the Old Kingdom (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 124). Here it is employed as an entry, and is similar to Nos. 95 and 102.

THE WRITINGS

Our sole example is in list No. 154 *H*, and reads .


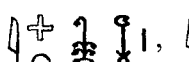

Nos. 105-107  | *Īmj-t3-mh H3*  | *Īmj-t3 Šm' H3*;  | *Īmj-t3 H3s.t nb H3*


THE MEANING

These three items are all of *Īmj-t3*-bread, which we have already studied in the canonical lists. (see above, p. 326). Here they are qualified as being ‘of Lower Egypt’, ‘of Upper Egypt’ and ‘of all foreign countries’, thus differentiating every kind.

THE WRITINGS

Our only examples of these entries are in list No. 154 *H*, where they are written


, , .


No. 108  | *Ih.t nb (t) zht H3* “A Thousand of Everything Glorified”

THE MEANING

This is a similar item to Nos. 95, 102 and 104, and means ‘everything glorified’.

THE WRITINGS


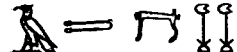
In list No. 154 *H* this item reads  | .


No. 113  | *st.t H3* “A Thousand Beds”

THE MEANING

As its determinative clearly shows, this item is a bovine-legged bed of a type found in actual fact, and representation, from the time of the First Dynasty onwards.

THE WRITINGS

In list No. **153** we have  | ; while in list No. **156** it is written  with an enumeration of two thousand.

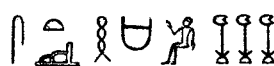
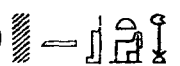
No. 114  | *St-Hms H3-3* “Three Thousand Stools (Sitting Chairs)”

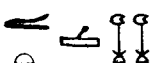
THE MEANING

According to Junker (“*Gîza*”, Vol. IV, p. 71), this is a stool for sitting on.

THE WRITINGS

We have the following writings for this item:—


(1)  : list No. **156**; (2)  : list No. **153**.


No. 115  | *Gst.t (sic) H3-2* “Two Thousand Sloping Beds”

THE MEANING

In the Archaic list of *H'j-b3.w-Skr*, this item is determined by a sloping bed, one of those curious pieces of furniture which have only a single pair of legs at one end of the frame (see QUTBELL, “*The Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. XIX; and JUNKER, “*Gîza*”, Vol. IV. Pl. XIX, p. 71; see also “*Excavations at Gîza*”, Vol. V, p. 97).

THE WRITINGS

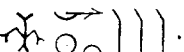
In our material this item is written : list No. **156**.

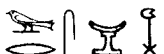
No. 116  *H3 Ut Db-3* “Thirty Thousand Wooden Chests”

THE MEANING

This item, which means a wooden chest, has already appeared in the Archaic lists (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 121 [126]).

THE WRITINGS

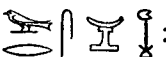
In list No. **156** this item is written .

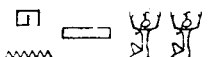
No. 117  *Wrs H3* “A Thousand Head-Rests”

THE MEANING

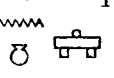
This item, which also appeared in the Archaic lists, is a head-rest (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 121 [12]). It is one of those items which dropped out of the normal offering-list by the end of the Fourth Dynasty, but which continued to be placed with the dead in actual fact at all periods of the Pharonic regime.

THE WRITINGS

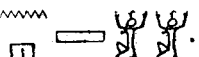
In the two examples in our material, the writing is identical : lists Nos. **156**, **153**.

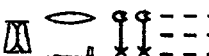
No. 118  *Hn Hh-2* “Two Million Coffers”

THE MEANING

This is a ‘modest’ request for two million coffers! It seems to be the same article which appears as  in the Archaic list of *Hthr-nfr-htp* (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, p. 122 [133]).

THE WRITINGS

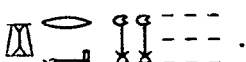
In list No. **156** this item is written .

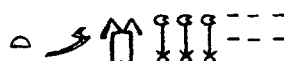
No. 119  *Hrj* (*t*) ' *H3-2 psd* (*w*) "Two Thousand and Nine Writing-Cases"

THE MEANING

This item, which also occurs in the Archaic lists, is a writing-case for a scribe's equipment (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 122 [138], and JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. IV, p. 71).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 156, this item is written .

