Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt

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Although this series of notes takes, as its point of departure, a recent book by Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten*, it is in no sense a review; a review appears elsewhere (JEA 64 [1978] pp. 158–162). The present article is rather intended to supplement what will doubtless, for many years to come, remain the standard work on the subject, by taking up some points that require additional comment or that have been omitted altogether. Since Hassan’s is the first comprehensive treatment of a topic that is both vast and complex, no one need be surprised that something remains to be said about it. And it may be hoped that his work—along with these notes—will stimulate others to make further contributions of the same kind.

1. *Imyt-r* staves

The object thus designated in late Old Kingdom coffins and burial chambers is vaguely termed “Geräte” by *Wb.* I, p. 74 (14), referring to Jéquier, *Fries*, p. 244. Jéquier describes the accompanying representation as a pile of long bands, and thinks that these represent cloth, more specifically bedclothes. He concedes that his interpretation is hardly applicable to a variant that reads ![image](https://www.jstor.org/published) but is inclined to dismiss the determinatives in this case as a scribal error because, in the same period, “on trouve des étoffes représentées de façon identique.”

If further representations are considered, however, beyond the single example that Jéquier was able to examine when he gave this opinion, it will be seen that the *imyt-r* objects are consistently squared off at one end and rounded at the other. The rounded end is demarcated by a line and, in at least one case (Figure 1a), the line defines a carinated projection. This case also shows a series of three sealed ties that are identical to those shown in representations of cloth, but it is nonetheless quite clear

2. J. Capart, Chambre funéraire de la sixième dynastie (Brussels, 1906) pl. 5.
3. In Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, fig. 55, p. 51, there is a line at either end, perhaps representing string tying the staves together (compare Figure 1a). An example in T. G. H. James and M. R. Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika* (London, 1933) pl. 40, lacks the line at the knobbled end but shows a triple tie at the center. For another example that conforms to my description, besides those in the preceding note, and Figures 1b and 1c, see Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II (Cairo, 1940) pl. 55. All the other examples known to me also conform to the extent that they are squared off at one end, rounded at the other.
that a bundle of staves is depicted. In another example (Figure 1b) the staves are characteristically wider at the knobbled end than at the other. Two other examples are described as being yellow, which suits the color of wood, and which in turn fits the determinative \(\text{imyt-}\) in the above-mentioned variant, where the addition of \(\text{hst}\) indicates that the wood was imported: \(\text{hst hst} “\text{wood of a foreign land.”}\) This term also occurs in Fifth Dynasty temple accounts from Abusir. The representation in Figure 1c evidently shows two bundles of staves bound in a cloth or leather sheath, the knobbled ends turned in opposite directions.

All of this evidence is from Saqqara, but the same term is applied to staves that are being shaped in a Sixth Dynasty scene at Deshasha, where they are specified as \(\text{imyt-}\) of the southern lake (the Fayum?): “imyt- of the southern lake (the Fayum?):”\(\text{imyt-}\) is also applied to a scepter \(\text{imyt-}\) in a much later listing of ritual equipment from Saqqara, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Amenophis III.

Given the constant presence of staves in the hands of officials, one might suppose that the meaning of \(\text{imyt-}\) is related to that of \(\text{imy-}\) “overseer,” literally “he in whom the mouth is” or “he who is the mouth.”

8. Jéquier, Tomb. part., fig. 82, p. 73.
9. W. M. F. Petrie, Deshasheh 1897 (London, 1898) pl. 21; Stöcke und Stäbe, fig. 8, p. 27. It is uncertain whether or not the last sign of the preceding phrase \(\text{imyt}\) belongs to \(\text{imyt}\). See addendum.
10. The “southern lake” would normally refer to the Fayum at this period, but one must also consider the references to \(\text{mdw-}\) staves of the southern, northern, western, and eastern lakes that appear in the Middle Kingdom series of equipment listed in coffins; compare Griffith in Petrie, Deshasheh, p. 45, and Jéquier, Frises, p. 160.
11. P. A. A. Boeser, Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altägypter in Leiden IV (Hague, 1911) pl. 14. Capart, Chambre funéraire, p. 24, thinks this indicates that \(\text{imyt-}\) is some sort of scepter or baton; since the New Kingdom example is an archaism, however, the determinative may be only a vague and inaccurate allusion to the original form.
12. Hardly “he who is in the door,” as Edel translates (Altg. Gramm. I, §347). For the alternatives given here, see J. G. Griffiths in JEA 28 (1942) pp. 66–67. The later writing \(\text{imyt-}\) (Dyn. XII and onward) has been taken to prove that the meaning is “he who is in the mouth,” but here \(\text{t}\) may have been interpreted as “voice”
If it seems curious that a staff should thus be regarded as being or having a mouth, one has only to think of the New Kingdom adage: “A boy’s ear is indeed upon his back, and he hearkens to the beating of him.”

A more literal explanation is possible, however. The Deshasha example suggests that the term for staves may mean “that which is on the edge (of a lake or pond),” referring to saplings planted at the margin of a reservoir. But this use of *r* is not otherwise known before the Middle Kingdom, and in earlier texts one might rather expect such a meaning to be expressed by *imyt-f* “that which is on the lake.”

2. Curved staves

Although reliefs and paintings of the Old Kingdom invariably represent the tomb-owner holding the long *mdw*-staff ([]) and short *rhr*-scepter (\(_{\text{r}}\)), his retainers carry a somewhat greater variety of implements of this kind, some intended for their own use, others for the use of their master. The latter interpretation is applicable, in every case, to forms more or less resembling the *rwt*-staff (\(_{\text{r}}\)), the upper end of which is curved to a greater or lesser extent, but is not recurved as in the *hkbr*-crook (\(_{\text{b}}\)) (Figure 2). In all but one instance (Figure 2c), only a single attendant carries such a staff, and the one exception is likewise the only case which does not clearly locate the bearers in the immediate vicinity of the tomb-owner. There is no reason to suppose that the staves are for their own use, however; the bearers are accompanied by a dwarf who holds a pair of sandals, and these certainly belong to the official whom he serves. Moreover, the presence of the tomb-owner is undoubtedly to be recognized in the traces of the large-scale pair of feet immediately above the attendants, in the adjacent register.

The two most common variations are the one
shown in Figure 2a, which most clearly resembles \( \uparrow \), and the one in Figure 2b, which resembles the staff in the hieroglyph \( \heartsuit \), for šmš “follow.” In at least one case, where the staff is somewhat thicker than usual, it might possibly be identified as a long sack, like the one shown in Figure 3, but it will be noticed that the top of the sack is curved toward the bearer rather than away from him, and this distinction is probably significant. The more unusual form in Figure 2c is comparable to a shorter stick that is again carried by an attendant of the tomb-owner (Figure 2d); in his other hand he holds a long sheath containing three m\( \text{dw} \)-staves.

The longer form of \( \uparrow \) is less frequently encountered in later scenes. A Twelfth Dynasty chapel at Bersha twice shows a man on a boat wielding a sounding pole of this shape (Figure 4), while an earlier chapel of the same period at Beni Hasan evidently represents something very like \( \uparrow \) in the hand of a cowherd (Figure 5). In other scenes at Beni Hasan the herdsmen who carry such staves are tending cranes, and their crooks again resemble \( \uparrow \) rather than \( \uparrow \), or are more angular (Figure 6). Three Theban examples of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty show herdsmen with \( \uparrow \)-crooks driving long-necked fowl—a crane in one case and, in two other cases, flocks of Figure 2d and Ti III, pl. 174. Martin (p. 8) explains the pendant element as a small pennant.

23. This stick might be compared to the object held by a man who stands on the prow of the bark of Amun in E. Naville, Xth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I (London, 1897) pl. 13 (top right); but this object is more probably a cloth, as in the Middle Kingdom detail shown in Figure 4 below; compare also the Old Kingdom example in Meir V, pl. 43, and one of Dyn. XIII, Louvre C 18: Boreux, Bulletin de l’Institut d’Archeologie Orientale 30 (1931) pp. 45-48 and pl. 3.

24. Bersheh I, pl. 18.

25. Davies in The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 28 (1933) sect. 2, fig. 9, p. 28 (= Beni Hasan II, pl. 7, center of second register from top).


19. Also LD II, pls. 50 (a), 58(a); LD Ergänzungsband, pl. 32 (b). Compare the staff that is carried, along with the rbs-scepter, by the \(-\frac{1}{4}\) official in F. W. von Bissing, Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re II (Leipzig, 1923) Bl. 4, 5, 11, 13, 22; III (1928) Bl. 13, 15. The end is less curved than that of the staff that is carried, along with the m\( \text{ki} \)-staff and fan, by an attendant of the king in II, Bl. 13, 22; III, Bl. 3.


