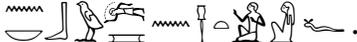


Marginalia III\*  
Henry George Fischer

1. *Nbw n sbt.f*

In the biographical inscription of *Hzi*, which has recently been published by Kanawati<sup>1</sup> and Silverman,<sup>2</sup> the usual epithets “praised by his father, beloved of his mother” are followed by an epithet that has not previously been attested: .<sup>3</sup> Kanawati translates this as “a builder of his family,” while Silverman translates *nbw* as “esteemed(?)”.

I have suggested that the meaning of *nbw* is perhaps to be sought in personal names,<sup>4</sup> and think this evidence may provide a likelier solution. The earliest evidence, probably dating to the Second Dynasty, is , *Nbi-k3(i)*,<sup>5</sup> which Klasens, like Kanawati and Silverman, relates to *nbi* in the sense of smelting metal and secondarily of “fashioning” implements.<sup>6</sup> In the Old Kingdom this was often written precisely like the verb for “swimming,” from which it is derived, but sometimes the determinative representing a swimmer is replaced by a man using a blowpipe,<sup>7</sup> as in the Pyramid Texts, where it refers to the fashioning of harpoons.<sup>8</sup> Only much later was it applied to the creation of men (by the gods).<sup>9</sup> The examples of *nbi* in names never show the metalworker with blowpipe, but only the swimmer. A particularly illuminating example has come to light in the new publication of the tombs at Hammamiya by El-Khouly and Kanawati,<sup>10</sup> where a previously illegible name is now seen to be , *K3(.i)-nbi.f-wi*. Here again *nbi* has been taken to mean “fashion:” “My ka creates me,”<sup>11</sup> but the repetition implied by the construction of this statement is hardly appropriate to a person’s creation, which is a single act.<sup>12</sup> The same construction appears in the names *K3(i)-h3.f*<sup>13</sup> and *K3(.i)-hi.f*,<sup>14</sup> “My *k3*, it fights,” “My *k3*, it smites.” I propose to translate the example from Hammamiya as “My *k3*, it swims me,” which would have much the same meaning as the name *Rmn-wi-k3(.i)* “My *k3* supports me.”<sup>15</sup> While I do not know of other Old Kingdom evidence for *nbi* as a transitive verb in this sense, the idea of conveying someone by swimming is attested by Pyr. 588: *nbi.f hr.k* “he swims bearing thee.” Another name, ,<sup>16</sup> might therefore be

\* See GM 122 (1991), 21–30; 128 (1992), 69–80.

interpreted as “my *k3* is my supporter,” and here the use of the imperfective participle is likewise appropriate to a sustained or repeated action.<sup>17</sup> The same name also occurs twice in the Abusir Papyri, written .<sup>18</sup>

The evidence to be obtained from names accordingly seems to indicate that *nbi*, in the problematic epithet of *Hzi*, refers to swimming, and is to be translated as “the support of his family.” This conclusion is clinched by a somewhat later biographical inscription, dating to the Heracleopolitan Period, in which the deceased says that he acted .<sup>19</sup> Černý translates “as does an excellent commoner so that his family may swim.” In view of the foregoing evidence, however, I think *nbi* is probably again transitive, and a participle, which makes for a more convincing interpretation of the epithet: “an excellent commoner who keeps his family afloat.”

#### Notes

1. N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V: The Tomb of Hesi* (Sydney 1999), p. 38 and n. 137.
2. *JARCE* 37 (2000), 12 and n. 64.
3. Later references to *ibt* “family,” from the Heracleopolitan Period, show *im3* “kindly” in this context: Clère, *RdE* 7 (1950), 30. All the examples are on stelae from Naga ed-Deir.
4. Silverman, *loc. cit.*
5. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, Supplement* (1964), p. 30, pl. 3 (1055); *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (1966), p. 268 (pl. 8); Klasens, *OMRO* 46 (1965), 3, fig. 1 and pl. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 6, referring to *Wb.* II, 236 (9), “vom bilden der Knochen,” but see n. 8 below. He also compares the name *Irw-k3*, which is probably an abbreviation of *Irw-k3-Pth* (*PN*I, 40 [22]) and *Ms3.n-k3(.i)* (*PN*II, 292 [13]) “One whom my *k3* has borne,” which is a statement by the mother.
7. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 31 (swimmer), 39, n. 58 (blowpipe).

8. Pyr. 1968, following Faulkner's interpretation as opposed to the *Wörterbuch*, in *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 284: "Sokar... has fashioned his harpoon-points and has cut out his barbs."
9. *Wb.* II, 241 (23–29).
10. *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 48, improving on Petrie's copy in Mackay–Harding–Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamieh*, pl. 23.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 29 and n. 91.
12. The repetition of birth is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts quoted by Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 636, but repeated birth is more appropriate to the dead than to the living.
13. *PNI*, 338 (26).
14. *PNI*, 340 (15). For names of this kind see also Ranke, *JAOS* 70 (1950), 65–68; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III, p. 60.
15. *PNI*, 425 (10), II, 404.
16. Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 11.
17. Edel, *loc. cit.*
18. Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire* II, p. 652, referring to pls. 64 A and 82 of the British Museum publication. Her preference for reading *Nbb-k3(.i)* rather than *K3(.i)-nbb* is unwarranted, since *k3* is not subject to honorific transposition; cf. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 50.
19. Černý, *JEA* 47 (1961), 6.

