Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta

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Considering how very frequently Osiris "Lord of Busiris" is invoked on funerary monuments from the Fifth Dynasty onward, it is remarkable how little evidence is known to have come from the native city of that all-important divinity. The fourth volume of the Porter-Moss Topographical Bibliography (Oxford, 1934), p. 44, mentions only three fragmentary monuments of the Twenty-second Dynasty and later, all published in E. H. Naville's Mound of the Jew (London, 1896), pl. 7 (A–C), and the list has been only very slightly augmented in the meantime. For more than half a century, however, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge has housed a limestone false door (E 6.1909) that clearly comes from Busiris and provides the earliest specific mention of the local temple, as well as a hitherto unknown local cult of Hathor (Figures 8, 9). The date of the monument, which will be examined more closely in the following pages, lies somewhere between the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the beginning of the Twelfth, and I am inclined to attribute it to the end of the Hellenistic Period. In addition, Labib Habachi has called my attention to a group of inscribed monuments from the same site that have been known for an almost equal number of years, albeit to a very few persons. The oldest of them is evidently of somewhat greater antiquity than the false door in Cambridge; three others are Eleventh Dynasty and a fourth is only slightly later than these. They were excavated by Ali El Manzalawy on his property at Kom el Akhdar, two kilometers west of Abusir village, in 1928. Sami Gabra inspected them for the Department of Antiquities in the following year and Dr. Habachi re-examined them in 1943, when he was able to take photographs. These have most generously been put at my disposal and three of them—a limestone slab, a limestone false door, and a fragmentary limestone offering slab—are illustrated and described here. Independently; they appear in a Sixth Dynasty determinative of Khentiamentiu which also shows the Upper Egyptian crown: Δ[θ] (Cairo CG 1574 and similarly Louvre C 160), and may derive from the iconography of the king, just as the crown does. See also Joachim Spiegel, Die Götter von Abydos (Wiesbaden, 1973) p. 7, who points out that even in the Middle Kingdom the Busirite origin of Osiris is strongly emphasized.

1. Bernard Bothmer describes the cemetery in ARCE Newsletter 18 (June 15, 1955), pp. 5–6; for further references to the cult, see Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica II (Oxford, 1947) pp. 176*–180*. It may noted that J. Gwyn Griffiths is inclined to doubt that the cult of Osiris emanated from Busiris rather than Abydos: The Origins of Osiris (MAS 9 [1966]) pp. 86, 119. On p. 90, however, he concedes that, although Andjetj preceded Osiris as the god of the Busirite Nome, "Osiris may have begun as a subordinate deity in Busiris." In favor of his Lower Egyptian origin, it should be emphasized that the Upper Egyptian crown was acquired by Osiris from Khentiamentiu at a relatively late date—not before the Eleventh Dynasty (JAOS 76 [1956] p. 101, note 1). On the other hand, it is uncertain whether Khentiamentiu acquired the crook and flail from Andjetj or whether both gods possessed this pair of attributes indepedently; they appear in a Sixth Dynasty determinative of Khentiamentiu which also shows the Upper Egyptian crown: Δ[θ] (Cairo CG 1574 and similarly Louvre C 160), and may derive from the iconography of the king, just as the crown does. See also Joachim Spiegel, Die Götter von Abydos (Wiesbaden, 1973) p. 7, who points out that even in the Middle Kingdom the Busirite origin of Osiris is strongly emphasized.

2. Given by F. W. Green in 1909. I am indebted to Dr. Caroline Peck for the photograph and to Miss Janine Bourriau for permission to publish it here.

3. The choice is limited to those from which it was possible to prepare a reasonably reliable line drawing.
They require less commentary than does the Fitzwilliam Museum false door, and so are presented more concisely.

**MONUMENTS FROM KOM EL AKHDAR**

The oldest of the monuments (Figures 1, 2) is a limestone slab, measuring 102 cm. in length, 51 cm. in height and 11 cm. in thickness. The pair of offering bearers at the left (a, b) evidently advance toward a representation of the owner, now missing, which may have been accompanied by that of his wife. He is again shown with his wife at the right end (f, g), accompanied by two sons. These two groups are separated by a butchering scene (c, d). Although the figures are rather crude in style and workmanship, they are altogether in the tradition of the Old Kingdom. As in many Sixth Dynasty reliefs from Saqqara and Upper Egypt, the owner wears a shoulder-length wig, consisting of horizontal tiers of locks, while his wife’s wig is short, following the contour of her head. The titles are well known from monuments of the late Old Kingdom, and the orthography generally conforms to what one would expect of that period, as exemplified by the writing of *imywt* with


5. *Hk3-hwt* and *imy-r gl-pr* are particularly frequent on monuments of this period at Saqqara: see Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 68, p. 60; figs. 80–83, pp. 71–74; *Monument funéraire de Pepti II III* (Cairo, 1940) figs. 73, 78, pp. 74–75; Lauer, *ASAE* 53 (1955) p. 155 and pl. 3. In such cases *hkr-hwt* precedes the honorific *sf twty-bhty*, and Klaus Baer similarly lists *hkr-hwt* before *sf twty bhty* in his latest series (VI G: *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* [Chicago, 1960] p. 239, based on a single source—N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebroud I* [London, 1902], pls. 3–19, 23). The Dendera inscriptions provide several cases of the sequence *sf twty-bhty, hkr-hwt, smr wrty*: Petrie, *Dendera*, pls. 5, 5A (*Idw I*), 6 (*Idw II*), 11, 11A
the determinative $\mathfrak{w}$, rather than the later $\mathfrak{n}$, and $im\text{hw}$ rather than Eleventh Dynasty $im\text{hy}$. The phonetic writing of 'Imty, however, suggests a relatively late date. This derives from the circumlocations that 

were designed to eliminate the figures of men and animals in inscriptions adjacent to the burial. It is found in coffins and burial chambers of the Sixth Dynasty, but probably did not begin to appear in the offering cham-