21. Ti II, pl. 126.

22. Strips of cloth are occasionally presented so that the top curves forward, as in Junker, Giza VI, fig. 7, but here the top is wider, and is squared off rather than tapering. Another puzzling example is illustrated in Geoffrey Martin, The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara 1964-1973 (London, forthcoming) pl. 9 (6). Here the tip of the staff is only very slightly curved, and the staff seems to be encased in a sheath, the top of which hangs forward. If this explanation is correct, the sheath is unlike other examples, where it is completely open at the top and contains at least two staves; cf.

FIGURE 3
Fifth Dynasty attendant with sack. After Wild

FIGURE 4
Twelfth Dynasty pilot with sounding pole. After Newberry
cranes, ducks, and geese (Figure 7).  

A slightly curved tip appears at the lower end of a Sixth Dynasty staff from Giza, as shown below, in Figure 44, although it is not quite certain that the curve is not the result of accidental warping. A clearer example of this type was excavated in an Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Gebelein, its curved and more pointed tip still covered with earth from contact with the ground.  

An identical staff, resembling Figure 2b, but held with the curved end downward, is also known from a contemporary Gebelein stela, where it appears in the hands of each of the five sons of the deceased (Figure 8).  

But representations of this period, Dynasty XI and the beginning of Dynasty XII,

28. N. de G. Davies, Tomb of Puyemré I (New York, 1922) pl. 12 (shown here); Menkheperrasonb, pl. 13 (the latter more fragmentary).  
29. G. Steindorff, Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs II (Berlin, 1901) p. 30 (Berlin 13753).  
30. Cairo CG 1651.
more frequently show a shorter variation (Figure 9), which is held horizontally.31 Herdsmen also wield such a stick in scenes of this period (Figure 10).32 At least

31. MMA 16.10.333, from the Asasif at Thebes, probably dating to late Dyn. XI (Hayes, Scepter I, p. 331 and fig. 219); other examples: BM 1201 (Hier. Texts II, pl. 13); BM. 1628 (V, pl. 2); H. F. Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Steles (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 38 (74); W. F. M. Petrie, Denderah, 1898 (London, 1900) pl. 11 (bottom left, two Dyn. XI examples); JEA 51 (1965) pl. 10 (2).

32. Turin, Dyn. XI painting from the tomb of ’Iti at Gebelein: G. Farina, La Pittura Egiziana (Milan, 1929) pl. 21; similarly about the same date, J. Vandier, Moralla (Cairo, 1950) fig. 48, p. 101. Dyn. XII examples: Meir II, pl. 15; Beni Hasan I, pl. 30 (more clearly in LD II, pl. 132); II, pl. 12. In the last case the herdsman also carries a slightly longer stick of similar form over his shoulder, with a sack attached to one end; this detail appears as early as the Old Kingdom, to judge from LD II, pl. 102 (b), but the slightly turned-up end of the stick may be accidental.
one unmistakable occurrence in the same context is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 11), but here the curve is more gradual, and it is again uncertain that there is a direct connection between the exceptional Old Kingdom example and the recurrent type of the Eleventh Dynasty.

The evidence from hieroglyphic palaeography is particularly interesting. Although the stick in \( \frac{1}{2} \) occasionally shows a slight curve in inscriptions prior to the Middle Kingdom, it was normally straight until that period, and only then did it regularly assume


34. Sethe indicates that Ppy-nht of Aswan sometimes shows the curved stick in this hieroglyph (as in Urk. I, p. 135 [6]), and so too, even more noticeably, an example in the biography of Wnt of Abydos (Urk. I, p. 103 [10]), but the latter is clearly intended to be \( \frac{1}{2} \) (as in Urk. I, pp. 102 [13], 104 [1, 7], 105 [3, 4], 108 [2]); this variant is also known from Dyn. XII (Louvre C 1: W. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [New Haven, 1974] pl. 14 [lines 12, 14]). One Sixth Dynasty example definitely has a curved stick, however: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 57 (7).

35. The persistence of the straight stick until this date is illustrated by Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 23 (4), p. 193.
per Egyptian inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom.\textsuperscript{38} It is true that a curved staff appears even earlier, in \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}\textsuperscript{,39} but that evidence is hardly comparable since the stick is carried on the shoulder. Perhaps the Sixth Dynasty herdsman in Figure 11 might suffice to explain this development, but to judge from some Sixth Dynasty examples of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} at Deir el Gebrawi, where the stick is replaced by \textit{\textsuperscript{h}}, (Figure 12),\textsuperscript{40} it seems possible that the backward curve might equally well be the result of assimilation to the hieroglyph \textit{\textsuperscript{h}}, representing a foreigner.\textsuperscript{41} The same replacement again occurs twice, and even more clearly, on a stela of the late Middle Kingdom (Figure 13).\textsuperscript{42} The stick in the hand of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} eventually followed the pattern of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}}, but clear hieroglyphic examples are difficult to find in inscriptions earlier than the New Kingdom; some of the earliest cases are simplifications of similar signs, such as \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms\textsuperscript{,43}}\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms},\textsuperscript{44} and \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms\textsuperscript{,45}} and these usually take the form \textit{\textsuperscript{h}}, as does another example, of the early Middle Kingdom—one of the first cases where it definitely replaces the hieroglyph \textit{\textsuperscript{h}}\textsubscript{12} as a generic determinative.\textsuperscript{46} In at least one Old Kingdom example at Meir, however, the sign \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, replacing the determinative \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, does show a

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{Sixth Dynasty variations of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} at Deir el Gebrawi. After Davies}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure13.png}
\caption{Twelfth Dynasty variant of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}. After Engelbach}
\end{figure}

the form of the curved stick that had recently come into fashion.\textsuperscript{36} This is apparently one of those few cases where a hieroglyph was modified by a change in the form of an implement.\textsuperscript{37} The same explanation may possibly be applied to \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, representing a herdsman (\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}) or watchman (\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}), but in this case the stick acquired a curve at a much earlier date, in Upper Egypt.\textsuperscript{38} All from Upper Egypt: Cairo CG 1574 (H. Fischer, \textit{Egyptian Studies I: Varia} [New York, 1976] pl. 20); Meir IV, pl. 15; V, pl. 12; forms of Dyn. VIII–IX; Fischer, \textit{Dendara}, fig. 33(5), p. 133. For the earlier form, with straight stick, see N. de C. Davies, \textit{Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep I} (London, 1900) pl. 4 (10, 19); also \textit{Journal of Near Eastern Studies} (Chicago) 18 (1959) p. 270 (c), and Junker, \textit{Giza V}, fig. 18, p. 77.

39. Gardiner Sign List A 11, from Davies, \textit{Ptahhetep and Akhethetep I}, p. 4 (8). This sign does not usually show the stick however; see \textit{Journal of Near Eastern Studies} 18 (1959) p. 258, and Hassan, \textit{Giza VI}, pl. 2, pp. 258–300; also Cairo CG 1485, where the stick is present, but is straight. In another case (R. Macramallah, \textit{Mastaba d'Idout} [Cairo, 1935] pl. 18) the stick resembles a bow. Late Old Kingdom examples of the hieroglyph \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} sometimes carry a stick over the shoulder, but here again the stick is straight: \textit{Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo} 16 (1958) pp. 135–137.

40. \textit{Deir el Gebrawi I}, pls. 3, 17; II, pl. 6.

41. Examples from the funerary temples of Sahure and Pepy II are shown by Clère in \textit{Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo} 16 (1958) fig. 3, p. 40. See also \textit{Urki}, I, pp. 2 (7), 6 (11), 237 (19). Note that this is the sign that is identified as \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (\textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}) by D. Arnold in \textit{Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II} (Mainz, 1974) p. 46 (=pl. 54 [2192]). Twelfth Dynasty examples are to be seen in Cairo CG 20539 (I, b, 10) and in the first line of Cairo J. 71901 (ASAE 39 [1939] pl. 25). In Naville, \textit{Temple of Deir el Bahari III}, pl. 78, the feather seems to have become a throwstick, as elsewhere in the New Kingdom; see my \textit{Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy} (New York, 1979) under A49.


43. \textit{Urki}, I, pp. 281 (5), 285 (1, 4, 6, 10), 286 (17) etc. Note further \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} as determinative of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (Wb. IV, p. 193 [8]), evidently from \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} in \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (Wb. IV, p. 193 [7]); compare Hans Goedicke, \textit{Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich} (Wiesbaden, 1967) pp. 99–100; also \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} (fisted hand without stick) replacing \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} in \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}: \textit{ASAE} 43 (1943) p. 499, as compared with \textit{Metropolitan Museum Journal} 12 (1976) fig. 13, p. 21.