## 2. A misnamed monkey

In his publication of the tomb of  $\epsilon nh-m-\epsilon Hr$  Alexander Badawy makes the following observation about the guenon that is led in a procession of offering bearers (Fig. 1): "This pet must have been particularly close to the heart of  $\epsilon Ankhma\epsilon hor$ , for her name is inscribed in large hieroglyphs



Fig. 1

*mrî rdî.s* “Love she gives!”<sup>1</sup> My doubt about the supposed name was such that I have made no mention of it in either of two discussions of the personal names that were bestowed on animals in ancient Egypt.<sup>2</sup> But now that Naguib Kanawati has repeated the same idea in his new edition of the tomb,<sup>3</sup> I feel compelled to specify my objections.

The hieroglyphs in the supposed name are, in fact, larger than those that identify the first two men in the same register, but it must be acknowledged that the smaller of these labels is evidently a later addition,<sup>4</sup> and the same may be true of the other one. It must also be conceded that, while there is nothing about the representation of the guenon to indicate that it is actually a female,<sup>5</sup> an equally indeterminate example is specifically labelled as feminine *gift* “monkey” in another case.<sup>6</sup>

But that kind of label, rather than a personal name, is all the identification that is normally applied to a guenon in such cases.<sup>7</sup> One of these is particularly telling, where a guenon thus labelled appears on one side of the entrance to a tomb chapel, while a dog on the side opposite does have a distinctive name.<sup>8</sup> Unlike guenons, dogs of the Old Kingdom are very frequently distinguished in this way,<sup>9</sup> rather than being labelled by their species,<sup>10</sup> as monkeys are. Nor is the naming of a guenon the only problem, for the name itself would be exceptional; it is completely unknown for either man or beast. And it cannot have the meaning that has been attached to it, since the word for “love” would be *mrwt* or the infinitive *mrît*. The label in question may, however, be understood as an utterance of the man who follows the guenon, and who carries the bulkiest burden in the procession. His words probably express impatience, like the words of two other bearers in the same scene, who hurry those ahead of them by saying “pick up your feet” and “make way for me.”<sup>11</sup> *Mri(.i)* is evidently a *sdm.f*-form, with passive *rdî(w).s* as its object: “I want it to be delivered,” implying that the bearer feels its delivery to be impeded. Adolf Erman long ago offered another possibility: “Man liebt den, der es gegeben hat,”<sup>12</sup> i.e. “the one who’s given it is loved.” The tone of this seems decidedly less in keeping, however, with the rough exhortations of the speaker’s companions. Since the final  $\bar{\text{}}$  may represent the dependent pronoun *sî* it is also possible to regard both verbs as *sdm.f*, “I like giving it,” or “I want to give it,”<sup>13</sup> but that would more likely

be expressed by using the infinitive, i.e. *rdit.s*. In any case it seems doubtful that the man is simply expressing obsequious satisfaction in doing his duty.

### Notes

1. *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara*, (Berkeley, California, 1978), p. 26 and fig. 34 (shown here).
2. *MMJ* 12 (1977), 173–78; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, col. 590.
3. *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II: The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Sydney, Australia, 1997), pp. 17, 38, translating "the love she gives."
4. As seen from Jean Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux a Saqqara*, pl. 42.
5. For more recognizable examples see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 250, fig. 17 and nn. 47, 48; also p. 252.
6. Wm. K. Simpson, *The offering Chapel of Kayemnofret*, figs. 14 and E.
7. G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I, fig. 263; N. de G. Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 15.
8. Lepsius *Denkmäler* II, 36; the dog's name is only partly preserved, and in Hassan *Giza* IV, figs. 116–17, it has completely vanished.
9. Janssen, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 176–82; Fischer, *JEA* 47 (1961), 152–53; *MMJ* 12 (1977), 173–75.
10. A dog is labelled *tzm* in Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, fig. 56, but this is not really an exception, for the adjacent human figure is similarly labelled *nw* "hunter;" the entire scene exhibits, to a remarkable degree the use of labels to supply a phonetic complement for the figures; cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, p. 3.
11. For this phrase cf. James and Apted, *Khentika*, pp. 55–56 and pl. 22 (146, 151); Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, p. 16 and fig. 14.
12. *Reden, Rufe und Lieder* (APAW 15 [1919]), p. 33
13. As in the song of the men carrying a palanquin, "I like it full more than when it's empty;" Pierre Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, p. 379.

### 3. An Unusual stela of the Heracleopolitan Period

The curious stela shown here (Figs. 1, 2), now in the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg in Copenhagen,<sup>1</sup> has received little attention since it was described by Margaret Murray in 1915,<sup>2</sup> even though it has subsequently been illustrated in the catalogues of Maria Mogensen<sup>3</sup> and Otto Koefoed-Petersen.<sup>4</sup> There are few references to it in Ranke's *Personennamen*,<sup>5</sup> and, more understandably, none at all in Dilwyn Jones' recent index of titles,<sup>6</sup> which generally excludes evidence beyond the Old Kingdom.

