

MIDDLE KINGDOM BURIAL CUSTOMS.  
A STUDY OF WOODEN MODELS AND RELATED MATERIAL.  
Volume I.

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Angela Mary Johanne Tooley.

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## ABSTRACT.

### MIDDLE KINGDOM BURIAL CUSTOMS. A STUDY OF WOODEN MODELS AND RELATED MATERIAL.

by  
Angela Mary Johanne Tooley.

The aims of this study are to appreciate more fully the nature of Middle Kingdom culture and social structure through an examination of their burial customs, within the Nile valley, and to gain a better understanding of the purpose of objects placed within the tomb.

The study is limited to objects which can be said to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom; wooden models and related material in the form of offering-trays and "concubine" figures. In order to study regional trends in the types and forms of models, these have been arranged into a series of corpora. Excluded from the study are unprovenanced models which would obscure any regional patterns and comparative material from Nubia, which is not, strictly speaking, a part of Egyptian Nile valley culture.

Chapter One traces the development of the wooden model corpus from the Old Kingdom through to isolated items in the New Kingdom. Through this it has been possible to create a different corpus for each developmental point and to identify the zenith of model production in the late 11 to early 12 dynasties. The corpus can be demonstrated to decline rapidly during the reign of Senwosret II.

Chapters Two to Four deal in detail with model granaries, funerary and pilgrimage model boats, and model offering-bearers. Each model type can be demonstrated to exhibit regional trends in design. Model granaries of wood and terra-cotta have been shown to be the product of differing social rank, as well as of date. The model boats exhibit a clear chronological development, as well as regional preferences for hull design. Model offering-bearers are shown to evolve in function from Old Kingdom personifications of "estates" to household or estate servants in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.

Offering-trays and "soul-houses" have been shown in Chapter Five to exhibit highly localised forms between the limits of their Nile valley production at Aswan in the south to Giza in the north.

A re-interpretation of the so-called "concubine" figure category is presented in Chapter Six. The figures have been organised into types I to IV and shown to have a close association with the cult of Hathor as the *hnr/hnrwt* or ritual dancer.

The wooden model corpus is shown to come from a specific sector of Egyptian Middle Kingdom society; those holding titles and their dependents. The corpus is concentrated in the fertile and mineral rich region of Naga ed-Deir to Beni Hasan and has been shown to be an accurate indicator of rank, its purpose being a magical means of maintaining a high standard-of-living. The other model types, mostly in cheaper materials are found to belong largely to that part of the population without rank.

The study is based on unpublished fieldnotes, photographic archives, excavated material in museum collections and the available published reports.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| ABSTRACT.....   | i   |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS.....  | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....   | ix  |
| INTRODUCTION.....   | xi  |
| CHAPTER ONE: THE TOMB MODEL CORPUS.....                         | 1   |
| 1.1. INTRODUCTION.  |     |
| 1.2.1. PRECURSOR MODEL GROUPS: DYNs. 4 AND 5.                   |     |
| 1.2.2. SUMMARY.....   | 3   |
| 1.3.1. MODELS OF THE 6 DYN. AND POST 6 DYN. PERIOD.....         | 6   |
| 1.3.2. SUMMARY.....   | 14  |
| 1.4.1. THE EARLY FIP CORPUS: DYNs. 8 TO 9.....                  | 17  |
| 1.4.1.1. Gebelein.  |     |
| 1.4.1.2. Qubbet el-Hawa.  |     |
| 1.4.2. FIP TO EARLY MK MODELS: DYNs. 9/10 TO 11.....            | 18  |
| 1.4.2.1. Sedment.....   | 20  |
| 1.4.2.2. Beni Hasan.....  | 21  |
| - 1.4.2.3. el-Tarif.....  | 22  |
| 1.4.2.4. Sheikh Farag.....                                      | 23  |
| 1.4.2.5. Mostagedda.  |     |
| 1.4.2.6. Hawawish.  |     |
| 1.4.2.7. Asyut.   |     |
| 1.4.2.8. Sheikh Ibada.....                                      | 24  |
| 1.4.2.9. Dendera.   |     |
| 1.4.2.10. Abydos.....   | 25  |
| 1.4.2.11. Saqqara.  |     |
| 1.4.2.12. Harageh.....  | 27  |
| 1.4.2.13. Abusir.   |     |
| 1.4.3. SUMMARY.....   | 28  |
| - 1.5.1. THE MK CORPUS: DYNs. 11 AND 12 UP TO SENWOSRET II..... | 30  |
| 1.5.1.1. Qubbet el-Hawa.....                                    | 31  |
| 1.5.1.2. Gebelein.  |     |
| 1.5.1.3. Thebes.....  | 32  |
| 1.5.1.4. Naga ed-Deir/Sheikh Farag.....                         | 34  |
| 1.5.1.5. Asyut.....   | 35  |
| 1.5.1.6. Meir.....  | 38  |
| 1.5.1.7. Bershah.....   | 40  |
| 1.5.1.8. Sheikh Ibada.....                                      | 43  |
| 1.5.1.9. Beni Hasan.  |     |
| 1.5.1.10. Sedment.....  | 49  |
| 1.5.1.11. Harageh.....  | 51  |
| • 1.5.1.12. Lahun (Illahun).                                    |     |
| 1.5.1.13. Riqqeh.....   | 52  |
| • 1.5.1.14. Lisht.  |     |
| 1.5.1.15. Saqqara.....  | 54  |
| 1.5.1.16. Abusir.....   | 58  |
| 1.5.2. SUMMARY.....   | 59  |
| - 1.6.1. THE LATE MK CORPUS: SENWOSRET II TO SIP.....           | 63  |
| 1.6.1.1. Thebes.  |     |
| 1.6.1.2. Qau el-Kebir.  |     |
| 1.6.1.3. Akhmim/Hawawish.....                                   | 64  |
| 1.6.1.4. Rifeh  |     |

|  |  |     |
|--|--|-----|
| 1.6.1.5.   | Bershah.....   | 64  |
| 1.6.1.6.   | Beni Hasan.....                                      | 65  |
| 1.6.1.7.   | Dahshur.....   | 66  |
| 1.6.1.8.   | Asasif.  |     |
| 1.6.2.   | SUMMARY.   |     |
| 1.7.   | REGIONAL TRENDS.....                                 | 68  |
| 1.8.1.   | DISPOSITION OF MODELS.....                           | 76  |
| 1.8.2.   | SUMMARY.....   | 81  |
| 1.9.   | SHABTI FIGURES.....                                  | 84  |
| 1.10.  | IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN MODEL SCENES.       |     |
| 1.11.  | MODELS OF OTHER MATERIALS.....                       | 86  |
| CHAPTER TWO: MODEL GRANARIES AND RELATED STRUCTURES..... |  | 89  |
| 2.1.   | INTRODUCTION.  |     |
| 2.2.1.   | REPRESENTATIONS OF OK GRANARIES.                     |     |
| 2.2.2.   | REPRESENTATIONS OF FIP GRANARIES.                    |     |
| 2.2.3.   | REPRESENTATIONS OF MK GRANARIES.....                 | 90  |
| 2.3.   | ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF GRANARIES.....            | 92  |
| 2.4.   | THE BEGINNINGS OF MODEL GRANARIES.....               | 93  |
| 2.5.   | SURVEY OF WOODEN MODEL GRANARIES.....                | 95  |
| 2.5.1.   | Qubbet el-Hawa.                                      |     |
| 2.5.2.   | Gebelein.  |     |
| 2.5.3.   | Deir el-Bahri.....                                   | 96  |
| 2.5.4.   | Sheikh abd el-Qurneh.....                            | 98  |
| 2.5.5.   | Asyut.   |     |
| 2.5.6.   | Meir.....  | 100 |
| 2.5.7.   | Bershah.....   | 101 |
| 2.5.8.   | Sheikh Ibada.  |     |
| 2.5.9.   | Beni Hasan.....                                      | 102 |
| 2.5.10.  | Sedment.....   | 107 |
| 2.5.11.  | Lisht.....   | 109 |
| 2.5.12.  | Saqqara.   |     |
| 2.5.13.  | Abusir.....  | 110 |
| 2.6.   | SUMMARY.....   | 111 |
| 2.7.   | GRANARIES WITH DIFFERENT STRUCTURAL DETAILS.....     | 114 |
| 2.8.1.   | TERRA-COTTA GRANARIES.....                           | 116 |
| 2.8.2.   | POTTERY DOME SILOS.....                              | 118 |
| 2.8.2.1.   | Esna.....  | 119 |
| 2.8.2.2.   | Gebelein.  |     |
| 2.8.2.3.   | el-Tarif.  |     |
| 2.8.2.4.   | Ballas.....  | 120 |
| 2.8.2.5.   | Hu.  |     |
| 2.8.2.6.   | Abydos.  |     |
| 2.8.2.7.   | Asyut.....   | 121 |
| 2.8.2.8.   | Beni Hasan.  |     |
| 2.9.   | DISTRIBUTION.  |     |
| 2.10.  | THE PURPOSE OF DOME OR BEEHIVE POTS.....             | 122 |
| 2.11.  | DEVELOPMENT OF MODEL GRANARIES.                      |     |
| 2.12.  | REGIONAL TRENDS.....                                 | 123 |
| 2.13.  | DISPOSITION.....                                     | 126 |
| CHAPTER THREE: MODEL PILGRIMAGE AND FUNERARY BOATS.....  |  | 129 |
| 3.1.   | INTRODUCTION.  |     |
| 3.2.   | TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FUNERAL BOAT. |     |
| 3.3.   | MODEL FUNERAL BOATS.....                             | 134 |
| 3.3.1.   | OK MODEL BOATS (TYPES IV AND V).....                 | 135 |
| 3.3.2.   | FIP MODEL BOATS (TYPES IV AND V).....                | 136 |

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| 3.3.3.   | MK MODEL BOATS.....   | 136 |
| 3.3.3.1.   | TYPE V BOATS.   |     |
| 3.3.3.2.   | TYPE II BOATS.....  | 139 |
| 3.3.4.   | FUNERAL CORTEGE BOATS: CONCLUSIONS.....                           | 141 |
| 3.4.   | TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PILGRIMAGE BOATS.....          | 142 |
| 3.5.   | MODEL PILGRIMAGE BOATS.....                                       | 145 |
| 3.5.1.   | OK AND POST 6 DYN. MODEL BOATS (TYPE IV).....                     | 146 |
| 3.5.2.   | FIP MODEL BOATS (TYPE IV).  |     |
| 3.5.3.   | MK MODEL BOATS.....   | 148 |
| 3.5.3.1.   | TYPE II BOATS.....  | 149 |
| 3.5.3.2.   | TYPE IV BOATS.....  | 157 |
| 3.5.3.3.   | TYPE V BOATS.....   | 160 |
| 3.6.   | PILGRIMAGE BOATS: CONCLUSIONS.....                                | 164 |
| 3.7.   | SUMMARY.....  | 166 |
| 3.8.   | MUMMIFORM FIGURES ON BOATS.....                                   | 168 |
| 3.9.   | THE DATING OF MODEL BOATS BY HUL FORM.....                        | 169 |
| 3.10.  | DISPOSITION.....  | 170 |
| 3.11.  | THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BOATS IN THE MODEL CORPUS.....                | 173 |
| 3.12.  | THE MODEL OAR OR RUDDER.  |     |
| CHAPTER FOUR: OFFERING-BEARERS AND SERVANTS BRINGING SUPPLIES..... |   | 175 |
| 4.1.   | INTRODUCTION.   |     |
| 4.2.   | ORIGINS OF FUNCTION. TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS.             |     |
| 4.3.1.   | OK REPRESENTATIONS: DYNS. 5 AND 6.....                            | 177 |
| 4.3.2.   | POST 6 DYN. REPRESENTATIONS.                                      |     |
| 4.3.3.   | FIP AND MK REPRESENTATIONS: DYNS. 8/9 TO 12.....                  | 178 |
| 4.3.4.   | LATER REPRESENTATIONS.....  | 180 |
| 4.4.   | TEXTS FROM SCENES.....  | 181 |
| 4.5.1.   | MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS: OK TO EARLY FIP (8/9 DYNS.).....          | 182 |
| 4.5.1.1.   | Gebelein.   |     |
| 4.5.1.2.   | Asyut.....  | 183 |
| 4.5.1.3.   | Meir.   |     |
| 4.5.1.4.   | Sedment.....  | 185 |
| 4.5.1.5.   | Dahshur.  |     |
| 4.5.1.6.   | Saqqara.....  | 186 |
| 4.5.1.7.   | Giza.   |     |
| 4.5.2.   | MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS: LATE FIP TO MK<br>(9/10 TO 12 DYNS.)..... | 187 |
| 4.5.2.1.   | Qubbet el-Hawa.   |     |
| 4.5.2.2.   | Mo'alla.....  | 188 |
| 4.5.2.3.   | Gebelein.....   | 189 |
| 4.5.2.4.   | Sheikh abd el-Qurneh.   |     |
| 4.5.2.5.   | Deir el-Bahri.....  | 191 |
| 4.5.2.6.   | Asasif.....   | 193 |
| 4.5.2.7.   | el-Tarif.....   | 194 |
| 4.5.2.8.   | Luxor/Thebes.   |     |
| 4.5.2.9.   | Naga ed-Deir.....   | 195 |
| 4.5.2.10.  | Akhmim/Hawawish.....  | 196 |
| 4.5.2.11.  | Rifeh.....  | 197 |
| 4.5.2.12.  | Asyut.....  | 198 |
| 4.5.2.13.  | Meir.....   | 203 |
| 4.5.2.14.  | Bershah.....  | 204 |
| 4.5.2.15.  | Sheikh Ibada.....   | 207 |
| 4.5.2.16.  | Beni Hasan.....   | 208 |
| 4.5.2.17.  | Sedment.....  | 215 |
| 4.5.2.18.  | Lahun.....  | 221 |
| 4.5.2.19.  | Lisht south.  |     |

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 4.5.2.20.   | Dahshur.....                                  | 222 |
| 4.5.2.21.   | Saqqara.                                      |     |
| 4.5.2.22.   | Abusir.....                                   | 225 |
| 4.6.  | REGIONAL TRENDS.                              |     |
| 4.6.1.  | Gebelein.....                                 | 226 |
| 4.6.2.  | Theban region.                                |     |
| 4.6.3.  | Akhmim/Hawawish.....                          | 229 |
| 4.6.4.  | Asyut.  |     |
| 4.6.5.  | Meir/Bershah region.....                      | 231 |
| 4.6.6.  | Beni Hasan.....                               | 233 |
| 4.6.7.  | Sedment.....                                  | 235 |
| 4.6.8.  | Saqqara.....                                  | 236 |
| 4.7.  | DATING OFFERING-BEARER MODELS.....            | 238 |
| 4.8.  | DISPOSITION.....                              | 243 |
| 4.9.  | INSCRIPTIONS FROM MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS..... | 245 |
| 4.10.   | THE BENI HASAN POTTERY STANDS.....            | 246 |
| CHAPTER FIVE: OFFERING-TRAYS, "SOUL-HOUSES" AND RELATED MATERIAL... |   | 249 |
| 5.1.  | INTRODUCTION.                                 |     |
| 5.2.  | CHRONOLOGY.....                               | 250 |
| 5.3.  | MORPHOLOGY.....                               | 253 |
| 5.4.  | THE SURVEY.....                               | 254 |
| 5.4.1.  | Qubbet el-Hawa.                               |     |
| 5.4.2.  | Elephantine.                                  |     |
| 5.4.3.  | Edfu.....                                     | 255 |
| 5.4.4.  | Hierakonpolis.....                            | 257 |
| 5.4.5.  | Elkab.  |     |
| 5.4.6.  | Esna.....                                     | 261 |
| 5.4.7.  | Rizeikat.....                                 | 263 |
| 5.4.8.  | Gebelein.....                                 | 264 |
| 5.4.9.  | Salamieh.....                                 | 265 |
| 5.4.10.   | Armant.....                                   | 266 |
| 5.4.11.   | Theban necropolis.....                        | 268 |
|   | A. Ramesseum tombs.                           |     |
|   | B. Deir el-Bahri.                             |     |
|   | C. Asasif.....                                | 269 |
|   | D. el-Tarif.                                  |     |
|   | E. Dra abu el-Naga.....                       | 271 |
|   | F. Thebes.....                                | 272 |
| 5.4.12.   | Ballas.                                       |     |
| 5.4.13.   | Dendera.....                                  | 273 |
| 5.4.14.   | Hu.....                                       | 276 |
| 5.4.15.   | Mostagedda.....                               | 277 |
| 5.4.16.   | Matmar.                                       |     |
| 5.4.17.   | Abydos.....                                   | 278 |
| 5.4.18.   | el-Minsha.....                                | 280 |
| 5.4.19.   | Rifeh.  |     |
| 5.4.20.   | Asyut.....                                    | 285 |
| 5.4.21.   | Meir.....                                     | 288 |
| 5.4.22.   | Bershah.                                      |     |
| 5.4.23.   | Beni Hasan.....                               | 289 |
| 5.4.24.   | Sedment.....                                  | 290 |
| 5.4.25.   | Harageh.....                                  | 291 |
| 5.4.26.   | Kahun/Lahun.....                              | 292 |
| 5.4.27.   | Giza.   |     |
| 5.4.28.   | SUMMARY.....                                  | 293 |
| 5.5.  | DATING.....                                   | 298 |

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| 5.6.   | SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION.....                    | 299 |
| 5.7.   | REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION.....                  | 300 |
| 5.8.   | DISPOSITION.....                            | 301 |
| 5.9.   | MODEL FOOD OF OTHER MATERIALS.....          | 303 |
| 5.10.  | COFFIN TEXT REFERENCES.....                 | 304 |
| CHAPTER SIX: "CONCUBINE" FIGURES IN MORTUARY CONTEXTS..... |   | 305 |
| 6.1.   | INTRODUCTION.                               |     |
| 6.2.   | TYPE I FIGURES: "PADDLE-DOLLS".....         | 307 |
| 6.2.1.   | DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.             |     |
| 6.2.2.   | DISTRIBUTION.....                           | 311 |
| 6.2.3.   | DATING.....                                 | 313 |
| 6.3.   | TYPE II FIGURES.....                        | 314 |
| 6.3.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.3.2.   | INTERPRETATION.....                         | 317 |
| 6.3.3.   | DISTRIBUTION.....                           | 318 |
| 6.3.4.   | DATING.                                     |     |
| 6.4.   | TYPE III FIGURES: "DEIR EL-BAHRI" TYPE..... | 319 |
| 6.4.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.4.2.   | TYPE IIIa FIGURES.....                      | 321 |
| 6.4.2.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.4.2.2.   | INTERPRETATION.....                         | 322 |
| 6.4.2.3.   | DISTRIBUTION.....                           | 325 |
| 6.4.2.4.   | DATING.....                                 | 326 |
| 6.4.3.   | TYPE IIIb FIGURES.....                      | 328 |
| 6.4.3.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.4.3.2.   | INTERPRETATION.....                         | 329 |
| 6.4.3.3.   | DISTRIBUTION.....                           | 331 |
| 6.4.3.4.   | DATING.....                                 | 332 |
| 6.4.4.   | TYPE IIIc FIGURES.....                      | 333 |
| 6.4.4.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.4.4.2.   | INTERPRETATION.....                         | 335 |
| 6.4.4.3.   | DISTRIBUTION.....                           | 336 |
| 6.4.4.4.   | DATING.....                                 | 337 |
| 6.4.5.   | TYPE IIId FIGURES.....                      | 338 |
| 6.4.5.1.   | DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.             |     |
| 6.4.5.2.   | DATING.....                                 | 340 |
| 6.5.   | TYPE IV FIGURES: "EDFU" TYPE.               |     |
| 6.5.1.   | DESCRIPTION.                                |     |
| 6.5.2.   | TYPE IVa FIGURES.....                       | 341 |
| 6.5.2.1.   | DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.             |     |
| 6.5.2.2.   | DISTRIBUTION.                               |     |
| 6.5.3.   | TYPE IVb FIGURES.....                       | 343 |
| 6.5.3.1.   | DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.             |     |
| 6.5.3.2.   | DISTRIBUTION.                               |     |
| 6.5.3.3.   | DATING.....                                 | 345 |
| 6.5.4.   | SUMMARY.....                                | 347 |
| 6.6.   | REGIONAL VARIANTS.....                      | 349 |
| 6.6.1.   | LOCALISED "CONCUBINE" FIGURES WITH BABIES.  |     |
| 6.6.1.1.   | Dendera.                                    |     |
| 6.6.1.2.   | Abydos.                                     |     |
| 6.6.1.3.   | Asyut.....                                  | 351 |
| 6.6.1.4.   | Beni Hasan.                                 |     |
| 6.6.1.5.   | Lisht.....                                  | 352 |
| 6.6.2.   | LOCALISED "CONCUBINE" FIGURES.....          | 353 |
| 6.6.2.1.   | Abydos.                                     |     |
| 6.6.2.2.   | Rifeh.....                                  | 354 |

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| 6.6.2.3.   | Harageh.....                                  | 354 |
| 6.6.2.4.   | Riqqeh.                                       |     |
| 6.6.3.   | THE BENI HASAN OFFERING STANDS.....           | 355 |
| 6.7.   | MALE FIGURES.....                             | 357 |
| 6.8.   | MALE FIGURES ON OFFERING STANDS.....          | 359 |
| 6.9.   | SUMMARY.....                                  | 361 |
| 6.10.  | SEX OF OWNERSHIP.....                         | 362 |
| 6.11.  | DISPOSITION.....                              | 363 |
| 6.12.  | RELATED COFFIN TEXTS.                         |     |
| 6.13.  | CONCLUSIONS.....                              | 365 |
| CHAPTER SEVEN: MIDDLE KINGDOM BURIAL CUSTOMS. CONCLUSIONS..... |   | 369 |
| 7.1.   | DAILY LIFE AND MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BURIAL GOODS. |     |
| 7.2.   | SOCIAL RANK.....                              | 373 |
| 7.3.   | STANDARD-OF-LIVING INDICATORS.....            | 376 |
| 7.4.   | EXPECTATIONS OF THE AFTERLIFE.....            | 378 |
| 7.5.   | ACQUISITION OF THE MORTUARY ASSEMBLAGE.....   | 380 |
| 7.6.   | REGIONAL WEALTH.....                          | 382 |
| 7.7.   | REGIONAL CUSTOMS.....                         | 384 |
| ABBREVIATIONS.....   |   | 387 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY.....  |   | 389 |

VOLUME II.

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| CONCORDANCE.....    | 415 |
| LIST OF PLATES..... | 431 |
| PLATES.             |     |



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## INTRODUCTION.

