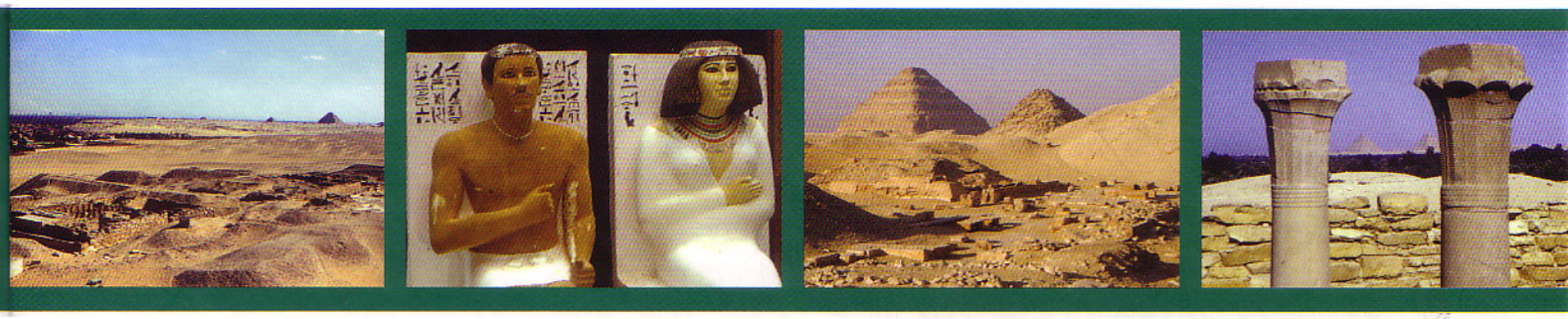
THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE, MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

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Czech Institute of Egyptology
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Contributors
Nicole Alexanian, James P. Allen, Susan Allen, Hartwig Altenmüller, Tarek El Awady, Miroslav Bárta, Edith Bernhauer, Edward Brovarski, Vivienne G. Callender, Vassil Dobrev, Laurel Flentye, Rita Freed, Julia Harvey, Salima Ikram, Peter Jánosi, Nozomu Kawai, Jaromír Krejčí, Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Renata Landgráfová, Serena Love, Dušan Magdolen, Peter Der Manuelian, Ian Mathieson, Karol Myśliwiec, Stephen R. Phillips, Gabriele Pieke, Ann Macy Roth, Joanne M. Rowland, Regine Schulz, Yayoi Shirai, Nigel Strudwick, Miroslav Verner, Hana Vymazalová, Sakuji Yoshimura, Christiane Ziegler

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Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.[1] The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.[2] The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.[3]

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

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[1] The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo*, *Sonderschrift* 28, Mainz am Rhein.

[2] N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l´Ancien Empire, Bibliothèque d´Étude* 120 (Cairo, 1998).

[3] Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *L'Art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999).

Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, *Band* VII. *Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports, Sydney;
AOS – American Oriental Society, Michigan;
BSAK – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte, Hamburg;
CA – Current Anthropology, Chicago, Illinois;
Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;
Harpur, *DETOK* – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;
Harvey, *WSOK* – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study, Egyptological Memoirs 2*, Leiden 2001;
KAW – Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt, Mainz am Rhein;
LingAeg – Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies, Göttingen;
OrMonsp – Orientalia Monspeliensia, Montpellier;
PAM – Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, Warsaw;
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg;
WES – Warsaw Egyptological Studies, Warsaw.