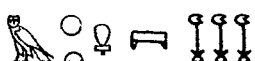
No. 120  *Tm3* (?) *H3-3 Psd* (*w*) "Three Thousand and Nine Quivers"

THE MEANING

According to Junker, this is a quiver for arrows ("Giza", Vol. IV, p. 71).

THE WRITINGS

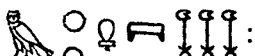
Our only example of this item reads : list No. 156.


No. 121  *Mh3m H3-3* "Three Thousand *Mh3m*-Boxes"

THE MEANING

According to Junker (*ibid*, p. 72), this is another kind of box.

THE WRITINGS


In our sole example this item is written : list No. 156.

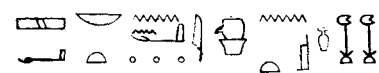
No. 122  *Šnm H3* "A Thousand *Šnm*-Boxes (?)"

THE MEANING

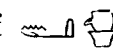

This also seems to be a kind of box or chest (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 72).

THE WRITINGS

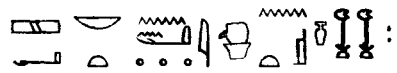
In list No. **156**, this item is written .


No. 123  Šwtj nj I'j Nms.t H3-2

THE MEANING

This is a fuller enumeration of the ewer and basin for washing the hands, and the *nms.t*-jar. It is an item which had appeared in the earliest lists so far known to us (see “*Excavations at Giza*”. Vol. V, p. 120 [97]). In its simple form of  and , it appears in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj* and *K3-nj-njsw.t* (see Pl. I).

THE WRITINGS


We have only one example in our present material which reads : list No. **156**.


No. 124  *D3m.t* H3. “A Thousand Chisels”

THE MEANING

This is another of the chisels, but unfortunately the determinatives of these items are **not** sufficiently detailed to enable us to identify its shape with any of the types of chisels found in the sets of model tools.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. **156** this item appears as .


No. 125  *S3.t* H3 “A Thousand *S3.t*-Chisels”

THE MEANING


This is another of the chisels in the list of tools.

THE WRITINGS

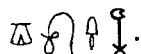
In list No. **156**, this item is written .

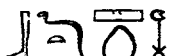
No. 126  *Gw3-H3* "A Thousand *Gw3-Chisels*"

THE MEANING

This is also a chisel, but of an unidentified type (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 72). In the Fourth Dynasty list of *Hwtj*,  is clearly a loaf of bread (see Pl. III).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. **156**, this item is written .

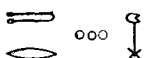
No. 127  *Bd.t H3* "A Thousand Bread-Moulds"

THE MEANING

This is a mould in which conical loaves of bread were baked (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 72).

THE WRITINGS

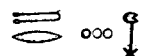
In list No. **156**, this item is written .

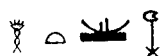
No. 128  *Tr H3*

THE MEANING

In the Archaic lists of *H'j-bj.w-Skr*, and his wife, *tr*, appears as the heading of an enumeration of furniture (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 97).

THE WRITINGS

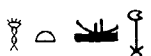
In list No. **156**, this entry is written .

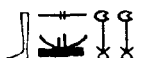
No. 129  *Sk.t H3* "A Thousand *Sk.t*-Boats"

THE MEANING

According to Junker (*ibid*, p. 74), this is a kind of boat used for navigating lakes.

THE WRITINGS

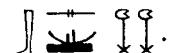
In our only example, this item is written  : list No. 156.


No. 130  *Bs H3-2* "Two Thousand *Bs*-Boats"

THE MEANING

This is another kind of boat, of a type of which nothing is known (*see* JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 74; also BOREUX, " *La Nautique Egyptienne*", pp. 138, 425).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 156, this item is written .

No. 131  *Hnmtj Hh-2* "Two Million *Hnmtj*-Boats"

THE MEANING

JUNKER identifies this as a boat of eight ribs, that is to say, of a certain length, which is naturally denoted by the number of ribs in the hull (*see* JUNKER, " *Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 74, also BOREUX, " *La Nautique Egyptienne*", p. 121).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 156, this item appears as .


No. 132  *Mdtj Hh.2 db-3* "Two Million and Thirty Thousand *Mdtj*-Boats"

THE MEANING

This is a boat having ten ribs; apparently of the same type of vessel as the preceding, but larger (*see* JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 74).

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 156 this item is written .