The inspiration for this study came from John Garstang's Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt (1907), the site report of the MK necropolis of Beni Hasan, excavated by Garstang and his assistant, Harold Jones from 1902 to 1904. When originally conceived, the thesis title was envisaged as encompassing MK burial customs in all its aspects, taking Burial Customs as a starting point and furthering it by the inclusion of all MK cemeteries in order to gain a true impression of culture and society, and not one limited to a single site or social class.

It rapidly became obvious that such an undertaking was too broad a topic to be completed with any degree of coherence by a single scholar in one study. It was then decided to narrow the scope of the study to mortuary material which can be said to be particularly characteristic of the MK period. This material comprises wooden models and their related objects, the terra-cotta offering-trays and "concubine" figures.

The aims of the study were to determine whether it was possible to isolate regional trends in burial customs and whether, if this were successful, it told us anything about culture and social organisation in MK Egypt. By arranging the models into a series of corpora it has been possible to detect the chronological development of the model corpus (Chapter One), specific regional preferences in the design of model granaries (Chapter Two), model funerary and pilgrimage boats (Chapter Three), model offering-bearers (Chapter Four), terra-cotta offering-trays and "soul-houses" (Chapter Five) and "concubine" figures (Chapter Six). It has been possible through the corpora to determine the regional and social distribution of the model owning classes (Chapter Seven).

The study has been limited to material which is provenanced within the Nile valley, thus excluding the large amount of unprovenanced models and comparative material from the Nubian sites. These constraints were deemed necessary in order to be able create model corpora which showed regional characteristics, which would otherwise be obscured by models of uncertain or unknown provenance. Similarly it was decided that sufficient provenanced material existed inside the Nile valley without the inclusion of comparative material from the peripheral Nubian sites. However, where unprovenanced and Nubian material could be demonstrated to contribute to the interpretation of object function, or where a strong enough resemblance to firmly provenanced material indicates a likely site/region of origin for a particular item, these have been included.

Where possible, firsthand sources have been consulted. These include unpublished fieldnotes and reports, such as those of Carter (Meir) in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, Hogarth (Asyut) in the British Museum, Petrie (Sedment, Harageh, Rifeh, etc.) in the Petrie Museum, University College London. Unfortunately, none survive for Garstang's Beni Hasan excavations. These sources, whilst being invaluable, are of limited use to the modern scholar largely because the excavations they detail took place early this century when modern techniques of recording were still in their infancy. Lacking from these documents are accurate descriptions of the tomb architecture, the *composition* of the burial goods and their distribution within the tomb, along with plans and photographs which makes up modern methodology. Other records, such as those of Schiaparelli (Asyut and Gebelein) in the Museo Egizio, Turin which may have shed light on those important sites, were not available for study, as were those held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York for the sites of

Thebes and Lisht.

Few museums contain excavated material in any quantity, with the exceptions of Cairo, Boston and New York. Many museums visited in Britain have contained quantities of models from British conducted excavations, particularly those of Garstang, Petrie and Quibell. Much material is however, provenanced only from sale catalogue entries and on the word of antiquities dealers. Thus pieces, which closely resemble work from a particular regional atelier may be provenanced otherwise. Through the generosity of the British Academy it has been possible to visit the Egyptian Museum, Cairo and the major European collections. It was not however, feasible to visit the USA. Through the generosity of the American museums it has been possible to study some of Reisner's site photographs (Naga ed-Deir) on loan from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (courtesy of Dr. E. Brovarski) and of particular objects held in the USA.

Where it has not been possible to trace objects from publications, those published sources have been relied upon heavily. However, as is the case with the fieldnotes, most MK cemeteries were excavated in the latter part of the last and early part of this century. The published reports are therefore, usually lacking in details and illustrations of models, which are simply recorded as being present.

There has been a notable lack in any overall synthesis of MK burial customs in general and of models in particular since Garstang's work. Yet even this publication, admirable for its time and far outstripping Petrie's reports for details and illustrations, is of limited use. Its title is somewhat misleading in that it deals only with the site of Beni Hasan and only with a particular social class from a select few intact tomb groups. Garstang does not make any serious attempt to date his material, either by palaeography, pottery or the

mortuary assemblage. The text itself contains inconsistencies, such as the site map which contains duplicate tomb numbers, making any coherent cluster analysis virtually impossible. Through trying to trace all of the Beni Hasan material which was sent to museums throughout the British Isles, the Americas, Africa, the Aegean, Europe, Australia and New Zealand it has become apparent that a large body of material exists which is not recorded in Burial Customs, in the form of coffin boards, objects and pottery marked in Garstang's distinctive thick nibbed black ink. Yet despite this, his work stands out from the mass of published MK cemeteries.

Garstang's photographic archive of original glass negatives survives intact in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. The photographs were taken as the tombs were being cleared and go some way to rectifying the inadequacies of the published report. The archive consists of a series of photographs depicting, for the most part, deposits as they were found, before removal from the tombs. This provides an invaluable tool not only for the regional model corpus at Beni Hasan, but for determining the orientation and disposition of the models in relation to the other burial goods, details which otherwise go unmarked in the text and tomb register. The remaining photographs are of particular groups of objects, used as illustrations in Burial Customs and of reconstructed intact groups once removed from the confines of the shaft tombs.

Other attempts at the model corpus include include J. H. Breasted Jnr.'s Egyptian Servant Statues (1948), a study of model types including "concubine" figures. Its scope is rather limited and models are often misdated, due no doubt to a reliance on old site reports and dating criteria, without the benefits of modern palaeographic and ceramic studies. This criticism may also be made of Vandier's pioneer-

ing work on offering-bearer figures (see p. 238f).

Sites which have yielded models include Gebelein, Mo'alla, Bershah, Naga ed-Deir, Meir, Asyut, Thebes, Rifeh, Qubbet el-Hawa and Sedment. With the possible exception of Asyut, all are inadequately published. Information derived from these reports is necessarily of a limited nature, none approaching the detail achieved by Garstang. Comparative early 12 dyn. material from the Fayoum cemeteries is also poorly published. The reports of the Delta sites do not make it clear whether the information imparted is selective; whether wooden models or fragments have been found, whether these have simply not survived the damp conditions and sebbakhin digging, or whether there is a clearly defined difference in the Delta culture.

The corpus approach adopted here is one used with effect by recent scholars, *each study contributing* another piece to the jigsaw of our perception of MK culture. Such studies include those of Lilyquist (mirrors), Schneider (shabtis), Hassan (sticks and staves), Niwinski (offering-trays and "soul-houses") and to some extent, Spanel (boat models). The corpus approach is one which allows the study of a limited range of material, though this present study is somewhat larger than most. One of the most important recent corpus studies has been that of Dorothea Arnold in the field of MK ceramics as a result of excavations at Thebes, Dahshur and Lisht. When completed, it is hoped that Dr. Arnold's work will make available a reliable dating tool for other scholars of the MK.

A difficulty encountered in this study has been the interpretation of material where the Egyptians themselves provided little explanation. Few texts survive to indicate the purpose of any of the model types. Scattered references are made in the Coffin Texts which may relate to some model types, in particular to the assembling of a

household (model houses, "soul-houses", "concubine" figures and food producing models in general), the use in the later 12 dyn. of the shabti figure and the travelling by boat. The Object Friezes on coffins are not helpful for model purposes other than those illustrations depicting model implements. It is possible that some magico-medical spells may relate to one model type, the "concubine" figure in the form of a clay dwarf (Gardiner 1915, 266. Papyrus Leiden 348 recto 12.6). This lack of written evidence has been overcome in part by taking account of the cemetery type any given model was found in, the status or rank of its owner and any similarities with contemporary tomb scenes. In this way explanations may be found, for instance, for the differing structure of wooden and terra-cotta granary models, and why they should be found in burials of differing social rank. Relative date may hamper the interpretation of certain models, particularly the offering-bearer, in the OK representing royal and private estates, which developed during the FIP to MK into estate or household servants. Social rank may pose interpretational problems for the function of offering-trays, mirrors, jewellery, etc. This latter object type undoubtedly in peasant graves, represents the jewellery worn in life, but how should one interpret jewellery manufactured specifically for the tomb? Some textual material may be helpful for interpretation. In particular, textual material has aided the understanding of "concubine" figures, which in past years have been misnamed and misinterpreted through Western preconceptions of what a harim existed for and what it comprised.

The study presented here is intended as a basic corpus for models in general, and for granaries, funerary boats, offering-bearers, offering-trays and "concubine" figures in particular. As such it is not intended to be exhaustive, as the exclusion of unprovenanced and



Nubian material implies. There is no attempt at material analysis, such as pottery, stone and wood types employed in the manufacture of the models. Similarly, the dates posited here are intended as a general guide.

The time span considered here to represent the MK covers the 9/10 dyns., otherwise known as the Herakleopolitan FIP, here termed the late FIP and early MK. The end of the MK is placed in the 13 dyn., otherwise considered to be the early SIP. There is a definite cultural continuity from the 9/10 dyns. through to the 13 dyn., thus the MK is here expressed in terms of that cultural continuity, rather than as a succession of dynastic ruling houses. It has been necessary, to illustrate the development of the model corpus to refer to OK, post 6 dyn. and early FIP material. Post 6 dyn. is here taken to mean the period immediately following the close of Pepy II's reign up to the 8 dyn. The early FIP is represented by dyns. 8 and 9. It has been deemed necessary to create these divisions because they mark developmental points in the model corpus. The cut-off point of the MK towards the end of the 13 dyn. is marked by a clear cultural horizon in the SIP. The organisation of the study into 6 major chapters deals with this cultural continuity in detail.

Steps towards a greater understanding of that culture and its burial customs have been made in the corpus studies cited above. Further corpus studies, on objects such as coffins, head-rests and the model or dummy items not studied here are needed to widen our appreciation. Publication of corpus studies, particularly of those in ceramics would make information more easily available to scholars in other fields. Sites which have been excavated and re-examined, such as Thebes, Dahshur and Lisht would benefit from a full study of the *private* burials (for Dahshur such study and publication is as yet not

envisaged). Sites which have been poorly or incompletely excavated such as Mo'alla, Gebelein, Kom Ombo, Edfu and Meir would bear further excavation under modern techniques. Other sites which were cleared more recently, such as Bershah and Naga ed-Deir, and which preserve detailed and scientific fieldnotes, plans and a photographic archive as well as a traceable proportion of the excavated material could contribute enormously to our understanding of the role of the provinces in MK society through a thorough re-examination of those records, even where these are of limited nature, and their subsequent publication.

The types of tombs referred to in this study are rock-cut, which may be large and decorated like those of the nomarchs and high officials, or small, plain and relatively modest excavations, such as those found at Asyut. Shaft tombs have rectangular or square shafts with one or more chambers opening off the shaft near its base. Pit tombs are relatively deep depressions similar to shafts, but without burial chambers. Brick-vaulted tombs are constructions in brick forming a lining and vaulted roof within an excavated pit. These tombs are most commonly entered via a shaft at one end, but may also have a sloping passage or stairway. Trench graves are those which are shallow rectangular pits deep enough only to take a simple burial which may or may not be in a wooden coffin.

Relatively few tombs preserve a superstructure, but where these are recorded they usually take the form of a mastaba. Internal cemetery organisation follows a set pattern which deviates only in minor details, usually as the result of topography. Where sites contain high status burials (the nome capitals), these are situated on the upper terraces of cliff faces in the finer quality stone which best facilitates rock-cut decorated tombs. Interspersed with these or

placed a little lower in the cliff face are found smaller undecorated tombs, which may be seen at sites like Qubbet el-Hawa, Bershah, Meir, Asyut and Beni Hasan. Situated in the foothills and clustering close to the high ranking tombs are the shaft tombs or modest rock-cut niche tombs of low rank and of dependents. The former arrangement is best illustrated by the necropolis of Beni Hasan, whilst the latter are found at Asyut, where such tombs abound. The lower foothills and plain at the foot of the cliffs were utilised for the modest and usually anepigraphic burials of the populace in trench graves and pit tombs, these too clustering around those of higher rank.

Some sites however, do not lend themselves to such an organisation. Such a site is Abydos where status serves as no distinction since the object was to be buried as close to the Terrace of the Great God as possible. At Mostagedda and Matmar not only is the topography unsuited to cluster organisation, but the social spectrum represented would appear to be relatively homogeneous in its poverty. To an extent the same may be said of Sedment where the burials of the MK reflect no status clustering, but the populace appears to have had the same means as those buried in the shaft tombs at Bershah, Meir and Beni Hasan, without similar rank.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE TOMB MODEL CORPUS

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION.

Consideration of models as a subject in their own right is not a new one. Approached several times in the past (Borchardt 1897, 119-134; Breasted 1948; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 44, 81-104) and more recently (Eggebrecht 1975<sup>c</sup>, 1080-3; Vandier 1978, 6ff; Wildung 1984, 109-121) no overall synthesis has yet appeared. The main reason for this is because the study of model types and groups as a whole has not been undertaken. Instead, authors have chosen to specialise in one particular type of model, the most popular type being model boats.

This study undertakes to set out the types of models found, their development chronologically from the OK and FIP through to the end of the MK, their distribution and regional characteristics. This chapter will deal with models in general and is followed by separate chapters devoted to those model types which display recognisable regional features which are treated more fully; granaries, boats and offering-bearers (Chapters Two, Three and Four).

Criteria for dating used in this study are those expounded by Bennett (1941, 77-82), Smither (1939, 34-7) and Barta (1968, 43-71) for the *h<sub>1</sub>tp-di<sup>2</sup>-nsw* formula, and by Arnold (1968<sup>c</sup>, 38-67; 1972<sup>b</sup>, 33-46; 1977<sup>c</sup>, 21-6; 1982<sup>b</sup>, 25-65; 1988, 106-146) and Bourriau (1981, 53-71; 1988, 133-6) for pottery. Where possible more than one criterion has been used.

#### 1.2.1. PRECURSOR MODEL GROUPS: DYNS. 4 AND 5.

The earliest known servant models or statuettes are from the 4 dyn. tomb at Giza of *Mr.s-cnh* III (Stevenson-Smith 1949, 44; Reisner 1937, 64-79; Dunham 1974, 23, XVIIa-d). Three figures and fragments of

others were found, all of limestone, depicting individuals engaged in food producing activities; a flour sifter (BMFA 30.1458. Breasted 1948, 25), a butcher (BMFA 30.1462. Breasted 1948, 35, pl.32d) and a beer washer. Other similar statuettes of 4 dyn. date are known from the Giza necropolis (Breasted 1948, 26, 30, pl.29b).

Limestone servant statuettes are characteristic of the 5 dyn. where they are found both at Giza and Saqqara (CG 108-118. Borchardt 1911, 84-91). During this period the figures were placed in the serdab of the mastaba chapel with wooden statues of the tomb owner such as those of Mitri (Firth 1926b, 101, IVA, V) and of *Mt̄t̄i* at Saqqara (Bothmer 1948, 30; Kaplony 1976, 55-68). The servant figures have been found in small and large groups such as the Giza tomb D39/40 of Zasha, a collection of 16 servants and 4 figures of the tomb owner (Breasted 1948, 10, 25, 42, 45; Porter and Moss 1974 111-112). A larger still group purchased from the Cairo dealer N. Tano in 1920 was said to come from the Giza tomb of *Ny-k3w-ḥnpw* (Breasted 1948, 2-3), comprising some 26 or more statuettes. The activities these statuettes represent are predominantly those involved in the processing of grains into flour, bread and beer.

Towards the end of the 5 dyn. a trend towards the favouring of wood as a medium for servant figures and models is detectable. Tomb D63 at Saqqara of *Ḥt̄t̄i/cnh-ḥr.s* was found to contain in the serdab of chamber B, 2 limestone servant statuettes, several wooden boats with their equipment and planks of wood described as boards on which were modelled "victuailles" (Mariette 1889, 357-9, 359; Breasted 1948, 74). The tomb has been dated late 5 to early 6 dyn. (Strudwick 1985, 68 no. 21, 219). It is tempting to see in these planks of "victuailles" the forerunner to the MK models on plank bases. Certainly the tomb contained the earliest examples of wooden boat models.

Another Saqqara tomb, 240 of *K3-m-snw*, may be contemporary (cf. Strudwick 1985, 149-150 no.144). This mastaba with a mud-brick built serdab contained wooden statues of the tomb owner, whilst at the mouth of the shaft were several wooden boats (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 31-3). The group however, did not contain any limestone servant statuettes.

### 1.2.2. SUMMARY.

The model repertoire of the 4 and 5 dyn. period is relatively restricted in its scope. All servant figures are of limestone, often painted and sometimes inscribed. Table 1 (below) gives the model types found, with their frequency. Numbers refer to models with a known provenance only (Saqqara and Giza).

TABLE 1: 4 AND 5 DYN. MODELS

| Model type                | Frequency |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Miller with a quern       | 20        |
| Boat                      | 14        |
| (type I                   | 6)        |
| (type III/IV              | 4)        |
| (type "Sahure"            | 1)        |
| (type unknown             | 3)        |
| Baker-Cook forming loaves | 9         |
| Brewer mashing beer       | 8         |
| Flour sifter              | 4         |
| Jar cleaner               | 4         |
| Oven stoker               | 3         |
| Duck roaster              | 3         |
| Butcher                   | 2         |
| Granary                   | 2         |
| Male porter               | 1         |

During the OK model servants were introduced into the serdabs of mastaba tombs with the statues of the tomb owner. The single figures are rarely well made, usually being slightly out of proportion and coarsely finished. The bases may occasionally carry a dedicatory text. Tombs usually contained 1 or 2 servant figures, although large numbers

are not unknown. The activities depicted are those concerned with the production of the staple diet, which also form the offerings left at the tomb, namely bread and beer (henceforth termed staple diet models). The most frequently occurring models, besides boats (see below) are female millers, rarely male, depicted kneeling over a quern pushing with both hands on a grind stone. Often the hair is covered by a white headcloth when the hair is shoulder length, otherwise the hair is cropped short. The miller model represents not only the act of transforming grain into flour, but by inference to its products, bread and cakes, and its associated product, beer. This type of model in the OK forms the "core" of the model repertoire. Fitting around the "core" are models of bakers or cooks forming dough into loaves and cakes, and brewers pushing beer mash into vats. These 2 model types form the next most frequently found models.

Associated with the miller, baker and brewer are models representing phases in the production of the staple diet. These include the flour sifter, a standing figure with a basket resting on a pole, through which the ground flour is sieved. The jar cleaner model is so named because the figures appear by their pose with one hand inside a jar, to be cleaning the interior in readiness for the beer. Less frequent are the oven stokers, comprising a figure squatting before an oven formed from a pile of bread moulds, holding one hand to the face and one toward the stoke hole of the oven, a poker in the hand.

Outside the staple diet models are others concerned with the provision of food, such as the duck roaster, a model in which the servant squats in front of an open fire or brazier with a spitted duck in one hand. The butcher model depicts a standing male figure with a bound bull or calf, in the act of cutting its throat. Not only does this activity suggest the provision of food in the form of meat, it

also implies the act of making such an offering at the tomb. These 2 model types mark out the model owning class, as meat was outside the staple diet and available only to a privileged few.

Model boats appear to be relatively frequent. The large number found in the 4 and 5 dyns. is misleading since 11 of the models were found in a single deposit and 3 in another. The small scale and use of wood in model boats is the first indication of a trend which escalates in the following period. The boat types referred to are those of Reisner (1913, iii). All boats in the 4 and 5 dyns. are of crude construction. The position of the deposit of 11 boats at the shaft mouth suggests some ritual significance, perhaps representing the funeral flotilla.

Only 2 granaries are known (e.g. Breasted 1948, 10. pl.9a), one being an isolated structure, the other having an out of proportion male figure approaching it. The granary model disappears from the model corpus after the 4 and 5 dyn. period until the 8/9 dyn.

The earliest offering-bearer or porter is a naked male figure, possibly a boy, carrying a pair of sandals and a sack. This model is unique for its time.

The trend toward the use of wood as a medium for making model servants is seen first in the 5 dyn. in the form of model boats, isolated limestone accessories for composite models, and in the 2 wooden boards with model foods on top. It is likely that the move toward wood for models was encouraged by the success of artists using this medium for figures of the tomb owner. As the number of models increased into the 6 dyn. a cheaper material than stone was needed in which to fashion models.



### 1.3.1. MODELS OF THE 6 DYN. AND POST 6 DYN. PERIOD.

Limestone servant statuettes continued to be placed in mastaba serdabs in the 6 dyn. but were not common. An increasing number of wooden model boats began to appear. Up until the middle of the 6 dyn. the distribution of servant figures was entirely Memphite, and it is in these same cemeteries that the first wooden servant figures were used. The transition from limestone figures to wooden models was marked by a short period of composite models utilising a combination of wood and stone. For instance Giza tomb 125/157 built against mastaba VI, contained shaft 126 with a wooden boat rudder and 3 painted limestone model beer jars (Junker 1951, 170-1, tf.21f; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 93; Breasted 1948, 3).

Other 6 dyn. models were found in the tomb of K3r, G7101 K at Giza (Simpson 1976, 1; Breasted 1948, 74; Strudwick 1985, 142 no.135), which contained 10 model sailors in wood, parts of others and a rudder. At Hawawish tomb M8 6 of *Ttī-k3-Ḥp* (Kanawati 1982, 7ff, 26, pl.9d; Strudwick 1985, 254), a wooden female figure and boat hull were found. A group of models now impossible to date were found in a mastaba at Meidum in the south cemetery (Petrie 1910, 36, XXI:7-14). The models are of 3 metal oars, (UCL 30935-7. L.17.9-20.75 cms), part of a model palanquin shaped like a lotus (UCL 30938. L.21.5 cms), 2 model mooring pegs (UCL 30931-2. H.11.4 and 12.3 cms), a model jar (UCL 30933. H.7.5 cms) and a slender-legged animal (plate 3:2), possibly a calf (UCL 30934. L.5.5 cms), stuccoed and painted whited, red and pink. Petrie described the tomb as 4 dyn. with 6 dyn. potsherds intermixed in the debris.

Standing 300m east of the Mastabat Faraoun, mastaba group MVIII contained the principal burial in a brick-vaulted chamber for the *špst-nsw, ḥkrt-nsw-w<sup>c</sup>tt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr, Bb-ib* (Jéquier 1929, 55-6).

Amongst the debris in the looted chamber was a papyriform model boat with peg holes for the crew and canopy (1929, fig.63; Breasted 1948, 74; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 94). The *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula is consistent with a late 6 dyn. date. A group of 16 model boats were found buried in the ground outside the offering pyramid of queen *Nt*, wife of Pepy II (JE 56386-56395. Jéquier 1933, 33-9, VI; Poujade 1948, 7-23), at Saqqara.

During the later 6 dyn. and the period immediately following a wider diversification occurs. Limestone servant figures are no longer found but are replaced by wood and stone compliments. The distribution of the model corpus is no longer Memphite, but covers the entire country from Aswan northward to the Memphite region.