44. \textit{Bersheh I}, pl. 25, which is incorrectly explained as the equivalent of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} in F. Ll. Griffith, \textit{A Collection of Hieroglyphs} (London, 1898) pl. 15 (122). That may be seen from another example (Florence 6965; Serge Bosticco, \textit{Le stele egiziane dell’Antico al Nuovo Regno} [Rome, 1959] pl. 18) which is written \textsuperscript{h}ms\textsubscript{12} of \textsuperscript{h}ms\textsubscript{12}.

45. J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, \textit{Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI\textdegree{}me Dynastie} (Brussels, 1949) 87; compare also Gardiner Sign List D 37.

46. \textit{Antefok\textsuperscript{a}}, pl. 11 (det. of dr “damn”); a similar, contemporaneous example occurs in \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, Meir II, pl. 4. An example of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, with curved stick, is attributed to Dyn. XI by Arnold in \textit{Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II}, p. 47 (= pl. 53 [4931]), but this is certainly mistaken, as shown by the form of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} as det. of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms}, and by the writing of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} strength,” which is probably not known before the Late Period. See also the det. of \textit{\textsuperscript{h}ms} in Hans Goedicke, \textit{Re-used Blocks from Lisht} (New York, 1971), pp. 88–99, where the stick is again straight; the date may be early Middle Kingdom.
had a more gradual curve. The labeled example in Figure 16 appears among representations of military equipment; here it bears the more distinctive name *il-su*, and it is further specified as being made of ebony, with the straight end of silver and the curved end of gold. The length of such sticks seems to have been variable, but in all cases, unlike the earlier usage, they seem to have been grasped at or near the curved end. Two Theban tombs represent statues of King Amenophis II in the guise of a Nubian warrior, and in each case a long staff of this type is held vertically, the curved end upward (Figure 17). A third tomb of the same period shows a general holding a shorter curved stick, at the same necropolis (note 38 above), and perhaps influenced by the latter.

Actual specimens of these curved sticks have been found in Theban tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty (Figure 14) and of the early New Kingdom—perhaps as early as Dynasty XVII (Figure 15).

In the Eighteenth Dynasty a rather similar stick was used, but it was handled differently and the end

47. Meir V, pl. 30.
48. Deir el Bahari, Tomb 110, from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations of 1926–27. From bottom to top these are MMA 27.3.44–47, the longest measuring 113 cm. MMA 27.3.44 and 46 have been deaccessioned. A sample of one of them has been examined and has proven to be tamarix wood; like most of the identifications of wood in the present article, this service was performed by R. C. Koeppen of the Center of Wood Anatomy Research, U.S. Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin. Other examples: Steindorff, Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs II, p. 50; W. M. F. Petrie, Gizeh and Ryeh (London, 1907) pl. 13 (10), both 124 cm. long; MMA 86.1.38, from Gebelein, 114 cm. long. The last is also tamarix.
49. MMA 12.181.226, from Lord Carnarvon's excavations at Thebes. The length is 112 cm.
51. Davies, Tomb of Ken-Amün I, pls. 16, 17; also, in a register below this, carried by attendants who support a pair of them against one shoulder, with a hand cupped under the lower end (compare Vol. II, pl. 22). The same king is shown in more usual costume, but again wearing a wig of Nubian cut, in Theban tomb 92: Walter Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte (Leipzig, 1925) pl. 29 (a).
staff in the same manner. And a lesser official carries an even shorter version of the curved stick over his shoulder, again grasping the curved end (Figure 18). Some actual examples of such sticks and staves have been preserved.

There are also some cases where the scepter, or something very like it, is carried by nonroyal persons as a symbol of authority. As has frequently been suggested, there must surely be a connection between the banded curved stick that is carried by the Asiatic Ibisha in a Twelfth Dynasty scene at Beni Hasan, and the designation of him as “ruler of the

52. Theban tomb 85 (Wreszinski, Atlas, pl. 94 [a]). The date is about the same as that of the preceding examples.
53. Rekh-mi-Rer, pl. 51.
54. Notably from the tomb of Tutankhamun: Stöcke und Stäbe, pl. 3 and ILN, Sept. 19, 1925, pp. 524-525.
mountainland” (Figure 19). And the š-scepter is quite clearly shown in the hands of New Kingdom viceroy of Kush (Figure 20) as well as, from the time of Amenophis III onward, some other high officials who were not viceroy.

3. ḫnd “bend”

The curious procedure described, in Old Kingdom scenes, as ḫnd, is very clearly represented in the tomb of Ḥi (Figure 21). One end of a long pole is bound between the horizontally positioned forked ends of another heavier pole which is fixed and immovable so that the narrower pole comes straight down upon the other, but only when weight is applied to it by the man who sits on the free end. As this man shifts his weight, with a seesaw action, the grip of the upper pole is alternatively tightened and relaxed. The alternating pressure permits the second man to move a staff in and out so that it momentarily holds fast as needed. This procedure would have enabled him to bend or straighten the staff by degrees upon the rounded surface of the lower pole, after the staff had been wet and heated to give it elasticity. The staff would then have had to be placed in a form so that it kept its altered shape until it dried. In the example illustrated here, however, the requisite elasticity was obtained by means of oil, in which case the drying and setting must have taken much more time; the caption reads: “Press well! It is an oiled staff that is in it.” Here, as in the other representations of the same device, the staff that is inserted is a straight mdw-staff that shows no sign of being bent, and mdw is the term that refers to it in the caption. Furthermore, although staves with curved ends were occasionally used by nonroyal officials in the Old Kingdom, as described earlier, the straight staff was evidently the predominant form, and it seems odd that the manufacture of a less common type would be so frequently represented. And finally, one must take account of the Middle Kingdom terms for the same activity: smtti, which has plausibly been explained as a causative based on mity meaning “make the same”; ḫk, which is generally taken to mean “make right.”

In view of all these considerations it seems much more probable that the representations show the straightening of staves rather than bending, although the same apparatus was doubtless used for the manufacture of curved staves as well. In either case the alteration of shape was effected by the man who manipulated the staff, and the original meaning of ḫnd may derive from ḫn “tread,” referring to

55. Beni Hasan I, pls. 28, 30; copy by Nina Davies in C. Vandersleyen, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15: Das alte Ägypten (Berlin, 1975) pl. XXIX. Compare Montet, Scènes, p. 106, and Newberry, JEA 15 (1929) p. 85, who also points out that crooks are still used by pastoral peoples of the Eastern and Nubian deserts.

56. N. de G. Davies, Tomb of Huy (London, 1946) pl. 56; see also pl. 82; for other examples see Reisner, JEA 6 (1920) pp. 80–81 and pl. 9.

57. JEA 6, pl. 10 (Amarna examples); T. Säve-Söderbergh, Private Tombs at Thebes 1 (Oxford, 1957) pl. 50; Menkeperrasonb, pls. 41–42 (both tempus Amenophis III); Nefer-hotep I, p. 21 and pl. 9.

58. Ti III, pl. 174; Stöcke und Stäbe, fig. 6, p. 25.


60. Stöcke und Stäbe, pp. 20–23.


64. Drenkhahn (p. 114) also surmises a connection with this word, but suggests that it might refer to the bending or unbending of the knee.
the rhythmic pressure of the giant pincers.65 There is little doubt, however, that it also came to mean "bend," and this meaning is perhaps to be recognized in \textit{hndw} "chair," which, in the early Old Kingdom, was written with the determinative \text{[]|} representing a stool with bent wood reinforcement.66 A similar use of \textit{hnd}, referring to a chariot part which is "bent," has been quoted from the New Kingdom.67

4. Scepter-like batons

It has been observed by Junker and others68 that Old Kingdom scenes show a scepter-like baton in the hands of those who direct boats. The enlargement at the end of this object is striated, red on yellow, and has the appearance of a brush or tassel (Figure 22a).69 In one case it is held by a man who oversees the manufacture of boats,70 and in another shipbuilding scene it is wielded by a baboon who stands on the prow, aping the gestures of the pilots.71 The context is not limited to ships and shipbuilding, however. The same baton is held at Meir by an "overseer of troops" who guides the progress of a carrying chair (Figure 22b).

65. Is it only because of graphic similarity that the sign representing this implement (\text{[]|} \rightarrow \text{Gardiner Sign List U 14}) replaces the plough in the place name \textit{Srt} (\textit{Medum}, pl. 15), or was this replacement furthered by the semantic similarity of \textit{hnt} "restrain"? Note also that the plough conversely appears after \textit{hnd} in one of the scenes showing staves straightened (N. de G. Davies, \textit{Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said} [London, 1901] pl. 4), and in \textit{hnd} meaning "tread" (\textit{Pyr.} 244b, 541d, 663b, etc.).