The triangular format is possibly meaningful, but the stela may be a reused slab of stone, and if so, the shape has determined the layout. It has been surmised, probably correctly, that the figure at the top represents the donor,<sup>7</sup> in which case he may well reappear as the identically named figure in the row of four men near the bottom. The principal persons for whom the stela was made are obviously the couple shown beneath the presumed donor. The four men in the next register may be presumed to be their sons, while the figures below them represent three daughters and, in two cases, their husbands, with whom their names are paired.

Following this sequence, the family's names are:

(1)  *Ib*—*PNII*, 262 (11): also James-Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika*, pl. 16 (elsewhere *Ibi*, as noted on p. 50).<sup>8</sup>

(2)  *M3*—*PNI*, 144 (1): the determinative is identical in Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 219; Paget-Pirie, *Tomb of Ptahhetep*, pl. 35.

(3)  *Nfrt*—*PNI*, 201 (10).<sup>9</sup> A common name, but it may relate to this person's other name, which is:

(4)  *Nfr-Inpw-nb-zh-ntr*—for the lack of honorific transposition see Fischer, *Eg. Studies III*, p. 62.<sup>10</sup>

(5)  *K3(.i)-nfr*—*PNI*, 340 (10).



Fig. 1

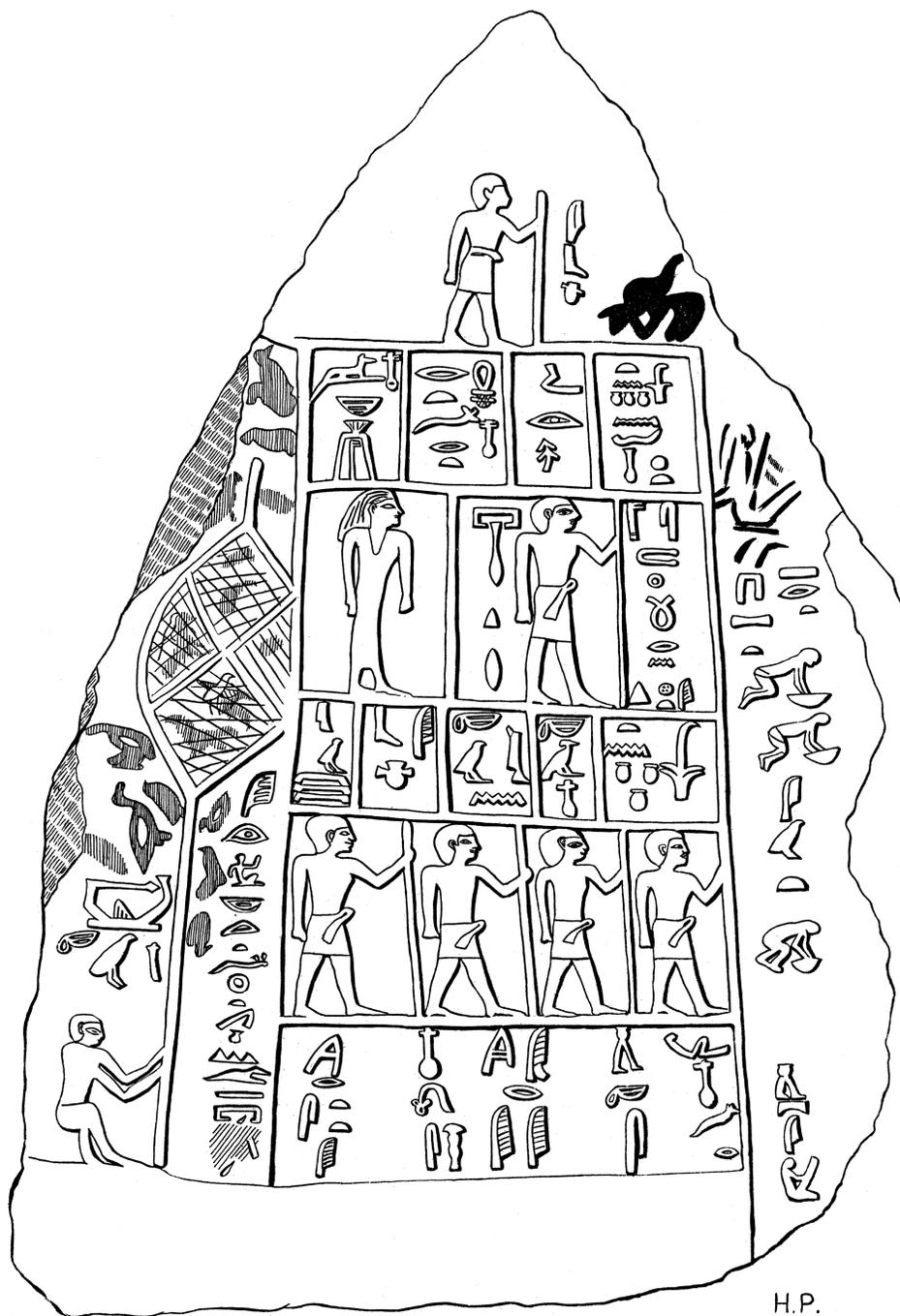


Fig. 2

(6)  *Whm-n(.i)-k3(.i)*—as in Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 12.