BER or in other parts of the superstructure of the tomb, before the very end of the Old Kingdom, in Dynasty VIII. If, in the present case, the phonetic writing had been intended to eliminate the figure of a jackal from an inscription near the body, it seems unlikely that a multitude of human figures would have been admitted in the same context. It also seems unlikely that the slab lined one of the lateral walls of a burial chamber,

Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs at Naga ed-Deir*, pls. 11, 14, 15 (the last two cases written $\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcircled{1}}
\end{array}$), all N3737, probably as late as Dyn. IX (Peck, p. 127); but $\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcircled{2}}
\end{array}$ occurs after $tm\text{ty} \text{hr}$ in N41, which is presumably earlier (Sayce, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 13 [1890] p. 64).

The writing $\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcircled{3}}
\end{array}$ also appears on two false doors at Giza that may or may not antedate the end of the Sixth Dynasty: Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 104, p. 247; XI, fig. 40, p. 71.

10. See Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 45, who points out that at Giza, unlike Saqqara and elsewhere, decorated burial chambers show figures and do not avoid human or animal hieroglyphs in the inscriptions. Even at Giza, however, hieroglyphs of this kind are avoided on Sixth Dynasty coffins: Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 224; VIII, pp. 99–103.
although it may originally have been long enough to serve that purpose; an example at nearby Mendes indicates that the burial chambers in this area of the Delta resemble those of Saqqara, with the representations confined to offerings.11 Almost certainly, then, it is an architrave from a tomb chapel, and the phonetic writing of Anubis is to be regarded as a late feature. The same conclusion is suggested by the degenerate form of I (with three crossroads)12 and 2 (with three horizontal elements at the top),13 the peculiar form of 3 (the upper part formed separately)14 and 4 (with backward-salting “horns”).15 Moreover, the hieroglyphs all face rightward, in accordance with the dominant orientation of texts, even where the figures to which they belong are turned toward the left. This too might be considered a late and degenerate feature, although it occurs on a provincial monument of the Sixth Dynasty that is as early as the reign of Merenre—namely, the offering niche of Kfr from Edfu.16

None of the iconographic elements is new, but the face-to-face embrace is known from only a few Old Kingdom monuments,17 and here it is rendered rather less satisfactorily: the woman leans forward and it is not entirely clear which of the crisscrossed arms passes in front of the other.

11. The aforementioned tomb of St-m-Ptj: Donald Hansen, JARCE 4 (1965) p. 36 and pl. 20; Christine Sogho, JARCE 6 (1967) p. 36 and pl. 17 (39). Two limestone burial chambers at Barnug, near Damanhur, do show painted scenes including offering bearers and butchering, as well as representations of the owner, but these are evidently Twelfth Dynasty (C. Edgar in G. Maspero, Le Musée egyptien II [Cairo, 1907] pp. 112–113).

12. Occasionally exemplified by some very late Old Kingdom stelae from Abydos: Cairo CG 1615 (JARCE 1 [1962] fig. 3 on p. 21 and pl. 2); BM 128 (T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. I, 2nd ed. [London, 1961] pl. 54 [2]); Cairo CG 1592 (Brovarski, JNES 32 [1973] fig. 4, p. 460); CG 1645. Also Junker, Giza VII, fig. 47, p. 127 and pl. 27(a).

13. A decidedly late feature at Dendera; Fischer, Dendera, p. 120. An example is possibly to be found in Hassan, Giza VI, pt. 3, fig. 207, p. 209.

14. Not attested elsewhere, to my knowledge; some examples in Figure 9 may seem to show a slight resemblance, but this is illusory.

15. Otherwise most clearly exemplified by the Eighth Dynasty inscriptions of Smi: Petrie, Denderah, pls. 7, 7A; compare L. Keimer, Études d’Égyptiologie, fasc. VII (Cairo, 1945), p. 5 and note 2.

16. Cairo J 43370 (Daressy, ASAE 17 [1917] pp. 139–140); this is only true of the false door proper, and not the architrave above it. Somewhat later examples of the same kind are to be found on stelae from Abydos: Cairo CG 1615, see note 12; Louvre C 198; Berlin 7512 (the latter two illustrated by Brovarski, JNES 32 [1973] figs. 5–6, pp. 482–483).

Assuming that the monument is an architrave of rather unusual composition, I am inclined to date it no earlier than the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, admitting the possibility that it is as late as Dynasty VIII.

The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

**Two horizontal lines at top:** (1) An offering that the king gives and Anubis, Who Is Upon His Mountain, Who Is in the Place of Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land, that invocation offerings go forth to the Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, the Overseer of the Work Center, the Estate Chief, Sole Companion and [Liege-\nman (?)] of the King [. . . ?] the Revered [Hmunw-\nng(m)w].18 (2) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, to the Revered Hmunw-ng(w).19

Figures at left: (a) [lost] (b) His brother, his beloved, the Liegeman Ṣp.20

Butchering scene: (d) The Director of the Dining Tent Ṣbni:21 “Exert thyself, my companion!” (e) “I do as thou praisest, my companion; I cause the choice cuts to come forth”—the Director of the Dining Tent Mn.22

Group at right: (g, the owner, requires no caption) (f) his wife23 The Noblewoman of the King, Priestess of Hathor Ṭw.24 (e) His/her son, his/her beloved,25 the Liegeman of the King ṭm.26 (h) His son, the Estate Chief and Companion Ṣd-ṛmnw (?).27


18. This is below the first line, but the frame indicates that it is a continuation.

19. Not listed in P.N. Note that this theophoric name refers to the Upper Egyptian Khnum rather than to the ram of nearby Mendes, for the ram is clearly accompanied by Ṣ rather than 13.