66. Margaret Murray, \textit{Saqqara Mastabas I} (London, 1905) pl. 2; \textit{Medum}, pl. 13 (BM 1277; \textit{Hier. Texts} II, pl. 2). The Pyramid Texts, inscribed in the later Old Kingdom, abandon this determinative and apply a variety of other determinatives to \textit{hndw}; compare P. Kaplony, \textit{Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I–III} (Wiesbaden, 1963) p. 339 and note 1441 (to p. 238); I doubt the validity of the example in his fig. 566.

67. Černý, \textit{Revue de l'Egypte ancienne} (Paris) 1 (1927) p. 225 cited by Caminos, \textit{LEM}, p. 213, who also cites \textit{mith hnd} "twisted wreaths" (p. 363) as well as another example of "twisted" (p. 42) which seems more doubtful; as he says, this last example is paralleled elsewhere by \textit{dnh} "pinioned."


70. \textit{Deir el Gebrahi I}, pl. 15.

22b),\textsuperscript{72} and it evidently is to be recognized in the hands of a row of funerary priests at Saqqara, both examples dating to the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 22c).\textsuperscript{73}

I believe that this baton is in turn related to a somewhat longer one, with a smaller, bulbous terminal that occurs in Middle Kingdom representations. One of the earliest examples, dating to the late Eleventh Dynasty, again appears in the hand of a man who pilots a boat (Figure 23b),\textsuperscript{74} as also in the case of those who pilot the model boats of \textit{Mkt-Rt}.\textsuperscript{75} But the \textit{Mkt-Rt} models also place it in the hands of other supervisors, such as the one who presides over the activities of the abattoir (Figure 23a).\textsuperscript{76} In tomb chapels of the Twelfth Dynasty it is sometimes held by officials who are subservient to the tomb-owner (Figure 23c).\textsuperscript{77} An actual example is apparently to be recognized in Berlin 17830.\textsuperscript{78}

5. Forked staves

Although a forked staff appears in the hieroglyph [t] representing an old man, Azo in Gardiner’s Sign List, Gardiner attributes an ordinary staff to [t], A 21, showing an erect “official” (ir). Such a distinction does not exist in the Old Kingdom examples of the two hieroglyphs, both of which show the forked staff with about the same frequency,\textsuperscript{79} although in both cases the fork is apt to be omitted. In addition the same type of staff appears occasionally in the Old Kingdom determinative of \textsuperscript{80} “stand,” \textsuperscript{81} and \textsuperscript{82} “master,”\textsuperscript{82} as well as in a Middle Kingdom example of \textsuperscript{83} “sovereign” (Figure 24).\textsuperscript{84} Since there is no further evidence for the forked staff in Old Kingdom representations of larger scale, whether elderly\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{72} Meir V, pl. 31.
\textsuperscript{73} Mereruka I, pl. 83; also pls. 84–86. The same is probably to be recognized in the Sixth Dynasty chapel of Nibaw, excavated by Reisner: W. S. Smith, \textit{History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom} (Oxford, 1946) fig. 80, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{74} N. de G. Davies, \textit{Five Theban Tombs} (London, 1913) pl. 36.
\textsuperscript{75} Winlock, \textit{Models}, pls. 34, 45. 46. So too Beni Hasan I, pls. 14, 16.
\textsuperscript{76} Winlock, \textit{Models}, pl. 61 (F), and for this context see pl. 19.
\textsuperscript{77} Meir II, pl. 11. Also Meir I, pl. 3; II, pls. 6, 15. Antefoker, pl. 9; Bersheh II, pl. 8; Beni Hasan I, pl. 35 (held under nearer arm). Possibly also Louvre C 166 (A. J. Gayet, \textit{Musée du Louvre: Sèves de la XII dynastie} [Paris, 1886] pl. 24).
\textsuperscript{78} Illustrated in \textit{Stöcke und Stäbe}, p. 8 (1), but without any information concerning the site or provenance. Steffen Wenig has kindly informed me that it was found in 1906 in the uppermost level of the kom of Elephantine; thus the provenance provides no confirmation of the date.
\textsuperscript{79} Cf. Hassan, \textit{Stöcke und Stäbe}, p. 124, who mentions ir, perhaps following A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, \textit{Tomb of Senefertis} (New York, 1916) p. 87; no references are given in either case. Hassan nonetheless illogically considers that the \textit{bd}-staff might have a special association with old age and even death. For this staff in the hieroglyph for \textit{ir} see Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185, p. 157; VI, pt. 3, fig. 143, p. 150; Fischer, \textit{Dendera}, fig. 37, p. 193; \textit{Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo} 16 (1958) fig. 1, p. 131; R. Weîl, \textit{Décors royaux} (Paris, 1912) pl. 9 (two out of three cases, although the detail in question is not observed in the drawing, pl. 4). Here, as in the hieroglyph for \textit{iw} or \textit{išw} “old,” the fork is also frequently omitted.
\textsuperscript{80} Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 118, p. 168 (4).
\textsuperscript{81} Cairo J. 47749 (J. Capart, \textit{Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I} [Paris, 1927] pl. 13).
\textsuperscript{82} Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943) fig. 3, p. 39; the first variant is Hans Kayser, \textit{Mastaba des Uhemka}, p. 33 (more clearly printed in \textit{Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum} [Hildesheim, 1959] pl. 4); the second is Cairo CG 1565 (left side).
\textsuperscript{83} Griffith, \textit{Hieroglyphs}, pl. 9 (161) (= Bersheh I, pl. 15, top right).
\textsuperscript{84} E.g., those shown in \textit{Journal of Near Eastern Studies} 18 (1959) p. 246, as well as the later, more bowed and emaciated figures shown in \textit{Artibus Asiae} 22 (1959) figs. 2, 7, 9, following p. 240 (all Dyn. X–XI).
or otherwise, this type of staff must be considered a survival from the Protodynastic Period, when its use must have been more common. There is admittedly little further evidence to support this conclusion, other than the existence of similar forms of hieroglyphs on some seal impressions of the First Dynasty, and the lower part of a forked stick, inlaid with ivory studs, which was found in one of the earliest of the great First Dynasty mastabas at Saqqara.86

Apart from the mention of forked rbt-staves in the Old Kingdom coffin lists of royal burials and in the Middle Kingdom coffin lists that derive from them, there is scarcely any trace of such staves during these periods—a fact that is more surprising since forked punting poles ( \( \uparrow \) ) are quite conspicuous in Old Kingdom boating scenes, as also in one of the Eleventh Dynasty models of Mkt-Rê.88 A short forked stick from an early Middle Kingdom tomb at Meir is virtually all that attests its use for walking until the New Kingdom.89 The New Kingdom offers rather more evidence, however. Several actual staves and sticks have been found in burials at Saqqara80 and Thebes (Figure 25),91 and there are representations of them in Theban tombs. One of the latter shows the staves in a procession bearing burial equipment;92 the others show them carried by servants and by an attendant who evidently holds such a staff for the official who precedes him (Figure 26).93

6. Batons for leisure

As noted earlier, Old Kingdom dignitaries are generally represented carrying a mdw-staff and rbi scepter while standing or walking, but when they are seated they put aside these cumbersome objects and hold a slender short baton like the present-day swag- ger stick of military officers (Figure 27).94 This does

86. W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty II* (London, 1954) fig. 92, p. 65. See also the butt of a forked staff, covered with copper, from Gebel Silsila, as shown in J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1897) fig. 866, p. 268; presumably this was thought to be pre- or protodynastic, but the date is not specified.
87. For the term see Junker, *Giza IV*, pl. 10 and p. 75. Many examples can be added to the references he gives for representations: *Median*, pl. 10; *Ti II*, pl. 111, 117, 118; R. Paget and A. Pipic, *Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (London, 1898) pl. 32, etc. The Middle Kingdom offers less evidence: *Meir I*, pl. 3; *II*, pl. 4.
89. Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912) pp. 99–100, L. 102 cm., and said to be made of mulberry wood (mûrier). Post-Middle Kingdom burials such as that of Sbty.fy are equipped with dummy staves of this type among others that imitate Osiride funerary equipment (see *Söcke und Stäbe*, pp. 81 ff.).
90. James and Apted, *Khemitka*, fig. 1, p. 3.
91. MMA 12.181.222, said to be of birch wood, L. 104 cm. From Lord Carnarvon's excavations at Dra abul Naga prior to 1911. In addition to the foregoing cases, both of which are Dyn. XVIII, several examples of the later New Kingdom are shown by B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el-Médînîh* (1934–35), *Deuxième Partie: La Nécropole de l'Est* (Cairo, 1937) fig. 69, on p. 123. One of these is the type discussed below, in § 11, and two others may represent broken specimens of the same kind, but at least three of them are symmetrically forked.
94. *Meir* V, pl. 32; see also pls. 31, 41, 45; *Meir* IV, pl. 14; Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 122, p. 266; *Medinet I*, pl. 95; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 7; W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu* (Boston, 1976) fig. 98, etc.
FIGURE 27
Sixth Dynasty official with short baton. After Blackman

FIGURE 28 (right)
Eleventh Dynasty batons. MMA 27.3.8–9 (both deaccessioned)

FIGURE 29
Eighteenth Dynasty tax-collector with truncheon. After Davies

FIGURE 30
Sixth Dynasty tax-collectors. After Davies

diameter 1.6–1.9 cm., and the surface looks as though it has been polished by frequent handling. The shorter one is 55.5 cm. long with a diameter of 1–1.3 cm.