To this period belong the following model groups. Mastaba S790 at Giza belonging to *Ḥdw* II (Junker 1947, 90ff), with a serdab partially cutting into the mastaba of *Ḥdw* I on the west side. In the serdab at the north end were wooden figures of *Ḥdw* and his wife. South-east of these were 2 model boats (Hildesheim? 1947, 92, tf.16; Breasted 1848, 74). Fragments near the centre of the serdab indicated the presence of single figure models of a baker, brewer (Hildesheim 2520) and 2 pairs (?) of millers (Hildesheim 2521. Breasted 1948, 22; Porter and Moss 1974, 166). Near the south-east entrance was a figure kneading dough. Decayed wooden fragments between these models suggest that the group was larger than that preserved (1947, 90-107, tf.16-7). In the north-east corner were a group of single figures described as, a servant woman with a load across the shoulders, the left arm crossing the chest to support it on the right shoulder (perhaps similar to CG 241) and 2 others with baskets on their heads (1947, 92, 93, tf.17e; Breasted 1948, 60). These latter 2 are described as "Bäuerinnen" or farmers. Stone elements in the group included baskets and jars

(Hildesheim 2522-4). The *ḥtp-dī<sup>i</sup>-nsw* formula on the coffin lid is consistent with that in use prior to the 9 dyn. (Brovarski 1981, fig. 13), but is more closely related to that of the 6 dyn. (Donadoni 1969, 157-8), which is borne out by the dating of the titles (Strudwick 1985, 211).

Also at Giza is mastaba S676/707 (Junker 1947, 44, Abb.11). South-west of shaft S676 a serdab was found to contain wooden models consisting of part of an oven stoker, a squatting cook and what is described as "eines Dorfes" or an offering-bearer (1947, 45; Breasted 1948, 60; Porter and Moss 1974, 162). A second serdab was located east of shaft S684 and contained a mixture of wooden and stone statuettes of which only the offerer is identified (1947, 45-6). The excavator dated the tomb group to the period following the 6 dyn. since it was found cut into a 6 dyn. mastaba and covered part of the facade and altar of group S677/817 of *Ḳti*, of late 6 dyn. date (Junker 1947, 44, 46).

A family tomb west of the Step pyramid enclosure at Saqqara illustrates the development of the model corpus through the 5 dyn. to post 6 dyn. period (Lauer 1950, 15-8; Drioton 1958, 207-251). It belonged to *ḥnḥi*, *Nfr-ḥww-Pth*, *Sbk-m-ḥnt* and *Ḳḫti*. The former occupant died in the 5 dyn. the remaining occupants died in the reigns of Pepy I and II, and a little later (cf. Strudwick 1985, 61 on the titles of *Isti*). From the shaft of *Nfr-ḥww-Pth* came several fragments of wooden figures some of which may have been servants including one kneeling statuette which may have been a miller (H.21.5 cms. Drioton 1958, 246-7). The shaft of *Sbk-m-ḥnt* yielded a painted limestone model bread oven (Drioton 1958, 245). About 3.5m down the shaft of *Ḳḫti* was a serdab or niche which had suffered a certain amount of disturbance by robbers. It was found to contain 2 figures of the tomb owner and

servant figures comprising a standing woman working a mortar (JE 88580. H.32.5 cms. Lauer 1950, 16-7, IIc left; Drioton 1958, 216, Xa-b left, XIa left), an offering-bearer (JE 88579. H.34 cms. Lauer 1950, 16, IIc; Drioton 1958, 216, Xa-b right, XIa-b right), a small standing male figure with the arm crossing the chest (Lauer 1950, 17; Drioton 1958, 216-7, XIIa-b), a crouched oarsman (H.13 cms. Lauer 1950, 17; Drioton 1958, 216, XIIa left) and a kneeling female figure (Lauer 1950, 17; Drioton 1958, 217, XIIa-b right) identified as a *dryt*-mourner (Fischer 1976, 44). In addition to these models were stone elements attesting to the presence of other models including a bread oven (H.10.5 cms. Drioton 1958, 217, XIb centre), 3 plates, a stone chest and a wooden model jar. From an adjoining shaft came a painted stone model pile of grain (Diam.9 cms. Drioton 1958, 228, fig. 16).

The burial chamber of *Ỉ̀sṭi* was decorated like the interior of a MK coffin with Object Friezes. This type of decoration is known during the FIP and early MK, but may predate this at Saqqara. The collection of alabaster vases from the burial chamber are of types found as late as the 12 dyn. (cf. Bourriau 1988, 143 no.147; 145 no.151b), lacking any characteristic 6 dyn. types. The titles of *Ỉ̀sṭi* indicate a mid/late 6 dyn. date or even later (Strudwick 1985, 61).

Tomb 213 in the Teti pyramid cemetery (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 40) contained a model recess on the west side of the shaft. In the recess were 4 statuettes of the tomb owner as a youth and adult. With these were elements of wooden servant figures comprising parts of a brewer and baker as well as a model limestone beer mash jar (1926<sup>a</sup>, 40). In the same cemetery tomb 223 contained a 6 dyn. type coffin inscribed for *Pth-m-h3t* (1926<sup>a</sup>, 40-1). A model recess in the burial chamber contained statuettes of the owner, but thrown into the shaft were the remains of figures from a model boat, very small figures from a bakery and a

single figure of a woman roasting a goose (1926<sup>a</sup>, 41; Breasted 1948, 46).

A badly damaged mastaba north-west of the Amenemhat II pyramid at Dahshur contained serdab S24 with a large amount of wooden statuary (de Morgan 1903, 18, 20-1, fig.43) of 6 to 11 dyn. types. The majority of the figures (30 or so) represented the tomb owner named, erroneously, *S<sup>c</sup>nh-w<sup>c</sup>ty* through a misreading of the title *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty*, the name being *Špy*. Five out of the 30 figures are of servants, such as a kneeling oarsman (H.14 cms. de Morgan 1903, 18, fig.45), a kneeling male figure probably from a boat (H.13 cms. 1903, 18, fig.46), a miller (CG 504. H.16 cms. 1903, 18, fig.44; Borchardt 1925, 73, bl.86; Breasted 1948, 21). This latter figure is unusual in that it is male whereas millers are more often female. In addition there were also 2 offering-bearers (CG 509-510. H.30-35 cms. 1903, 20, fig.47; Borchardt 1925, 75-6, bl.87; Breasted 1948, 61). *Špy* is said to have been connected with the cult of Seneferu (de Morgan 1903, 26). The tomb contained no pottery or inscribed material on which to base a date, but was situated in a group of 4 to 6 dyn. tombs. By comparison of the model types and styles it is likely that the serdab at least belonged to the latter period.

At Sedment the rock-cut tomb 274 of *Mry-Rc-h<sup>c</sup>-št.f* was found intact (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, LXXXI:9). During the clearing of the main shaft at a depth of 10 feet a group of wooden models were discovered ranged neatly in the south-eastern corner facing north (1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:3). The most imposing statuettes were 3 of the tomb owner represented naked as a youth, an adult and in maturity. With them was an unfinished female figure. In front of the *k3*-figures were 3 rough planks on which were scenes representing 3 bakers making cakes and bread (BM 55730. L.42.5 x W.17.5 cms. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:6; Breasted 1948, 29), 3 brewers making

beer mash with an offering-bearer (plate 3:1) on the same base (BM 55728. L.42.4 x W.12.1 cms. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:5; Breasted 1948, 34) and 3 cooks preparing meats and cooking them in an oven (BM 55729. L.61 x W.11.9 cms. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:4; Breasted 1948, 45).

The coffin of *Mry-Rc-hc-xt.f* was formed from a hollow log with a black cursive text inscribed on the lid which included an offering list (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 3, XII). Pottery in the tomb, as it has been illustrated does not contain characteristic 6 dyn. types (Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 112), bearing a closer resemblance to the "Herakleopolitan" types. The group models would seem to indicate that the tomb is later than 6 dyn. contrasting with single figure models of the 6 dyn. which tend to be more carefully carved than later groups (compare with the cook of *Nni*, tomb 613 at Mayana. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 15, .I).

One of the largest pre-MK groups of models was located in a floor niche in tomb A1 of *Ny-<sup>cnh</sup>-Ppy-km* at Meir (Legrain 1900, 66-9; Borchardt 1911, 154-163; 1897, 121, 123, 126-7, 131-2, 133; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 94f, 97-101; Breasted 1948, 3f, 6-74). The models were at a depth of 1m covered by a stone slab and the shaft filled with rubble. The models included a statuette of the tomb owner, 9 model boats and fragments of others (CG 4880-4893. Reisner 1913, 51-60, XII-XV) and some 17 servant figures (CG 237-247, 249-254. Borchardt 1911, 155-163, bl.49-55).

The servant models may be divided into 2 groups by their distinct workmanship, each group forming a set, evidently the work of 2 separate craftsmen. The first group is characterised by the fine carving of the heads, in particular the faces, cheek bones, brow bones, noses, well defined eyes, mouths and high quality finishing (CG 236, 240-1, 243-6, 248). The second group, whilst closely resembling the first set are less accomplished and less finely finished (CG 237-9, 242, 247, 249-

253). It is unclear into which set the model ox, CG 254 is to be placed. A comparison of activities such as CG 240 with CG 252, the kneading of dough, CG 245 with CG 242, roasting a duck over an open hearth, CG 243 with CG 247, oven stokers, and most strikingly CG 241 with CG 250, offering-bearers, indicates that the difference in quality is the result of different hands and not importance of particular activities.

These models, entirely of wood, are predominantly single figures, occasionally pairs, rarely a group of 3. The activities depicted are of milling (CG 237), milling in combination with beer mashing (CG 239, 246, 253), cleaning the interior of beer jars (CG 244, 251), making dough into cakes (CG 240, 252), stoking an oven (CG 238, 243, 247), roasting a spitted duck over a hearth (CG 242, 245), a man with a hoe in his hand ready to break the ground (CG 249. H.29 cms. Borchardt 1911, 161, bl.54; Breasted 1948, 6; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 101; Vandier 1978, 6-7 seen in the corpus for the first time), a naked dancing girl (CG 248), a pack ox (CG 254), a male porter (CG 241) and a group of 3 female offering-bearers (CG 250). It is evident that whilst the models duplicate themselves, they do not fall neatly into sets 1 or 2 as expected.

The style of the *k3*-figure (CG 236), shaven headed and wearing the long triangular kilt held in the right hand shows strong provincial characteristics in the rendering of the face. The pose is one found from the 5 dyn. up to the late 11 dyn. (Vandier 1958, 141-2, 229-230, XLIII:5. PME X), the style, however, suggests that it is 6 dyn. or a little later (cf. Strudwick 1985, 176 for a mid 6 dyn. date).

At Thebes the el-Khokha tomb TT413 of *Wn<sup>1</sup>is-cnh* was found to contain fragments of wooden models in the passage and main burial

chamber (Saleh 1977, 16). The fragments consisted of 4 model sailors, a female figure probably from a boat, 2 figures described as prisoners and a wooden "paddle-doll" (Saleh 1970, 204f, LXXVIa-d; 1977, 16, figs.12-20). The modelling of the figures is extremely crude, the heads no more than rough spheres with large painted eyes, the arms curved rather than bent at the elbow, the bodies elongated. Fischer dates the tomb to the reign of Pepy II (1968, n.445), whilst others prefer a mid to late 6 dyn. date (Saleh 1977, 17; Strudwick 1985, 253). However, the similarities between these models and those from Gebelein (see below) would indicate a somewhat later date. Further weight is added by the earliest occurrence of the "paddle-doll", a model type certainly not of 6 dyn. manufacture.

Hogarth tomb LIV at Asyut is probably to be placed in the late 6 dyn. or later period. The chamber was found intact and contained a plain wooden coffin, with a pile of badly decayed wooden models on its right side. A figure of the owner was at the head of the coffin with pottery (Ryan 1988, 84). Tomb LVI of the *shd-hm-ntr, Nb-htp* contained a papyriform boat (BM 45089. Glanville 1972, 28-9, VIa), fragments of others (BM 45155-6), pieces of bakery scenes (BM 45163-5, 45092-3) and an offering-bearer (Ryan 1988, 86-7). The coffin (BM 46629. Edwards 1938, 23-4) is inscribed with the *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* consistent with a later than 6 dyn. date. *Nb-htp* was *shd-hm-ntr hwt-k3 Ppy*, which does not preclude a later than 6 dyn. date (although which Pepy is not stated). In the same part of the cemetery is tomb LVII which was found to contain fragments of models including baking (BM 45128-45131). The *k3*-figure BM 45094 is of 6 dyn. type. A second burial in this tomb also yielded wooden servant figures (BM 45132, 45076, 45079, 45096, 45094-5. cf. Ryan 1988, 89).



### 1.3.2. SUMMARY.

The basis of the model corpus during the MK was in large part already present in the precursor groups of the 4/5 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period from the Memphite region of Saqqara and Giza. During the 6 dyn. and later period the use of models spread to the nearby sites of Meidum and Dahshur, as well as provincial sites near Akhmim. It has been stated that whilst the Memphite cemeteries serving the capital of the 4 to 6 dyns. are decorated with scenes of agriculture and food production, these scenes were substituted in the provinces by the use of models (Wildung 1984, 110). What is clear from the corpus distribution is that models appear first in precisely those tombs which are decorated with the scenes they are said to replace, and that they later spread to sites with undecorated tombs.

Table 2 gives the types of models found in the 6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period, with their frequencies. Only models with a known provenance have been included.

TABLE 2: 6 DYN. AND POST 6 DYN. MODELS

| Model type                                     | Frequency |
|--|-----------|
| Boat   | 29, 8*    |
| (type I  | 17)       |
| (type III                                      | 2)        |
| (type III/IV                                   | 3)        |
| (type IV                                       | 5)        |
| (type V  | 2)        |
| Offering-bearer                                | 10        |
| Miller with a quern                            | 6         |
| Brewer mashing beer                            | 1, 5*     |
| Baker forming loaves                           | 1, 4*     |
| Duck roaster                                   | 5         |
| Oven stoker                                    | 4         |
| Combined miller and brewer                     | 3         |
| Baker kneading dough                           | 3         |
| Combined bakers, cooks and brewers (3 figures) | 3         |
| Jar cleaner                                    | 2         |
| Woman with a mortar                            | 1         |
| Pack ox  | 1         |
| Standing bull or calf                          | 1         |
| Hoeman   | 1         |

|               |    |
|---------------|----|
| Male porter   | 1  |
| Female dancer | 1  |
| Palanquin     | 1* |

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NB. \* indicates fragment

Models are now usually of wood, rarely of stone, but may be a combination of both. The frequency of boats appears to be relatively higher than other model types purely because boats seldom occur on their own, but in pairs or large groups per tomb. This imbalance should therefore be borne in mind when using any of the Type/Frequency tables. Offering-bearers, now quite common, particularly in the early phase of their development and at specific sites like Saqqara and Sedment, are found frequently in pairs, either as separate figures or on a single base. In the latter case the figures are treated as one model. Thus, like the boats, offering-bearers may appear more frequent than they actually are.

The production of the staple diet, seen in the 4 and 5 dyn. corpus is still of prime importance in this phase. Of equal popularity are the miller and brewer models, closely followed by the bakers. Still in evidence are the staple diet associated models, the dough kneader, baker stoking a bread oven and jar cleaner. A new type of model first seen in this period is that comprising 2 or 3 figures in related activities, such as milling and brewing, milling and baking, forming cakes and loaves, baking in an oven and other cooking activities. A unique single figure model in the staple diet range is the woman standing using a mortar.

Other food producing models include the roasting of a spitted duck over a brazier. The butcher models of the previous period are no longer seen. Agricultural activities are represented by the introduction of the hoeman, a single figure model of a man holding a hoe in

readiness to break the ground. A small model of a calf or bull from Meidum may come from an agricultural model like those found in the 11 and 12 dyn. models. The single figure of a bull laden with sacks is a form of porter model.

Unique models, the precise import of which is unclear, are the figure of a naked dancer from Meir and the end of a model palanquin from Meidum.

The use of wood for model production is first seen at Giza and Saqqara imitating to a large extent the earlier stone servant figures. The limestone figures are always singular, whilst the wooden models, particularly in the post 6 dyn. period tend to incorporate 2 or 3 figures. The early single figure wooden models are of very high quality which is lacking from group models.

Following the end of the OK the provincial cemeteries flourished and form the nuclei of the MK cemeteries. The practice of placing models in the serdab of Memphite tombs was gradually succeeded by the placement of models in the tomb substructure, either a niche in the shaft or the chamber itself. This practice spread to sites in middle and upper Egypt where tombs tend to be smaller and undecorated. The preservation conditions of material like wood in upper Egypt are better than those in the Memphite region, promoting the tendency in the past to see wooden models as an upper Egyptian phenomenon. Large numbers of models have been found in the MK cemeteries of Saqqara, Abusir and Sedment, indicating that this is an unjustified theory.

A post 6 dyn. tomb at Deshasheh, belonging to *Mri* was found to contain a painted board (plates 1-2) which encapsulates the "core" model corpus of the post 6 dyn. and later period. It depicts 2 boats, male porters and scenes of milling, baking, brewing and cooking (Chicago 2054. Petrie 1898, XXVII; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 230). The

provincial character of the post 6 dyn. period aided the dissemination of the model corpus to sites as far south as Aswan.

#### 1.4.1. THE EARLY FIP CORPUS: DYNS. 8 TO 9.

Two groups of well preserved models survive from the early FIP, dyns. 8/9 at the provincial capitals of Gebelein and Aswan. In each case the models come from the burial of a nomarch.

##### 1.4.1.1. Gebelein.

The first set comes from the unpublished intact tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein discovered in 1911 by Schiaparelli. With the coffin and mortuary assemblage were 2 model boats (plate 29. Turin S.13272-3. L.36 cms), a granary (plate 17:1. Turin S.13270. H.37 x W.37 x L.36 cms) and a model kitchen scene (Turin S.13271. L.47 x W.24 x H.25 cms). This latter model (plate 4:1) comprises a miller, beer masher, oven stoker and offerer with tray. All figures have yellow skin but are executed without bodily detail and in a very provincial style.

Another group of models resembling these, without provenance are ECMM 2 (plate 4:2), a virtually identical scene; ECMM 1251, a tall granary; ECMM 2172, a rowing boat. Stylistically, these models appear to have come from the same atelier and are most probably of the same date as the models of *Ini* from Gebelein.

##### 1.4.1.2. Qubbet el-Hawa.

The second set comes from the intact tomb of the nomarch *St-k3* at Qubbet el-Hawa, which has a rock-cut and decorated superstructure, the substructure of which was found by Grenfell in 1887. On the lid of the coffin were found a granary (plate 16:2. BM 21804. Budge 1887-8, 38) and 2 boats (Bournemouth, BM 21805. Budge 1887-8, 38; Glanville 1972,

1-2). The granary is dissimilar to that of *Ini*<sup>3</sup>, but the boat hulls are very similar, suggesting a certain amount of contemporaneity (cf. Brovarski 1977, 31ff for *Ini*<sup>1</sup>; Fischer 1968, n.279, 307, 322; 1961, 63-4 for *St-k3*).

Other models which are not mentioned by Budge but which feature in the sale catalogue of Grenfell's collection are known to have come from the Qubbet el-Hawa tombs, there dated 6 dyn. but which may also be of FIP date (Sotheby 1917, 5 lot 42; 6 lot 50; 7 lot 57).

These well dated sets indicate that during the FIP the granary reappeared, in its MK form, and group models forming scenes of related activities were being produced. The development of the corpus beyond the early FIP took place most notably at 2 sites, Sedment in northern upper Egypt and Beni Hasan in middle Egypt. At both sites strong local styles appeared. Contemporary sites are those of Thebes, Sheikh Farag, Naga ed-Deir, Asyut, Meir, Bershah, Sheikh Ibada, Saqqara and Abusir. At each of these sites a corpus of 2 boats, one or 2 offering-bearers, a granary, and group scenes are commonly found. A few tombs at Sedment and Beni Hasan may be FIP.

#### 1.4.2. FIP TO EARLY MK MODELS: DYNS. 9/10 TO 11.

Petrie attempted relative dating of the Sedment tombs by placing the model types in sequences, combining this with his corpus dating of the pottery, the latter having now been shown to be inaccurate.

"Less precise models succeeded [those of *Mry-Rc-hc-Št.f* and *Mni*] until they became rough dolls, white-washed. In the XIth dynasty there was a great revival of wooden figures, and most beautiful and detailed models were made, but the fashion disappeared in the XIIth dynasty.."  
(Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 6).

As far as this observation goes it is largely correct; the wooden models of the OK do tend to be of good quality work, probably because there were fewer of them and they were single statuettes. The revival

of high quality work in the 11 dyn. does not apply to Sedment since a characteristic of the site is the rough nature of the models.

"About the end of the IXth dynasty, period 4, the work is not so good, but is not degraded...On reaching the Xth dynasty, period 5, the work is clearly poorer...Later and more degraded figures probably belong to the Xth dynasty" (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7).

Clearly, Petrie was using the theory of degeneration which he had used for his pottery corpora, on the models as well. The sequences referred to are as follows:

Period 1.....6 dyn.  
Period 2-4.....9 dyn.  
Period 5-6.....10-11 dyn.

What is being suggested here is that over the periods 1-6 there is a clearly defined development from good quality work to gradually poorer and poorer work. On the basis of pottery dating this can no longer be supported. The reasons for poor quality models were probably quite complex (means, availability, etc.) and to state that a model of poor quality is necessarily of a specific date is an over simplification of the facts.

Recent ceramic studies of the northern cemeteries have shown that pottery types formerly considered to be early are in fact localised forms of a later date. When applying pottery dating to the model corpus Petrie's sequence is in effect reversed, with sequences 4, 5 and 6, combined sequences 2-5, 2-6, 3-4, falling into the earlier phase, whilst sequences 2, 3 and 4, with combined sequences 3-5, 3-6, falling into the 11 dyn. phase and sequence 2 in some cases falling into the early 12 dyn. (for Sedment pottery dating see Arnold 1972<sup>b</sup>, 44-46; 1988, 144-5, table 9).