22. Compare P.N I, p. 151 (2).

23. As shown by the caption of the son behind her; see note 25.


25. This more explicit substitution for the third person plural suffix does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

26. Compare P.N I, p. 59 (2), otherwise first attested in the Middle Kingdom, although a feminine example (ṛm) is known from the Thinite Nome on a stela that is evidently earlier than the Eleventh Dynasty—D. Dunham, Naga-ed-Dér Stelae (Oxford, 1937) no. 87; this belongs to the group discussed by Vandier, Revue d’Égyptologie 2 (1956) pp. 49–51 (Schenkel’s “Gruppe B”: Studien §83b), which may be of Dyn. VIII or only slightly later. It is difficult to say whether the Busirate example indicates Asiatic blood or whether it simply reflects some aspect of the son’s appearance. In the latter case, the peculiarly explicit reference to his parentage (“his/her son”) may be designed to eliminate any misapprehension about his antecedents which the name would otherwise suggest. At all events.
The limestone false door (Figures 3, 4) is one of three very similar monuments. This one measures 112 cm. in height, 62 cm. in width, and 47 cm. in thickness. The others measure 64 × 38 × 10 cm.28 and 85 × 47 × 15 cm.29 All three display a pair of wdst-eyes on the inner jambs, flanking the central niche, and the spaces on either side of the offering scene have been reduced to very small proportions.30 The epithet “revered” is written ḫt and mır ḫrw.31 The abstract sign retains the old form ḫt. The location of the wdst-eyes is not otherwise known to occur before the reunification of Egypt,32 but the spelling of “revered” suggests that the present example cannot be much earlier, and so too does the use of the epithet mır ḫrw. An even later date is indicated by the group ḫt and this conclusion is reinforced by the use of ideographic ḫt as a writing of “Hathor” on one of the other false doors.33 Since late criteria must always, in such cases, outweigh the earlier ones, it seems likely that these false doors are not earlier than the last years of the Eleventh Dynasty, and that the wdst-eyes retained their older location longer at Busiris than they did elsewhere. The phrase “every good feast of the spirit” is peculiar to this particular monument.

The translations proceed from upper to lower elements and from left to right:

Outer frame:
1. An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Khentiamenti the Great God, Lord of Abydos in all his places
2. that invocation offerings go forth to the Scribe of the God’s Treasure in the House of Osiris,35 the Overseer of the Army in (the Name of) ṣḏḥy36 (more specifically) Busiris,37 the Re-

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33. Schenkel, Studien, §4. This criterion is evidently valid, although the group ḫt is not uncommon in the late Old Kingdom (Junker, Giza VIII, fig. 34, p. 79; XI, fig. 40, p. 71; fig. 83, p. 215, etc.) and a late Sixth Dynasty stela shows ḫt (Fischer, Capitole Nome, no. 4). The one Eleventh Dynasty example of ḫt cited by Schenkel (the coffin of Mru, LD II, pl. 148d) may be even later than the forty-sixth year of Nb-hpt-Rê Mentuhotepsen, since the stela that provides this date evidently does not belong to the tomb (Bibliotheca Orientalis 23 [1966] p. 30).

34. See Fischer, Capitole Nome, p. 40; Fischer, Dendera, p. 226; one of the latest examples known to me—perhaps not much earlier than the Reunification—is to be found on a small representation of a false door at the bottom of Louvre stela C 15 (A. Gayet, Musée du Louvre: Sètes de la XIIe Dynastie [Paris, 1886] pl. 54).


36. The name is usually written emblematically in the Old Kingdom and later; the phonetic writing presumably derives from the circumlocations of Saqqara funerary texts such as Pyr. 182, 220. This writing also indicates that the name of the nome is not ṣḏḥyt, as has generally been assumed (Wh. I, p. 207 [10]; Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica II, p. 179*), but is ṣḏḥy, the god shown in the nome emblem, “the of the ṣḏḥyt-waterway,” as maintained by P. Montet (Geographie de l’Égypte Ancienne I: Basse Égypte [Paris, 1957] p. 97) and W. Helek (Die altägyptischen Gauen [Wiesbaden, 1974] p. 174).

37. The preposition m evidently introduces the nome and not the city, and such cases therefore probably do not show graphic transposition (a possibility considered in JARCE 10 [1973] pp. 6–7). It is instructive to compare the following late Old Kingdom epithets on the south pillar of an unpublished rock-cut tomb at Saqqara, located between the Djoser enclosure and the Unis Causeway.
FIGURE 3
Eleventh Dynasty false door from Kom el Akhdar. (photo: courtesy Labib Habachi)
FIGURE 4
Eleventh Dynasty false door from Kom el Akhdar
and belonging to a certain \textit{Sn-kbjy}:\footnote{Not listed in PN.}

\textit{Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el Akhdar. (photo: courtesy Labib Habachi)}

\textbf{Figure 6}

Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el Akhdar and belonging to a certain \textit{Sn-kbjy}\footnote{38}.

(1) \textit{overseer of regulations in the Panopolite Nome—Hnmt-Mnw} (see Fischer, Coptite Nome, p. 110); (2) \textit{great wrb-priest in the Thin-

and belonging to a certain \textit{Sn-kbjy}.

\textit{Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el Akhdar. (photo: courtesy Labib Habachi)}

\textbf{Figure 6}

Eleventh Dynasty offering slab from Kom el Akhdar and belonging to a certain \textit{Sn-kbjy}.