(7) Same as (1).

(8)  *Whmw*—*PNI*, 83 (21), but not this writing, which occurs in several names of the Old Kingdom that end in *m*.<sup>11</sup>

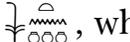
(9)  *Ph<sup>12</sup>-nfr*—as in Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, fig. 27; cf. *Ph-r-nfr*, *Phw-nfr*, *PNI*, 135 (24, 29).

(10)  *Ini-k3.s*—cf. *Ini(t)-k3.s*, *PNI*, 36 (7). *PNII*, 342, gives other examples of the missing feminine ending.

(11)  *Iy-mry*—*PNI*, 9 (16).

(12)  *Nfr-w3d.s*—*PNII*, 298 (16), cites this example, comparing *W3d-nfr*, *PNI*, 74 (20). The third sign is to be corrected in Mrs. Petrie's copy; the sides of the stem are straight.

(13)  *Mrt-it.s-i*—*PNI*, 158 (18), but the final  is unexpected; does it belong to *it*?

No. (2) is preceded by  , which also precedes (5–8), and will be discussed presently, and by the title  *nht-hrw* “tallyman.”<sup>13</sup> No. (3–4) has the title  *mitrt*, which is not otherwise known beyond the Old Kingdom.<sup>14</sup> The figure of the principal owner of the stela is flanked by two columns that contain the rudiments of an offering formula, summing up the standard offering list by mentioning only the first and last items—“incense and ointment,” and “offering(?) things,”<sup>15</sup> with the addition of *pri hrw* “may it be invoked.”

Other persons, all of whom are evidently servants, are named on the right margin:

(14)  *Z3w*—(or *Mniw*). Added in red paint. The second sign is not  but .

(15)  *Šrt*—cf. *Šryt*, *PNI*, 329 (14). This and the next two names are applied to three women grinding grain.

(16)  Murray suggests *Nt-pr*, which might mean “One who belongs to the house,” but the sequence of signs speaks against this. Perhaps it is to be understood as a contraction of *Pri-n(.i)-cnḥ* (*PNI*, 133 [24]) or *Pri-n(.i)-kz(.i)*, (Hassan, *Gîza* II, fig. 94), with the addition of a feminine ending.<sup>16</sup>

(17)  *Iwt*—*PNI*, 18 (20), referring to CG 1638, which is probably no later than Dyn. VI: cf. Fischer, *Inscriptions from The Coptite Nome*, no. 7. In *PNII*, 339 the present occurrence is also cited.

(18)  *Inî*—*PN I*, 36 (13); also Junker, *Gîza* III, fig. 28; XI, fig. 18. Although the photograph shown here does not seem to show it, those of Murray and Mogensen confirm that the seated determinative holds a stick as indicated in Mrs. Petrie’s facsimile, but it also shows a raised knee, and is therefore probably a man, most likely a herdsman.

On the left margin, above the figure of a man pulling a clapnet to catch birds; he is identified as *wh*<sup>c17</sup> “fowler,” and is named:

(19)  *Nfrw(y)-kz(.i)*—*PNII*, 298 (17) cites a single example, for which see now El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 51.

To the right of the line pulled by the fowler is a column of signs that begins with the conventional Old Kingdom threat to wrongdoers: “As for any man who shall do anything to this (tomb) of ours,<sup>18</sup> (there will be) a crocodile...” The ending is unclear.<sup>19</sup>

The term , which is applied to the owner of the stela and to the first of his four sons, but possibly applies to all members of the family, is very difficult to explain. One might think of the title , a variant of  *mḥnk nswt*, which is said also to occur in , but the variant is unverifiable in the first case<sup>20</sup> and quite mistaken in the other.<sup>21</sup> Moreover a tallyman, concerned with the delivery of grain, and associated with judicial functions, would not be expected to have this title.<sup>22</sup> The

only other evidence I know of for  $\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}$  or  $\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}$  as a separate entity is its occurrence in personal names that are known from the Sixth Dynasty and later:  $\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{N}} Nwi$  and fem.  $\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{O}}\textcircled{\text{N}} Nwt$ .<sup>23</sup> This suggests the possibility that the title might represent yet another variant of  $\textcircled{\text{H}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{S}}\textcircled{\text{W}}\textcircled{\text{T}}$ ,  $\textcircled{\text{H}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{S}}\textcircled{\text{W}}\textcircled{\text{T}}$  (var.  $\textcircled{\text{H}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{N}}\textcircled{\text{S}}\textcircled{\text{W}}\textcircled{\text{T}}$ ) *Hnn-nswt*, *Nn-nswt*,<sup>24</sup> designating these people as “Heracleopolitans.” The Riqqa cemetery was, in fact, situated at the center of the Heracleopolitan Nome, about 44 km northwest of the capital. The lack of the town-determinative obviously throws doubt on this possibility, although it conceivably may have been omitted because the epithet refers to the town’s inhabitants rather than to the town itself.<sup>25</sup> However this may be, I can think of no other likely alternative.<sup>26</sup>