The translation of texts of the Old Kingdom

Nigel Strudwick

At the time of the Prague conference, I had just submitted the manuscript of *Texts from the Pyramid Age* to the Society of Biblical Literature, for publication in their series 'Writings from the Ancient World'. The latter, in the words of the Series Editor, 'is designed to provide up-to-date, readable, English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East'.[1] Volumes which have already appeared in this series on Egyptian texts include letters (Wente), the Amarna Age (Murnane), and hymns, prayers and songs (Foster).[2] The aim of *Texts from the Pyramid Age* was to provide translations of examples of all major categories of text from the Old Kingdom with the exception of the Pyramid Texts. This paper offers some reflections on the process of translating texts of the Old Kingdom into English.[3]

The only volume in English to attempt the same scope is the first volume of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*.[4] Some of the longer biographical texts of the Old Kingdom do appear in a few of the standard books of translations which cover larger spans of Egyptian history. These include the works of Lichtheim[5] and the most recent edition of the translations of Simpson *et al*.[6] Most of the extant Old Kingdom letters were translated by Wente in *Letters from Ancient Egypt*.

Since Breasted, the only compendious set of translations produced of Old Kingdom texts are those in French of Roccati.[7] His translations are still up-to-date and the bibliography for most items is very full. That book concentrates on tomb texts and, for apparently unexplained reasons, does not include the royal decrees and the private legal documents, two of the most intriguing groups of texts of the Old Kingdom. There is therefore without doubt a need for modern English translations of the texts of the Old Kingdom.

Selection and organisation of texts

Texts from the Pyramid Age concentrates on a wide range of texts, most of which have not always received the attention they deserve outside the scholarly literature. It would be wrong to label them in a blanket fashion as 'documentary texts', since so many of them come from tombs and hence are self-conscious quasi-religious texts and were also intended to present the owner in a favourable light

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[1] In W. J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta, 1995), xi.

[2] E. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990); Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period*; J. L. Foster, *Hymns, prayers, and songs. An anthology of Ancient Egyptian lyric poetry* (Atlanta, 1995). James P. Allen's *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* was published at the same time as my volume in October 2005. I am grateful to my original editor, the late William J. Murnane, and his successor, Ronald J. Leprohon, for their immense help, advice and patience, and to Helen Strudwick for commenting on drafts of this paper.

[3] Illness preventing my preparing this paper for presentation in Prague, although I was able to attend the conference. I would like to thank Miroslav Verner and Miroslav Bárta for graciously permitting me to include it here, and am grateful to all participants in the meeting for interesting discussions, some of which I have been able to include in the manuscript of *Texts from the Pyramid Age*.

[4] *BAR* I–V.

[5] M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973).

[6] W. K. Simpson, ed., *The literature of Ancient Egypt. An anthology of stories, instructions and poetry* (New Haven, London, 2003). The first edition in 1972 did not include Old Kingdom texts.

[7] A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *LAPO* 11 (1982).

in his passage to the afterlife. These texts were grouped into the following broad chapter headings:

- Annals and lists of kings
- Texts from temples
- Royal Decrees
- Objects bearing royal names
- Rock inscriptions of kings and expedition leaders
- Quarry and constructional marks and phyle texts
- Graffiti
- State administrative texts
- Letters
- Private legal texts
- A selection offering formulae and titles
- Appeals to the living and warnings to evildoers and the uninitiated
- Commemorative and dedicatory texts
- Texts relating to payment of workmen and tomb acquisition
- Biographical texts from the Memphite region
- Biographical texts from the provinces
- Texts of women
- Captions to tomb scenes
- Miscellaneous texts from tombs and objects in tombs

This imperfect arrangement broadly moves from texts produced for kings and temples, through construction and administrative records, to the wide range of types which appear in tombs. The tomb texts are particularly difficult to categorise, as frequently the same text fits into several of the above groupings. The approach adopted was to classify each text based on what was felt to be its major contribution to the book, and then produce an index to enable the reader to find examples of text types which were in chapters other than the one bearing the required heading.

The following are some specific comments on the criteria for selecting a text for inclusion in such a volume as *Texts from the Pyramid Age.*

Prosopographical information is frequent in Old Kingdom texts, yet the book was not intended to be a source book for the prosopography of the Old Kingdom. I decided that lists of titles alone were not worthy of inclusion, but that I should not hesitate in translating those same titles in full where they appear in the course of other featured texts.