The same construction occurs repeatedly in the Old Kingdom; see Edel, Altag. Gramm., §314, where \textit{m} should be prefixed to his examples from \textit{Urk.} I, pp. 118 (14), 101 (13), and 280 (17). Although I do not know of examples in Old Kingdom titles, some Middle Kingdom titles may be compared:

(1) \textit{overseer of regulations in the Panopolite Nome—Hnmt-Mnw} (see Fischer, Coptite Nome, p. 110); (2) \textit{great wrb-priest in the Thin-

38. Not listed in \textit{PN}.
**FIGURE 7**
Eleventh Dynasty offering slab in Karlsruhe.
From a photograph

*Inner frame:* (1) An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos (2) that invocation offerings go forth to the Overseer of the Army in (the Nome of) ḫndty (more specifically) Busiris, the Revered Šn-kꜣy. (3) that invocation offerings go forth to him on the *Wjg*-feast, on the feast of Thoth and on every good feast of a spirit,³⁹ the Revered Šn-kꜣy.

*Offering scene:* A thousand of bread and beer, alabaster (vessels) and clothing, oxen and fowl and everything goodly and pure to the *kꜣy* of the Revered Šn-kꜣy, justified.

The fragmentary limestone offering slab (Figure 5) measures $50 \times 67 \times 35$ cm. As may be seen in the schematic drawing (Figure 6), it has a pair of small basins that are linked to a larger one by narrow channels. This feature appears in some offering slabs from Saqqara.

³⁹. This phrase is to be added to those discussed by W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen* 24 (Glückstadt, 1988)) p. 51 (and pp. 68, 79, 104, etc.).

that may be as early as Dynasty X, and the most comparable example, of unknown provenance, is probably not much later than this (Figure 7). The present example more clearly belongs to the Middle Kingdom—

the end of Dynasty XI or the early Twelfth Dynasty—

as indicated by its more finished workmanship and the style of the inscription. The presence of inscriptions at the bottom of the small basins is an unusual feature; the one on the right contains the word "water" and the one on the left is evidently to be read ḫnkt "beer." The slab is inscribed for a certain Smḫ.jn who is an "Overseer of the Army," like the Šn-kty whose false door has just been described, and is also "Overseer of Fields."

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM
FALSE DOOR

In its present state the false door in Cambridge (Figures 8, 9) has a maximum height of 82.5 cm. and maximum width of 63.5 cm.; the stone is somewhat more than 8 cm. thick. If two horizontal lines of inscription and a modest cavetto cornice are restored at the top, as shown in Figure 10, the original height is seen to be at least 131 cm. Some traces of red are visible, suggesting that the stone was painted to imitate wood or granite, as was often done at the Memphite cemeteries.

As in many of the false doors of this period, the offering scene is in raised relief while the inscriptions and other representations are incised, and the recesses flanking the offering scene do not extend to the top, although they are less reduced than in the case of the Eleventh Dynasty false doors described earlier. The iconography and style are evidently a rather provincial version of Old Kingdom Memphite tradition, somewhat more crudely executed than the Busirite architrave of ḫnwt-nḥm(w) or the false door of Nḫ at Mendes, which is the only other Delta site that has yielded comparable material. The false door from Mendes may be slightly earlier in date, and so too, perhaps, a fragmentary false door of rather different style which was excavated at the same place.

The representations at the top of the false door show the owner, a woman named Ḥml-Rr or Ḥml, wearing a long dress with shoulder straps, a broad collar, and a short wig bound with a fillet. The representations at the bottom are much more unusual. They seem to show the owner as a girl and as an old woman, in much the same way that older and younger representations of men are contrasted on the jambs of contemporary false doors. On the inner jambs she wears no discernible

41. J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1905–6 (Cairo, 1907), pl. 18 (1, 2).
43. Compare two early Twelfth Dynasty examples: Alexandria Museum 460, inscribed for Amenemhet I (von Beckerath, AŽ 92 [1965] p. 4 and pl. 3); MMA 22.1.21, the offering slab of Nḫt, presumed to be his mother (Mace, BMMA 17 [Dec. 1922, pt. 2] p. 12, fig. 11). Other more or less comparable examples: Cairo CG 23029 (A. B. Kamal, Tables d'offrandes [Catalogue général . . . Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1909] pl. 19); J. Gautier and G. Jéquier, Fouilles de Licht (MIFAO 6 [Cairo, 1902]) fig. 69, p. 59; MMA 32.1.213 (W. C. Hayes, Scepter of Egypt I [New York, 1953] fig. 69 and p. 117, where the Old Kingdom date should be corrected).
44. Compare the labels beside the two basins of the Old Kingdom offering table shown in Hassan, Giza V, fig. 33, p. 183.
45. It is not possible to say whether the hieroglyphs were yellow on a red ground, imitating wood (exemplified by Junker, Giza VII, pp. 241–242; XI p. 54), or green on red, imitating granite (exemplified by M. A. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I [London, 1905] p. 26; Davies, Deir el Gebreul II, pl. 11).