In dealing with so isolated an oddity as this, one cannot be sure to what extent its numerous peculiarities are due to the general decline of the period when it was made, or to the particular limitations of a local scribe. Probably both, but the stela cannot be very much later than the Old Kingdom, for, with the exception of *Zsw*, which looks like a subsequent addition, virtually all the names are attested from that period, or conform in pattern to such names. And the latest example of the feminine title *mîtrt* is otherwise one that occurs on a Sixth Dynasty false door from Naga ed-Deir.<sup>27</sup>

### Notes

1. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen, AEIN 1515. Photograph courtesy of the Museum.
2. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (1915), pp. 26–27, and pls. 5–6. Hilda Petrie’s drawing, reproduced here, is faithful in all but a very few details, which will be noted presently.
3. Maria Mogensen, *La Collection égyptienne* (1930), pp. 90–91 and pl. 96.
4. Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil d’inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca V, 1936)*, pl. 4; *Les Stèles égyptiennes* (1948), pp. xv–xvi, 6–7, pl. 8–8a (including Mrs. Petrie’s drawing). His transcriptions of names and titles are not completely reliable.
5. Among the additions in Vol. II.

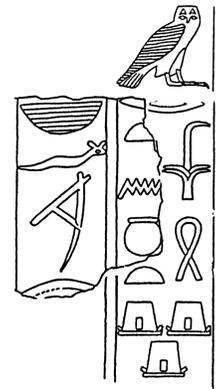
6. Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford 2000).
7. As suggested by Koefoed-Petersen.
8. An addition in black paint has been made beside his figure, which Murray thought might possibly represent a table of offerings; Koefoed-Petersen less cautiously expresses the same opinion. But it is almost certainly a hieratic repetition of *ib* in the donor's name, doubtless made by the man who added his name in red (no. 14 below). For additions of this kind see *MMJ* 9 (1974), 9 and n. 4, to which may be added many others: e.g. Carter et al., *Beni Hasan IV*, pl. 18 (2); Lacau–Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>*, pls. 36–37.
9. Koefoed-Petersen follows Murray in appending this to the title *mītrt*, but that seems highly unlikely.
10. See Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III, p. 62. This name seems to condense *Inpw, nb-(t3-dsr, hnty)-zh-ntr*.
11. See Vandier, *RdE* 2 (1936), 57, n. 1.
12. So also Koefoed-Petersen, as opposed to Murray; the peculiarly simplified form of  $\text{𓂏}$  is somewhat distorted in Mrs. Petrie's facsimile.
13. For *nht-hrw* see Jones, *Index*, nos. 1817–1827, 3421–3426.
14. *Ibid.*, no. 1572.
15. From the photograph it may be seen that  $\text{𓂏}$  is actually  $\text{𓂏}$ , which looks like *dbn*—perhaps a confusion with *phr* (Junker, *Giza III*, p. 114)? The sign  $\text{𓂏}$  following *iht* seems the equivalent of  $\text{𓂏}$  in  $\text{𓂏}$ : Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 22; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 16; in both cases referring to offerings.
16. Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*<sup>2</sup>, p. 33 and n. 194.
17. The longitudinal shape above the boat is difficult to explain; one might possibly compare Middle Kingdom examples that show a catfish (*whr*): Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, pp. 38, 66 (P4). But it looks more like a lowered mast; as usual in the Old and Middle Kingdom, the boat has a high prow and stern.

18. For *nw.n* cf. *nw.k*, *nw.i*: Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 200.

19. The line beneath the crocodile may simply be a baseline; this is possibly followed by *pri.f* “he will come forth.” In two other cases the threat is *mzh ir.f m mw* “a crocodile (will be) against him in the water...” (*Urk.* I, 23 [12]; 226 [13]).

20. Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 375; Jones, *Index*, no. 548. One might compare the occurrence of  $\textcircled{\circ}$  among variants of the group  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$  in Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer*, noted by Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 248. But this is not analogous, for  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$  does not accompany  $\textcircled{\circ}$  in titles.

21. Junker, *Gîza I*, p. 240 and fig. 57; the error is caused by putting  $\textcircled{\circ}$  on the wrong side of the column. The title is actually *imy-r šnwṯ nswṯ* (as restored at right), which occurs elsewhere in the same group of inscriptions; cf. Jones, *Index*, no. 920.



22. For the context, which chiefly concerns the making and handling of royal regalia, but also other aspects of adornment, such as the tending of the king’s wig and nails, see Jones, *Index*, nos. 1681–1687. The only case where granaries are concerned is eliminated by the preceding note.