No. 133  $Wsr Hh Db'-3 H3$ "One Million and
Thirty-one Thousand Oars"

THE MEANING

This is the first of a short enumeration of parts of the equipment of a boat, and is an oar (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 75, and JEQUIER, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. IX, p. 82).

THE WRITINGS

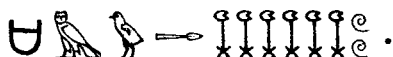
The only example we have, reads  : list No. 156.


No. 134  $Hmw H3-6 Šnt-2$ "Six Thousand and
Two Hundred Rudders"

THE MEANING

Hmw is the rudder or steering-oar of the ship (JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 75. and JEQUIER, *ibid*, p. 81).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 156, this item is written .

No. 135  $Sm' Hh Db'-3 Šnt-4$ "One Million, Thirty
Thousand and Four Hundred Sounding-Poles"

THE MEANING

This is the sounding-pole for testing the depth of the water, a very necessary precaution in Nile navigation, where sand and mud-banks frequently cause boats to run aground. According to Jequier, (*ibid*, p. 82) Sm' is a gaff or boat-hook.

THE WRITINGS

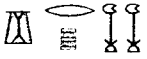
In list No. 156 this item reads .


No. 136  *Hrp H3-2*

THE MEANING

This is an unidentified object in the equipment of a boat (see JUNKER, *ibid* p. 74).

THE WRITINGS


Our only example is written  : list No. 156.


No. 137  *Md3b.t Hh-2* "Two Million Baling-Scoops"

THE MEANING

This is a large scoop or ladle for baling out water from a boat, the forerunner of the modern pumps (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 74, and JEQUIER, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XIX, p. 61).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 156, this item is written .

No. 138  *Wgs Hh-1—Šnt-4* "One Million, Four Hundred Riggings"

THE MEANING

This is the cordage or rigging of the ship (see JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 74).

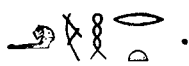
THE WRITINGS

In list No. 156, this item reads .

No. 139  *H3.t.t* "Best Oil"


THE MEANING

This item appears frequently in the Archaic lists, as well as the Fourth Dynasty lists of *M3-s3*, *Snfrw-snb*, *Hwtj*, *Sš3.t-htp*, *Nfr-njswt* and *K3-nj-njswt*, (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, p. 119 (94), and Pl. I, of this volume).

It means 'best oil', and is a condensation of all the usual oil entries of the period in which it is employed. Thus, it is very similar to No. 2 .

THE WRITINGS


In list No. **153**, this item is written  and in list No. 155 *T*, it is .


Nos. 157 and 158  *Dbh nj Wsh-'h* "Necessities for the Fire-Offering"

THE MEANING


In reality, this is not an item in the list, but a heading explaining the nature of the items which follow it.

THE WRITINGS

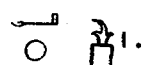
In list No. 155 *T*, this item is written .

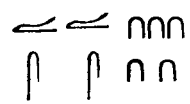
No. 159  *H-1* "A Brazier"

THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is simply a brazier (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. V, p. 96). It has already occurred in the Archaic lists, where the determinative  seems to correspond with the copper models described above on p. 44 (see also "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 123 [156]).

THE WRITINGS

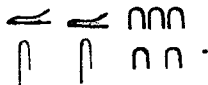
Our only example here is in list No. 155 *T*, where it is written .


No. 160  *Gsgs D'jw* "Split Sticks (Kindling-Wood)"

THE MEANING

This is the kindling-wood for the fire of the burnt-offering (see JUNKER, *ibid.*,

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 155 *T*, this item is written .


No. 161  *Sw.t Imsh-4* "A Kind of Reed, Four Pieces"

THE MEANING

According to Junker (*ibid* p. 96), this is a kind of reed.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 155 *T* this item is written .


No. 162  ' . . . 1 "A Receptacle for Water"

THE MEANING

This item, the pronunciation of which is uncertain, is a receptacle for water (*see* JUNKER *ibid*, p. 96).

THE WRITINGS


Our only example of this item is in list No. 155 *T*, where it is written .

No. 164  *Nm-1* "A Knife"

THE MEANING

This is a knife, presumably the sacrificial knife (*see* JUNKER, *ibid*, p. 96).

THE WRITINGS



In list No. 155 *T*, this item reads .