The same is true of tomb inscriptions of a more formulaic or repetitive nature; I have tried to cover all the broad variants of texts, including examples of the absolutely standard along with the more unusual ones. Far more standard formulae were included as part of other texts than had been originally intended, but they do serve to impress on the reader the ubiquity of certain types of text. Thus not every text on a given wall or monument is translated, in part to avoid the repetition of too many formulae.

A particular category of text which tends not to feature in books of translations is the captions which accompany so many scenes in tombs. Because of the interdependence of text and image in Egyptian representational art, they are best studied where a large selection of illustrations can be made available. Nonetheless, a small cross-section of these fascinating texts was translated in an attempt to convey the range of scenes, liveliness, and modes of expression.

I included a section on texts of women with a measure of discomfort that it might be seen as no more than politically correct. However, it cannot be denied that of the few inscribed tombs of non-royal women over the whole of Egyptian history, probably a majority of them belong to the Old Kingdom. In comparison, for example, there is not one New Kingdom tomb at Thebes which seems to have been built for a woman alone, nor which possesses an offering place specifically for the wife of the tomb-owner. Was it is just a cultural change?[8]

How should the texts be presented?

Egyptian monumental and literary texts have been presented in two ways over the years, either in continuous prose or in a poetic verse-like structure (sometimes a mixture of both). The possibility that Egyptian texts might be written in anything other than prose was first raised seriously in a series of publications by Gerhard Fecht in the 1960s.[9] Fecht's theories have been accepted by many, and the more intriguing issue is now the limits to which verse was used in Egyptian texts. Some have argued that the great Egyptian 'literary' compositions, such as stories and wisdom literature, were written in verse, others in prose.[10]

For many years continuous prose held the upper hand, but studies of versification and the trend to treat Egyptian literature as real literature have lead to an increase in the use of poetic structuring. While this is not the place to consider Egyptian metrics, one issue is relevant to the question of presentation: were tomb texts, such as those which form the principal subject of *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, metrical? At a simplistic level, sometimes the use of a fixed structure, in which a certain phrase is repeated, can be identified, as in the biography of Weni (*Urk.* I, 103.7-104.4). However, it has been argued that versification can be detected even in rock inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom.[11] If that is the case, what about Old Kingdom tombs?

Fecht's position on the use of metre in the Old Kingdom is far less explicit when compared with that from the First Intermediate Period onwards, from which date he argues that the system remained largely unchanged for the rest of Egyptian history.[12] The clearest mention of his views on the Old Kingdom appears to be where he draws attention to two changes between the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, noting that the text of Ankhtyfy from Moalla is to be scanned in the earlier style.[13]

The formal and ritual contexts of the tomb texts in *Texts from the Pyramid Age* meant that they surely would be recited if needed, and this must make them eminently suitable for translation into a verse-like structure. The use of English blank verse also produces a printed form which distinguishes it from the more earthly structure of administrative texts, and which is easier to read on the page than continuous prose and thus is less likely to be skipped over by the reader. Hence I have decided to adopt this form of rendering for most tomb texts and for those from temples.

Texts of a more official or administrative nature present a different problem. Letters can be rendered in regular prose, and administrative texts such as the Abusir Papyri are not problematic other than the inevitable reversal for English of the

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[8] See further V. G. Callender, 'A contribution to the burial of women in the Old Kingdom', *ArOr* 70 (2002): 301–308.

[9] Principally G. Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "Persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten. Analyse der Beispiele aus den ramessidischen Schulpapyri* (Heidelberg, 1965); the main points are also found in his article 'The structural principle of Ancient Egyptian elevated language' in J. C. de Moor, W. G. E. Watson, eds., *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose*, *AOAT* 42 (1993), 69–94.