#### 1.4.2.1. Sediment.

Bearing this in mind, it can now be seen that tomb 2106 of *W3dt-htp* (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, 11; Porter and Moss 1934, 116), sequenced 2 is likely to be later than the early date originally assigned to it. The tomb contained 2 boats (AEIN 1569-70. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XX:2, 4; Breasted 1948, 79, 81, pl.74a; Mogensen 1930, 66, LXIII), a granary (AEIN 1571. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XX:1; Breasted 1948, 13; Mogensen 1930, 66, LXIII) and a composite model representing a baker-brewer-butcher with integral offerer (AEIN 1572. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XX:3; Breasted 1948, 40, pl.39a; Mogensen 1930, 66, LXIII). The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with an 11 dyn. date, although it is carelessly executed and there is no Object Frieze on the interior of the coffin (cf. Rogge 1986, 90 for a 9/10 dyn. date). A similar group of models came from tomb 2111 of *Hnty-hty*, sequenced 5 (1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, 12, XXXIX; Breasted 1948, 14, 30, 62). The content of the *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula of late 11 to early 12 dyn. type varies little from that of *W3dt-htp*, but is more carefully inscribed and includes an Object Frieze on the inside of the coffin. The pottery from the 2 groups is not significantly different, suggesting that no great time separates them. Tomb 2112 of *Mrt-it.s*, sequenced 2-6 (1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XXXIX) has pottery related to that of 2106, but the model style and types are more closely related to those of late 11 to 12 dyn. date from tombs 2101 and 2127 (1924<sup>a</sup>, 10, 12-3, XXXIX). Other models may be related to these groups. However, reuse of tombs has resulted in a wide range of dates for a single tomb, such as FIP to Senwosret I; 389, 392-3, 996, 998, 1002, 1010, 1529, 1531, 1535, 1541, 1557, 1564, 1566, 1571, 1583, 1593, 1641, 1823, 2104 and 2115 (from the tomb registers. See Arnold 1988, 144 ns.336, 340-3 and table 9 for pottery dating). Possibly related to this group are tombs 1523, 1532, 1534, 1565, 1570, 1607, 1629, 1684, 1845, 2100 and 2122. Whilst tomb

2106 may be earlier than 2111, the boat hull from tomb 1525 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XVII:6) is similar to that from 2106, but its other model types especially the offering-bearers relate it to the later tombs 2112, 2101 and 2127, illustrating that differences in the care taken over model production may well be the result of economy rather than an indication of date.

#### 1.4.2.2. Beni Hasan.

Most comparable material from Beni Hasan cannot with conviction be placed before the early 11 dyn. However, a few pottery types appear to be FIP in origin (types 13, 15, 16). The site, excavated by John Garstang of the Institute of Archaeology, (now the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool) was published in ASAE 5 (1904), 215-228 and in Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt (1907). The surviving records in SAOS comprise a couple of little used notebooks and an invaluable collection of glass negatives taken as the tombs were being uncovered. These provide an otherwise unavailable tool for the studying of models in context.

Regardless of date, Garstang analysed the model types from 11 intact tombs with the following results:

|  |    |       |
|--|----|-------|
| a. Model of Rowing boat.....                     | 11 | times |
| b. Model of Sailing boat.....                    | 11 | "     |
| c. Model of Granary.....                         | 11 | "     |
| d. Model of Bread-making (7 times combined)..... | 10 | "     |
| e. Model of Beer-making (7 times combined).....  | 10 | "     |
| f. Model of Sacrifice of Bull (5 times combined) | 6  | "     |
| g. Model of Woman with basket and bird.....      | 9  | "     |

(Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 224).

Of the tombs chosen for this survey only BH1 can with any certainty be placed in the very early 11 dyn. or earlier. The remaining tombs are 11 to mid 12 dyn., with BH500 later still. A similar survey of the tombs in the register which takes into account pottery dating shows that there is a higher frequency of models between the FIP/11 dyn. to



early 12 dyn., but a greater variety of model types appearing in the later 11 dyn. The most popular models are boats (rowed variety), followed by granaries, baker-brewer groups and relatively few offerers. Butcher scenes come last.

Tombs falling into the FIP to 12 dyn. date range are BH16, BH54, BH187, BH511, BH540, BH541, BH555, BH566, BH580, BH618, BH651, BH703, BH706 and BH843. Tombs of FIP to Amenemhat II/Senwosret II date are BH41, BH53, BH76, BH97, BH105-6, BH111, BH260, BH263, BH269, BH271, BH276, BH326, BH362, BH365, BH394, BH539, BH549, BH551, BH558, BH600, BH612-3, BH641, BH688, BH716, BH728, BH752, BH757, BH771, BH796, BH812, BH841, BH850 and BH859. Tombs with a range of FIP to Amenemhat III are BH81, BH577, BH711, BH720, BH774/5, BH851, BH865, BH545, BH584, BH656, BH791, BH797, BH845, BH862 and BH875. These tombs were evidently reused extensively, the results coming from them virtually useless. It should be borne in mind however, that FIP pottery styles in middle and upper Egypt continued to be produced into the 12 dyn. (Arnold 1988, 144). The ceramics are currently being studied. It is to be hoped that it will show that the wide date range should be contracted somewhat.

#### 1.4.2.3. el-Tarif.

Other pre-unification or early MK groups have been found in the Saff tombs at el-Tarif. Shaft W5:1 in the Saff el-Dawabba tomb of *Shr-t3wy-Ḥni-ḥt.f* yielded a wooden model base with 3 tenon holes (Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 24, Abb.6), several fragments of model figures (1972<sup>a</sup>, 24, Abb.6, XIIa) and model vases (1972<sup>a</sup>, 24, Abb.6, XIIIa). Other model elements came from the nearby shafts W5:2 and W4 (1972<sup>a</sup>, 24, Abb.6, XIIIa). The fragments appear to come from offering-bearers and boats.

#### 1.4.2.4. Sheikh Farag.

Wooden figures are also known to have been found in relatively limited numbers in the Sheikh Farag/Mesheikh cemeteries (Reisner 1904, 108) comprising boats (Reisner 1904, 108, V:2), offering-bearers and kitchen scenes (eg. tomb 202/43. UCLMA 6-17161. cf. Freed 1981, 69 tomb SF 50ii; Breasted 1948, 59).

#### 1.4.2.5. Mostagedda.

Pieces of a male figure were found in Mostagedda tomb 5134, possibly of a servant (Brunton 1937, 103), and a metal mast-head fitting from a boat in tomb 1690 (1937, LXI:1).

#### 1.4.2.6. Hawawish.

Parts of very fragmented models have come from the el-Hawawish necropolis (Tomb G80. Kanawati 1982, 48; Tomb M22. Tomb M23. 1983, 26, pl.9c; 43).

#### 1.4.2.7. Asyut.

Amongst the smaller tombs at Asyut are several which date to the pre-unification period, dynasties 9-10 and early 11 dyn. Of those excavated by Chassinat and Palanque tomb 6 contained a figure of the tomb owner *Idwt* of 10-11 dyn. type (Chassinat 1911, 4, 5, II:1) and an offering-bearer (1911, 5-6). The masks from this tomb have been dated FIP to 11 dyn. (Rogge 1986, 128-130). Tomb 13 contained an intact but anepigraphic burial with a model granary which may be 11 dyn. (Chassinat 1911, 162-4, XXXI-III). The figure of the tomb owner has been dated to the end of the 11 dyn. (Delange 1987, 156-7). Hogarth's excavations at Asyut uncovered a number of tombs of this date (Ryan 1988, 9, 50ff). One of these, tomb IX contained an early example of a

pottery dome granary on a child's coffin. Tomb XI contained a servant carrying a baby. It is likely that Schiaparelli's unpublished excavations at Asyut also uncovered tombs of similar date (records and objects are to be found in the Turin Museum).

#### 1.4.2.8. Sheikh Ibada.

Tomb A at Sheikh Ibada contained 2 intact burials. One was of the *smr-wcty*, *Mr-šnt*, the other anepigraphic and badly termite decayed (Gayet 1902, 41-2; Breasted 1948, 30, 42, 46, 48, 62, 78). With the coffin of *Mr-šnt* were 2 boats (Brus. E785:18-21. L.113 cms), a granary (Brus. E785:27. H.26.1 cms), millers (Brus. E785:9-10. H.14-14.5 cms), men carrying sacks and yokes (Brus. E785:3, 24-5. H.25-25.1 cms), an offering-bearer (Brus. E785:33), a man driving a bull (Brus. E785:1. H.22.4 cms), a separate ox (Brus. E785:15. H.14.5 cms) and cooks (plate 6:1. Brus. E785:8, 22. H.26.4, 20.7 cms). The *hṭp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with a FIP to early 12 dyn. date, as is the mask type (Rogge 1986, 104). The actual date is likely to be earlier since the boat hull forms are similar to those of *Ini<sup>1</sup>* and *St-k3*.

The anepigraphic coffin was also accompanied by models, mostly decayed which included a granary (Brus. E785:2. H.21 cms), a male offering-bearer (Brus. E785:26. H.23.5 cms), a combined miller-baker (plate 5:1. Brus. E785:17. H.14.3 cms) and a boat (Brus. E785:31. L.84.4 cms). The boat form with this burial, type IV/V is of an 11 to early 12 dyn. date despite the figures with textured OK type wigs which would suggest an earlier date.

#### 1.4.2.9. Dendera.

Other sites which have suffered from damp conditions and termite infestation are Dendera, where only a few traces of wooden figures are

known (information supplied by Dr. Slater).

#### 1.4.2.10. Abydos.

Tomb E109 at Abydos, contained on the west side of the shaft a serdab with several decayed wooden figures which are not described (Ayrton 1909, 4).

#### 1.4.2.11. Saqqara.

Saqqara tomb group 10 (of Lepsius) consisted of at least 3 shafts and 5 chambers containing the jumbled remains of 8 burials (Lepsius 1897, 147-158; 1913, XLIV-XLVI; Porter and Moss 1978, 517 no. BC 1-3). Fragments of inscribed coffins attest to the names *Ḳpī-cnhw*, *Hnty-hty-hwīt*, *Hri-š.f-htp*, *Gmn-cnh*, *S3t-h3c-ib* and *Gmn-wsr*. In this complex the burial of a man called *Gmni* (Lepsius 1897, 154, 157) included a papyriform model boat, parts of a bakery and in an adjoining room a hollow hulled funerary boat (plate 28:2. West Berlin 1232. Lepsius 1897, 157; 1913, XLV). The burial chamber of *Gmn-wsr* (Lepsius 1897, 158) yielded fragmented remains of a rowing boat, figures from a granary (West Berlin 1364-5. Lepsius 1913, XLVI), a butcher scene (West Berlin 1367-8. Lepsius 1913, XLVI), baking (plate 5:2) and brewing elements (West Berlin 1366. Lepsius 1913, XLVI where it is wrongly assigned to *Gmni-k3i*). Tafel XLVI also shows model elements such as ovens, querns, jars, and beer mash tubs. The presence of a butcher in the group implies that it is not early FIP, but the mask has been assigned a date range of FIP to Senwosret I (Rogge 1986, 49). Coffin types are consistent with this date.

The Teti pyramid cemeteries produced several burials with models of FIP date up to the time of Senwosret I. Tomb 130 (Quibell 1907, 7) produced figures from a boat. Tomb 276 (Quibell 1908, 19; Porter and

Moss 1931, 127) of the *imy-r mšc*, *T3* yielded parts of boats. The pottery from these tombs is consistent with FIP types (cf. 1907, XXXII:2. Jar similar to Sedment type 641. cf. also Arnold 1988, table 9). The decorated chamber of *T3* (Quibell 1908, XXX:3) supports this dating. Tomb 155 (Quibell 1907, 8; Porter and Moss 1931, 126) of the *smr-wcty*, *sd3wty-bity*, *imy-r mšc*, *İpi* contained fragments of figures and a boat prow. The stela (Quibell 1907, XX:5) associated with this shaft is of FIP/11 dyn. style, though somewhat coarse. Tomb HMK4 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 48) preserved parts of a boat. A button-seal in the tomb (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, pl.45d no.20) depicting gazelles is probably to be assigned to the FIP or early 11 dyn. Tomb 17, belonging to *Wpti* (Quibell 1907, 3) contained in the shaft 2 model sailors along with a "piece of the regular XIIth Dynasty dyn. [water jar]...(as at El Kab)". The mask however, appears to be earlier (cf. Rogge 1986, 50-1). Tomb 135 (Quibell 1907, 7-8; Porter and Moss 1931, 127) of *İpi-cnḥw* was found intact. The tomb was badly decayed but it was noticed that the models included a boat. The mask from the burial has been dated FIP to Senwosret I (Rogge 1986, 51). Also of this date range is tomb 289 (Quibell 1908, 15-7; Porter and Moss 1931, 127) of the *hry-ḥb-wr*, *İpi-m-s3.f* and the *hry-ḥb-wr*, *sš-bity*, *imy-r hwt-ntr*, *Hnnw*. Although badly decayed this intact group had contained offering-bearers, boats and a combined baker-butcher (Quibell 1908, 15, 16, XXIX). Pottery types however, compare with those of *K3-rnn* and *Gmn-m-ḥ3t*. West of the mastaba of *Nfr-sšm-Rc* was tomb HMK3 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 48) containing decayed offering-bearers. The mask has been dated FIP to Senwosret I (Rogge 1986, 42).

Other Saqqara tombs of uncertain but probable FIP date are 504 (Quibell 1908, 17) yielding parts of boats; 506 (1908, 17-8) with boat parts; 507 (1908, 18) of *Snb-imy* with parts of boats and a model oven;

HMK68 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 55) yielding a model kitchen and parts of a butcher scene.

#### 1.4.2.12. Harageh.

Tomb C151 at Harageh of the *ḥk3-ḥwt, smr-wcty, Ḳhy-ns* is dated by the excavator to the FIP (Engelbach 1923, 8). It contained several figures of servants with elongated bodies painted red and black, which disintegrated on exposure. Petrie's notebooks for Harageh indicate that originally a 12 dyn. date had been given to the group. However, the *ḥtp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula (Engelbach 1923, LXXVII) can be no later than the 11 dyn.

#### 1.4.2.13. Abusir.

At Abusir, post 6 dyn. tombs have been found of the priests of the pyramid temples of Nefer-ir-ka-Re (Borchardt 1909, 72-4) and of Ni-user-Re (Schäfer 1908, 15ff). Some of these are FIP, such as tomb 10 (Borchardt 1909, 74) which contained a model miller. Tomb MR43 of *Ḳn-m-s3.f* (Schäfer 1908, 107-9; Porter and Moss 1931, 83; 1974, 348) contained a wide variety of models including a granary (West Berlin 17442), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (West Berlin 17443), and 2 boats. The *ḥtp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula is of a FIP to 11 dyn. type. Tomb MR42 of the *Ḳmy-r ḥ3t(?)*, *Ḳpy* (1908, 106-7; Porter and Moss 1931, 81; 1974, 347 there called *Ḳmpy*) contained a granary (Rostock, lost) and 2 boats. The *ḥtp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula resembles that in MR43.

Other tombs at Abusir of uncertain date are MR13 (1908, 89; Porter and Moss 1974, 347) of *Ḳnty.s-nḥt*; MR15 (1908, 90; Porter and Moss 1974, 347); MR17 (1908, 93); MR25 (Bremen B.941 a boat. 1908, 96-7; Porter and Moss 1931, 81; 1974, 347) of *Ḳmp*; MR27 (1908, 98) and MR30 (1908, 100-1) all containing fragments of boats, granaries and

cooking scenes.

#### 1.4.3. SUMMARY.

The model corpus of the FIP up to the early 11 dyn. shows a greater diversification both in subject and numbers. Models, now entirely of wood, are found as wide spread as Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa and Elephantine Island) in the south to Abusir in the north. Many of these are very fragmentary making identification difficult. In Table 3 instances of unidentified models are omitted. This difficulty is reflected in the entries for baker and brewer, which when found broken up cannot be assigned to single or group activity models with any accuracy.

TABLE 3: FIP TO EARLY MK MODELS

| Model type                      | Frequency |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Boat                            | 39, 20*   |
| (type II                        | 16)       |
| (type III/IV                    | 1)        |
| (type IV                        | 14)       |
| (type IV/V                      | 1)        |
| (type unknown                   | 7)        |
| Offering-bearer                 | 44, 5*    |
| Granary                         | 14, 18*   |
| Cooking scene                   | 14        |
| Kitchen scene                   | 1, 6*     |
| Male porter                     | 6         |
| Bakery                          | 2, 3*     |
| Combined bakery-brewery         | 3         |
| "Group"                         | 3         |
| Miller with a quern             | 2         |
| Butcher shop                    | 1, 1*     |
| Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 1         |
| Brewery                         | 1*        |
| Combined miller and baker       | 1         |
| Standing bull                   | 1         |
| Herdsmen with cattle            | 1         |
| Pack donkey                     | 1         |

NB. \* indicates fragments

Boats remain the highest frequency models. However, the OK type I rivercraft is no longer found but is replaced by type II. Type IV (Reisner 1913, iii) is the most common at this time in sharp contrast with the previous period. The model granary makes its reappearance in the 8/9 dyn. at the sites of Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa. Unlike their limestone predecessors, they are square in plan with peaked wall corners, in the form commonly used throughout the MK proper. The reason for the re-emergence of the granary model may reflect the current political climate. During the OK government was strongly centralised, with the production of goods and storage of raw materials mainly under royal patronage. The political situation in the FIP and early MK was very different, in that provincial estates had more autonomy over its produce and largely catered for regional populations. It is possible that the greater number of granaries during this period was a direct response to the political situation.

The activities involved with the production of the staple diet remain, as a group, the next most predominant type. However, models depicting the production of flour, bread, cakes and beer are now seen in a wide variety of forms. The cook models are those in which general cooking activities are taking place. It is possible that the "group" scenes from Sedment, along with the kitchen scenes may be placed in this category. Bakery models are sometimes combined with brewing activities to produce a logically allied model type, the bakery-brewery. Another type of allied activity model is the miller-bakery, incorporating the archaic model miller into the new corpus.

Butcher models appear in the FIP only sporadically, making a reappearance from the 4/5 dyn. corpus, along with the granary. The few instances of the butcher marks a difference between FIP type models and those of the succeeding period. The consumption of meats is how-



ever attested in the FIP corpus in the cook and kitchen scenes which often depict the duck roaster squatting by a open brazier. In these models, the food being cooked is usually missing, therefore the activity of roasting fowl is made by inference from earlier model types.

Agricultural models include the single standing bull, calling to mind both the pack ox of *Ny-cnh-Ppy-km* (post 6 dyn.) and the cattle inspection of *Mkt-Rc* (late 11 dyn.). The model herdsman makes its first appearance in this phase. Possibly related to the agricultural models is the single donkey model from Beni Hasan, which has lost its base. The bull models may represent the wealth of the tomb owner, either in terms of actual cattle owned or in the means to provide cattle for the butcher.

Offering-bearer models increase enormously in number during the FIP to 11 dyn. and are accompanied by a similar increase in male porters. This apparent explosion in numbers may be distorted by the fact that many tombs contained 2 separate figures, and that, unlike models composed of many small pieces, they tend to survive better. The "core" repertoire of this phase comprises 2 boats, 1 or 2 offering-bearers, a granary and a staple diet model.

Characteristic of the FIP phase are multiple activity models incorporating all the activities hitherto represented by single figure or restricted group models. The model corpus at this point represents all phases in the storage, transport and production of the staple diet, with in addition some evidence of wealth in the form of cattle.

#### 1.5.1. THE MK CORPUS: DYN. 11 AND 12 UP TO SENWOSRET II.

The number of models found is greatly accelerated in the 11 dyn. post re-unification period. Not only are the subject matters diversified but the social distribution is widened. No significant difference

marks the 11 dyn. models from the 12 dyn. examples up to the time of Senwosret II. This section therefore deals with the corpus up to that reign. A broader geographic distribution is witnessed particularly in the north in the early 12 dyn. due no doubt to the Fayoumic cemeteries and the new capital at *It-t3wy*.

#### 1.5.1.1. Qubbet el-Hawa.

11 to 12 dyn. models have been found at Qubbet el-Hawa, Cecil tomb 22. In the debris outside was the figure of an offering-bearer (Cecil 1903, 72). This tomb yielded 12 dyn. beads and a meleagrina shell pendant inscribed *Hpr-k3-Rc* (JE 36398. Cecil 1903, 72; Winlock 1932, 391 no.1). Fragments of wooden models have been found in the early MK tombs on Elephantine Island (information supplied by Dr. Seidlmayer).

#### 1.5.1.2. Gebelein.

At Gebelein, a tomb usually attributed to *Hnwy* (Steindorff 1901, 11) on the grounds that his was the most lavish burial, contained a granary (1901, 24-5, Abb.24-5; Breasted 1948, 14, pl.12b) and an offering-bearer (1901, 27, Abb.28b; Breasted 1948, 66, pl.58a). A further offering-bearer was found in the disturbed chamber (West Berlin 13742. 1901, 11, 27, Abb.28a). The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formulae on the coffins of *Hnwy*, *Sn-mntw*, *Ik<sup>1</sup>w* and *Ini<sup>1</sup>-it<sup>1</sup>.s* are crudely executed, but are consistent with an 11 dyn. date (cf. however Schenkel 1962, 122 for a 12 dyn. date and Lilyquist 1979a, 28; Rogge 1986, 171-2 for a 9/10 dyn. date).

### 1.5.1.3. Thebes.

The best preserved and documented of all 11 dyn. models are those of *Mkt-Rc*, from TT280a/MMA 1101 (Winlock 1920, 12-32; 1947, 53; 1942, 17-30; Hayes 1953, 166, 280, 288, 319; Porter and Moss 1927, 165; 1960, 364) in the Sheikh abd el-Qurneh. *Mkt-Rc* had been chancellor to Neb-hepet-Re and Sankh-ka-Re at the end of the 11 dyn. The models had been placed in a floor niche of the entrance passage. They comprised 2 representations of a walled garden (JE 46721, MMA 20.3.13. Winlock 1955, 83-4, pls.7, 10-2, 55-7), inspection of cattle (JE 46724. 1955, 84-6, pls.4-6, 13-6, 55, 58; Gilbert 1988, 71-3), a stable for fattening cattle (MMA 20.3.9. 1955, 86, pls.7, 17, 55, 59; Gilbert 1988, 73-8), a slaughter house (MMA 20.3.10. 1955, 86-7, pls.7, 18-9, 21, 24, 55, 60-1; Gilbert 1988, 78-83), a granary (MMA 20.3.11. 1955, 87-8, pls.5, 20-1, 24, 55, 62-3), a combined baker-brewer (MMA 20.3.12. 1955, 88, pls.7, 22-4, 55, 64-5), a weaving shop (JE 46723. 1955, 88-9, pls.7, 24-7, 55, 66-7), a carpenter's shop (JE 46722. 1955, 89-90, pls.7, 21, 24, 28-9, 55, 68-9), 2 separate offering-bearers (JE 46725, MMA 20.3.7. 1955, 90-1, pls.4-7, 30-1, 55), a procession of offering-bearers (MMA 20.3.8. 1955, 91-2, pls.7, 32, 55) and 12 model boats including 5 sailing boats, 3 rowing boats, 2 paddling boats, a "sporting" boat and 2 fishing skiffs (JE 46715-20, MMA 20.3.2-6). Besides these complete models were fragments of others in the burial chamber (1955, 79). There has been a tendency to compare all other models with these examples both in execution and subject matter. This comparison may be ill-advised and will be discussed later.