No. 165  | *Ibr* "A Kind of Costly Ointment or Oil"

THE MEANING

This item, which was well known in the Archaic Period, is a kind of costly ointment or oil for anointing the body (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol V, p. 119 [89]). It also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Sš3.t-htp* and *Nfr-njsut* (see Pl. I).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 153 this item has its full writing  . In list No. 155 *T*, it is abbreviated  .


No. 169  *İsd İmj H3d.t* "İsd-Fruit which is in the *H3d.t*"

THE MEANING

This is a specialized entry of the *İsd*-fruit (see above, pp. 410, *f.*).

THE WRITINGS


Our only example of this entry is written  : list No. 155 *T*,


No. 175  || | *Nm* "A Knife-2"

THE MEANING





This would appear to be another entry for a knife, similar to No. 164.


THE WRITINGS

In list No. 155 *T*, this item is written .

Nos. 179-183  || *İb-2* "A Kind of Plant-2"

THE MEANING

This and the four succeeding entries are all plants, the identity of which is not certain. The other plant items are 180  ; 181  ; 182  ; 183  . These items only occur in our material in list No. 155 *T*, and the writings are as given above.


No. 185  *H3m Db't* "A Sack of Charcoal"

THE MEANING

This item is a sack of charcoal for the burnt-offering.

THE WRITINGS


Our only example is written  : list No. 155 *T*.


No. 186  *It H3* "Barley"

THE MEANING

This is another of the granaries and their contents, which have already appeared in the Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. V, p. 97).

THE WRITINGS

In list No. 152 *P*, this item is written .

No. 187  *Dudw (?) H3* "A Kind of Grain"


THE MEANING

This item, which has also appeared in the Archaic lists, is a kind of grain (see WEILL *la II et III Dynasties*, Pl. IV).

THE WRITINGS

We have the following writings for this item in our material:—




(1)  : list No. 151, (2)  : lists No. 152 *P*; 153.

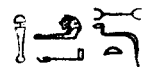
No. 190  *Rj (?) ng* "A Long-Horned Ox"

THE MEANING

This entry of the long-horned ox has appeared in the earliest Archaic lists we have (see "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. V, p. 116 [43]). It also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj*, *Sš.t-htp*, *Nfr-njswt* and *Snfrw-snb* (see Pls. III, V, VI).

THE WRITINGS

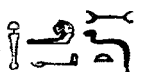
In list No. 153, this item is written  which seems to be a confusion between  *ng* and  *rn* "a young ox" (see also Nos. 83 and 84), but most probably it is *rj ng*.


No. 191  *Ḥ3.t 'd.t Ḥ3* "First-Class Cedar-Oil"

THE MEANING

This is an old writing of the *Ḥ3.t 'š* of the canonical lists, and was much employed in Archaic lists (see "*Excavations at Gîza*", Vol. V, p. 119 [85]). For its early use, see above, pp. 50, 55.

THE WRITINGS

This item only occurs once in our present material, and is written : list No. 153.

No. 192  *Ḥ3.t Šb Ḥ3* "A Kind of First-Class Oil"

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary, *šb* is a kind of oil used in medicine (*W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 437).

THE WRITINGS


Our only example reads : list No. 153.


No. 193  *Hj Sw.t (?) Hj*

THE MEANING

Judging by its determinative, and its position in an enumeration of oils, one would say that this was another oil item; but the name does not appear in the Berlin Dictionary.

THE WRITINGS


The only example we have, reads  : list No. 153.

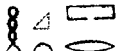
No. 195  *Dj.t Hj* "A Crane, One Thousand"

THE MEANING


This item, the crane, was common in the Archaic lists from the earliest items (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 117 [52]). It also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj*, *Ss.t.t-htp*, and *Nfr-njswt*.

THE WRITINGS

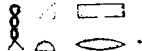
In list No. 153, this item reads .


No. 200  *Hnk.t Pr* "Beer of the House (?)"

THE MEANING

This is a kind of beer and seems to be a fuller writing of the drink  which is found in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj*, *Ss.t.t-htp* and *Nfr-njswt* (see Pls. III, V).

THE WRITINGS


In list No. 153, this item is written .

No. 201  *Hd.t* "A Kind of Drink"

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary (*W.B.*, Vol. III, p. 211) this item is a drink. During the Middle Kingdom the name *hd.t*, but with a fuller writing, was applied to milk. This item also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Hwtj*, *Ss.t.t-htp*, *Nfr-njswt* and *Snfrw-snb* (see Pls. III, VI).