47. As exemplified by BM 212 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 38); 1669 (same, pl. 42); Hassan, Giza, fig. 125, p. 69; V, p. 160 and fig. 22, p. 159; VI, pt. 3, figs. 219–220, pp. 222–223; Junker, Giza VII, fig. 8, p. 25; figs. 104–107, pp. 247–252; XI, fig. 40, p. 70; Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pls. 71 (1), 73 (2); G. Jéquier, Mastabat Farasun (Cairo, 1928) figs. 24–25, p. 29; Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II [1932], figs. 21–23, p. 37; fig. 60, p. 59; figs. 62–64, p. 61; fig. 70, p. 69; Jéquier, Tombes de particuliers, fig. 36, p. 34; fig. 98, p. 87; fig. 104, p. 91; fig. 138, p. 121; Cairo J. 59158 (AŽ 12 [1963] pl. 6). Compare Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie II, pt. 1 (Paris, 1954) p. 428.
49. D. Hansen and Christine Soghor, JARCE 6 (1967) fig. 9 facing p. 28, and pls. 17 (32) and 18 (33).
50. There is no evidence of streamers behind the fillet. Ultraviolet examination revealed no trace of plaster in this area, but it is possible that the surface has been scraped, removing this detail.
51. In Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pl. 71 (1–2), a man is similarly shown as a naked youth on one of the inner jambs of each of his two false doors. The false doors of men contrast the normal type of representation with a more portly figure wearing a long kilt: Cairo CG 1397, 1455, 1565, 57122; BM 1191 (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 35); Giza VIII, fig. 88, p. 169; Jéquier, Tombes de particuliers, fig. 111, p. 97. As a rule the older rep-
garment, and a long pigtail projects from the back of her head, terminating in a disk.52 On the outer jamb she wears a simple long dress and long hair; the body seems thicker and the breasts are pendulous. The last feature is emphasized by showing both breasts frontally—a mode of representation that is exceedingly rare in Egyptian art and is confined to servants in the rare instances when it occurs elsewhere. The only Old Kingdom example that is at all comparable (Figure 11) shows a woman grinding grain.53 Representations of elderly women are still rarer; the sole examples known to me from the Old Kingdom again show servants grinding.54 All the figures, save the one in the offering scene, hold a lotus blossom in one hand, as is frequently seen on other monuments, but the figures on the jamb show the other hand fisted rather than the open hand that is more characteristic of women.55 It is also remarkable that the older representations are standing while the younger are seated on chairs.56

The Text

A (missing)
B (i) An offering that the king gives by a Osiris, Lord of Busiris: bread, beer and everything pure that goes forth upon the libation slab of Osirisb in Busiris, c for the Revered Hmi-Rc whose good name is d the Acquaintance of the King, the Priestess of Hathor Hmi

(2) O ye who are living upon earth, who will pass by this way, e who will say: "It is the pure bread of Osiris—(it) is for the Revered Hmi!"

C (1) [An offering] that Anubis gives, Who Presides over the Divine Booth, Who is in the Place of Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land; an invocation offering on the Wig-feast and on the feast of Thoth, to the Revered Hmi-Rc whose good name is Hmi,

(2) [One who makes] peace and attains a state of reverence; f praised of her father, beloved of her mother, revered of Hathor, Mistress of Busiris; g (Hmi-Rc, whose good name is Hmi).

D [A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, etc . . . ]k to the Revered Hmi

E (1) Revered with Ptah-Sokarl

(2) Revered with Osiris, Lord of Busiris

(3) Revered with Anubis, Lord of the Burial

(4) The Acquaintance of the King, Priestess of Thoth, Hmi-Rc, whose good name is Hmi.

F (1) May she proceed upon the good ways of the necropolis as one revered by the Great God, Hmi-Rc, whose good name is Hmi.

(2) As for every scribe who will pass by this tomb, who will say: "Bread and beer to the mistress of this tomb, the Revered (Hmi-Rc, whose good name is Hmi)!"

G (1) I am one who gives bread to him who is hungry and clothing to him who is naked, one praised of her husband, Hmi-Rc

(2) As for all p[ople] who will say: "Bread to Hmi in this her tomb!" I am a potent spirit and will not allow it to go ill with them.

Comments

a. This variation of the http-di-nwet formula is unusual, but was employed a number of times toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty and later. Examples are cited by Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, pp. 24, 37, and more abundantly by Wilson, JNES 13 (1954), pp. 259–263. In view of the number of these examples, it seems doubtful that the can be viewed as a
FIGURES 8, 9
False door in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (photo: courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)
writing of dative n, as Barta concludes (p. 265), rather than agential in.57

b. Wb. III, 423 (11) gives no other meaning than “Erdboden” for *ṣ3f* in this phrase, but an early Middle Kingdom stela invokes offerings (*ḥpt*) \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) “which come forth upon the pure libation slab” (W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchus* [London, 1925], pl. 24), and it seems certain, in the present case, that *ṣ3f* *Wstir* is the “libation slab of Osiris.” This term for “libation slab” (*Wb. III 423 [5–6]*) is known from the Sixth Dynasty biography of *Wnt*, where it is written \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) and \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) (Urk. I, 99 [17], 107 [2]); in both cases it is associated with the false door, and hence, would seem to refer to the slab that was customarily placed before the offering niche. The title \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) (*ḥnt ṣ3f* “libationer” (lit. “he who is over the libation slab”) was occasionally given to Old Kingdom funerary attendants (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 53, p. 187). In one of the Sixth Dynasty tombs at Aswan an offering bearer is identified as \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) “his sealer, he who is over the libation slab of the tomb, *Kri.*”58 Although arrangements for “reversion offerings” (*wθb pd*) from temples, in favor of private funerary cults, were made as early as the Fifth Dynasty,59 the formula used here, with the verb *p*3, is evidently later. The earliest analogy known to me is \(\overline{\mu} \overline{θ} \overline{θ} \overline{θ} \overline{θ} \overline{θ} \) and \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) (“pure bread which comes forth from Dendera,” “[bread] from the temple”) on the false door of Šn-*ndšw* (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 9), which dates to the Heracleopolitan Period, but is evidently earlier than *Wθb-nḥ ḫn ʾIntf* of the Eleventh Dynasty.60 In the course of the Eleventh Dynasty such phrases became increasingly frequent. The expression “pure bread” is well known from the Old Kingdom, however, (see Comment g below) and is probably to be regarded as a generic term, much as “bread” may mean “food” in English. Thus a listing of various offerings on the entrance architrave of *ʿIdw (BMFA 23 [1925], 27)* is followed by \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) — NN “namely pure bread of the Great God for NN”; compare von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kāi* (Berlin, 1911) p. 22.

c. The unusual writing \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) occurs in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 288b) where a similar writing is also used for *Dwnt*, Mendes.

d. Note the superfluous *n. ḫnt* is known as the hypocoristic of at least two Sixth Dynasty women named  

57. Note also that Edel’s sole example of \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) as a writing of dative *n* (*Allāg. Gramm.*, §757, referring to Junker, *Giza* III, p. 156) is subject to a different interpretation; see Comment f. But a valid example is evidently to be found on an alabaster tablet for the seven oils, MMA 11:50:1A, where the offering formula concludes with \(\overline{\sigma} \overline{\phi} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega} \overline{\rho} \overline{λ} \) “for the Acquaintance of the King ṣmh-ḥng-t.”