Many Theban tombs have yielded models. Tombs situated in the Deir el-Bahri complex of Neb-hepet-Re which contained models are pit 1 and 2 which yielded fragments of boats (Naville 1907, 43; Winlock 1947, 43; Porter and Moss 1964, 655). Pit 3 yielded a large and complete

baker-brewer scene (BM 40915. Naville 1907, 44, IX; Breasted 1948, 38), a granary (Naville 1907, 44, IX:5; Breasted 1948, 15) and model oars (Naville 1907, 44). Pit 4 contained fragments of a boat, granary and baking scene thrown into the sarcophagus (1907, 45). Pit 5 contained 2 large offerers on separate bases of 12 dyn. type (BM 41673, BMFA 05.231. 1907, 46, IX-X; Breasted 1948, 63, pl.56a), fragments of boats, a granary and a bakery, along with figures of 2 Nubian soldiers (Naville 1907, 46; Breasted 1948, 102). Pits 9 and 10 of the royal ladies *K3wyt* and *Kmsyt*, contained model tools and a wooden figure in the foundation deposits of their chapels (Naville 1907, 48-9; Arnold 1981, 65-66, tf.59h, 88c). Pit 20 contained fragments of undescribed models (Winlock 1947, 43 n.62; Thomas 1966, 23). Pit 22 of *Hpwit* yielded fragments of boats, a granary and offering-bearers (Porter and Moss 1964, 655; Thomas 1966, 23). Pit 23 contained the body of a tattooed woman, along with fragments of models (Winlock 1942, 74; 1947, 43 n.62; Thomas 1966, 24). Pit 26 of another tattooed woman contained broken models (1942, 74; 1947, 43 n.62). Pit 28 belonged to the *imy-r pr*, *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r ipt*, *sd3wty-bity*, *smr-wcty*, *Mntw-htp/Bw3w* (Naville 1896, 3-4). The intact group included a granary (JE 31345. Winlock 1947, 43), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (JE 31346. 1947, 43), 2 boats (CG 4909-4910. 1947, 43; Reisner 1913, 63-6, XV-XVI) and 2 pairs of offering-bearers (JE 31349-31350. 1947, 43). The *htp-di-nsw* formula is 11 dyn. and the model types, especially the heads compare with those from pit 3. Pit 29 contained fragments of offering-bearer (1947, 43 n.62; Thomas 1966, 24).

Pit 14 is the burial apartment of Neb-hepet-Re. In the hallway and antechamber floors were deep niches filled with fragmentary models (Naville 1913, 31) of crude workmanship. These included granaries, cooking scenes, figures of the king, boats, weaver's shops, potter's

shops and offering-bearers (Naville 1913, 31; 1910, 2-4; Breasted 1943, 59, 65; Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 13-31; 1981, 14-44). Three other boats were found in the Bab el-Hoḡan (Carter 1901, 203).

An offering-bearer of 12 dyn. type came from pit 121 (Porter and Moss 1964, 652. MMA photo).

In the Asasif area TT311 of the *smr-wcty*, *sd3wty-biṯy*, *iṃy-r* *sd3wt-nsw*, *Hty* contained fragments of models including a butcher (MMA 26.3.103. Breasted 1948, 37; Hayes 1953, 164, 278). *Hty* was a contemporary of Neb-hepet-Re. Of later date is TT60, the tomb of *Snt* who lived in the time of Senwosret I (Davies 1920, 1-3). Amongst the debris of the original burial were crude servant figures and parts of a granary (1920, 3). A group of tombs excavated by Carter near the foot of the Hatshepsut causeway were stated as being 11 dyn. (Carter 1912, 22ff). These were given location numbers. Site 4 (corresponding with MMA 521) of *Ḳkr* (1912, 22-3; Hayes 1953, 209, fig.127; Porter and Moss 1964, 650) yielded fragments of burnt model boats in its courtyard. Decayed boats and figures were associated with site 7 (Carter 1912, 26), whilst a large part of a boat of "unusual" design was found at site 24 (1912, 51).

The subsidiary tomb T of TT386 belonged to the *smr-wcty*, *iṃy-r* *mdḥw*, *Hwy* and contained fragments of boats (Arnold 1968<sup>a</sup>, 19). TT386 of *Ḳni-it.f* is an 11 dyn. tomb (Peet 1914-6, 81f; Jaros-Deckert 1984). Model boats were also associated with TT509 (MMA 26.3.155-7. Porter and Moss 1964, 651) situated between the tombs of *Hty* and *Hnnw*.

#### 1.5.1.4. Naga ed-Deir/Sheikh Farag.

Although it has been stated that 11 and 12 dyn. tombs were situated in the ravines of Naga ed-Deir/Sheikh Farag, little of this material is published. A model most probably from one of these necrop-

olei was obtained at Girgeh by a Cairo dealer. The model, a weaver's shop is in many respects similar to that of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>*, but of poorer quality (Clark 1944-5, 24-7).

#### 1.5.1.5. Asyut.

At Asyut, tomb 7 of the family of the *imy-r sd3wt, Nhtj* contained a number of models (Chassinat 1911, 29ff; Porter and Moss 1934, 266). There were at least 7 offering-bearers (BMFA 04.1774, Louvre E11992, E12029, JE 36290-1. 1911, 30-1, 32, 33-4, 49, IV, V, IX, X; Breasted 1948, 63-4, pls.54c, 57), 4 boats (Louvre E12027. 1911, 32, 51, XIV:1-2; Breasted 1948, 76, 77, pl.69a), a brewer (1911, 49, XV:1; Breasted 1948, 34), a butcher (BMFA 04.1751. 1911, 49, XV:1; Breasted 1948, 36, pl.33), a granary (Louvre E11938. 1911, 50, XV:2; Breasted 1948, 14), several model weapons and 10 or so figures of the deceased. One such figure has been dated stylistically to the early 12 dyn. (Louvre E11937. Delange 1987, 151-3. cf. also E12002). The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with a late 11 dyn. date (Schenkel 1962, 118), which is supported by the mask type (Rogge 1986, 130-1, 133) and pottery forms (Arnold 1988, 144 n.333, el-Tarif style).

Tomb 14 at Asyut belonged to *Wp-w3wt-m-h3t* (Chassinat 1911, 164-6). Like tomb 7, it was found intact. The models consisted of an offering-bearer (Louvre E11990. 1911, 164, XXXV:1; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.57), a bull on its own base (1911, 164, XXXV:3), a baker-brewer (BMFA 04.1782. 1911, 164, XXXV:3; Breasted 1948, 34) and 2 boats (Louvre E11993. 1911, 164, XXXV:2; Breasted 1948, 76). These were grouped round the *k3*-figure, with the pottery and terra-cotta offering-tray. The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula and pottery types (comparable with those in tomb 7) point to a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date.

Tomb 20 of *cnh.f* and *It-ibi* (Chassinat 1911, 188-9) contained in

a wall niche a group of models including 2 offering-bearers (Louvre E11991, E12001. 1911, 188, 189; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.88), a bakery (1911, 189), a granary (1911, 189) and 2 boats (1911, 189). The *hṭp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formulae suggest a date range of 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II, although an earlier date is preferable by model type.

One tomb which has long been attributed to the FIP or Herakleopolitan period is that of the *h3ty-c, r-pct, sd3wty-bity, smr-wcty, imy-r hm-ntr n Wp-w3wt, Mshti<sup>1</sup>* (Porter and Moss 1934, 265). Objects from this tomb have filtered onto the antiquities market over a period of time. Amongst the known items are a large model boat (CG 4918. Reisner 1913, 74-5, XVIII), 2 battalions of soldiers, Nubian and Egyptian (CG 257-8. Grébaud 1890-1900, 30-6, XXXIII-VII; Breasted 1948, 101-2; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no.72-3) and a bird from a large offering-bearer (UCL NN). A figure of the the tomb owner is also known (ECMM. Ballance 1976, 138; Bourriau 1988, 33-4 no.23, figs., III). This latter has been dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Neb-hepet-Re, a date supported by the *hṭp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula, the boat hull form (Spanel 1985, n.20 and bib.) and mask type (Rogge 1986, 136-8).

Hogarth's excavations at Asyut for the British Museum brought to light a number of MK tombs (60 or so) of lower officials and their dependents. Some of these tombs are 11 dyn., others 12 dyn. or simply MK for lack of conclusive evidence. Tomb VI contained 2 offering-bearers (BM 45074-5) of 11 dyn. type and boats (Ryan 1988, 18). Tomb VII yielded fragments of models including a man with a jar on his head (BM 45054) and a similar female figure (BM 45050. 1988, 20). The female *k3*-figure from this tomb (BM 45057) has a 12 dyn. type Hathor wig. Tomb XIII contained fragments of boats (BM 45152-4) and other figures (BM 45149). Tomb XIV contained an offering-bearer (BM 45055),

boat fragments and other pieces of figures (BM 45060, 45204. 1988, 31-2). The offering-bearer is of 11 dyn. type. Tomb XXVI near the nomarch tomb of Hty (1988, 24, 46) contained model fragments but may be earlier than the 11 dyn. Tomb XXXV had a model niche in the chapel wall. In it were 2 boats (BM 45087-8. Glanville 1972, 33-8, VIc, VIIa) and a female *k3*-figure for the owner *Idy-kky* (BM 45193. Ryan 1988, 59). This latter is of 12 dyn. type. Tomb XXXVIII contained only a boat near the entrance (1988, 62), along with 4 coffins. Tomb XL had figures from a boat and granary (1988, 65), whilst tomb XLII preserved a duck from an offering-bearer (1988, 68). Tomb XLIII, a collapsed tomb contained a decayed offering-bearer (1988, 69). Tomb XLV contained one of the largest model groups from Hogarth's work. The tomb consisted of 3 loculi, one above the other. With coffin A was a large rowing boat (BM 46605. Glanville 1972, 30-33, VIb; Ryan 1988, 71), with coffin B decayed figures and with coffin C were fragments of a model hoeman (BM 45195. Breasted 1948, 6), figures from a bakery (BM 45197) and brewery (BM 45196), also an elongated male figure (BM 45124. Ryan 1988, 72). Tomb XLVI was a large and finely cut family tomb. It contained a model of a standing ox (BM 45082), a bound ox (BM 45084) and other fragments (BM 45083. 1988, 74). The naked female *k3*-figure (BM 45194) is of a late 11 dyn. type (cf. Delange 1987, 116-7, 156-7). Oars from boats were found in tomb XLVII along with a late 11 dyn. type naked *k3*-figure (BM 45086. see above. Ryan 1988, 76). Tomb XLVIII yielded fragments of boats, butcher scenes and other figures (BM 45202, 45051, 45053, 45199. Ryan 1988, 77). The naked female *k3*-figure (BM 45198) is of late 11 dyn. type. The small tomb XLIX contained figures from a bakery (BM 45126-7. 1988, 78). Tomb L was the largest found by Hogarth. It yielded pieces of boat and figures (1988, 79). A similar tomb was LI which contained highly coloured female



figures and parts of a "farm" (1988, 80). Tomb LII contained fragments of boats and scenes (1988, 81).

Schiaparelli's excavations at Asyut remains largely unpublished. However, records and objects held in the Turin museum indicate that a number of MK tombs were found. Among these were a group from the tomb of *Hp-df* found in 1908, comprising a combined baker-brewer (plate 7:1. Turin S.8652. L.41 x W.21 x H.25 cms) and a granary (plate 18:1. Turin S.8651. L.42 x W.41 x H.33 cms). The style of his *k3*-figure (Turin S. 8650) is consistent with Asyut early 11 dyn. types. A workshop found in 1908 (Turin S.8789) is said to have come from the tomb of *Km-htp*. A large number of model fragments, offering-bearers and boats were found in Schiaparelli's concession.

During the 1913-1914 excavations of Khachaba and Kamal various models were brought to light, including offering-bearers and boats (Kamal 1916, 68, 74, 82, 95).

#### 1.5.1.6. Meir.

The Meir necropolis produced a large number of models often inadequately described. One of the most prolific excavators was Kamal working under the patronage of Khachaba, who published in volumes of the ASAE.

A shaft close to the nomarch tomb A3 was found to contain the burial of the *imy-r sd3wt, Wh-htp, s3 Hp* (Kamal 1912, 108-114). The models comprised 3 boats (JE 42911, 42937?. 1912, 112-3, figs.) and a brewing scene (1912, 114). The proximity of this shaft to A3 suggests that the group may date to the time of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (Blackman 1914, 8; Porter and Moss 1934, 251). The coffin type, canopic box and boat types would support this dating. A shaft situated south of the nomarch A group belonged to *Rc-htpi* and *K3yt* (1912, 98-

101). Models include an offering-bearer (1912, 100; Breasted 1948, 66), a granary, brewery, and 2 boats (1912, 100-1). The *h̄tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with a Senwosret I to Amenemhat II date. A shaft north of tomb B3 belonged to the *sd3wty-bi<sup>1</sup>ty*, *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *sdm-sdmt-w<sup>c</sup>*, *i<sup>1</sup>my-r sš*, *K3y-Hnnt* (Kamal 1911, 18-25). The models include a granary, 2 pack donkeys with drivers (Breasted 1948, 72), a ploughing scene (1911, 23; Breasted 1948, 8), a bakery, brewery (1911, 24) and 8 boats (1911, 23, 24, 25). The *h̄tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula on the canopic box is consistent with a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date. Proximity to tomb B3 of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II date (Blackman 1914, 8; Porter and Moss 1934, 251) adds weight to the dating of *K3y-Hnnt*. A shaft associated with tomb B2 belonged to (*Pr*-)*Wh-h̄tp* (Kamal 1911, 33-5). The coffin of 12 dyn. type was usurped from *Snbi<sup>1</sup>*. The only models in this tomb were 2 granaries (1911, 34, 35, figs.). The *h̄tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula gives a date range of late 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. Proximity to tomb B2 of Senwosret I date (Blackman 1914, 8; Porter and Moss 1934, 250; Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 38 n.423) supports the coffin dating. The tomb of *Hnw* contained several model fragments including a basket and duck from an offering-bearer and a boat (Kamal 1911, 10). The *h̄tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula gives a date range of 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. The tomb of *Wh-h̄tpi<sup>1</sup>* contained models such as an "agricultural" worker with a hoe, a male porter with 2 water jars (Breasted 1948, 59), an offering-bearer (1948, 66), a procession of 8 male figures including a priest (1948, 59), a ploughing scene (1948, 8), a boat with oars and a butchered ox (Kamal 1911, 16). Other than the model types there is little to indicate a definite date. The pit tomb of *Sn<sup>1</sup>i* contained a boat with a cabin and shields (1911, 28). The coffin type is 11 dyn. The tomb of a woman called *Nh̄ti<sup>1</sup>* and of *Snbi<sup>1</sup>*, *s3 i<sup>1</sup>ni-it.f* preserved a poor wooden boat (1911, 36). The *h̄tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formulae give a date range of 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. A

tomb found to contain no other objects, yielded a granary (Kamal 1912, 102). The *imy-r pr, Wh-htp* possessed at least 2 boats (Hayes 1953, 272-3, fig.179). The boat types and the coffin suggest a mid 12 dyn. date.

#### 1.5.1.7. Bershah.

Perhaps the best known group of models from the Bershah necropolis are those belonging to the *h3ty-c, hrp-nsty, Dhwtj-nht* and his wife the *r-pctt, hkrt-nsw, Dhwtj-nht* from tomb 10A (Dunham 1921, 43-6; Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>; 1968<sup>b</sup>, 5-27). Although badly disturbed by robbers many models were recovered and reconstructed. Foremost of these is the so-called "Bershah Procession" of offering-bearers and a priest (BMFA 21.362. Roehrig 1988, 113f and bib.). Other models included 6 single offering-bearers (BMFA. 21.418, 21.484, 21.881-4. Roehrig 1988, 113f), a ploughing scene (BMFA 21.408. Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, 22; Breasted 1948, 7, pl.5a), feeding a recumbent ox (BMFA 21.819. Breasted 1948, 8, pl.5a), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (BMFA 21.886. Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, 22; Breasted 1948, 39, pl. 37b), brick makers (BMFA 21.411. Dunham 1921, 46; Breasted 1948, 52, pl.46c), granaries (BMFA 21.409. Roehrig 1988,113, fig.59 and bib.), male porters carrying weapons and scribal equipment (BMFA. 21.11769. Roehrig 1988, 114) and 40 or so boats of various kinds (BMFA. 21.406, 21.892. Dunham 1921, 45; Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, 22f; Dunham 1958, 67; Breasted 1948, 68, 79, 82, 83, 84, 103, pls.64a, 76a, 77a, 79b, 96a-b; Roehrig 1988, 113f). The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formulae on the coffins is consistent with an 11 to early 12 dyn. date, which is supported by the identification of this *Dhwtj-nht* with the nomarch of that name, either number IV or V (cf. Willems 1985, 94; Brovarski 1988, 109-110 where the date is put at 11 dyn. to Neb-hepet-Re).

Another shaft in this group, 10B of *S3t-mkt*, appears to have

coarser models but of similar types and probably of 11 to 12 dyn. date (Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, 22-3; Stevenson-Smith 1951, 328; Lacavara 1988, 109; Brovarski 1988, 110).

Tomb A of Daressy contained parts of a boat and model figures (Daressy 1900, 24). Pit 19b of the Boston system was located near nomarch tomb 4 of *Nhri*<sup>1</sup> I (Porter and Moss 1934, 181). It contained a small female head which may have been an offering-bearer (BMFA 20.1125. Terrace 1968<sup>b</sup>, 20, fig.20; Wilkinson 1971, 75, fig.44). The tomb of *Nhri*<sup>1</sup> I has been dated late 11 dyn. to early 12 dyn. (Willems 1985, 80ff, 101-2; cf. Brovarski 1981, fig.13 for a 10/11 dyn. date). Tomb E14, north, belonged to the *imy-r mšc*, *Spi*<sup>1</sup> II (Daressy 1900, 27-32) which contained 4 boats (CG 4951, 4953. Daressy 1900, 27-8, fig.2, XXIII; Reisner 1913, 103-4, 106-7, XXIV). The coffin type is 12 dyn. whilst the anthropoid coffin has been dated Amenemhat II (Rogge 1986, 106). Pit F13 was a family tomb, the best preserved burial being of the *imy-r pr*, *Nfri*<sup>1</sup> (Daressy 1900, 40-2). In the debris of the tomb were found pieces of boats of the so-called "solar" form (CG 4962. Reisner 1913, 110, XXXIII) and an offering-bearer (JE 32836. Daressy 1900, 40). The *h̄tp-d̄i<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula provides a date range of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II. A similar date was assigned to the mask of *K3y* from the same tomb (Rogge 1986, 110). Tomb 20.i.b in the northern part of the cemetery belonged to the *nbt-pr*, *S3t-h̄d-h̄tp* (Daressy 1900, 20-1; Porter and Moss 1934, 184). Model sailors were found in the debris. The *h̄tp-d̄i<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula suggests an 11 dyn. date (cf. Willems 1985, 93-4 for the Bershad chronology).

Tomb 21 was of the *h̄3ty-c*, *hrp-nsty*, *imy-r hm-ntr*, *Imn-m-h̄3t* (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 17-32; Porter and Moss 1934, 184) associated with the rock-cut tomb 3. Much remained of the disturbed burial including 8 boats (1901<sup>a</sup>, 18, 19-20), parts of 10 others (1901<sup>a</sup>, 19, 32). A

curious model consisting of 5 recumbent oxen, a tower of 3 storeys, a cloaked overseer and a crouched figure (Cairo cat.2311. 1901a, 31, fig.7; Hayes 1953, 255). The nomarch *Imn-m-h3t* is known to have lived during the reign of Senwosret I (Willems 1985, 102; Brovarski 1981, fig.13). The *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formula is consistent with this date, although Rogge states that anthropoid coffins were used first under Amenemhat II (1986, 110-111).

The family tomb 22 was used over some period of time by *Šmsi* in the 9/10 dyn., whose coffin has mutilated hieroglyphs (CG 28098. Lacau 1904b, 73-4), until the 12 dyn. (Kamal 1901a, 33). In the same chamber were fragments of the coffin of a *S3t-h̄d-h̄tp* (1901a, 34; Porter and Moss 1934, 184) and an offering-bearer belonging to the earlier burial (JE 34297. Kamal 1901a, 34). Chamber III contained the coffin of a woman called *Dh̄wty-n̄ht* usurped from the *sd3wty-bi'ty, K3y, s3 Dh̄wty-h̄tp* (1901a, 36. His offering table was found in the shaft). The funerary assemblage included 3 crude boats, sailors (1901a, 37), oxen and an offering-bearer (1901a, 37). The *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formula on the usurped coffin supplies a date range of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (cf. Willems 1985, 93ff for *K3y*). Tomb 23, chamber II contained the burial of the woman *Dh̄wty-h̄tp* (Kamal 1901a, 38-9). Damp conditions made object identification difficult, some described simply as, 3 "groups" of models (1901a, 39). Others were of sailors, a baker-brewer, 4 recumbent oxen, a ploughing scene (Breasted 1948, 8) and other figures (Kamal 1901a, 39). The *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formula is consistent with a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date. Chamber III contained the burial of *Nh̄ri* whose coffin lid was removed immediately after burial, but was otherwise undisturbed (1901a, 40-3). The models comprised a man feeding a recumbent ox (JE 34301. 1901a, 40; Breasted 1948, 8), 5 shields possibly from a boat (Kamal 1901a, 41), 10 boats (JE 34291-2. 1901a,

41-2) and an offering-bearer (1901<sup>a</sup>, 42; Breasted 1948, 66). Two pieces of model hoe may represent the remains of a hoeman (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 43). The *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with late 11 dyn. examples (cf. Brovarski 1981, fig.13).

An isolated tomb in the north of the wadi was for the *sš<sup>3</sup>-cn-nsw*, *Dḥwty-ḥtp* (Kamal 1902, 277-281; Porter and Moss 1934, 185). The tomb contained 2 boats (Kamal 1902, 281). The coffin is consistent with mid 12 dyn. or earlier types.

#### 1.5.1.8. Sheikh Ibada.

At Sheikh Ibada tomb C was for the woman *P3ḥt-m-ḥ3t* (Gayet 1902, 43-5; Porter and Moss 1934, 176-7). Models were found but not described (1902, 45), except for an offering-bearer (Louvre E20575. 1902, 45, XIX; Breasted 1948, 63, pl.55b). The *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with an early 11 dyn. date, which is supported by the *k3*-figure type (Delange 1987, 188-9).