THE WRITINGS

In list No. **153**, this item reads .


No. 203  *Nbw.t.t (?)*

THE MEANING

The meaning of this item is not at all clear.

THE WRITINGS


The only example we have, appears as  in list No. **153**. It may be a kind of beer (*W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 243).


No. 204  *Stb H3* "A Thousand *Stb*-Garments"

THE MEANING

This is another of the garments, but of what kind we do not know.

THE WRITINGS


In list No. **153**, it is written .


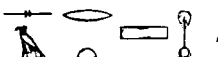
No. 206  *Mni'b.t H3* "A Thousand Wine-Jars"

THE MEANING

According to the Berlin Dictionary, this is a jar for wine (*W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 66).


THE WRITINGS

In list No. **153**, we have .

No. 207  *D3.d.t H3*, and 208  *S3r.t H3*

THE MEANING


These are two items from an enumeration of tools, but are impossible to identify at present. Our only examples are in list No. **153**, where they are written as above, but in the *W.B. Pl. III, 422*, may mean a kind of plant as garden plants.

No. 209  *Pr' H3* "A Thousand Saws (?)"


THE MEANING

This is another of the tool entries, and appears from the determinative to be a saw.


THE WRITINGS

Our only example is in list No. **153** where it is written .

The following items from the abnormal lists are also to be found in the great royal lists of the Sixth Dynasty, where their material has already been studied (*see above*):—

No. 71  *Htp nb H3* "All Offering-Tables, One Thousand"



This equals entry No. 186, of the Royal List (list No. 154 *H*)



No. 72  *Dsr.t H3* "A Thousand Offering-Tables"

This has occurred in the Archaic lists (*see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 121 [128]*), and equals No. 38 of the Royal Lists.

THE WRITINGS

In our material we have the following:—








(1)  : list No. 154 *H*; (2)  : list No. **156**

No. 74   *T-wr* "A Great Loaf"

This occurs in the Archaic lists, and in the Fourth Dynasty lists of *Snfrw-snb*, *Hwtj*, and *K3-nj-njswt* (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. V, p. 115 [13] and Pls. I, III, VI, of this volume). It equals No. 188 of the Royal Lists.

THE WRITINGS

We have the following writings in our material:—



(1)   : list No. 153; (2)    : list No. 154 *H*; (3)   : list No. 155 *T*.



No. 163   *T- W3d*

This item appears in the Fourth Dynasty list of *Hwtj* (see Pl. II). It equals No. 197 of the Royal Lists.

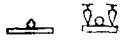
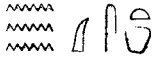
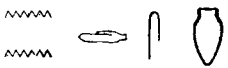
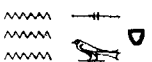

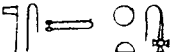


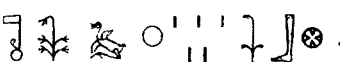

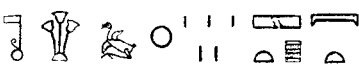
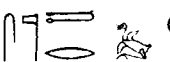

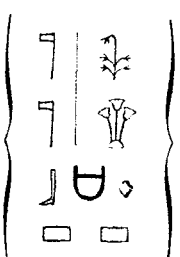
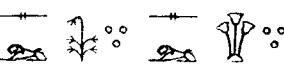
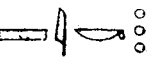
THE WRITINGS

In list No. 153, this item is written   , and in list No. 155 *T*, it is   .

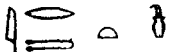


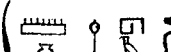
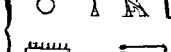
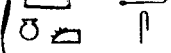

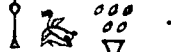


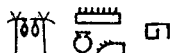
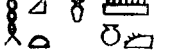


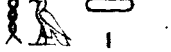



No. 173   *Mw Nms.t* "Water in the *Nms.t*-Jar" (List No. 155 *T*)

This equals No. 2, of the Royal List. The only example in our present material is in list No. 155 *T*, and reads   .