58. De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique* I (Vienna, 1894) p. 199 (top); the transcription given at the bottom of p. 198 places the signs in the wrong sequence.

59. Berlin 15004 (*Ägyptische Inschriften* I, p. 22; A. Mariette, *Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire* [Paris, 1889]) p. 300; Urk. I, p. 37); for other examples of *wθb pd* see Grégoire, *ASAE* 42 (1943) pp. 51–54. A particularly analogous Sixth Dynasty example is provided by the inscription of *Ḥnw* of Abydos (Urk. I, p. 119 [7–8]) where the priests of the local temple are enjoined to remove offerings for him “as a reversion offering of this temple.”

60. The date of his father *Mrī* is discussed in Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 130–131; see the chronological summary on p. 187.
FIGURE 11
Detail of Old Kingdom relief in the Cairo Museum. From a photograph

| Hmi-Rr (Davies, Deir el Gebräi, I, pl. 12; Mariette, Mastabas, p. 360). The unusual writing of Hmi-Rr, which appears consistently on the false door under consideration, may well provide an additional relatively early example of the loss of final t in feminine words and, if so, this example is particularly interesting because t is apparently replaced by i. Such a replacement is altogether to be expected, but it is not attested elsewhere. This interpretation of Hmi-Rr does not, however, offer a clue to the precise date of the false door since the loss of the final t in feminine names probably originated before the end of the Old Kingdom. It is also possible that the longer name has been influenced by the shorter one, Hmi. But the second explanation does not preclude the first.

61. For Hmi-Rr see PN I, p. 240 (5) and for Hmi see PN I, p. 240 (1).
62. Schenkel, Studien, §22 f.
63. There is a wide diversity of opinion concerning the date of this development. Lacau (Études d'égypologie I: Phonétique [Cairo, 1970]) thought that it happened far earlier than the Old Kingdom, while Edgerton denied its existence much before the Eighteenth Dynasty (JNES 6 [1947] p. 7). For Edel (Altlig. Gramm., §113) the earliest probable date is Dyn. VI, and he believes it probably came about after the Old Kingdom. Schenkel puts it even later, not much before Dyn. XII (Studien, §82). I am inclined to believe that Clère is right in relating the loss of the final t to the adoption of a generic feminine for all place names (Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-semitiques 3 [1939] p. 48), and in concluding that the phonetic basis for that reinterpretation was prepared in the late Old Kingdom.

e. The substitution of “way” for “tomb” is unusual; I know of no parallel.
f. The address to the living seems strangely incomplete; one misses the addition of mrrw nswt (Urk. I, 252) or the like: “they who will say . . . are beloved of the king.” See also Urk. I, 112, where those who invoke offerings are approved as wnnyt.f in (m) 3m sfr “who will be in the following of the great god”; this is, as Garnot says (L’Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires de l’Egypte [Cairo, 1938] p. 59), the only case where the logical subject and predicate are both 3mty.fy forms. In Urk. I, 122, dty.f is followed by a promise of assistance, as in G (2). But the omission of a predicate occurs again in F (2). As these two passages stand, it would seem that dty.f is felt to convey the sense of d.f.n “may ye say.”
g. Compare two Sixth Dynasty examples of the same phrase, both from Saqqara:

| “It is the pure bread of Osiris, it is for NN.” (Ihht: T. G. H. James and M. R. Apted, Mastaba of Khenetka [London, 1953] pl. 31 [185] and compare pl. 32 [193]; Sis: J. Capart, Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah [Brussels, 1947] pl. 48). The second is quoted by A. Erman, Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches (Berlin, 1919) p. 33, as well as a similar example of lw (nn) n with ellipsis of the subject: (LD II, 90 = Junker, Giza XI, fig. 105, p. 260). A third example may be found in |
the tomb of K£r (BMFA 23 [1925], p. 26): 𓚖𓚚𓚚 “it is for him, my father.” Possibly this same interpretation is to be applied to a phrase which occurs in three tombs at Giza:

- (Hassan, Giza VI, pt. 3, fig. 82, p. 103, and pl. 46)
- (Junker, Giza III, fig. 21, p. 153)
- (Ibid., fig. 48, p. 233)

Edel (Alt£g. Gramm., § 757) regards the second example of 𓚖 as a writing of dative n, as does Junker (Giza III, p. 156). But in dealing with the third example (p. 235), Junker is inclined to regard both his examples of in as a peculiar use of the introductory particle that occurs in the construction in + noun + participle: “it is (this) which is for the k£.” A simpler and more plausible solution is to regard the initial i as i(n) and to explain the last example as an elliptical writing of i(n) n k£ n mry(i) “this is for the k£ of the beloved.” Compare, for example, the fuller writing of 𓚚𓚚𓚚𓚚 “this is for the k£ of my father” (LD Ergänzungsband, pl. 16).

h. Elsewhere on the false door this epithet is consistently written 𓚚𓚚𓚚, which is the usual Old Kingdom form. The curious variant with the ending 𓚚𓚚𓚚 is evidently to be interpreted as -wt > -jt, and possibly shows the influence of the writing imja, the first dated occurrence of which belongs to the Heracleopolitan Period in the reign of Merykare (Siut tomb IV: Schenkel, Studien, §16b). But the replacement of final w by y is well attested in the Old Kingdom, and two unpublished texts, from Giza and Saqqara respectively, show writings like the one that is under consideration. The first, from Reisner’s G 7753a, has 𓚚𓚚𓚚𓚚 “I am one who is revered.” The second occurs on the wooden sarcophagus of the Hereditary Prince, Count, etc. Nb.(t)-ib.(t) 𓚚𓚚𓚚, who has the epithet 𓚚𓚚𓚚.