7. Sticks for policing

As a rule, short sticks were used in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom for policing men or animals, and one Eighteenth Dynasty representation (Figure 29) shows a tax-collector holding one that has a loop passed through a hole at one end, much like the police truncheon of our own day.96 A more distinctive form, terminating in an open hand, was sometimes used by the Old Kingdom tax-collector to exact his master’s due from recalcitrant farmers (Figure 30).97 The amusing character of this implement made it

not appear in later representations, but it probably continued to be used at least down to the Eleventh Dynasty, for actual examples of plum wood have been found in a Theban tomb of that date (Figure 28).95 The length of the larger one is 62.2 cm., the

95. MMA 27.3.8, 27.3.9, both subsequently deaccessioned. Deir el Bahri, Tomb 101, Metropolitan Museum excavations of 1926–27.
96. Rekh-mi-Re, pl. 29 (2). A second example appears in the same scene.
97. Deir el Gebêlwi I, pl. 8; also Cairo CG 1541 (Smith, American Journal of Archaeology [New York] 46 [1942] fig. 5, p. 517); LD II, pl. 56 (a bis).
98. Ti I, pl. 16; II, pl. 126; Cairo CG 1556 (Smith, American Journal of Archaeology 46 [1942] fig. 5, p. 517); Selim Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938 III (Cairo, 1975) p. 24. Probably also Hassan, Giza V, fig. 122, p. 266; Mereruka II, pl. 158.
100. Beni Hasan II, pl. 6; also noted by J. Vandier d’Abbadie, Revue d’Egyptologie (Paris) 17 (1965) p. 178.
FIGURE 31
Nineteenth Dynasty police. After Davies

FIGURE 32
Detail of early Middle Kingdom staff imitating a reed. After Schäfer

FIGURE 33
Twelfth Dynasty representation of reed staff. After Blackman
Policemen of the later New Kingdom, from the Amarna Period onward, carried a weapon that is probably not a stick at all, but a strap of leather that is partly rolled up so that one end is round, for rigidity and for easy handling, while the other is flat (Figure 31). The noise it produced was probably as effective a deterrent as the pain.

8. Imitations of reeds

Ali Hassan has discussed representations of reed staves in some detail and has observed that actual examples have frequently been found in burials. Nearly all of these actual examples prove, however, to be wooden staves carved to imitate the jointing that is characteristic of reed stalks. One fragmentary example, not mentioned by Hassan, comes from an early First Dynasty mastaba at Saqqara; it is carved in wood with rings in relief at regular intervals. Two smaller fragments of wood from the royal tombs at Abydos, belonging to the First and Second Dynasties, show a more natural imitation of reed jointing, and so too some lighter fragments of wooden wands from the same source, as well as ivory rods—perhaps gaming pieces—which have also been found in a First Dynasty burial at Helwan.

No further staves imitating reeds are known before the Middle Kingdom, from which period at least four more examples may be cited. One from Abusir, dating to the Eleventh Dynasty, shows extraordinarily fine, if stylized, detail in the carved imitation of jointing (Figure 32). The others, from Saqqara, dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty, are less detailed but similar; Quibell says of one of these: "above the joints were some bands of fine punctures made by minute nails." Further examples are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and notably from the tomb of Amenophis II.

It seems very likely that, in most cases, it is imitations of this kind that are represented in the tomb chapels of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom, and not reeds as such. That is certainly true of the most detailed representation of all—again overlooked by Hassan—which has precisely the same stylized detail that appears in the Abusir staff (Figure 33), and belongs to the same general period, albeit somewhat later.

9. Adaptations of the divine w3f-staff and royal mks

As a symbol of power the w3f-staff (قانون) was primarily an attribute of the gods and was not ordinarily carried by the king, although temple scenes as early as the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties occasionally show him holding it in combination with other insignia. It is

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101. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, pl. 13, where the overlapping leather seems to be sewn (Figure 31a). Also Anthes, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 9 (1940) pl. 17; Davies, Nefer-hotep I, pls. 15, 16 (Figure 31b), 17; also II, pl. 6 (brown outside, black inside). In Nefer-hotep I, pl. 43, this is used in beheading prisoners; Davies in Nefer-hotep I, p. 23, inaccurately describes it as a flattened staff or broom. The leather baton is used by policemen (قانون), as pointed out in Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 105 (1978) p. 49. It is probably this baton, and not a trumpet, that is held under the arm of the dedicant on Hildesheim stele 397. For the previous identification see Roeder, ÄZ 61 (1946) pp. 59–60 and pl. 5 (2); H. Kayser, Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum (Hildesheim, 1973) p. 61.


103. The one exception is the reed that Tutankhamun "cut with his own hand," but both ends are mounted in gold and electrum: ILN, Sept. 19, 1925, p. 525. For the inscription see Stöcke und Stäbe, p. 134 (6).

104. Emery, Great Tombs II, fig. 95, p. 66.

105. Royal Tombs II, pls. 37 (33), 44 (1).

106. Same, pl. 36 (3–13).

107. Same, pl. 32 (59); identified as a gaming stick on p. 36 (§33).


109. But a penann on a reed pole is shown in an early Dyn IV tomb painting: Medium, pl. 28.

110. H. Schäfer, Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde (Leipzig, 1908) fig. 28 a, p. 27; compare Stöcke und Stäbe, p. 73 and note 4.

111. J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907) (Cairo, 1908) p. 17; compare Stöcke und Stäbe, p. 74, note 11. The second example, Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, fig. 60, p. 54, is not recognized as such by Hassan; it is the longest staff in his fig. 21 (cited p. 78, note 20).

112. Cairo CG 24112, inscribed with the names of Amenophis II and his queen (compare Stöcke und Stäbe, p. 132 [2]); CG 24116, illustrated in G. Daressy, Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (Cairo, 1902) pl. 19.


114. F. W. von Bissing, Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re II, Taf. 2, Bl. 21 (50 b), 22 (52); III (1928) Bl. 19 (311, 313); G. Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II, II (Cairo, 1938) pls. 46, 50.
therefore surprising to find this emblem among the equipment that is being manufactured for two of the Sixth Dynasty monarchs at Deir el Gebrawi. In each case the caption is identical (Figure 34a): \textit{nˈdr in mḏh m rt} “hewing by the carpenter on a column.”\textsuperscript{115} The location of \textit{m rt} after \textit{in mḏh}, rather than before, is unexpected, but it does not seem possible to translate this phrase in any other way.\textsuperscript{116} Nor can \textit{rt} very well refer to a staff or scepter.\textsuperscript{117} While there is some evidence for the use of royal accouterment, such as necklaces with falcon-headed terminals, in the burial equipment of nonroyal persons in the Sixth Dynasty,\textsuperscript{118} it seems unlikely that this practice was extended to the \textit{wis}-staff at so early a date. It seems equally doubtful that a column of this form would have been used as a support or embellishment for a shrine, catafalque, or other structure belonging to the deceased, for there is no evidence of such a detail at Deir el Gebrawi or in any other tomb chapels of the Old Kingdom.

An alternative explanation for the \textit{wis}-column is to be found in a nearby scene within the same register (Figure 34b), which shows “working on a lion by the sculptor.” Although, as Davies has noted,\textsuperscript{119} the representation looks rather more like a male than a female, it almost certainly must have some connection with the local lion-goddess Mati. And in this case the \textit{wis}-column may likewise have belonged to the equipment of the local temple.

Two Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions, from Dendera and Thebes, show a hieroglyph in which the \textit{wis}-staff is held by a standing figure that is neither royal nor divine (Figure 35). In the first case (a) it serves as the determinative of \textit{ḥkw “chiefs”} in the statement of an official: “[I acted as] stew[ard] for six chiefs.”\textsuperscript{120} In the second (b) it is an ideograph, evidently replacing \textit{ḥrt} in the word \textit{mniw “herdsman,”} and the context is: “the herdsman was beside his —— (word lost) . . . the herdsman was beside his swine.”\textsuperscript{121} A third Eleventh

\textsuperscript{115} Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. 14 (shown here); II, pl. 10; compare Stücke und Stäbe, figs. 3–4 on p. 19.