[10] Compare opinions of Lichtheim in 'Have the principles of Ancient Egyptian metrics been discovered?', *JARCE* 9 (1971–72): 103–110 and R. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997), 10–11. Surveys of the state of metrical analysis in 1996 and 2002 are provided in G. Burkard, 'Metrik, Prosodie und formaler Aufbau ägyptischer literarischer Texte', in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 10 (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1996), 44–63 and R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: a dark side to perfection* (London, New York, 2002), 112–117.

[11] R. J. Leprohon, 'Remarks on Private Epithets Found in the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat Graffiti', *JSSEA* 28 (2001): 124–146, and 'Versification in Inscription Sinai 90 from the Reign of Amenemhat III', in T. A. Bacs, ed., *A Tribute to Excellence. Studies Offered in Honor of Ernö Gaál, Ulrich Luft, Láslo Török*, *SA* XVII (2002), 339–348.

[12] Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse*, 21–22 and in de Moor, Watson, eds., *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose*, 82.

[13] G. Fecht, 'Zu den Inschriften des ersten Pfeilers im Grab des Anchtifi (Mo'alla)', in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 50.

tabulated lists in the dominant Egyptian right-left orientation. However, the royal decrees and legal texts present more difficulties. The structure of these documents is complex, and there are often varying opinions among scholars as to how the structure (never mind the language and terminology) is to be understood.[14] Frequently certain phrases are written once and have to be understood from the physical layout of what follows as working with several subsequent clauses. In effect, they are headers and sub-headers, to use modern terminology. Should these phrases be repeated in translation, following the way Sethe presented the hieroglyphic text in *Urkunden* I, or should one follow the denser arrangement of the original?

I decided mostly to adopt the latter course, trying to make the subordinate structure of the text clearer through the use of devices such as a series of bulleted points. This has the advantage not just of reflecting the original structure, but also emphasises to the reader that these are complex documents which may not be easy to follow.[15] Our own modern legal and administrative documents are rarely models of clarity, so why should ancient ones be any different?

Issues in producing popular translations

Reconstructions and critical apparatus

The production of readable translations means that an author has to be very careful in the use of reconstructions and critical apparatus, as well as footnotes. In *Texts from the Pyramid Age,* reconstructions, although they can sometimes give the wrong impression, are employed where they appear plausible; in some texts their locations are indicated where they will not be too disruptive to the reader, but in others this would involve too many square brackets, ellipses and so on. Line numbers have been included where possible, purely to help the reader who might want to go back to the original to find his way.

Explanatory footnotes are similar. For many issues it was felt far better to add explanations to the glossary, leaving footnotes for more individualised items. There are probably more footnotes in *Texts from the Pyramid Age* than in other volumes of 'Writings from the Ancient World', but to some extent this does reflect the difficulty of Old Kingdom texts.

In line with the practice in other books in the series, only editions and principal translations of the texts are noted. Translations of significant parts of them are usually noted, but I do not mention every translation of a snippet of a text, as it is assumed that the reader who wants to find out more will double-check the indexes of books such as Edel's *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Doret's *Narrative Verbal system* and Kloth's (*Auto-)biographischen Inschriften.* A considerable amount of further literature is available for a number of the texts, but in general I have decided that the reader can obtain this from the limited number of works mentioned, plus Porter and Moss. An extensive bibliography of some 500 titles is provided.

Issues of grammar

When translating Ancient Egyptian, which we still understand imperfectly, into a modern language with totally different structures, it is all too easy to fall into producing a translation which makes it clear to an Egyptologist how the text has been understood, but which is stilted and off-putting to the general reader. 'Writings from the Ancient World' aims to produce clear readable English. Thus where there is an evident conflict between reflecting the precise nuances of the original and making it comprehensible, I have almost always chosen the latter without hesitation.

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[14] Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 10–26; H. Goedicke 'Diplomatical studies in the Old Kingdom', *JARCE* 3 (1964): 31–41, and *idem*, *Königl. Dokumente*.

[15] In the case of the house purchase documents from Gebelein, the physical arrangement of the texts seemingly tries to illustrate the relationship between the parties concerned (B. Menu, 'Ventes de maisons sous l'Ancien Empire', in F. Geus, F. Thill, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* [Paris, 1985], 257–259).