64. Edel, Alt£g. Gramm., §146; his examples involve the complete substitution of y in place of w, rather than composite writings.

65. From his field records at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This inscription seems to show a decided predilection for the ending -w > y or -wy, for one of the following columns has 𓚚𓚚𓚚𓚚 “as for any man who will do anything evil to this.” If ny is not particularly uncommon as a variant of n£w (Edel, MDIK 13 [1944] p. 59; Alt£g. Gramm., § 200), it is difficult to find any parallel for the writing of bt d£(t), which is generally written 𓚚𓚚𓚚. The writing 𓚚𓚚𓚚 is also attested for the plural (James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, p. 29 [top]; compare Edel, Alt£g. Gramm. II, p. 11x [§146]).

FIGURE 12
Old Kingdom false door from Saqqara. (photo: courtesy Egyptian Department of Antiquities) 𓚚𓚚𓚚 “praised of his father.”66 Neither of these examples of the ending -wy can be dated with any accuracy, but there is no reason to think that they are later than the Sixth Dynasty.

66. Seen in 1956 among photographs stored at the Department of Antiquities office (Firth’s house).
i. For the phrase *iri htp*, *sbi imḥḥ* see Junker, *Gīza VII*, pp. 208–210, and Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 250–251. There does not seem to be space for the jamb at the beginning of the line (for which see Hassan, *Gīza V*, fig. 101 (a–b), p. 241 [Dyn. V]; Cairo CG 20005 [Dyn. XI]).

j. Nothing of this local cult is recorded by Schafik Al-lam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (MĀS 4 [Berlin, 1963]), or by Montet, *Geographie de l’Egypte Ancienne I: Basse Egypte*, pp. 97–102. One of the later false doors replaces *ḥdw* by the name of some other cult-center; see note 29 above.

k. This style of offering list characteristically appears at the top of offering scenes on false doors dating to the end of the Old Kingdom and after, as in the case of most of the false doors cited in note 47; compare Junker, *Gīza VII*, p. 248.

l. The determinative of Sokar is unusual; the expected form shows the falcon on the hnw-bark (𓃪)

m. Evidently this sign has been filled with plaster and recut, so that it now appears to have two heads. For the phrase *ink īḥ ḫr* see Edel, *MDIK* 13 (1944), pp. 19–21. Since no other feminine example has yet been recorded from the Old Kingdom, it may be useful to call attention to a false door from Saqqara (Figure 12). The architrave above the niche contains the following inscription: (1) “The Acquaintance of the King Ṣḏgr, she says: (2) I am an efficacious and equipped spirit. As for any man who shall enter after having made purification, (3) in order to make invocation offerings at this tomb, I shall be his supporter in the tribunal of the Great God, having granted (4) good in his business and provision in his life. But as for him who shall enter (5) in his impurity, I shall bring about his grief.”

67. I am indebted to the late Zakaria Ghoneim for the photograph and for permission to publish it.

68. For the name, see Ranke, *PN I*, p. 306 (27); in his addenda, *PN II*, p. 386. Ranke refers to *Wb. IV*, p. 118 (6–8). Compare the masculine name Ṣḏḥ which similarly means “hidden,” *PN I*, p. 323 (15); earlier examples of the latter may be found in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II* III, fig. 22, p. 37; Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958) p. 229.

69. The first line actually follows the others, but is to be understood in this fashion, as explained in my forthcoming *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, pt. 1, § 21, note 142a.

70. The woman in question is a princess named ‘Intḥ who is an elder daughter of Pepi I (according to Nims) and an elder (grand-) daughter of Teti; see also Nims, *JNAS* 58 (1938) p. 646. I first saw a photograph of this in the office of the Department of Antiquities in Saqqara; the one shown here was located by Dr. Jaromír Málek among the records of Gunn and Firth (Gunn MSS XIV.22), and I am obliged to him for permission to use it.

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**Figure 13**

Old Kingdom architrave from Saqqara. (photo: courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford)
lent and equipped spirit, one whose name the god knows, one whose very name the god knows, one whose name her god knows;72 I am one who is revered with her lord.”

n. For the ellipse of the subject after adjectival verbs see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* , § 905, where this same passage is quoted; he discusses the future *n rdi (. i)* in *MDIK* 13 (1944), p. 15 (§15). The reversal of this phrase is probably a meaningless reversion to the dominant rightward orientation. This may be compared with late Old Kingdom false doors that show rightward orientation on some or all of the right jambs, instead of the usual symmetrical disposition of the texts.73 The inappropriate retention of rightward orientation also occurs in the captions of figures on the architrave of *Hnw-nmd(w)*, as noted earlier.