\textsuperscript{116} R. Drenkhahn, \textit{Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten}, p. 107, translates \textit{m rt} as “tüchtig (sehr),” but such an adverbial adjunct would normally follow an imperative and it would take the form \textit{rʾt, rʿt or rʿt} (Edel, Altäg. Gramm. II, § 750, 3 b).

\textsuperscript{117} So Montet, \textit{Scènes}, p. 308; the additional references in Stücke und Stäbe, p. 19, note 46, offer no further support for this interpretation.

\textsuperscript{118} E. Staehelin, \textit{Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich} (Berlin, 1966) pp. 117, 269. At Deir el Gebrawi this is evidenced only in a later tomb chapel (Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. 19), where the equipment includes a royal pendant with uraei, as well as a falcon-collar; for the pendant compare Staehelin, p. 125, who refers to an example at Saqqara.

\textsuperscript{119} Deir el Gebrawi I, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{120} Cairo CG 20005, cited in the same work, note 686; for the restoration see Clère and Vandier, \textit{Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire}, § 3. Contemporaneous examples of \textit{ḥkw,} meaning “chief” or “nomarch,” otherwise use the determinative \textit{ḥk}: Polotsky, JEA 16 (1930) p. 195, line 10; Černý, JEA 47 (1961) p. 7, line 5; Vandier, \textit{Muralla,} pp. 206 (II, \textit{θ}, 3), 220 (IV, 20); Cairo CG 1649 (line 3: H. Fischer, \textit{Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome} [Rome, 1964] p. 67). In reference to the king, however, the word \textit{ḥkw is written} \textit{ḥḥ}, at Asyut (inscription IV, 15: Montet, \textit{Kámi} 3 [1950] p. 101); in response to an inquiry, Mrs. Marianne Eaton-Krauss has kindly informed me that this is the “m” (Middle Kingdom) writing quoted by Wb. III, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{121} Cairo J. 46048, as quoted in Fischer, \textit{Dendera}, p. 156.
Dynasty inscription from Thebes shows the ws-staff in the hands of a mummiform determinative of twt “statue,” where it is emblematic of the Osiride hereafter (Figure 35c).122 This last usage is perhaps also exemplified by a stela of the Heracleopolitan Period from Naga ed-Deir, which may again show the ws-staff in the hand of a nonroyal individual, but the identification of the staff is not altogether certain (Figure 36).123

Apart from a possible example in the hands of men tending cranes (see note 26), I do not know of any other iconographic evidence of this kind in the Middle Kingdom, although Middle Kingdom coffins frequently show ⌓ among the royal and divine staves that are represented in the frieze of objects, and wooden examples have been found in Osiride burial equipment dating to the end of that period and slightly later.124

 Officials of the New Kingdom are occasionally shown holding the ws-staff in a funerary context, again alluding to the divine nature of the hereafter.125 One Eighteenth Dynasty context calls for a quite different interpretation, however: an elderly man holds the staff in several scenes representing the surveying of land, and in one case he attests that “as the Great God endures, who is in heaven, the stela is correct as it stands, O my father.”126 Susanne Berger has suggested that this example may allude to the ws-scepter as an emblem of stability, and specifically as the support of heaven, for in other cases boundary stelae are said to be set up “like the sky.”127 Finally, in an even more dissimilar context, three gatherers carry or lean on ws-staves in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb chapel.128 This, along with the Eleventh Dynasty writing of mnw “herdsman,” is a clear indication of the pastoral origin of ⌓, and is reminiscent of the use of ⌓-staves by men herding cranes and geese. The very disparate adaptations of the ⌓-staff provide an excellent illustration of how important it is to take account of the context in examining ancient Egyptian iconography—as important, in fact, as it is to take account of the very wide range of meaning that may be assigned to one and the same term, depending on the date and context of an inscription. In the Old Kingdom, for example, ⌓ (ḥkr) as a noun could refer either to nomarchs (as in the example cited earlier) and governors of foreign regions129 or to humbler foremen of estates;130 in the Heracleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom it was also applied to the king131 or to a god,132 and these uses eventually, in the New Kingdom, supplanted the lower ones.

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122. BM 1164; compare Clère and Vandier, Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire, § 33, line 9. The drawing has been made from a photograph, tracing, and rubbing kindly provided by W. V. Davies.


124. Jéquier, Fries, pp. 176–180. See also Figure 40 below.

125. Stöcke und Stäbe, pp. 191–192, and figs. 40–42. Also Brussels E.5185: Jean Capart, Documents pour servir à l’étude de l’art égyptien I (Paris, 1927) pl. 63, and a Dyn. XXVI example, Jan Assmann, Das Grab des Basa (Mainz, 1973) pl. 9.

126. Nina M. Davies, Ancient Egyptian Paintings (Chicago, 1936) II, pl. 68; III, p. 130. The ws-staff was first noted by Wiedemann, Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie... égyptiennes et assyriennes 18 (1896) p. 130. The oath is to be added to those discussed by Wilson in Journal of Near Eastern Studies 7 (1948) pp. 129–156.

127. JEA 20 (1934) pp. 54–56, seconded by Hans Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952) p. 840; both to be added to the references in Stöcke und Stäbe, p. 190.

128. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, pls. 30, 34 (the latter in color); Stöcke und Stäbe, fig. 43, p. 193.

129. Wb. III, p. 171 (1, 22); Fischer, Dendera, pp. 11–12; note 121 above.


Although Gardiner has identified the object in the hand(s) of  as a "nhbt-wand," the earliest forms of the hieroglyph suggest that the hand originally held the similar, but more elongated mks-staff (Figure 37). Later, when the single arm replaced the pair of arms, this staff may indeed have been reinterpreted as the shorter nhbt, for, apart from the difference in length, the two are very similar, and they are closely related in the frieze of objects represented in Middle Kingdom coffins. Their proportions may be compared in a representation of Sesostris from his shrine at Karnak (Figure 38), but this simplifies the form of the mks, which, in other cases, has a rounded top suggesting an attenuated lotus bud.

As the distinctive attribute of  dšr "holy," and a symbol regularly wielded by the king in his priestly role as an intermediary between mankind and the gods, the mks-staff was not ordinarily associated with nonroyal persons. But when, by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, every well-to-do Egyptian had acquired the right to assume the role of the dead king Osiris, this staff was often represented, along with other royal paraphernalia, in the aforementioned frieze of objects in coffins. And, even as early as the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the staff itself was at least occasionally placed in nonroyal tombs, for a private chapel of that date shows it among the burial equipment (krštt) of the deceased. It is only in tombs that are somewhat later than the Twelfth Dynasty, however, that actual examples have been found—one belonging to a princess, and the other, more understandably, to a king; the ownership of two others,

134. A late Dyn. III example: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 37 (6) (= pl. 1 [right]). For a similar Dyn. I example see Royal Tombs I, pl. 4 (5).
135. Jéquier, Frises, p. 186. Compare his figs. 450–454 on p. 174 (mks) and figs. 489–493 on p. 185 (nhbt). The former more frequently shows a crosspiece at the bottom, but this detail is often applied to nhbt in the Pyramid Texts, as in Pyr. 134c [W], 220b [N], 224b [N], etc.
136. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, Une Chapelle de Sesosiris Ier à Karnak, Planches (Cairo, 1969) pl. 31.
137. Jéquier, Frises, fig. 457, p. 175 (from Naville, Temple of Deir el Bahari I, pl. 14).
138. In the late New Kingdom it was sometimes similarly included among the implements for the "opening of the mouth" ceremony: J. Vandier d'Abbadie, Deux Tombes ramessides (Cairo, 1954) pls. 10–11; Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, pl. 36; N. de G. Davies, Seven Private Tombs at Karnak (London, 1948) pl. 16.
139. Beni Hasan II, pl. 7.
140. J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894 (Vienna, 1895) fig. 253, p. 109: this fact is noted by Hassan in Stocke und Stärke, although he reproduces de Morgan's drawing (Stücke und Stärke, fig. 29, p. 87). Note also that in addition to the mks of King Hor (discussed by Hassan, p. 92, as a unique occurrence), another example is attributed to Amenophis II (Cairo CG 24119, mentioned by Hassan, p. 132); the form seems doubtful, however.
both from the same tomb at Lisht, has not been identified.\textsuperscript{141}

It is rather more surprising to find the \textit{mkš}-staff held by the deceased as represented on a funerary stela of the late Twelfth Dynasty (Figure 39).\textsuperscript{142} for this monument was not placed out of sight, in the other-worldly confines of the burial chamber, but was located in a chapel that could be seen by almost anyone. The closest parallel for this case is the occasional appearance, in the New Kingdom, of the \textit{wš-staff (†)} in the hands of the deceased in funerary contexts.\textsuperscript{143} But, as noted earlier, the \textit{wš-staff} also appears, if only rarely, in a very lowly context, recalling its pastoral origin, whereas the \textit{mkš}-staff is, from the beginning, a strictly royal and sacral implement.