#### 1.2.1.9. Beni Hasan.

The repertoire of models from the 11 to 12 dyn. tombs at Beni Hasan is largely the same as that discussed above. Shafts directly related to the great rock tombs apparently contained a similar assemblage to that of the lower necropolis. Shaft VII (Fraser in Newberry 1893<sup>b</sup>, 79) contained an inscribed coffin with figures and oars from a boat. West of shaft VIII were 6 coarse figures (1893<sup>b</sup>, 79). The main burial shaft in tomb XV of *B3kt III* preserved fragments of models which are not described (1893<sup>b</sup>, 80).

The expedition also cleared tombs in the southern end of the lower necropolis. A shaft on a ridge was intact and contained 2 sets of figures representing baker-brewers, a female miller, a black and

white bull and a model "owl" on a stand (Fraser in Newberry 1893<sup>b</sup>, 80-1).

Early 11 dyn. tombs found by Garstang are BH1, BH211 and BH275. The former, BH1 of the *smr-wc̄ty*, *3ntf* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 54-65; Porter and Moss 1934, 161) was found intact. On the coffin lid and west floor area were a granary (LM 55.82.2. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 57-8, figs.41, 43-4; Bienkowski 1986, 38), bakers (Leicester 86'1929. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 63-4, fig.51; Breasted 1948, 40), a man leading a bull (Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 62, fig.48; Breasted 1948, 9), a rowing boat (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 58-9, fig.45), a sailing boat (LM 55.82.3. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 61-2, fig.47; Bienkowski 1986, 38), brewers (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 63, fig.50) and an offering-bearer (LM 55.82.1. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 64; Bienkowski 1986, 38). No pottery was found in the tomb, but the boat hull type and the *h̄tp-di<sup>2</sup>-nsw* formula are consistent with an early 11 dyn. date, may be a little earlier (cf. Spänel 1984<sup>a</sup>, 151f; 1985, 243ff).

Tomb BH211 of *Hr-hwi<sup>1</sup>-rhyt-h̄tp* contained his stela (LM 55.82.22. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 186, fig.193; Bienkowski 1986, 36) and parts of a sailing boat (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 219). The *h̄tp-di<sup>2</sup>-nsw* formula on the stela is consistent with an early 11 dyn. date.

Tomb BH275 of the *smr-wc̄ty*, *imy-r pr*, *T33y* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221) contained the largest group of models in the Beni Hasan necropolis. The intact burial consisted of a man feeding a couchant ox (Edin. 1914.74. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 126, fig.123; Breasted 1948, 9), a bakery (plate 48:1. Bristol H4596. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221; Breasted 1948, 38), brewers (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), a male porter carrying a haunch of beef (Edin. 1914.73. 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.95; Breasted 1948, 59), a water carrier (plate 47:2. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), a torch carrier? (plate 47:1. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), a scribe with his palette under his arm (plate 47:2. 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig. 95), brick makers (BM 63837. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 131, fig.129; Breasted

1948, 52), spinners and weavers (plate 47:1. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), a leather worker? (1907<sup>a</sup>, 131, fig.129; Breasted 1948, 52), sailing boat (Bristol H4595), rowing boat (Hull NN. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), a granary (1907<sup>a</sup>, 221) and a naked offering-bearer (Cairo. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221). All the models except the offering-bearer were placed on the coffin lid (SAOS neg. B507). The tomb contained in addition, 4 globular jars and 2 dishes of early 11 dyn. types (el-Tarif style). The funerary mask has been dated FIP to Senwosret I (Rogge 1986, 98) and early 11 dyn. (Bourriau 1988, 89 no.69).

Other model groups which by pottery are of 11 to mid 12 dyn. date (see comments of Bourriau 1981, 60 concerning the date of the Beni Hasan cemetery) are: BH64, fragments of a brewery and boat, SAOS E7018 fragments of a granary (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 213); BH112 of *Hwt-hr-m-h3t*, bakery ovens and boat fragments (1907<sup>a</sup>, 216); BH140 of the *imy-r pr*, *Hnm-htp*, fragments of boats, metal mast fittings, a hollow hulled boat (Ash. E1993) and a boat carrying a mummiform figure (Ash. E1992. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 217), the pottery is 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (Bourriau 1981, 61 no.108); BH578, a bound bull from a butcher scene (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 231); BH615, fragments of figures (1907<sup>a</sup>, 233); BH822-3. fragments from bakers, brewers and a granary (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 240); BH868, a small boat (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242), pottery from the tomb is 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (Bourriau 1981, 61-2 no.109).

Tombs with a closer date range include BH575 of *Hty-i* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 230). This was an intact group with models on the coffin lid and to the west, comprising a combined baker-brewer-butcher (Ash. E2312. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 129, fig.127; Breasted 1948, 42), spinners and weavers (plate 48:2. LM 55.82.4. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 132-3, fig.131; Breasted 1948, 55; Bienkowski 1986, 37; Bourriau 1988, addendum), 2 boats (Ash. E2302, E2297. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 230, fig.229), a granary



(1907<sup>a</sup>, 124-5, fig.121), a naked offering-bearer (Ash. E2306) and a boy porter (Ash. E2308. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 132, fig.131; Breasted 1948, 59). Pottery (type 13. cf. Sedment type 641. Arnold 1988, table 9) from BH575 and the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula are consistent with an 11 dyn. to Senwosret I date.

Of similar date (cf. Rogge 1986, 102-3) is BH707 of the *imy-r pr, Ḳpī* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 236; Porter and Moss 1934, 162). Also intact, it contained an offering-bearer (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 108-9, fig. 98; Breasted 1948, 62), a granary (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.120), a combined baker-brewer (1907<sup>a</sup>, 126-7, fig.125; Breasted 1948, 37) and 2 boats (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 236) on the coffin lid and to the east.

Tomb BH723 of *Sbk-ḥtpī* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237) contained another intact burial consisting of a combined baker-brewer-butcher (BM 41576. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237), a granary (BM 41573. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237), an offering-bearer (Edin. 1953.128. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237) and 2 boats (BM 41574-5. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237; Glanville 1972, 22-7, IVb, Va-b). The *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula on the coffin is consistent with a late 11 dyn. date.

Of slightly later date, 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II, are tombs BH186, BH366 and BH585. Tomb BH186 was of the *imy-r sd3wt, Ḳ3wy/cntī-m-ḥ3t* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220-1; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 79-89). The models were ranged on the coffin lid and east side, and comprised a granary (Cairo. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 87, fig.76; Breasted 1948, 15), a combined baker-butcher (Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 85-6, fig.75; Breasted 1948, 41), a small offering-bearer (Cairo 26/3/23/5. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 87-8, fig.77 right), 4 boats (JE 37564?, 43337, Ash. E2301. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 83-5, figs.72-4, 157) and a large offering-bearer (JE 43295. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 87-8, fig.77 left; Breasted 1948, 65). The *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula suggest the above date (cf. however, Rogge 1986, 96-7 for a FIP to Senwosret I date).

Tomb BH366 of *Hty* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221-2; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224) contained

an intact burial comprising a combined baker-brewer (Fitz. E.71d.1903. 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.124; Bourriau 1981, 63 no.113; 1988, 105-6 no.62), a butcher's shop (Fitz. E.71c.1903. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224, fig.94; Breasted 1948, 40; Bourriau 1988, 106 no.63), a granary (Fitz. E.71e.1903. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224) and 2 boats (Fitz. E.71a-b.1903. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224; Bourriau 1988, 107 no.64-5). Bourriau posits an early 12 dyn. date (1988, 105-7), whilst the *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formula would seem to imply a wider date range.

Tomb BH585 of the *rsw-hwt*, *Hnm-nhtj*<sup>?</sup> and *Ntr-nhtj*<sup>?</sup> (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222-3; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 89-100) was another intact deposit. Two sets of models were provided but all were piled on the coffin of *Ntr-nhtj*<sup>?</sup>. Garstang separated the 2 sets (1904<sup>b</sup>, 223) as follows: for *Ntr-nhtj*<sup>?</sup>, 2 boats (JE 37564, 17/3/23/1. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 96-7, figs.86, 89. NB JE 37564 refers to the group from BH575, with which this has become confused), a granary (1907<sup>a</sup>, 98, fig.90; Breasted 1948, 15), a combined baker-brewer-butcher with a pair of integral offering-bearers (plate 50:1. Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 94, fig.84 top) and a pair of offering-bearers (JE 37569. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 95, fig.85). The set assigned to *Hnm-nhtj*<sup>?</sup> comprised 3 boats (JE 37564, Dublin 1920.270. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 96, 160, figs.87, 163), a granary (BM 63838. 1907<sup>a</sup>; 98, fig.90; Breasted 1948, 15) and a combined baker-brewer-butcher model (LM 55.82.7. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 94, fig.84 bottom; Bienkowski 1986, 38). The *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formulae are consistent with an 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II date (cf. Rogge 1986, 93).

Tomb BH320 of *Ntr-nht* (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 223) preserved fragments of figures and boats. Thrown into the shaft was a well carved stela (1907<sup>a</sup>, 187, fig.194). The *h̄tp-di'-nsw* formula is early 12 dyn., about the time of Senwosret I. .

Several tombs cover the period 11 dyn. to Senwosret II by virtue of pottery (see comments of Bourriau 1981, 60) and the *h̄tp-di'-nsw*

formulae. These are: BH19, preserving parts of boats (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 212); BH23 of the *nbt-pr*, *Nht*, parts of a granary and boat (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212); BH26, parts of a granary, brewer and butcher (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212); BH139, fragments of models, boat rudder (1907<sup>a</sup>, 217); BH181 of *Wsr///*, fragments of boats and granary (1907<sup>a</sup>, 218); BH268, figures from boats and a granary, including a scribe (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220); BH363, parts of boats and models (1907<sup>a</sup>, 223-4); BH548, fragments of boat and offering-bearer (1907<sup>a</sup>, 229); BH564 of the *imy-r pr*, *Hnnwi*, parts of boats (1907<sup>a</sup>, 230); BH606, decayed figures, granary door (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 232); BH614, parts of boat, baker (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 233); BH696, fragments of boats and other figures (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 236); BH772, spars and boat parts, fragments of a butcher (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 239); BH777 of the *nbt-pr*, *////hpt*, rudder, mast and figures from a bakery (1907<sup>a</sup>, 239).

Tomb BH116 of the *swnw*, *Nfry* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 65-79) was found intact. All the models were on the coffin lid and comprised a granary (Cairo. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 72-3, fig.60; Breasted 1948, 15), a baker (Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 76, fig.63; Breasted 1948, 40), an offering-bearer (JE 37563. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 77, fig.64 right; Breasted 1948, 65), a male porter carrying a large *hs*-vase (Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 77, fig.64 left; Breasted 1948, 59), a brewery (Cairo. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 73-4, figs.61-2) and 2 boats (JE 37563. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 68-72, figs.57-9). Pottery (types 25 and 26. Bourriau 1981, 62 no.110) and the *hpt-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula indicate an 11 dyn. to Senwosret II date (cf. Rogge 1986, 93 for the mask).

Tombs which can only be assigned a general 12 dyn. date and which contained models are: BH25, fragments of boat and granary (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 212); BH36, fragments of boat and granary scribe (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212, fig.92); BH96 of *Hnm-hpt<sup>1</sup>* and *crvt-hpt*, parts of models and armoured

boat (1907<sup>a</sup>, 215); BH514, a model arm (1907<sup>a</sup>, 227); BH515 of *Hty-snb*, a decayed figure (1907<sup>a</sup>, 227); BH516 of *cryt-htp* and *Ii'-n-mwt*, containing 18 sailors, oars, parts of a bakery or brewery (1907<sup>a</sup>, 227); BH519, parts of models (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 228); BH522, a double quern (SAOS NN), 7 figures and a small female figure (1907<sup>a</sup>, 228); BH563, a table from a bakery and figures (1907<sup>a</sup>, 230); BH654, parts of a bakery (1907<sup>a</sup>, 234); BH722, a rudder, sailors and parts of a bakery (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237); BH823 of *Hwt-hr-htp*, fragments of a boat (1907<sup>a</sup>, 241).

#### 1.5.1.10. Sedment.

Several of the tombs at Sedment may be dated to the period 11 dyn. to Senwosret I largely on the basis of pottery. Eleventh dyn. tombs are 1537, 1573, 1575, 1580, 1589, 1595, 1604, 1628, 1650, 1679, 1685, 1729 and 2120 (pottery from these tomb is discussed by Arnold, 144 ns.339, 340). The models in these tombs were mostly boats, some offering-bearers and a few combined scenes (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII-IX). Petrie notes in his fieldbooks several times a term "dummy box" which presumably denotes the loads from the heads of offering-bearers.

Tombs with an 11 to early 12 dyn. date are 2111 of *Hnty-hty* (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11-12; Pörter and Moss 1934, 116). The intact burial comprised models placed east of the coffin, a rowing boat (Phil. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XX:6), a granary (Phil. E14259. 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XX:5; Breasted 1948, 14, pl.11a) and a pair of offering-bearers (Phil. E14621. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XX:9; Breasted 1948, 62, pl.55a). The *htp-di'-nsw* formula and pottery provides the date (Schenkel 1962, 30-1; Arnold 1988, 144, table 9, particularly type 8n). Tombs with related model types, that is, with pairs of stick-like offering-bearers with short hair, wrapped in linen and therefore of similar date are 374, 1525 and 2107.

Tomb 374 was intact (Petrie MSS held at UCL) and yielded models east of the coffin comprising 2 boats (Brus. E5798a-b. L.13.8-18 cms. Breasted 1948, 78), a granary (Brus. E5798c), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (Brus. E5798d. L.54.5 x W.19.3 x H.21.5 cms. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXVI:3; Breasted 1948, 42) and a pair of offering-bearers (Brus. E5798e. H.25 cms. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXVI:12; Breasted 1948, 62). Likewise, tomb 1525 was found intact (Petrie MSS), but appeared to only hold the head of the deceased. The models were all round the coffin and consisted of a female offering-bearer (Man. 6597c. 1924<sup>a</sup>, XVII:5; Breasted 1948, 62), a spinning and weaving scene (Man. 6599a-b. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:4; Breasted 1948, 53), sedan chair porters (Man. 6596a-e. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:4; Breasted 1948, 73), a pair of offerers (Man. 6597a-b. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:4; Breasted 1948, 62), a granary (Man. 6601. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:7; Breasted 1948, 15), a combined baker-brewer (Man. 6598a-g. Breasted 1948, 40) and a boat. Petrie's fieldnotes indicate that at least 3 types of pottery were found in the tomb, yet the publication states otherwise, hence there is no attempt to date the group. Tomb 2107 (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11) contained an eastern recess for the models which were a combined scene, a pair of offering-bearers (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXVI:12), 2 boats and a granary (1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XXXIX).

Tomb 2101 of *cwy.fy* (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 10; Porter and Moss 1934, 116) may be dated by pottery to the time of Senwosret I (cf. Rogge 1986, 90). The tomb had been disturbed but preserved parts of 2 boats, a granary, a combined scene and offering-bearers (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 10, XXXIX).

Tombs 2112 and 2127 have a date range of 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II by the evidence of the *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula and model comparisons. 2112 belonged to *Mrt-it.s* (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12) and contained in the eastern

recess a granary (Edin. 1921.1661. Breasted 1948, 14), a combined scene (Edin. 1921.1657. Breasted 1948, 41), a pair of offering-bearers (Edin. 1921.1660a. Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12; Breasted 1948, 62) and 2 boats. Tomb 2127 of *Nḥt-k3wi*<sup>3</sup> (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12-3; Porter and Moss 1934, 116) had an eastern recess containing a combined scene, offering-bearers, a granary and 2 boats (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 13; cf. Schenkel 1962, 30-1 for an early 11 dyn. date).

It has been stated in a recent study that most tombs in the 2100 group are of 11 to early 12 dyn. date (Arnold 1988, 144 n.339).

#### 1.5.1.11. Harageh.

At Harageh tomb B280 is noted to have contained wooden servant figures (Engelbach 1923, LX: Petrie MSS in UCL). The tomb may be 12 dyn.

#### 1.5.1.12. Lahun (Illahun).

Mastaba N17 of *Yti*<sup>1</sup> was on West Hill at Lahun (Brunton in Petrie 1923, 33-4). The tomb had been thoroughly looted and left open for some time. Nevertheless, the remains of the burials were all of one period. Amongst the debris were hollow electrum beads and 12 dyn. type jar stands (1923, 34, XLVIII A). The fragments of models included parts of boats (UCL 6642-4, 6646i-ii, 6663. 1923, 34), parts of unidentified scenes (UCL 6645, 6647-6653, 6659-6660. 1923, 34), a granary basket (UCL 6666), a small male porter with a jar on his shoulder (UCL 6668), fragments of ritual models such as, a hawk's head (UCL 6655. 1923, 34), a lioness' head (UCL 6656), *ḥs*-vases, bowls and an altar (UCL 6661i-v, 6662, 6665). There were parts of model furniture as well (UCL 6657-8). It is probable that the ritual items and furniture elements originate from funerary boats. A wooden statuette of the owner with a

*h̄tp-dī<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula on the base suggests an 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II date, whilst the tomb's location at Lahun should place it in the reign of Senwosret II.

Other model fragments from Lahun are an offerer's right arm (UCL 6681), granary steps (UCL 6683) and a boat canopy (UCL 6684).

#### 1.5.1.13. Riqqeh.

Pit tomb 123A at Riqqeh was found intact (Engelbach 1915, 8). It contained the coffin of the *nbt im̄3ht, Tnt*. The body was in a contracted position. At the head of the coffin was a large boat of Reisner's type V (Engelbach 1915, 8, VII:5). Similar boats are found in the late 11 to 12 dyns.

#### 1.5.1.14. Lisht.

Several of the mastaba tombs around the Lisht pyramid of Senwosret I are contemporary with this structure. One such is 5301 of the *imy-r pr, H̄ty* (Lansing 1920, 3-4, where he is termed "overseer of the place of truth"; Hayes 1953, 183; Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 34 n.382). The tomb was situated in a gully south-east of the pyramid, and found intact. It contained 3 figures of the owner and a collapsed model boat (Lansing 1920, 4). The coffin was decorated in 12 dyn. style, the *h̄tp-dī<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula consistent with a Senwosret I date, the pottery likewise.

A double row of shaft tombs south of the pyramid enclosure had been robbed but yielded the remains of several wooden models (Lansing 1924, 39-40). From 6LP2 came a fine offering-bearer (MMA 24.1.1. 1924, 39, fig.13; Hayes 1953, 266), and parts of another from 6LP13. Other tombs yielded boats (Lansing 1924, 40, figs.9-10; Hayes 1953, 271) and combined scenes (Lansing 1924, 40, fig.14).

Also south of the pyramid is the mastaba of the *imy-r sd̄3wt*,

Dhwtj (Lansing 1933, 20-1; Hayes 1953, 183). The burial had been robbed but the models secreted in a floor niche between the east facade and enclosure wall were untouched (Lansing 1933, fig.17). The largest model was a unique combination of granary, baker-brewer and weaver's shop in defined compartments (MMA 32.1.125. 1933, fig.16; Hayes 1953, 264; Breasted 1948, 54, pl.38a), there were also 2 boats (Lansing 1933, fig.17; Hayes 1953, 271). These latter 2 were inscribed for "Osiris So-and-So" indicating that they were taken from stock. Dhwtj served under Senwosret I.

Mastaba 34 originally belonged to an official called *Sn-wsrt* (Lansing 1934, 28, 37; Hayes 1953, 222), west of *Sn-wsrt-cnh*. The main shaft, pit 3 was covered by the superstructure indicating its contemporaneity with the mastaba structure. The shaft appeared to be partially disturbed, but the burial chamber was intact and occupied by a woman called *Hpy*, who had usurped the coffin (Lansing 1934, 28ff). Two decayed figures and a boat were in the burial chamber (1934, 36). The *htp-di-nsw* formula is consistent with the early 12 dyn.

East of the pyramid is the mastaba complex of the *h3ty-c, r-pct, imy-r sd3wt, Im-htp*, who was also high priest in Heliopolis (Lythgoe 1915<sup>a</sup>, 145-153; 1915<sup>b</sup>, 5-22; Hayes 1953, 271-2). Buried in the complex in floor niches were 4 larger than average model boats of the "solar" type (Lythgoe 1915<sup>a</sup>, fig.2; Hayes 1953, fig.178). Recent re-excavation of the mastaba has revealed that diagnostic sherds of Senwosret I overlaid by those of Amenemhat II date the complex, the boats and the 2 royal statuettes (JE 44951, MMA 14.3.17) to the reign of Amenemhat II (Do. Arnold, April 1988, Colloquium, Cambridge; cf. Lisht II forthcoming).



#### 1.5.1.15. Saqqara.

At the Teti pyramid site at Saqqara tomb 74 of *Ḳpī-m-s3.f* (Quibell 1907, 4) contained 2 metal mast heads. The *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula on the stone altar (1907, XVIII:1) is consistent with an 11 dyn. date, whilst the pottery is said, "to be intermediate between the Old and Middle Kingdoms" (1907, 4). Tomb 91 of *Ḥnty-m-ḥ3t* (1907, 6; Porter and Moss 1931, 127) contained shaft fill comprising wooden model fruits and sailors (Quibell 1907, 6). The pottery comprised "fragments of a bowl with a spout and two coarse Old Kingdom pots" (1907, 6). There was also a 12 dyn. ivory wand. Tomb 124 of the *sd3wty-bity, smr-wcty, Šm3i* (1907, 7; Porter and Moss 1931, 127) had on the coffin lid a model "furnace", presumably a bread oven from a bakery and parts of a boat (Quibell 1907, 7). The coffin is not described or illustrated, but the excavator claimed to have found sherds of large MK water jars which are not illustrated.

The shaft giving access to the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt*, also contained the partly violated chamber of the *imy-r mšc, Ḥri-š.f-nḥt* (Quibell 1908, 6-7; Porter and Moss 1931, 127). Whilst there was no body the tomb did contain a boat (Quibell 1908, 7) and parts of a brewery. The pottery is consistent with early 11 dyn. types (compare Sedment type 86p. Arnold 1988, 144 n.340) and has affinities with that of *K3-rnn*.

Tomb 2757 contained the double burial of *Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t* and *Wsr-mwt* (Quibell 1927, 11-5; Porter and Moss 1931, 145; 1978, 549-550). The chamber was stepped, the later burial of *Wsr-mwt* being placed on a ledge between the chamber and shaft. Both burials were in double coffins and accompanied by models. The set belonging to *Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t* comprised a granary (Quibell 1927, 14, pl.25:1, model 11), rope makers (JE 46765. 1927, 14, pl.25:2; Breasted 1948, 55), a carpenter's shop

(Quibell 1927, 14, pl.24:2, model 14), 4 boats (JE 46766-7, 29/12/15 /3. 1927, 14, pls. 22:1-2, 23:1, models 15, 17-8), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (1927, 15, pl.24:1; Breasted 1948, 42), 2 offering-bearers (JE 46771-2. Quibell 1927, 15, pl.26:2; Breasted 1948, 62) and a weaver's shop (Quibell 1927, 15, pl.26:1; Breasted 1948, 53). The set belonging to *Wsr-mwt* consisted of 2 boats (Quibell 1927, 12, models 5-6), a granary (1927, 14, model 8), a storehouse (JE 45496?. 1927, 13) and a pair of offerers (JE 46773. 1927, 13). The pottery from the tomb is comparable with that of *K3-rnn*, possibly a little earlier. The model types and their execution are certainly comparable. The masks from the tomb have been dated FIP to Senwosret I and late 11 dyn. to early 12 dyn. (Rogge 1986, 53-4), but an 11 dyn. date is preferred.