23. Three Dyn. VI examples are cited in *Orientalia* 60 (1991), 299–300: two from Akhmim (Kanawati, *El Hawawish* III, fig. 13, and Louvre C234: Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 25, a feminine name), the other from Hagarsa: Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 10 (for which see now Kanawati, *Tombs of El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 46). Cairo CG 1645 (*PNI*, 206 [11]) is hardly later. From the Heracleopolitan Period there are: BM 1783 (*PNI* II, 299 [32], Naga ed-Deir); Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 7 (= Kanawati, *op. cit.* III, pls. 42–43). As for the reading, Edel, *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 417–20 thinks the  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$  of *Wb.* II, 215, was *nn* as early as Dyn. XIX; (for examples see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re* I, 172; II, p. 82, and n. 39). But he maintains that the earlier reading of  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$  was *nw* or *nîw* (*Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 31 and p. xxxv: cf. Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943], 249). This would not be the only case, however, where *nw* is a variant of *nn*: cf. the verbs *nw* and *nny*, both meaning “weak:” Faullkner, *Concise Dictionary*, pp. 127, 134. Also *nîw/nnw* “primaeval waters,” *ibid.*, pp. 125, 134. It may further be noted that, in Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 27, discussed by Gunn, *JEA* 6 (1920), 300–301, the word *nn/nnw* “child” is variously written  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$  and  $\textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ} \textcircled{\circ}$ .

24. See Fischer, *JAOS* 81 (1961), 423–25; Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, pp. 114–16; Farouk Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches I*, pp. 357–59. Some Coffin Text examples from Bersha add .

25. Cf. the Old Kingdom name *Qistyt* “The Cusite,” *PNII*, 320 (3), and the title *Nhby* “The Nekhbite,” Jones, *Index*, no. 1815; also no. 1831, and M.K.  “Nekh-bite in the *Pr-nsr*,” Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 24 and pl. 6, line 3.

26. It is hardly possible that it simply represents *\*Nyw-nswt* in the sense of “those belonging to the king,” and in any case that designation is expressed by *nswtwyw* (Jones, *Index*, no. 1828).

27. Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 68.

#### 4. A non-existent butler and a real one

In *JEA* 84 (1998), 195–96, Ludwig Morenz has revised part of my interpretation of the enigmatic inscription of a master butcher (*ZÄS* 105 [1978], 56–57). He proposes to read the signs  as *wdpw.s* “its butler,” referring to the butcher’s title *gbh-nmt*. Although there are several cases where butlers are involved in scenes of butchering,<sup>1</sup> at least three considerations speak conclusively against this reading. To begin with, the shape of the crucial sign is less compact than he shows it, for his figure, like my own, is based

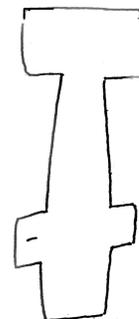


Fig. 1

on a view from above, which foreshortens the inscription. The side view that accompanied my own comments also makes for some distortion, but I have attempted to correct this by means of an epidiascope (Fig. 1), from which it may be seen that the sign does not really resemble a vessel at all.

Moreover it is not true, as Morenz maintains, that  is the normal form of  $\bar{\theta}$  in the Old Kingdom writing of the title *wdpw*, or that this sign is followed by . The full consonantal writing occurs in the Pyramid Texts,<sup>2</sup> as also in a Sixth Dynasty occurrence of *imy-r wdpw*;<sup>3</sup> in another case, to be mentioned presently, a completely phonetic spelling omits the final *w*. Otherwise *wdpw* is simply written  $\bar{\theta}$ ,<sup>4</sup> and  $\bar{\theta}$   is scarcely known to occur before the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> One example of this, from

Dendera, may be slightly earlier, as also one from Saqqara, which has  $\bar{\vartheta}$  —where the final *w* more probably belongs to the title rather than to the name that follows it: *Wsr*.<sup>7</sup> But the phonetic complement is nearly always omitted in inscriptions of the Eleventh Dynasty.

As for the form of  $\bar{\vartheta}$ , this does not show lugs or handles before the Twelfth Dynasty except in inscriptions of the Heracleopolitan Period from the region of Gebelein.<sup>8</sup> And in these inscriptions it is stylistically associated with other signs that receive similar symmetrical additions.<sup>9</sup> Goedicke has cited a much earlier hieratic example, but it clearly represents  $\bar{\vartheta}$ , i.e., the heart.<sup>10</sup>

The aforementioned phonetic writing of *wdp(w)* occurs on the lintel of an Old Kingdom butler named *Hnti-k3(.i)* (Fig. 2),<sup>11</sup> who also has the titles *hry-z3t pr-c3* “libationer of the palace”<sup>12</sup> and *nfr* “cadet.”<sup>13</sup> The signs following *wdp(w)* (Fig. 3) are difficult to interpret; the first is clearly *s*, the second conceivably *nm*, yielding the usual writing of *snm* “feeding,”<sup>14</sup> but the Old Kingdom writing of *snm* has either the determinative  or none at all; just possibly the last sign may be  $\bar{\alpha}$ , and if so, one might translate the group as an epithet: “who feeds ten.”<sup>15</sup> Despite the rudeness of the final signs, the inscription may be as early as the Fourth Dynasty. That is suggested by the offering formula, which invokes Anubis without a previous mention of the king.<sup>16</sup> Here the reduplicated  $\bar{\alpha}$  in *hnty* is interesting as the “false dual” writing of a nisba,<sup>17</sup> and it also reappears, less appropriately, in the owner’s name.