10. A dummy repair

In 1960 I purchased a bundle of wooden fragments from the dregs of the Museum’s disposal sale of deaccessioned Egyptian objects, which had then been in progress for several years. It was my hope that some of the pieces might fit together, but only one item—a bow—could be wholly assembled, and it was then presented to the Smithsonian Institution.\textsuperscript{144} This and most of the other pieces were subsequently identified as coming from Pit 211 of the “priests’ cemetery” at Deir el Bahri, belonging to a certain \textit{Smwšt-rnḥ} (Figure 40).\textsuperscript{145} The date is probably no earlier than the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Fragmentary as they were, the other pieces proved to be singularly interesting, for several of them belonged to tamarix staves that had been drilled at regular intervals with sets of three holes, each of which was neatly fitted with a peg of the same material (Figure 41). These could not have been intended as decoration, for the entire surface was painted yellow, and when the staves were new the pegs must have been quite invisible. Nor did they provide any reinforcement; on the contrary, they considerably reduced the strength of the shaft.

The strength of the staves was not a consideration, however, for they were not intended for actual use.
FIGURE 41
Fragments of staves from a late Middle Kingdom burial

FIGURE 42
Detail of staff, showing joint and tenon. After Mace and Winlock

FIGURE 43
Old Kingdom staff, Boston, MFA 37.1323. Drawing by Suzanne Chapman

FIGURE 44
Old Kingdom staff in Boston, MFA 37.1323
Like the fragmentary wooden dagger, firesticks, and bows that accompanied them, they were only dummies, intended solely for the hereafter. The meaning of the pegs is therefore to be sought in other dummy equipment of the same period—the Second Intermediate Period. The tomb of Shny.\textit{y} at Lish contained a forked staff that consisted of five pieces that were jointed and pegged as shown in Figure 42.\textsuperscript{146} A straight staff from Meir, belonging to the burial equipment of either Hpi/rnty\textit{y} or Wh-htp, is spliced identically.\textsuperscript{147} And a ceremonial bow of the Second Intermediate Period in Moscow is made of two pieces of equal length that are again similarly united, the joint in this case being reinforced by three wooden pegs.\textsuperscript{148}

Since these joints are not functional, but are rather to be considered as an elaboration of the ritual breaking of staves and bows for burial, it seems certain that the jointless sets of pegs are comparable. Indeed, they confirm the ritual nature of the actual joints.

The same explanation is probably to be applied to a staff of much earlier date, from a late Fifth or Sixth Dynasty burial at Giza.\textsuperscript{149} This is 109 cm. long, and, as shown in Figures 43 and 44,\textsuperscript{150} there is a peg a few centimeters below the bulbous top and another, slightly smaller, about one-third the length from the bottom. The curved tip seems to be intentional, but is possibly the result of accidental warping. Edna Russmann, who has carefully examined this object for me, says there is no evidence of knots in the wood, or of any joint or weakness that might require a tenon. On the contrary, the upper peg has itself caused some cracking of the adjacent wood, both vertical (along the grain) and horizontal. These points of weakness, both introduced deliberately, suggest that the staff was never intended for actual use, and, if so, that conclusion also applies to a small \textit{rbb}-scepter, 39 cm. long, that was found with it.\textsuperscript{151} The use of large-scale dummy burial equipment is less abundantly attested for the Old Kingdom than in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, but one might compare the wooden sandals that have been found in burials at Deshasha and Saqqara;\textsuperscript{152} these similarly anticipate a usage that continued into the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{153} It should be noted that both the staff and scepter are somewhat less than full size, but the body they accompanied is also unexpectedly small, and may have belonged to an ungrown boy rather than to a man.

11. A characteristic New Kingdom staff

Throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty and onward, the most favored type of staff was one that has a small curved projection at the top, usually fashioned from a natural fork in the wood. Something very like

\textsuperscript{146} Mace and Winlock, \textit{Tomb of Senebti\textit{is}}, fig. 51, p. 87. For the date: Bruce Williams in \textit{Serapis} 3 (Chicago, 1975–76) pp. 41–57. Discussed by Hassan, \textit{Stöcke und Stäbe}, pp. 83, 124, who rightly compares this with cases such as the four sticks described by Firth in Firth and Gunn, \textit{Te	extit{i} Pyramid Cemeteries} 1, p. 61 (not 29); these “had been ceremoniously cut through and jointed and mended afresh in several places.”

\textsuperscript{147} MMA 12.182.62. Although the burial of Hpiy (Kamal, \textit{ASAE} 14 [1914] pp. 82–86) has an outer coffin of the older type, with frieze of objects (Hayes, \textit{Scepter} I, p. 314), the inner coffin (p. 318) and canopic chest (p. 321) have the later arched lid and projecting ends, and the other finds include a flail (p. 287); thus it cannot be far in date from Shny.\textit{y}. The burial of Wh-htp contained a coffin and canopic box of the older form (pp. 315–316, 321), but also included Osiride equipment such as a wooden mace (p. 289) and a wst-staff (p. 286), as well as two funeral barks (p. 273 and fig. 179; Fischer, \textit{Egyptian Studies} I, pl. 13 [6]); this may be late Dyn. XII.

\textsuperscript{148} Moscow I, 1a, 1804: O. D. Berlev, \textit{Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica} (Leuven, Belgium) 6/7 (1975–76) p. 35.

\textsuperscript{149} Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 37.1323, from Reisner’s excavations, G 2011 A III. The museum’s research laboratory has identified the wood as cedar; it is desiccated, however, and is extremely light and fragile.

\textsuperscript{150} I am indebted to Edna Russmann for the photograph, and to Suzanne Chapman for the drawing.

\textsuperscript{151} Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 37.1318. Both scepter and staff were placed to the east of the body, which was turned in that direction.

\textsuperscript{152} Petrie, \textit{Deshaheh}, p. 34; Moussa and Altenmüller, \textit{Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay}, p. 43 and pl. 42b. One might also compare the wooden mace and crooks in Meydum mastaba 17 but these are evidently much smaller in scale (W. M. F. Petrie, E. Mackay, G. Wainwright, \textit{Meydum and Memphis} [III] [London, 1910] p. 14 and pl. 11; compare \textit{Stöcke und Stäbe}, p. 59).

\textsuperscript{153} See R. Engelbach, \textit{Hara\textit{yeh}} (London, 1923) pl. 77 (8); and especially Hayes, \textit{Scepter} I, p. 240.
it occurs in the mention of "a mity-staff" as early as the Sixth Dynasty, but there is no further evidence for its use during the intervening period of about seven centuries. As may be seen from representations, this New Kingdom staff was frequently ornamental with a banded design at the upper end (Figure 45). The representations provide only a meager impression, however, of the elaborateness of the pattern, as will be seen presently.

The term ṭmmt is regularly applied to this type of staff by Ali Hassan in his Stöcke und Stäbe. Although he cites no evidence, his source is almost certainly Theban tomb no. 84, where one of a row of Syrians bearing gifts holds a bundle of sticks labeled ṭmmt; the inscription is partly effaced and the determinative [ ] should perhaps be restored. As K. Sethe shows it in Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV (Leipzig, 1909) p. 952, the bundle has the appearance of a single stick with a loop attached ( ), and the projection at the top is clearly indicated in a copy of the scene published by W. Max Müller (Figure 46). But the most accurate copy, by Nina M. Davies, does not display this detail (Figure 47). Even if the projection actually existed, it far more likely represented an untrimmed stump of a branch than the top of a finished staff. As Jéquier has pointed out, the label probably refers to the variety of wood rather than staves as such.

154. Urk. I, p. 216 (14); the present copy of the sign is made from a facsimile in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
155. Menkhertassou, pl. 10; also pls. 8, 9 (temp. Tuthmosis III); Sève-Söderbergh, Private Tombs I, pls. 22, 23 (temp. Amenophis II ?).
156. Initially on p. 38, note 7, with wrong reference to pl. xix. 7, instead of viii. 7; pp. 130, 190, 193. In addition to the references to ṭmmt on p. 94, note 67, add Caminos, LEM, p. 217.
157. W. Max Müller, Egyptological Researches II (Washington, D.C., 1910) pl. 28.
158. Nina M. and N. de G. Davies, JEA 27 (1941) pl. 13.
159. Jéquier, Frises, p. 165.
Syrians in his *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēr*, pl. 11.\(^{160}\) Since we know, from the examples described below, that imported cherry wood was sometimes used for the type of staff in question, it remains possible that the term *cbl* applies to that wood and to the staves made from it, but that possibility cannot be proven on the basis of the evidence that is thus far available. Furthermore, such staves were not always made of cherry; two very similar ones from the tomb of *Hr*, dating to the reign of Amenophis III, were made of native siddar (nabk).\(^{161}\) Nor was imported wood employed exclusively for staves; the Metropolitan Museum has an *cbl*-staff and three composite bows, all dating to the early New Kingdom, and all said to be of birch wood, but perhaps also to be identified as cherry.\(^{162}\)

12. Some New Kingdom staves

Among the several New Kingdom staves in the Metropolitan Museum’s Egyptian collections, three are of special interest because of their material and decoration, or because they are inscribed (Figure 48). Two (a and b),\(^{163}\) one showing the New Kingdom form that is discussed in the preceding section, have been identified as cherry wood, which must have been imported from a cooler mountainous region such as Cappadocia.\(^{164}\) The forked projection appears to be natural, and in both cases the upper end retains some of its natural bark, part of which has been cut away to form a series of banded patterns; some portions of the bark have been stained red or black, while others show their original silvery hue and striated texture. A natural bark ferrule is also left at the top of a birch (?) *cbl*-staff, mentioned earlier,\(^{165}\) but in this case the bark has not been embellished.