Of late 11 dyn. date is tomb 75 of the *sd3wty-bity, sdm-sdmt-wc Ipi* (Quibell 1907, 4-5; Porter and Moss 1931, 126). A wooden model base with painted black lines was all that remained of the models (Quibell 1907, 5). The *h̄tp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula indicates the date.

A particularly well preserved and provisioned tomb is that of the *imy-r pr K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt* (Quibell 1908, 7-15; Porter and Moss 1931, 126) near the Teti pyramid. The models were placed on the coffin lids with some on the floor (Quibell 1908, XII). The earlier set of *Nfr-smdt* comprised a granary (1908, 10, model 17; Breasted 1948, 15), a combined carpenter and potter (JE 45319. Quibell 1908, 11, XVII:1, 3, model 15; Breasted 1948, 51), a "vineyard" which is more probably a weaving shop (Quibell 1908, 11, XIX:2, model 42; Breasted 1948, 53), rope makers with a female overseer (Quibell 1908, 75, XVIII:2; Breasted 1948, 55), a storehouse (Cairo 14/3/5/8. Quibell 1908, 11), 3 boats (1908, 11-2, XVII:2, XVIII:1, models 16, 72; Breasted 1948, 78), a combined baker-brewer (JE 45497. Quibell 1908, 12, XIX:3, model 20;

Breasted 1948, 34) and a boat carrying the female owner and attendants (Quibell 1908, 12, model 19; Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 16).

Models which had perched between the coffins or had fallen between them included a "vineyard" (Quibell 1908, 8, XIII), a group of musicians entertaining *K3-rnn* (JE 39130. 1908, 10, XVI; Breasted 1948, 87), a potter's workshop (Quibell 1908, 10, XVIII:4, XIX:4; Breasted 1948, 50) and a carpenter's shop (JE 39129. Quibell 1908, 10, XVII:4; Breasted 1948, 50).

Belonging to *K3-rnn* were a large combined bakery-kitchen-butcher model (Quibell 1908, 8, XIX:1; Breasted 1948, 46), a storehouse (Cairo cat.3136. Quibell 1908, 8, 76, XIX:1, model 18; Breasted 1948, 46), a granary (Quibell 1908, 9, XII, model 5), at least 3 boats (1908, 9, XVII:5, XXVI:22, models 7, 9) and a procession of 20 offering-bearers (JE 39126. 1908, 7, XV; Breasted 1948, 66-7). On a ledge east of this coffin was another boat (Quibell 1908, 7, XII). The *h̄tp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula on the coffin of *Nfr-smdt* is consistent with an 11 dyn. to Senwosret I date (cf. Schenkel 1962, 119). The masks on the other hand have been dated FIP to Senwosret I and 12 dyn. (Rogge 1986, 51-2), whilst a Herakleopolitan date is preferred by Spanel (1985, 246). The pottery evidence (Quibell 1908, XII, XXXIX:1. Compare Sedment types 86h,p, 36c, 29d, Riqqeh types 70m, 4h/j) combined with the *h̄tp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula and model repertoire are indicative of a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date.

At the Pepy II pyramid site is tomb HMK30 of the *sd3wty-bi<sup>3</sup>ty*, *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *i<sup>3</sup>my-r šnwt<sup>y</sup>*, *mt<sup>y</sup>-n-s3 w3d i<sup>3</sup>swt Mry-k3-R<sup>c</sup>*, *sš-n-pr-h̄d*, *Gmn-m-h3t* (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 52-4; Porter and Moss 1931, 139; 1978, 538). The tomb was found intact and contained a wide range of models some of which decayed on exposure (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 52. Mostly boats). The preserved models comprise a large storehouse (AEIN 1632. 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53,

pl.28a-b; Mogensen 1930, 69, LXVI; Breasted 1948, 16), a granary (AEIN 1630. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.30a-b; Mogensen 1930, 67, LXVI; Breasted 1948, 13, pl.10a-b), a combined baker-brewer-butcher (AEIN 1631. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.31a-b; Breasted 1948, 34, pl.32c; Mogensen 1930, 69, LXVI), a weaving shop (AEIN 1634. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.31c; Breasted 1948, 52; Mogensen 1930, 67, LXVI), a combined carpenter, potter and smithy (AEIN 1633. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.29c; Breasted 1948, 51, pl.46b; Mogensen 1930, 68, LXVI), rope makers (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.28c; Breasted 1948, 55), a barber shop? (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 56), a pair of offerers (AEIN 1628. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.29b; Breasted 1948, 62, pl.52a; Mogensen 1930, 69, LXVII) and a papyriform boat (AEIN 1629. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.29a; Breasted 1948, 75; Mogensen 1930, 68, LXVI). The *htp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula on the coffin is consistent with an early 12 dyn. date, whilst that on the stela (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, pl.27b) is more in keeping with the 11 dyn. The mask type has been dated FIP to 11 dyn. (Rogge 1986, 43-4), but compares with that of *T33y* from Beni Hasan tomb BH275 of 11 dyn. date (Bourriau 1988, 89 no.69). The pottery types compare with those of *K3-rnn*.

Tomb HMK40 of the *s3b-iry-Nhn, Sny* (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 55; Porter and Moss 1978, 543) utilised an OK shaft and contained fragments of a boat. The coffin is of 11 dyn. type. Another reused OK shaft was tomb HMK130 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 56). It yielded model tools and a metal mast head. Tomb HMK159 of *Mwt-htpi<sup>1</sup>* (1926<sup>a</sup>, 57; Porter and Moss 1978, 543) contained 2 boats carrying a female passenger, in a model recess.

Possibly of similar date, by comparison of boat types with those of *K3-rnn* is tomb 10 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 45). It contained an offering-bearer (1926<sup>a</sup>, pl.33a) and 2 decayed boats. Two similar boats were found in tomb HMK2 (1926<sup>a</sup>, 48, pl.33c-d) along with parts of a granary and combined scene.

An intact burial close to the Pepy II pyramid belonged to the *imy-r pr, sd3wty-bity, Ipi'-cnhw*, in tomb HMK26 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 50-1; Porter and Moss 1931, 540; 1978, 139). The chamber was cut into the earlier shaft of *S3t-n-Tti'* and contained 3 disturbed burials. Robbers left 2 offering-bearers (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 51) and the burial of *Ipi'-cnhw*, intact. The stela of *S3t-n-Tti'* is of FIP style (1926<sup>a</sup>, pls.20c, 21a-c), implying that the encroaching tomb HMK26 must be later (cf. Rogge 1986, 43-4 for the mask date). Pottery types compare with those of *K3-rnn*.

A tomb found intact in 1884 by Mariette contained 2 chambers for 3 burials near the Pepy I pyramid (Maspero 1893, 177-9; Porter and Moss 1931, 181). The principal burial was of the *imy-r syw, Hpr-k3-Rc* (Maspero 1893, 178). In the debris from the fallen roof were found 5 model boats and parts of others (CG 4912-3, 4915-7. 1893, 178f; Reisner 1913, 68-74, XVII-XVIII). The *htp-di'-nsw* formulae and the name *Hpr-k3-Rc* point towards a date range of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II.

#### 1.5.1.16. Abusir.

At Abusir tomb MR6 of the *mty-n-s3, hk3-hwt Ny-wsr-Rc-mn-iswt, Hri'-s.f-htp* I is generally regarded as FIP (Schäfer 1908, 42-80; Porter and Moss 1931, 81; 1974, 346; Rogge 1986, 31). The models were piled at the northern end of the chamber and consisted of a granary (Leipzig 33. Schäfer 1908, 63, Abb.94; Breasted 1948, 13; Krauspe 1976, 31 no.46/1), a combined kitchen-baker-butcher (Leipzig 34. Schäfer 1908, 65, Abb.97-100; Breasted 1948, 45; Krauspe 1976, 31 no.46/ 2), 4 boats (Leipzig 35-38. Schäfer 1908, 69-76, Abb.111-4, 118-122; Breasted 1948, 75, 77; Krauspe 1976, 30 nos.42/1-43/2) and an offerer (Leipzig 40. Schäfer 1908, 80, Abb.131; Breasted 1948, 62; Krauspe 1976, 32 no.48/5). Pottery (Schäfer 1908, Abb.125-8. Compare

Sediment types 86p, 36c. For 86p see Arnold 1988, table 9, Lisht examples) and the *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula are of the 11 dyn. and related to those in the supposedly later tomb, MR8 (cf. Lilyquist 1979a, 15).

Tomb MR8 of *Hri<sup>3</sup>-š.f-ḥtp* II with similar titles to the above namesake may be no more than a generation later (Schäfer 1908, 82-9; Porter and Moss 1931, 81; 1974, 347). The models include a granary (Schäfer 1908, 88), a decayed combined scene (1908, 89) and parts of 2 boats (1908, 88). The *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with an 11 dyn. date, whilst the pottery may be early 12 dyn. (cf. Rogge 1986, 32 referring to Arnold in the unpublished Handbuch der Keramik, where the pottery is dated Senwosret I).

Tomb MR1 is a family vault for 4 burials (Schäfer 1908, 18-39; Porter and Moss 1931, 81; 1974, 345). On the coffin lid of the *ḥm-ntr Hwt-ḥr, S3t-B3stt* was an offering-bearer (Bremen B.13110. Schäfer 1908, 39, Abb.46) and associated with the coffin of the *ḥry-ḥb, In-m-3ḥt* were 2 boats (Heidelberg 934, Hamburg 1126.05. 1908, 37-8, Abb.42-5). The *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formulae range from 11 dyn. to Senwosret I for *nbt-pr, Nḥt* to Senwosret I to Amenemhat II for *S3t-B3stt* and *In-m-3ḥt*. Pottery from the tomb is of early 12 dyn. types (cf. Rogge 1986, 27-8 for reference to Handbuch der Keramik, where the pottery is dated first half of the 12 dyn.).

#### 1.5.2. SUMMARY.

the wooden model corpus reaches a peak with the 11 and 12 dyns. in terms of distribution, numbers and model types. Models are to be found at most major sites, particularly those serving a nome capital where high and middle ranking burials are to be found. The distribution covers the entire Nile valley from Aswan to Abusir. No models are known to have come from Delta sites.

Table 4 gives the types of models found, along with their frequencies during the period 11 dyn. up to the time of Senwosret II. Only models with a known provenance are included. Highly fragmented models which cannot be identified are likewise excluded.

TABLE 4: 11 DYN. TO SENWOSRET II MODELS

| Model type                                       | Frequency |
|--|-----------|
| Boat   | 211, 68*  |
| (type II   | 128)      |
| (type III  | 3)        |
| (type III/IV                                     | 16)       |
| (type IV   | 6)        |
| (type IV/V                                       | 3)        |
| (type V  | 22)       |
| (type VI   | 6)        |
| (type unknown                                    | 27)       |
| Offering-bearer                                  | 112, 10*  |
| Granary  | 53, 39*   |
| Male porter                                      | 25        |
| Bakery   | 4, 15*    |
| Combined bakery-brewery-butcher shop             | 13        |
| Combined bakery-brewery                          | 11, 1*    |
| Butcher shop                                     | 3, 8*     |
| Brewery  | 6, 5*     |
| Weaving and spinning shop                        | 9, 1*     |
| Group scene                                      | 4         |
| Force-feeding cattle                             | 4         |
| Storehouse                                       | 4         |
| Ploughing scene                                  | 4         |
| Cooking scene                                    | 3         |
| Hoeman   | 2, 1*     |
| Standing bull                                    | 3         |
| Soldiers   | 3         |
| Rope makers                                      | 3         |
| Carpenter shop                                   | 3         |
| "Farm" scene                                     | 2         |
| Garden   | 2         |
| Brick makers                                     | 2         |
| Pottery shop                                     | 1, 1*     |
| Musicians  | 2         |
| Miller with a quern                              | 1         |
| Combined bakery-butcher shop                     | 1         |
| Combined granary, weaver shop and bakery-brewery | 1         |
| Recumbent cattle                                 | 1         |
| Herdsman with cattle                             | 1         |
| Cattle inspection                                | 1         |
| Pack donkey                                      | 1         |
| Combined carpenter-pottery shop                  | 1         |
| Combined carpenter-pottery-smithy shop           | 1         |
| "Barber" scene                                   | 1         |
| Sandal maker                                     | 1         |

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NB. \* indicates fragments

A comparison of Table 3 and 4 illustrates the degree to which the model corpus had expanded during the 11 dyn. up to the mid 12 dyn. As with previous phases model boats are predominant, appearing in tombs in pairs, groups of 4 and larger groups regularly. The offering-bearer category of model increases likewise. A similar increase is seen in the male porter figures which are found in a limited number of tombs. Granaries become more frequent, which with the boats, offering-bearers and staple diet models form the 11 to mid 12 dyn. "core" corpus.

The staple diet producing models are now regularly combined scenes, although single activity types are found such as the bakery or brewery composed of several figures. The combined scenes incorporate the basic activities such as milling, baking, brewing and butchering. One example of the archaic model type, the miller is known from Beni Hasan, but its date may be earlier than the 11 dyn. Butchering in this phase is far more popular than previously appearing not only in combined models but also in 3 complete butcher shops from the Asyut tomb of *Nhtj*, the Theban tomb of *Mkt-Rc* and the Beni Hasan tomb BH366. The model categories "group" and "cook" may refer to combined scenes, although this is not always the case (the terms are used by Petrie for models from Sedment). A unique model from Lisht south combines in one structure a granary, a bakery, a brewery and a weaving shop.

The incidence of agricultural models increases, depicting all stages in the husbandry of cattle from the animals themselves, their herding, subsequent force-feeding and butchering. Oxen are also seen pulling ploughs, and hoemen ready to break the ground. The model type "farm" may refer to ploughing scenes.



During this phase there is a predilection for variety and individuality. Thus a wide variety of often unique models are found. These tend to depict activities outside the "core" repertoire or are a unique combination of "core" model types. For the provision of clothing model weaving shops were made, and the sandal maker from Beni Hasan (this model is sometimes referred to as a "leather" worker). Housing is represented by the 2 garden models of *Mkt-Rc* and the brick makers. The production of goods, both utility and luxury is found in the form of model potters, carpenters and smithies. Models which have sometimes been called laundries in fact depict the processing of flax or papyrus into rope. Personal transport is found in the form of a unique sedan chair from Sedment. Personal hygiene appears to be represented by the model "barber" from Saqqara. Model soldiers come from 2 tombs at Thebes and Asyut in the early part of this phase and may reflect a sense of insecurity at the end of the 11 dyn. necessitating the provision of some sort of defence in the tomb. The entertainment of the tomb owner by musicians and singers is found in one tomb only from Saqqara and calls to mind the dancer model from Meir during the post 6 dyn. phase.

The tombs which contained the greatest number of models and also the widest variety are all in the date range of late 11 dyn. to the first 2 reigns of the 12 dyn.: *Mkt-Rc* at Thebes, *Nhtj* at Asyut, *Dhwty-nht* at Bershad, tomb BH275 at Beni Hasan, tomb 1525 at Sedment, *K3-rmn* at Saqqara. This period marks the zenith of model production, reflecting the prosperity of the country, the provincial nomes, and the prosperity of the individual.

### 1.6.1. THE LATE MK CORPUS: SENWOSRET II TO SIP.

The distribution of models in the later 12 dyn. is very limited. All that attests to a model corpus in southern upper Egypt during this period are isolated offering-bearer figures from Mo'alla.

#### 1.6.1.1. Thebes.

At Thebes the shaft tomb of the *imy-r pr, Mntw-htp* contained his intact burial (Steindorff 1896, 1-46; Porter and Moss 1964, 622). The tomb was found in 1823 by Passalacqua and contained a nest of 3 coffins, pottery and the models which comprised 2 separate offerers (Berlin. Steindorff 1896, 40-1, XI; Breasted 1948, 65, pl.61b) and 2 boats (Berlin 12-3. Steindorff 1896, 32-9, VIII-X). The coffin type, the *htp-di-nsw* formula indicates a date range of Senwosret II to Amenemhat III. The pottery jar style also suggests a late 12 dyn. date (cf. Arnold 1972<sup>b</sup>, group 9 Abb.5 at el-Tarif; 1982<sup>b</sup>, Abb.5 at Dahshur).

#### 1.6.1.2. Qau el-Kebir.

The rock-cut nomarch tombs XVI and XVIII at Qau el-Kebir of *Sbk-htp* and *W3h-k3* II are said to have yielded the remains of wooden models (Petrie 1930, 9-10; Porter and Moss 1937, 11-4; Steckeweh 1936, 35, 49). The small servant figures UCL 31240-1 purport to come from tomb XVIII but these fragments are in Turin (Petrie 1930, 10; Steckeweh 1936, 49). Therefore, it is possible that the UCL pieces come from tomb XVI. The oldest MK tomb at Qau and the latest nomarch tomb is XVIII of *W3h-k3* II who lived during the reign of Amenemhat III (Fischer 1977<sup>a</sup>, 414). The sarcophagus of *Sbk-htp* is comparable with that of *W3h-k3* and may be of late 12 dyn. date.

#### 1.6.1.3. Akhmim/Hawawish.

At Akhmim, the only models of the late MK are offering-bearers.

#### 1.6.1.4. Rifeh.

At Rifeh a subsidiary chamber of the nomarch tomb II of *Hnmw-c3* contained the intact burials of his 2 sons, the *s3-ḥ3ty-c*, *Nḥt-cnḥ* and the *s3-ḥ3ty-c*, *wcb-c3 n Hnm*, *nb Š3s-ḥtp*, *Hnm-nḥt* (Petrie 1907, 12; Murray 1910; Porter and Moss 1937, 3). The models consisted of 2 separate offering-bearers (Man. 4734, 4738. Petrie 1907, 12, X; Murray 1910, 16-7, pl.21:5-6; Breasted 1948, 65) and 2 boats (Man. 4741-2. Petrie 1907, 12, X; Murray 1910, 17-8, pl.16). The coffin types, *ḥtp-di'-nsw* formulae and pottery are consistent with a date range of Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (cf. Rogge 1986, 144-8).

#### 1.6.1.5. Bershah.

Bershah tomb D15 of *Spi*<sup>1</sup> I (Daressy 1900, 26-7; Porter and Moss 1934, 183) was found disturbed, but remaining to the east of the coffin were parts of 2 funerary boats and a "solar" boat. Also in the chamber were a cartonnage tray of offerings and a blue faience shabti figure. This latter object would imply a late date for the group (cf. Bourriau 1988, 98 no.80 for faience shabtis). A date range for the funerary mask has been set at Amenemhat II to Senwosret III (Rogge 1986, 195-6). Tomb E14, south, of the *imy-r mšc*, *Spi*<sup>1</sup> III was found intact (Daressy 1900, 32-40; Porter and Moss 1934, 183). On the coffin lid were 2 cartonnage offering-trays, 2 model boats (CG 4947-8. Daressy 1900, 35-6, fig.; Reisner 1913, 99-101. XXI-II), a "solar" boat (CG 4949. Reisner 1913, 101-3, XXII) and a granary (JE 32831. Daressy 1900, 38-9, fig.). Pottery in the tomb is consistent with late 12 dyn. types (compare Daressy 1900, 33 with Riqqeh types 38x, 40t/v)

and the anthropoid coffin of Senwosret II to III date range (Rogge 1986, 107-110). Yet the *hṯp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula is more in keeping with an early 12 dyn. date.

#### 1.6.1.6. Beni Hasan.

At Beni Hasan tomb BH655 of the *imy-r pr, Iwy* contained the remains of a boat and model group (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 234). Pottery from the tomb ranges in date from the FIP to Senwosret II, whilst the mask is of early MK type (Rogge 1986, 101-2). However, the faience hedgehog in this group may widen the date range even further (Fitz. E.345.1954. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.40; Bourriau 1988, 118 no.110 where it is dated early 12 dyn.). Parts of model cooks from tomb BH526 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 228) were with pottery of 11 dyn. and Senwosret II to Amenemhat III types (type 19. Bourriau 1981, 56 no.96 from Riqqeh). BH517 contained figures from boats (1907<sup>a</sup>, 227) with Senwosret II pottery (type 46. Bourriau 1981, 58 no.100 from Elkab). Of similar date is BH863 of *////rnt* (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242, also pottery type 46) which contained figures from boats and items from scenes (SAOS NN). Fragments of model shields probably from boats were found in tomb BH883 of *Wn-nfr* (1907<sup>a</sup>, 243). The coffin appears to be of late 12 dyn. type.

Tomb BH500 of the *imy-r 3hwt, M3* was found virtually intact (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 226; Porter and Moss 1934, 162). On the coffin lid, which had been left ajar, were 2 boats (Ash. E2296, Cairo 17/3/23/3. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 102, fig.91; Breasted 1948, 69) and a granary (Aberdeen 2.140. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 226). The *hṯp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula is consistent with a mid 12 dyn. date, whilst the pottery is Senwosret II onwards (type 17. Bourriau 1981, 56 no.96 from Riqqeh; type 46. Bourriau 1981, 58 no.100 from Elkab; cf. Rogge 1986, 100 for an Amenemhat II date).

Tombs containing fragments of boats, brewers and offering-bearers which may be late 12 dyn. include BH30 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 212), BH440 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 225), BH662 of Hty (1907<sup>a</sup>, 234-5) and BH840 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 241).

#### 1.6.1.7. Dahshur.

It is possible that a limited number of offering-bearer figures are to be found in the Amenemhat III necropolis at the pyramid site at Dahshur (information supplied by Do. Arnold).

#### 1.6.1.8. Asasif.

Finally, the MMA Asasif tomb 5A R4, burial C had at its head a female figure identified by Fischer as an early example of the drty-mourners found in some NK tombs (1976, 43, fig.7). The tomb is said to be SIP and contained "Rishi" coffins. The figure appears to have more in common with offering-bearers, although both arms are missing. The tomb may be 13 or 17 dyn. in date.