The lintel is chiefly of interest, however, because it is, thus far, the only monument known to have been made for a lowly butler. And his other titles seem to confirm the modesty of his position.

### Notes

1. *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 15; also *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 173, fig. 4 and nn. 1–2.

2. Pyr. 120b, 124b (W).

3. Dilwyn Jones, *Index*, no. 432 (Cairo J 72253).

4. In addition to the examples given *ibid.*, nos. 1494–1497, 3394, see James and Apted, *Khentika*, pl. 22 (below inscr. 137), Cairo CG 1556; Moussa and Altenmüller,



Fig. 2

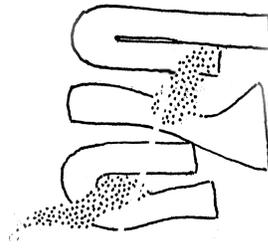


Fig. 3

*Nianchchnum*, pls. 8 (*Htp-Šzmw*), 53, 74, 86 (*D<sup>cr</sup>i*); Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 16 (b) (*S3bi*); also Pyr. 123g (*wḏpw n R<sup>c</sup>*), 559b, 565b (*wḏpw ntrw*); Cairo CG 1556 (*Hnw*) and 57192 (*D<sup>cr</sup>w*, in a list of funerary attendants); the tomb of *Nfr-ḥr-Pth* (*PM III<sup>2</sup>*, 637), where a *wḏpw* roasts a bird.

5. For the omission of  in the Heracleopolitan Period and Dyn. XI at Gebelein: *Kush* 9 (1961), 46, 58, 61, pls. 10, 11, 13 (a); Černý, *JEA* 47 (1961), 7 (first line); Polotsky, *JEA* 16 (1930), 199, pl. 29. At Thebes: Clère–Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiare*, pp. 19 (top of col. 9), 27 (twice), 34. At Dendera: Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 14 (upper right), 15 (left), Vandier, *RdE* 2 (1936), 55, pl. 2 (1, now Los Angeles County Museum of Art 50.37.13), Cairo CG 20805. At Hagarsa: Kanawati, *Hagarsa III*, pls. 38, 41 (= Petrie, *Athribis*, pls. 8, 9).

6. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11 (bottom left). The hieratic example of  in Anthes, *Hatnub*, Gr. 26, is Dyn. XII; cf. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, p. 89. And similar examples in the tomb of *D3gi* (Norman Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 38) can hardly be much earlier, to judge from the coffin (*LD II*, 147–48).

7. MMA 10.175.71: *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 15, fig. 7. For the name see Ranke, *PNI*, 85 (6).

8. Note 5 above.

9. *Kush* 9 (1961), 79–80, fig. 11 (1); Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 134, n. 583. Eleventh Dynasty examples sometimes show  with a spout or handle, or both, at other localities (*ZÄS* 100 [1973], 18–20; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies III*, 207), but not in the title *wḏpw*.

10. Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, p. 46a (W22). It is correctly interpreted in his source: Lacau and Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés V*, p. 67, referring to fig. 114: it is *ib* (F34) in the name *S3-ib.f*. I have failed to catch this error in *Egyptian Studies III*, *loc. cit.*, n. 230.

11. From the negatives formerly stored at the Saqqara office of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, for which see *JNES* 18 (1959), 233.

12. For other occurrences of the title (without mention of the palace) See Dilwyn Jones, *Index*, no. 2232. The connection with the palace seems odd, but *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests and (more rarely) *ḥm-ntr*-priests were also attached to the palace: Jones, *Index*, nos. 1372, 1385, 1402, 1926, 2589.

13. *Ibid.*, no. 1807. Theoretically *pr-ꜥ* might honorifically precede *nfr*, but that is unlikely, since it is the *idww*, not the *nfrw*, that belong to the palace; see *OMRO* 41 (1960), 11.

14. *Wb.* IV, 164; for the Old Kingdom writing see also Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 155.

15. Groups of ten are frequently mentioned in titles: e.g., Jones, *Index*, 557–67. This suggestion is made with great reservation, however. It hardly seems possible that the second sign is  $\text{𓂏}$ , so that the word in question is *s(ꜥ)b* “who circumcises,” written as it appears in the chapel of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr* (Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery II*, pl. 55[b]), and this is in any case unlikely in view of the context.

16. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 24 and nn. 1–2. I now think this does not occur much later than Dyn. IV.

17. See Faulkner, *Plural and Dual*, p. 43, quoting  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  for *iwnti*, “the Denderite,” in Pyr. 1066a; also Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* II, pp. lxvi–lxvii. Another, example of  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , evidently somewhat later, occurs in Berlin 11866 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* I, p. 40).