Our comprehension of Egyptian grammar is constantly evolving and changing, and the verb has always been a major point of controversy. For many years, Egyptian verbs were treated in a manner broadly similar to the verbs of Indo-European languages, and translated in a similar manner. Then Polotsky turned matters on their heads with his so-called 'standard theory'.

One particular aspect of this theory above all others affects him who attempts to translate the ancient language, the so-called 'second tense' or 'emphatic form', in which the verbal form throws the stress of the sentence on an adverbial phrase. Polotsky proposed that such forms be translated by a 'cleft sentence'; thus, an example from the biography of Nekhebu (*Urk.* I, 220, 8), which had for many years been translated as 'his majesty favoured me because of it in the presence of the officials', can be rendered as 'it was in the presence of the officials that his majesty favoured me because of it', the underlined phrase being the stressed one. This may better reflect the grammar, but it does nothing for elegant translation. One particular problem is that the cleft sentence is more at home in some languages than others; it sits much better with French than English, for example. Judicious use of adverbs or adverbial phrases in the text can help avoid this. Hence I translated this example rather freely as 'his majesty favoured me for it right in the presence of the officials'; the word 'right' is added to try and place the stress in the correct place.

It would be too difficult and cumbersome to indicate every such second tense in the text, so I chose the above manner of translation where a stress can be made without making the English seem unnatural (I realise that this leaves me open to a charge of inconsistency). However, it must be pointed out that the 'standard theory' has itself been undergoing re-evaluation in the 1990s, and the move at present is at least some way back in the direction of the good old-fashioned verb.[16]

The comprehensibility of titles

As so many texts of the Pyramid Age come from tombs, in which the personality of the owner is the most important feature, it is inevitable that titles figure prominently. I have already indicated that I decided not to spare the readers from titles in the context of other texts, but this then raises the interesting question of how to handle the translation of such titles. As a general rule, titles have been translated without any comment, as *Texts from the Pyramid Age* is not intended to have a heavy critical apparatus, and is not a study of Egyptian administration. The operation of the system is outlined in the Introduction, and readers are referred to a number of general works about titles.

The major difficulty in translating for a general readership occurs with the most common honorific titles, in particular *iry pˁt, ḥȝty-ˁ* and *rḫ nzwt*. The problem with *iry pˁt* and *ḥȝty-ˁ* is that while it is clear that they are the two most senior honorific titles, it is impossible to translate them into English, and so they are explained in the Introduction and left in the text transcribed as *iry pˁt* and *hȝty-ˁ*. *rḫ nzwt* is different in that there are different interpretations of it, and I have translated it as 'royal acquaintance' while acknowledging the alternate translation of 'property custodian of the king'.[17] The apparent oddness of many Egyptian honorific titles was for me put into perspective by the survival into the modern British court of a number of wonderful heraldic titles of mediaeval origin, such as 'Garter Principal King of Arms', 'Rouge Dragon Pursuivant' or 'Bluemantle Pursuivant'.[18]

Administrative titles are generally more straightforward to understand, but that of *ḫnty-š* is particularly complex. Again it is left in transcribed format as *khenty-*

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[16] See A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian. A linguistic introduction* (Cambridge, 1995), 9–10; some changes are conveniently summarised in J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian. An introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 2000), 407–408.

[17] See most recently M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *BdE* 126 (1999), 107–113 and M. Bárta, 'The title 'Property Custodian of the king' during the Old Kingdom Egypt', *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.

[18] See the web site of the College of Arms, *http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/About/04.htm*.

she, with explanatory notes and full references in the Introduction. It is also noted that the 'overseer of priests' in the provinces was usually a mark of one of the senior administrators of a nome, as well as any religious functions it may have encompassed.