**The Date**

There are very few palaeographic or epigraphic indications. Little can be concluded from the abnormal form of 9 as the determinative of Sokar (Comment l) or the reversal of orientation at the bottom of the right inner jamb (Comment n). The sign shows the older form, but this did not begin to be replaced by other forms before the Twelfth Dynasty.74 Similarly it was not until the Twelfth Dynasty that plural strokes were commonly added to the suffix *|*—. The form of 10 shows the influence of Old Kingdom hieratic,75 as does a similar example on a Naga ed-Deir stela that is probably not much later than Dynasty VI.76 The form 11 (one occurrence only) might be expected of the Heracleopolitan Period, but this also occurred as early as the Sixth Dynasty.77 More conclusive indications of later date are the writing of *|* in figure 78 and the phrase “everything that goes forth upon the libation slab” (Comment b).

In general, the style, phrasing, orthography, and grammar continue late Old Kingdom tradition, and one may note in particular the use of future *n sdm.f* (Comment n). On the other hand, the false door is evidently later than the oldest of the unpublished monuments found by Ali El Manzalawy in 1928, which is probably to be dated to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, or slightly later. And much more obviously, it is earlier than a group of three late Eleventh Dynasty false doors and an offering table that come from the same excavations. In view of these comparisons and the internal evidence, it seems very likely that the false door in the Fitzwilliam Museum belongs to the Heracleopolitan Period, and most probably the Tenth Dynasty.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The material assembled here is far too meager to permit many generalizations, and it must be kept in mind that these few monuments are scattered over a fairly long period—probably as much as two centuries. One is struck, however, by the degree to which they resemble those from other sites at Memphi and in Upper Egypt, and by the absence of discernible “localisms” even in the case of the false door that has been assigned to the Tenth Dynasty. There are, of course, a few unusual features such as the use of *|* “his/her son” on the Old Kingdom architrave (Figures 2, 3; the frontal view of the woman’s breasts on the Tenth Dynasty false door (Figures 6, 7), or the phrase “every good feast of the spirit” on the false door that has been dated to the late

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72. The various writings of the word *nfr* “god” are evidently to be regarded as graphic dissimulation; the writing *|* is known from the title *hry lbt n mdw-nfr* (|) “privity to the secret of the god’s words” (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 106 [24], 132, note 3); also in the common Old Kingdom writing of *hry nfr* “necropolis” as 22 (Unk. I, pp. 9 [5], 13 [13], 165 [16], 173 [18], etc.). For the misplaced *nfr, i* compare *tr n.f* in line 3.

73. Exemplified by Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 83, p. 215; Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 15, p. 16. In both cases only the inner jambs retain the rightward orientation.


76. Cairo J 88884; a woman named ‘Int-kmwt (|) “his/her son” on the Old Kingdom architrave (Figures 1, 2; the frontal view of the woman’s breasts on the Tenth Dynasty false door (Figures 8, 9), or the phrase “every good feast of the spirit” on the false door that has been dated to the late

77. See Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 78–79 and note 331.

78. Same, p. 84, and Schenkel, *Studien*, §11; the examples of *Mdw* and *Ttw|l*Rfl are also later than the Sixth Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 85–91).
Eleventh Dynasty (Figures 3, 4). It is difficult to say whether any of these are to be expected on other monuments of this same site or area. On the other hand, the relatively late appearance of the pair of welt-eyes on the interior jambs of false doors may possibly be a regional peculiarity.

It is perhaps only coincidental that the Old Kingdom architrave provides the earliest evidence for the personal name rjm "Asiatic," and that another name on the same monument seems to refer to a country called Rtnw (i.e. Rtnw?), which is "broken." But the later monuments add two more "overseers of the army" to the two who are already known from the Sixth Dynasty at Mendes and Horbeit,79 and these sparse indications, combined with evidence such as Wnt’s account of his campaigns against the Bedouin,80 contribute to our picture of the eastern Delta as an area that was constantly exposed to raids and infiltration from the Asiatic side.

The earlier monuments, like those at the nearby site of Mendes, refer exclusively to Osiris Lord of Busiris in the offering formula and in the epithet "revered with Osiris"; Abydos is mentioned only on the later ones dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty.81 Busiris is also named as the locality of a cult center of Hathor, although a different cult center is assigned to this goddess on one of the late Eleventh Dynasty stelae.

More specific reference is made to the cult of Osiris on the false door of the Heracleopolitan Period, which speaks of "bread which goes forth on the libation table of Osiris in Djedu," and on the late Eleventh Dynasty false door of the general Šn-ky ṣ who is "scribe of the god’s treasure in the house of Osiris" and "scribe of the noble temple." This monument also confirms the fact that the name of the province is identical to that of the divinity who was originally present, and whose image appears on the nome emblem.

**SOURCES ABBREVIATED**

ARCE—American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo and Princeton, N.J.
ASAE—Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte.
ÄZ—Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig and Berlin).
BM—British Museum.
BMFA—Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston).
CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire:
    CG 1295-1808: Ludwig Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I–II (Berlin, 1937–64);

79. For the general who was buried in the vicinity of Horbeit see Daréssy, Recueil de travaux 24 (1902) p. 165; for the one from Mendes see Chaban, ASAE 10 (1910) p. 28 (a red granite statuette from the same tomb is in the Cairo Museum, J 38915). Note also the military character of a group of Fifth Dynasty titles pertaining to the Heliopolitan Nome East (Junker, Giza III, pp. 172, 174 and Fischer, Dendera, p. 10, note 47); this district evidently extended northward to include Bubastis (Fischer, JNES 18 (1959) pp. 133–134).

81. The same is true of the late Old Kingdom inscription from the eastern Delta cited in notes 9, 48, 79. This fact is hardly surpris-
MAS—Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften Philosophische Fakultät (Berlin).
MDIK—Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden).
MIFAO— Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale (Cairo).
MMA—Metropolitan Museum of Art.
P.N.—H. Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II (Glückstadt, 1935/52).
Pyr.—Pyramid Text reference, in terms of Sethe’s arrangement in Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte (Leipzig, 1908–22).