## 5. Concerning epithets

Denise M. Doxey’s recent study of Middle Kingdom epithets<sup>1</sup> has led me to consider the structure and style of this recurrent feature of autobiographies. The principal categories are threefold: (1) those that resemble titles, (2) those that are metaphoric, and (3) those that are participial. All three are attested for the word “oxlike arm:” (1) *nb hps̃* “possessor of strength,” p. 325; (2) *hps̃* “strong arm,” p. 12.7; (3) *iri m hps̃.f* “one who achieves with his (own) strength,” p. 269. And the last is paralleled by the narrative statement *iri.n(.i) wr m hps̃(.i)* “I achieved greatly with my (own) strength.”<sup>2</sup> Similarly (1) *nb hbs* “possessor of clothing,” p. 235; (2) *hbs* “clothing (for him who comes naked),” p. 344; (3) *dd hbs* “who gives clothing,” p. 339, which is again paralleled by the statement *iw rdi.n.i hbs n hzw* “I gave clothing to him who was naked.”<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is perhaps not surprising to find that a participial epithet, which is normally followed by resumptive pronouns in the third person, occasionally lapses into the narrative first person. I noticed an example of this some years ago:



“One by whose agency a case of transgression never occurred since I first undertook to perform a commission, when I was in my youth...<sup>4</sup>

Two more examples are to be found in Doxey’s compilation:

 “One who listens so that I hear the truth” (bottom of p. 382)<sup>5</sup>

 “One who satisfies it (his city) with my bread” (14.52)

Such cases only come to light, of course, in inscriptions of the Eleventh Dynasty and later, where the first person singular is recognizably written.<sup>6</sup>

As may be seen from Dilwyn Jones’s more inclusive compilation of Old Kingdom titles as well as epithets, the category of metaphoric epithets is hardly known from that period. From the Middle Kingdom, besides the aforementioned *hps̄* and *hbs*, Doxey lists: *iwn* “column” (2.4), *irty* “eyes” (2.19), *ꜥ* “arm” (3.1), *ꜥ3* “door” (3.3) and *r-ꜥ3* “gateway” (9.2), *ith* and *hnrt* “fortress” (2.21, 12.10), *phrt* “remedy” (6.4) *mibt* “axe” (7.5), *mnit* “mooring post” (7.10), *Hꜥpy* “Nile” (11.6), *hwit* “shelter” (12.3), *hshsti* “storm” (13.1).<sup>7</sup> *Sb3* “plumb level” is also to be noted.<sup>8</sup> Of these, only *iwn* and *ꜥ* are much known from the Old Kingdom, when they appear mostly in titles;<sup>9</sup> *iwn* became more common in epithets during the Heracleopolitan Period.<sup>10</sup>

Another class of epithets that is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom comprises those that refer to filiation. Among those listed by Doxey are *z3 z iwty (hsf).f*, *z3 z nht*, which she interprets as “son of a man without his enemy,” and “son of a strong man” (p. 362). But it is the son who is strong and without an enemy in these cases, for *z3-z* is well known as an independent epithet in this period, meaning someone of good lineage.<sup>11</sup> This emphasis on filiation again goes back to the Eleventh Dynasty. Like those just mentioned, nearly all Doxey’s other examples derive from Hatnub, but there are many more.<sup>12</sup> To take full stock of them, one would, however, have to go back into the Heracleopolitan Period. This no-man’s land is generally avoided by Doxey as well as Jones, but I think it is, on the whole, more relevant to her compilation than to his.

As Doxey notes, (p. 78) the filiation epithets are carried to the point of expressing kinship of the gods, and such kinship is also expressed in

a number of other ways, including similes—“the semblance of a god,” for example. This too is a departure from Old Kingdom tradition, when only royalty was allowed such pretensions.<sup>13</sup>

### Notes

1. *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, Leiden 1998. Some of the following references are indicated by the pages of this book, others by the numbers given to individual epithets in pp. 153–399.
2. Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 207.
3. Abundantly attested by Jozef Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, pp. 78–81; the present example is his Bm45, from Hatnub.
4. *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 261, 264 (k).
5. Correctly interpreted on pp. 42 and 63.
6. To be added to Gardiner’s remarks on concord of person, *Grammar*, § 509.
7. This continues with “that weakens the islanders” (*hꜣw nbwt*, not *mḥtꜣw nbtꜣw*). Doxey also lists *nft* “breath” (8.5), but this is *nfw*, which Anthes, *Hatnub*, Gr. 25 (not 24) similarly interprets as “Wind” (p. 58), but is more probably “skipper.”
8. “Plumb level of Thoth,” following “likeness of Ptah,” *Urk.* VII, 6 (6); cf. *ibid.*, 63 (6) and *Wb.* IV, 86 (15).
9. *Twn*: nos. 20–24 (and 26 which indeed looks like an epithet); *ꜣ*: nos. 1293–1300. *Mnit* is also known (no. 1604), but as a sacral title, probably referring to Isis and Nephthys (*Orientalia* 29 [1960], 190, n. 2).
10. *JAOS* 76 (1956), 107; and Jones, *Index*, no. 25.
11. *JAOS* 76, 105, n. 31.
12. *Ibid.*, 103. Cf. Ward, *Index of... Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, nos. 1248–1253.
13. The highly exceptional case of the non-royal *Nbt* (Cairo CG 1578) is to be explained by the fact that she became the mother-in-law of one king, and the grandmother of two others; discussed in my *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37–38.