Particular problematic terms

Old Kingdom Egyptian is full of difficult but infrequent terms, but there are two in particular which, by their ubiquity, present difficulties in translation.

imɜḫw: One of the most difficult words to treat in tomb texts is *imɜḫw* and associated forms. A typical usage is that a person is *imɜḫw ḫr* someone; I render *ḫr* as 'in the sight of', 'before', or 'in relation to'. That person could be a god, a king, or even another individual, such as a wife to her husband. Older styles of translation tend to express this relationship between the parties as 'honoured one' or 'revered one', as this seemed to fit the context, for example, 'honoured one in the sight of the king', and indeed it may have this meaning from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Helck was the first to point out that examination of examples of *imɜḫw* from the Old Kingdom showed that it was of an overwhelmingly practical nature, indicating that the subject would be 'provided for' by the other.[19] Hence the term 'honoured one' gives completely the wrong idea for texts of the Old Kingdom, but '(s)he who has been provided for' hardly trips off the tongue. The best solution for such a difficult word is to use the transcribed form *imakhu* in the translation.

ḥm: One of the most common ways in Egyptian texts of all periods of referring to the king is by use of the word *ḥm*. It has been traditional in the English of Gardiner and others to translate this term as 'majesty', as used for referring to British royalty in formal documents. However, Egyptian royal terms are complex and relatively specific in their usage, and *ḥm* does not refer to the majestic element of the king, but rather to his physical presence, his 'person' or 'incarnation'.[20] This has unfortunately led to translations of the form 'his person/incarnation did (something or other)', which sounds rather alien for translations into readable English. Since this is also a formal term of address, there seems to be no better-sounding substitute than the old term 'majesty' for the purposes of *Texts from the Pyramid Age*.

The translation of nome and pyramid names

In ancient times each nome was named rather than numbered, and the suffix 'of Upper/Lower Egypt' is a modern addition. In other words, the texts say 'Ta-sety' and not 'the first nome of Upper Egypt'. For the sake of the reader I decided mostly to translate references in texts in the form 'the n-th nome of Lower/Upper Egypt' rather than a transcription of the Egyptian name, so as better to enable the reader to locate the province in question; occasionally, to improve clarity, I included the name of the principal city if it was likely to be understood by the reader and significant to the text. Most nomes in Old Kingdom texts are those in Upper Egypt, and thus I took advantage of the complete list of nomes in Koptos Decree I, probably of Neferkauhor,[21] to present all the probable nome names and some indication of their approximate modern location.

A similar issue is encountered in the naming of the royal pyramids. These names can be left in a transcribed form or translated: for example, the Great Pyramid at Giza (*ɜḫt ḫwfw*) could appear as *akhet Khufu* or 'the horizon of Khufu'. For the sake of simplicity in the translations, I used rather the circumlocution 'the pyramid of Khufu', and gave the full translated names of the pyramids in a Chronological Table. I left the cartouche the same as that used in the text, with the addition of 'I'

[19] See also the paper of James P. Allen in this volume for another interpretation.
[20] H. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im alten Reich*, *ÄA* 2 (1960), 51–68; J. Baines, 'Origins of Egyptian kingship', in D. O'Connor, D. P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 9 (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), 132.
[21] Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 172–177.

or 'II' where the name is that of Pepy. The naming is further complicated by the use of pyramid names to refer to the kings themselves from the end of the Fifth Dynasty.[22]

A final word

The first chapter of *Texts from the Pyramid Age* deals with many of the above issues in more detail, as well as attempting to present an introduction to the Old Kingdom, its history, and its language and written sources. It is more lengthy than those of other volumes in the 'Writings from the Ancient World' series, but then this is the first book of translations in English for many years which attempts to cover the texts of an entire major historical period. I hope that it may provide a useful introduction for the student, layman and scholar alike, and that the translations themselves will be accepted by those same audiences.

[22] K. P. Kuhlmann, 'Die Pyramide als König? Verkannte elliptische Schreibweisen von Pyramidennamen des alten Reiches', *ASAE* 68 (1982): 223–235.

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