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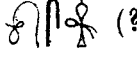


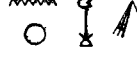

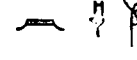


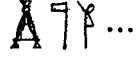






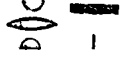
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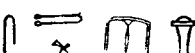

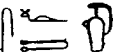


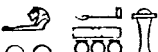
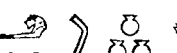
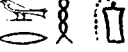

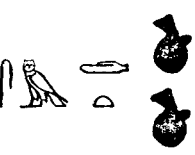

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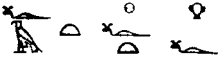

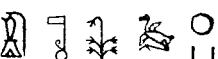
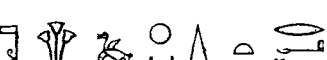
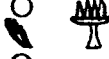





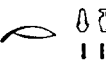

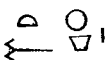

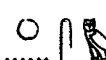

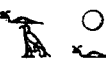
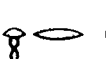
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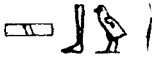





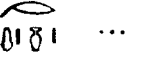

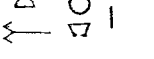
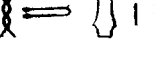

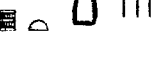

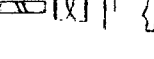



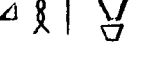
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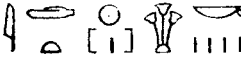
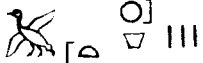
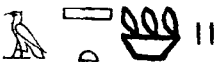
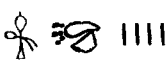

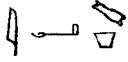



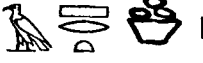
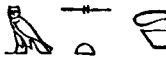

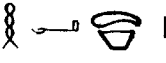




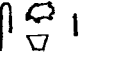
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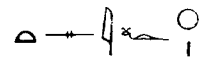
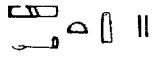


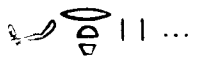




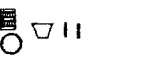
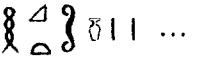

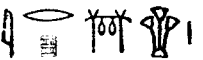
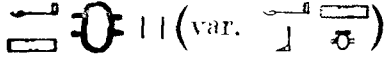
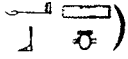
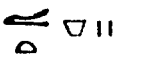

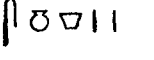

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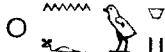
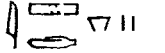


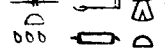







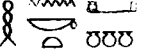

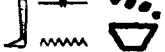


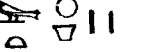

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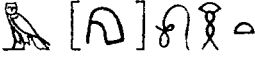
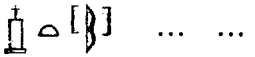
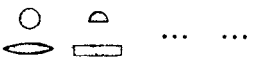





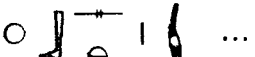



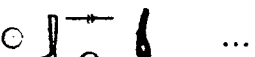
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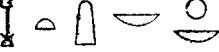






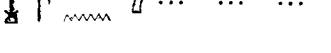
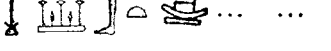





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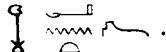

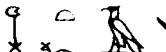
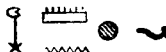






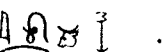


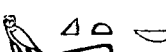
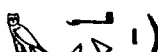
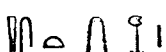
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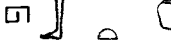

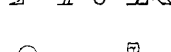

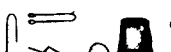


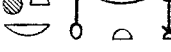

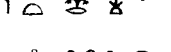

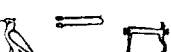



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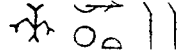

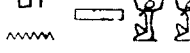
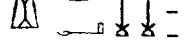
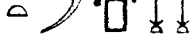

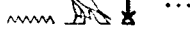



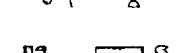
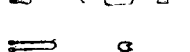

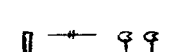



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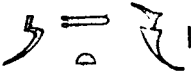
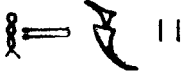






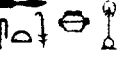




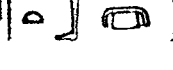

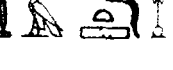
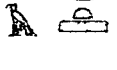
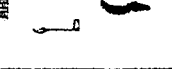
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