One of these two staves is inscribed (Figures 48b, 49a) for “the *wrb*-priest of Amun of Mn-ḥpr-Rēr (Tuthmosis III) in ... *Mntw*, repeating life.” The hieroglyphs are neatly incised and filled with blue pigment. William C. Hayes has very plausibly proposed that the preposition “in” was followed by the name of the king’s funerary temple Ḥnkt-cnḥ (\(\begin{align*}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}\end{align*}\)), but this scarcely fills half the lacuna,\(^{166}\) unless one assumes that the name was written more fully in the form \(\begin{align*}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}\end{align*}\), in which case a quadrant of space would still be left.\(^{167}\) It is, of course, possible—indeed likely—that the name is incomplete and that the first part of it might have occupied the remaining one or two quadrants. The bottom of a vertical stroke is traceable above the right end of \(\begin{align*}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}\end{align*}\) and this trace might belong to \(\begin{align*}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}\end{align*}\) yielding [Wrb]-*Mntw*. There are doubtless other possibilities, however,\(^{168}\) and the restoration of the owner’s name must therefore remain uncertain.

The title that precedes the name is likewise somewhat puzzling, quite apart from the problem of its restoration. Does it refer to a *wrb*-priest of Amun?

\(^{160}\) New York, 1935.

\(^{161}\) E. Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell’architetto Cha* (Turin [1927?]) p. 87.

\(^{162}\) MMA 12.181.222 (see note 91 above), 25.3.303-4, 28.9.9. Identified as birch by Dr. Elmer Merrill; see, however, note 164 below.

\(^{163}\) MMA 26.7.1443 (with inscription), length 44 cm., formerly in collections of Hood and Carnarvon; MMA 26.7.1444, length 34-5 cm.; for both, see Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922) p. 117 (2, 3).

\(^{164}\) The wood was identified as birch by Dr. Elmer Drew Merrill, Director of the Bronx Botanical Gardens, 1935, along with the other objects mentioned at the end of the preceding section. More recently, however, samples of 26.7.1443-4 have been submitted to R. C. Koeppen for microscopic examination and he reports that they are definitely *prunus*, while the bark (similar to that of birch) narrows down the species to the cherry group. The source was probably the highlands of Persia or Anatolia; although cherry trees are now cultivated in the Lebanon, they are not native to that region. For the problem of differentiating the bark of cherry and birch, see A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962) pp. 454-455.

\(^{165}\) See note 91 above.


\(^{167}\) Examples of this writing in G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique* (Geneva, 1908) nos. 129, 162, the second referring to one of the *wrb*-priests cited by Helck (preceding note).

\(^{168}\) For *Wrb*-*Mntw* see PN 1, p. 85 (18). This writing of *wrb* might not seem to be very common in the early Dyn. XVIII, but it occurs even earlier (PN 1, p. 85 [23]).

\(^{169}\) One such possibility is *Snrb-Mntw*, like the Dyn. XVIII name \(\begin{align*}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}\end{align*}\) (PN 1, p. 313 [3]).
FIGURE 48
Fragments of New Kingdom staves. MMA 26.7.1443–1444, 26.2.58.
who belongs to Tuthmosis III, or to a wrb-priest of the Amun who belongs to Tuthmosis III? Hayes adopts the latter alternative. There is much evidence for a distinct form of Amun in the various royal mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, but there does not seem to be any other case where the god is specified in this manner.  

The third staff (Figures 48c, 49b) is of dark wood inlaid with three rings of ivory. It is inscribed “to the spirit of the Scribe of the Workshops of the Great House (Life, Prosperity, Health!), Kny-Imn, justified.” Although it has previously been dated to the Tuthmoside Period, the use of the term hmww “workshops” suggests a later date, as does the namedeterminative ꜄ Ⲣ, which clearly points to the Ramesside Period, either Dynasty XIX or XX. In view of the introductory phrase “to the spirit of,” the inscription may have been added to the staff when it was decided to place it among the owner's burial equipment, but the hieroglyphs seem to be worn by use, or possibly by reuse in the hands of another person.

170. See Nelson, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 1 (1942) pp. 127-155; usually the god is called Amun of such-and-such a temple (p. 132).
171. MMA 26.2.58, length 54.5 cm.; it was bought in 1926 from a native of Luxor, who said it came from a tomb at Dra abu'l Negga.
174. J. Černý, A Community of Workmen ( Cairo, 1973) p. 192, note 2, seems to say it indicates Dyn. XX, but it is known earlier, temp. Ramesses II, in the Saqqara tomb of Ms (Charles Nicholson, Aegyptiaca [London, 1891] pls. 1-4 following p. 112; Anthes, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 9 [1940] pl. 17); see also the stela of Ḥr-m-ḥpt, W. Spiegelberg and B. Förner, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine I (Strasbourg, 1902) no. 32.

ABBREVIATIONS

Antefoker—N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Antefoker (London, 1920)
ASAE—Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (Cairo)
BM—British Museum
Cairo CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; numbers referring to Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire:

CG 1295–1808: L. Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I–II (Berlin-Cairo, 1937–64)
CG 24001–24990: G. Daresse, Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899) (Cairo, 1902)

Cairo J. + number—Journal d’entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo; unpublished unless otherwise noted

Caminos, LEM—R. A. Caminos, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (London, 1954)
Deir el Gebräwi—N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebräwi I–II (London, 1902)
Hassan, Giza—Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza I–X (Oxford-Cairo, 1952–60)
Hier. Texts—Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum I–IX (London, 1911–70)

ILN—Illustrated London News (London)
JEA—Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London)
Jequier, Frises—G. Jequier, Les Frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire (MIFAO 47 [Cairo, 1921])
Jequier, Tomb. part.—G. Jequier, Tombeaux de particuliers, contemporains de Pepi II (Cairo, 1929)
Medium—W. M. F. Petrie and others, Medium (London, 1892)
Menkheperrasenob—Nina and N. de G. Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperrasenob, Amenmosé, and Another (London, 1933)
Mereruka—Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, The Mastaba of Mereruka I–II (Chicago, 1938)

MIFAO—Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale (Cairo)
MMA—Metropolitan Museum of Art
Montet, Sceimes—P. Montet, Les Sceimes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire (Strasbourg, 1925)
Nefer-hotel—N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Nefert-hotep at Thebes I–II (New York, 1933)
PN—H. Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II (Glückstadt, 1935–52)
Pyrt—Pyramid Text reference, in terms of Sethe’s arrangement in Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte (Leipzig, 1908–22)
Rekh-mi-Rê—N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê at Thebes I–II (New York, 1943)
Royal Tombs I—W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty (London, 1900)
Royal Tombs II—W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties with volume of extra plates (London, 1901)

Stöcke und Stäbe—Ali Hassan, Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 33 [Munich-Berlin, 1976])
Ti—Le Tombeau de Ti I–III (MIFAO 65 [Cairo, 1939–66]):
I by L. Épryn, F. Daumas, G. Goyon, P. Montet; II and III by H. Wild

ADDENDA

Long after I had written the foregoing article, in April 1977, I came upon the remarks of Karl-J. Seyfried in Göttinger Miscellen 23 (1977) pp. 65–70, who similarly identifies the imyt-r staves. By the time I saw this, the excision of my own comments would have been difficult, particularly since they appear in the initial section. Furthermore, as is usual in such cases, my emphasis is somewhat different from his. I have therefore allowed this portion of my article to remain as it was initially written. It may be noted, however, that Seyfried suggests that the incomplete word mentioned in my note 8 is to be restored s(’qr) “straightened,” in which case the final sign would indeed belong to imyt.

To note 89 above, another example of a Middle Kingdom forked staff should be added: G. Steindorff, Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs I (Berlin, 1896) p. 46.