#### 1.6.2. SUMMARY.

It has been stated that the custom of making wooden models ceased "somewhere about the reign of Amenemhat II" (Brunton in Petrie 1923, 34) and that models were only found in one tomb at Lahun, N17 (1923, 334). Despite its proximity to the Senwosret II pyramid the excavators dated the tomb to the time of Amenemhat II seemingly because no other models came from the Senwosret II necropolis. The dating of tomb N17 is supported here (p. 52). However, the model corpus presented in this study supports Brunton's theory only in part. Certainly, models are rare within the Fayoum 12 dyn. cemeteries, but sites in middle and upper Egypt produced models during the time of Senwosret II, and in a few instances, possibly a little later.

Table 5 presents the model corpus from a group of tombs which appear to be of Senwosret II or later date, together with their frequencies. Unprovenanced models are not included. Most of the tombs concerned cannot with certainty be dated later than Senwosret II, but at least 2 can. These are tomb XVIII of *W3h-k3* II at Qau el-Kebir and the Asasif tomb 5A R4 which contained a "Rishi" coffin.

TABLE 5: SENWOSRET II TO 13/17 DYN. MODELS

| Model types             | Frequency        |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| Boat                    | 12, 3*           |
|                         | (type II 6)      |
|                         | (type V 2)       |
|                         | (type VI 2)      |
|                         | (type unknown 2) |
| Offering-bearer         | 14, 1*           |
| Granary                 | 2                |
| Combined bakery-brewery | 1*               |

NB. \* indicates fragments

Boats and offering-bearers are now fairly evenly matched, both categories appearing in tombs in pairs making up the "core" repertoire of the late 12 dyn. Offering-bearers are found as single figures, one usually slightly smaller than the other and less well finished. The staple diet models become very infrequent, as do granaries.

The demise of the model corpus would seem to have occurred sometime during the reign of Senwosret II, sporadic instances of models appearing after this reign. A severely restricted group of models survives the MK into the NK in the form of boats (e.g. Ah-hotep. Stevenson-Smith 1981, 219, fig.214 a metal boat on a wheeled carriage; Tutankhamen. Noblecourt 1963, 83, figs.43, 47, pl.XXVa), a granary (Tutankhamen. Noblecourt 1963, 83, fig.47) and *drty*-mourners (Fischer 1976, 43, n.17, fig.9). All these models are Theban and come from royal tombs, illustrating the return of the model corpus to the

privileged few from which it was usurped during the post 6 dyn. period.

Tables 1 to 5 illustrate the development of the model corpus from its inception in the 4 and 5 dyns. as individual limestone servant figures of limited subject, through the introduction of wood for model production in the 6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period, with the concurrent trend for scenes depicting single or groups of 2 to 3 figures. By the 8/9 dyn. models are entirely of wood and are multiple activity groups incorporating all the activities hitherto found in single models. During the following phase the fully developed "core" repertoire is found comprising a pair of boats, a granary, a staple diet model and sometimes offering-bearers. The period 11 to mid 12 dyn. sees an explosion in the number and types of models made. The second half of the 12 dyn. sees a decline in the model corpus which survives only sporadically in the NK.

#### 1.7. REGIONAL TRENDS.

In the archaeological record models such as boats, granaries and offering-bearers appear to predominate over other model types. This phenomenon may be a distortion of the facts since when found broken-up these 3 types of models are the easiest to identify. It is virtually impossible, for instance, to predict whether isolated model elements such as querns, beer mash vats, bound oxen or figures were originally part of single or combined activity scenes.

Despite the problems it is possible to detect regional preferences and these are set out in Table 6. Only models with a known provenance are included. Each region is given with its model repertoire and model frequencies. The Table includes models of the 6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period to the 13/17 dyn. period.

TABLE 6: THE REGIONAL MODEL REPERTOIRE

| Provenance                | Model type                      | Frequency |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Aswan-Gebelein region     | Boat                            | 10        |
|                           | (type IV                        | 7)        |
|                           | (type IV/V                      | 1)        |
|                           | (type V                         | 1)        |
|                           | (type unknown                   | 1)        |
|                           | Granary                         | 5         |
|                           | Offering-bearer                 | 5         |
|                           | Combined bakery-brewery         | 2         |
| Bakery                    | 1                               |           |
| Theban region             | Boat                            | 24, 13*   |
|                           | (type II                        | 14)       |
|                           | (type III                       | 2)        |
|                           | (type V                         | 7)        |
|                           | (type unknown                   | 1)        |
|                           | Offering-bearer                 | 20, 4*    |
|                           | Granary                         | 8, 6*     |
|                           | Combined bakery-brewery         | 2, 1*     |
|                           | Bakery                          | 2*        |
|                           | Butcher shop                    | 1, 1*     |
|                           | Garden setting                  | 2         |
|                           | Weaving and spinning shop       | 2         |
|                           | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 1         |
|                           | Cattle inspection               | 1         |
|                           | Stable for force-feeding cattle | 1         |
|                           | Carpenter shop                  | 1         |
|                           | Pottery shop                    | 1         |
|                           | Soldiers                        | 1         |
| Sheikh Farag-Rifeh region | Boat                            | 7, 5*     |
|                           | (type II                        | 2)        |
|                           | (type IV                        | 5)        |
|                           | Offering-bearer                 | 7         |
|                           | Male porter                     | 2         |
|                           | Kitchen scene                   | 1         |
|                           | Bakery-brewery                  | 1*        |
|                           | Weaving and spinning shop       | 1         |
| Asyut region              | Boat                            | 16, 7*    |
|                           | (type II                        | 3)        |
|                           | (type III/IV                    | 2)        |
|                           | (type IV                        | 2)        |
|                           | (type V                         | 4)        |
|                           | (type unknown                   | 5)        |
|                           | Offering-bearer                 | 29, 3*    |
|                           | Granary                         | 5, 1*     |
|                           | Bakery                          | 1, 3*     |
|                           | Butcher shop                    | 1, 2*     |
|                           | Male porter                     | 3         |
|                           | Brewery                         | 1, 1*     |
|                           | Combined bakery-brewery         | 2         |
| Standing bull             | 2                               |           |
| Soldiers                  | 2                               |           |
| Hoeman                    | 1                               |           |



|                   |                                 |         |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------|
|                   | "Farm"                          | 1       |
| Meir region       | Boat                            | 23, 2*  |
|                   | (type I                         | 7)      |
|                   | (type II                        | 5)      |
|                   | (type III                       | 1)      |
|                   | (type IV/V                      | 1)      |
|                   | (type V                         | 5)      |
|                   | (type unknown                   | 2)      |
|                   | Offering-bearer                 | 10, 1*  |
|                   | Granary                         | 5       |
|                   | Male porter                     | 3       |
|                   | Oven stoker                     | 3       |
|                   | Combined miller-brewery         | 3       |
|                   | Baker kneading dough            | 2       |
|                   | Duck roaster                    | 2       |
|                   | Jar cleaning                    | 2       |
|                   | Brewery                         | 2       |
|                   | Ploughing scene                 | 2       |
|                   | Hoeman                          | 2       |
|                   | Miller with a quern             | 1       |
|                   | Butcher shop                    | 1*      |
|                   | Pack ox                         | 1       |
|                   | Pack donkeys                    | 1       |
|                   | Female dancer                   | 1       |
| Bershah region    | Boat                            | 76, 14* |
|                   | (type II                        | 51)     |
|                   | (type IV                        | 2)      |
|                   | (type IV/V                      | 2)      |
|                   | (type V                         | 1)      |
|                   | (type VI                        | 3)      |
|                   | (type unknown                   | 17)     |
|                   | Male porter                     | 16      |
|                   | Offering-bearer                 | 13      |
|                   | Granary                         | 12      |
|                   | Miller with a quern             | 2       |
|                   | Cooking scene                   | 2       |
|                   | Force-feeding cattle            | 2       |
|                   | Ploughing scene                 | 2       |
|                   | Combined miller-bakery          | 1       |
|                   | Combined bakery-brewery         | 1       |
|                   | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 1       |
|                   | Butcher shop                    | 1*      |
|                   | Standing bull                   | 1       |
|                   | Recumbent bull                  | 1       |
|                   | Herdsman with cattle            | 1       |
|                   | "Farm"                          | 1       |
|                   | Hoeman                          | 1*      |
|                   | Brick makers                    | 1       |
| Beni Hasan region | Boat                            | 28, 28* |
|                   | (type II                        | 26)     |
|                   | (type IV                        | 2)      |
|                   | Granary                         | 12, 43* |
|                   | Offering-bearer                 | 22, 5*  |
|                   | Bakery                          | 3, 11*  |
|                   | Brewery                         | 3, 3*   |

|                      |                                 |         |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------|
|                      | Male porter                     | 6       |
|                      | Combined bakery-brewery         | 4       |
|                      | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 4       |
|                      | Butcher shop                    | 1, 3*   |
|                      | Weaving and spinning shop       | 2       |
|                      | Miller with a quern             | 1       |
|                      | Combined bakery-butcher shop    | 1       |
|                      | Standing bull                   | 1       |
|                      | Herdsman with cattle            | 1       |
|                      | Force-feeding cattle            | 1       |
|                      | Pack donkey                     | 1       |
|                      | Brick makers                    | 1       |
|                      | Sandal maker                    | 1       |
|                      | "Owl" model                     | 1       |
| <hr/>                |                                 |         |
| Sedment region       | Offering-bearer                 | 49, 1*  |
|                      | Boat                            | 37, 2*  |
|                      | (type II                        | 37)     |
|                      | Granary                         | 14, 1*  |
|                      | Cooking scene                   | 14      |
|                      | "Group" scene                   | 6       |
|                      | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 3       |
|                      | Combined scene of 3 figures     | 3       |
|                      | Combined bakery-brewery         | 2       |
|                      | Duck roaster                    | 1       |
|                      | Weaving and spinning shop       | 1       |
|                      | Sedan chair                     | 1       |
| <hr/>                |                                 |         |
| Lahun-Dahshur region | Boat                            | 9, 4*   |
|                      | (type II                        | 2)      |
|                      | (type V                         | 1)      |
|                      | (type VI                        | 4)      |
|                      | (type unknown                   | 2)      |
|                      | Offering-bearer                 | 3, 2*   |
|                      | Granary                         | 2*      |
|                      | Male porter                     | 1       |
|                      | Miller with a quern             | 1       |
|                      | Combined granary-weaver-bakery  | 1       |
|                      | Standing bull or calf           | 1       |
|                      | Brewery                         | 1*      |
|                      | Palanquin                       | 1*      |
| <hr/>                |                                 |         |
| Saqqara region       | Boat                            | 47, 16* |
|                      | (type I                         | 10)     |
|                      | (type II                        | 5)      |
|                      | (type III                       | 2)      |
|                      | (type III/IV                    | 16)     |
|                      | (type IV                        | 3)      |
|                      | (type V                         | 7)      |
|                      | (type unknown                   | 4)      |
|                      | Offering-bearer                 | 15      |
|                      | Granary                         | 6, 2*   |
|                      | Bakery                          | 1, 7*   |
|                      | Brewery                         | 4*      |
|                      | Storehouse                      | 4       |
|                      | Weaving and spinning shop       | 4       |
|                      | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 3       |
|                      | Rope makers                     | 3       |

|               |                                 |        |
|---------------|---------------------------------|--------|
|               | Combined bakery-brewery         | 2      |
|               | Butcher shop                    | 1, 1*  |
|               | Musicians                       | 2      |
|               | Carpenter shop                  | 2      |
|               | Miller with a quern             | 1      |
|               | Woman with a mortar             | 1      |
|               | Duck roaster                    | 1      |
|               | Kitchen scene                   | 1*     |
|               | Pottery shop                    | 1      |
|               | Combined potter-carpenter shop  | 1      |
|               | Combined potter-carpenter-smith | 1      |
|               | "Barber"                        | 1      |
|               | Male porter                     | 1      |
| <hr/>         |                                 |        |
| Abusir region | Boat                            | 11, 7* |
|               | (type II                        | 6)     |
|               | (type IV                        | 2)     |
|               | (type unknown                   | 3)     |
|               | Kitchen scene                   | 1, 5*  |
|               | Granary                         | 3, 2*  |
|               | Offering-bearer                 | 2      |
|               | Combined bakery-brewery-butcher | 2      |
|               | Miller with a quern             | 1      |
| <hr/>         |                                 |        |
| Giza region   | Boat                            | 2, 3*  |
|               | Offering-bearer                 | 5      |
|               | Brewer mashing beer             | 1, 2*  |
|               | Miller with a quern             | 2      |
|               | Baker forming loaves            | 1      |
|               | Oven stoker                     | 1      |
|               | Baker kneading dough            | 1      |
|               | Duck roaster                    | 1      |

NB. \* indicates fragments

It can be seen that there is a great discrepancy between the frequency of boats, granaries, offering-bearers and other model types. This is due in part to their easy identification as mentioned above and because they tend to survive better than group models, made up as they are of many small pieces, figures and elements.

Few models have been found in the region between Aswan and Thebes. Fragments of models are known to have been found at Qubbet el-Hawa and Elephantine Island, but their nature and numbers is unclear. The concentration of models in southern upper Egypt is at Gebelein. Unfortunately, excavations at this site are very poor published, therefore the true extent and nature of the model corpus at this site

may not be reflected in Table 6. The regional characteristics of the corpus, as far as present evidence allows, consists of little more than the "core" repertoire.

A large number of models were found in the Theban area, from Sheikh abd el-Qurneh to el-Tarif. The concentration of models comes from the tombs of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* and Neb-hepet-Re, with fragments of other models coming from the many shaft tombs at Deir el-Bahri. The former tomb yielded a variety of models not found elsewhere in the necropolis. These are noted for their high quality and often unique form. For instance, the stable model with designated areas for the fattening of cattle is seen elsewhere in Egypt as the single recumbent animal being force-fed. Without the *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* deposit the Theban corpus would appear very meagre.

Like the Aswan-Gebelein region, the area covered by the cemeteries of Sheikh Farag, Naga ed-Deir, Hawawish north to Rifeh are known to have yielded models, yet little of this material is published. Thus the regional corpus appears rather scant. A trend however is detectable in the form of the male porter model which is found in various guises in middle Egypt, and reaches greatest numbers north at Bershah.

The Asyut region produced a model corpus similar in composition to that at Thebes, with the addition of the male porter, and most importantly in this region, the agricultural models. Table 6 indicates that the most frequently found model from Asyut is the offering-bearer. The unpublished excavations of Schiaparelli at Asyut are known to have produced large numbers of boat models which are not included here for lack of information concerning their exact number and nature. Therefore, the number of boat models given in Table 6 should be taken as at least 16 (with fragments of at least 7 others).

The Meir necropolis is very poorly published, despite which the

general trend toward models of an agricultural nature are detectable. The feature of pack donkeys is seen at this site and other middle Egyptian sites. A great number of the models seen in Table 6 are from the post 6 dyn. tomb of *Ny-cnh-Ppy-km*.

The model corpus at Bershah appears heavily weighted toward the production of model boats and male porters. This is an illusion caused by the very well equipped tomb of *Dhwtj-nht* which produced no less than 40 or so boat models, 7 offering-bearers, 12 male porters and 6 granaries amongst a range of typical 11 to early 12 dyn. type models. Other model types seen in Table 6 are necessarily influenced by this tomb. The agricultural models are far more frequent at this site than others in the region.

The Beni Hasan necropolis is by far the best published MK site yielding models. What is clear from the tomb register is that most of the 800 or so tombs yielded models or fragments of them. It is likely that sites such as Meir, Asyut and Bershah had a similar range and quantity of models. At Beni Hasan the "core" repertoire as seen in Table 6 comprises pairs of boats, offering-bearers, a granary and any of the bakery, brewery or butcher shop models. Several of the intact tombs contained precisely this "core" repertoire, whilst tomb BH275 in particular yielded a high concentration of unique model types, like the sandal maker and a range of male porters.

In the Sedment region many models were found broken-up, the assembled pieces being described by the excavator as "kitchen", "cooks" and "group". From known examples it is likely that these designations refer for the greater part to combined scenes of baking and brewing as well as butchering. If this is so, then the number of staple diet models would be significantly increased. Only one tomb in the necropolis, 1525 produced models outside the "core" repertoire of

boats, offering-bearers, a granary and "group" scene, most notably the sedan chair carriers.

The Lahun-Dahshur region is, expectedly lacking in models; the Fayoum 12 dyn. sites did not partake in the 11 to mid 12 dyn. practice of using wooden models to any degree. Despite this, Table 6 demonstrates that the 3 most frequently occurring model types were present in small numbers and that a certain amount of ingenuity was being practised by the mortuary assemblage producers who made the unique combination of granary, weaver's shop and bakery found in the tomb of *Dhwtj* at Lisht south.

At Saqqara a large number of models were found in a select few tombs, with fragments of models from other tombs. The largest deposits were in the tombs of *Gmn-m-h3t*, *Inpw-m-h3t* and *K3-rnn*. The cemetery produced a highly localised repertoire including such models as rope makers, pottery, carpentry and smithy shops in various combinations, as well as the storehouse model, a variant of the granary model. This latter type of model is seen outside Saqqara only in the tomb of *Mkt-Rc* where a similar form of architecture is used in the slaughterhouse model. The model musicians come exclusively from the tomb of *K3-rnn*.

The Abusir corpus has more in common with the middle and upper Egyptian corpus than those at Sedment or Saqqara. The repertoire is very limited and no innovations are seen. It is interesting to note that at this site "kitchen" scenes when taken with the combined scenes of the staple diet corpus far out number granary models, whilst offering-bearers are rare.

The Giza area only yielded models of a 6 and post 6 dyn. date, the largest deposit coming from the tomb of *Idw* II. The corpus comprises the "core" repertoire of a pair of boats, millers, bakers, brewers, dough kneaders and duck roasters. A surprisingly high number

of offering-bearers were also found in the Giza necropolis.

Particular activity models may be found in certain regions. For instance, in middle Egypt, from Asyut to Beni Hasan there is a predilection for models involving cattle in 4 types of models. These are ploughing, standing or couchant bulls, herding cattle and force-feeding bulls. The ploughing scenes are found at Meir and Bershah, although the model termed "farm" at Asyut may refer to a ploughing scene. The model type is not found at Beni Hasan. Standing figures of bulls are found at Asyut, Sheikh Ibada and Beni Hasan, but not at Meir. Recumbent bulls are found only at Bershah, when not in a force-feeding context. The herdsman model type is found at Bershah and Beni Hasan, but not at Asyut or Meir. The force-feeding model is likewise found at Bershah and Beni Hasan. Another agricultural activity, that of the hoeman is found in this region, at Meir, Asyut and Bershah, but not at Beni Hasan. Whilst the husbandry of cattle and their inspection is represented amongst the *Mkt-Rc* models, the frequency of these models in middle Egypt must reflect the importance of cattle and farming in that region.

The activity of flax beating and rope making is found in models only from Saqqara, a site close to the Delta where flax production and papyrus harvesting was most frequent. Brick makers are found in the Bershah to Beni Hasan region. Trends in offering-bearers, granaries and boats are discussed in the following chapters.

#### 1.8.1. DISPOSITION OF MODELS.

The vast majority of models were placed in the substructure, in close proximity to the coffin, in a chamber usually devoid of decoration. The size and design of the chamber governed the positioning of the models within.

On occasion models were placed in the sealed chapel of a tomb as in the cases of *Nni*, tomb 613 at Mayana (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 15, I:19-23), the family tomb 7 at Asyut (Chassinat 1911, 29ff) and Hogarth Asyut tomb XXXV (BM MSS). At Sedment, tomb 274 of *Mry-Rc-hc-št.f*, the models were placed part way down the tomb shaft in the south-east corner oriented north (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:3). At Lisht south models were often deposited in floor niches or serdabs close to the superstructure enclosure wall, such as those of *Im-htp* (Lythgoe 1915<sup>a</sup>, 147f) and *Dhwty* (Lansing 1933, 20-1, fig.17). Similar superstructure serdabs existed in the Giza mastaba of *Idw* II (Junker 1947, 90-107, tf.16-7). Serdabs have also been found in the shafts or entrance passages to tombs, such as those of *Ištj* at Saqqara (Lauer 1950, 15f, I; Drioton 1958, 207f, VII) and *Mkt-Rc* at Thebes (Winlock 1950, 12ff, fig.55). Rarely a floor niche may be used in the chapel area, such as that of *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Legrain 1900, 68). In the latter case the chapel was decorated indicating that models were not intended merely to replace tomb decoration, but to supplement it. The separation of the models from the burial may have been thought of as a safeguard for the continuation of the funerary offerings, should the burial chamber be interfered with.

Tombs containing models were of the rock-cut, shaft and chamber, and mastaba types. The burial chamber is usually only large enough to take the large wooden coffins, either in single burial or family tombs. Headroom and space between the coffins and walls was utilised for the deposition of the funerary goods. Ideally, offerings were left as close to the eye-panel of the coffin as possible. In practice, as intact and well recorded tombs illustrate, this was not always the case. Aswan tomb 98 of *St-k3* had models placed on the coffin lid (Budge 1887-8, 38). The Theban tomb of *Mntw-htp* had its models placed



to the sides of the coffin because the pottery and food offerings took up all the space under the eye-panel (Steindorff 1896, 2, fig.2; Schmidt 1919, 63-4, figs.343-4). At Rifeh, the tomb of the Two Brothers was not square cut, the coffins being placed against the east wall leaving a space to the west where the models and offerings were left (Petrie 1907, 12, XIIIIE; Murray 1910, 10-11, pl.3). Three intact tombs excavated by Hogarth at Asyut were LIV which contained a pile of models west of the coffin, tomb LVI likewise. Tomb LVII contained the burials of 4 adults and 1 baby in the east chamber. South of coffin 2 were models, south and east of coffin 3, and east of coffin 4.

Bershah tomb E14, south, of *Sp<sup>3</sup>* III had a spacious burial chamber with the coffin set along the west wall, yet all the models were placed on the coffin lid (Daressy 1900, 33, fig.2). Two intact tombs at Sheikh Ibada, A of *Mr-šnt* and C of *P3ht-m-h3t* had models placed on the coffin lids, to the south and east (Gayet 1902, 41-3).

At Beni Hasan, a shaft tomb found by Newberry's expedition had models exclusively on the coffin lid (Fraser in Newberry 1983<sup>b</sup>, 81). The photographic record of Garstang's 1902-1904 excavations at Beni Hasan are particularly informative in the study of placement of objects within the burial chamber. BH707 (plate 7:2) of *Ip<sup>3</sup>* had its models on the east of the coffin in a special extension of the chamber running its full length (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.174; SAOS negs. B545-7, B585-6, B608-9). Tombs with models on the coffin lid only include BH366 (plate 8:1-2) of *Hty* (SAOS negs. B511-3, B515-7, B576-9), BH500 (plate 9:1-2) of *M3* (SAOS negs. B219, B523), BH585 (plate 10:1) of *Hnm-nht<sup>3</sup>* and *Ntr-nht<sup>3</sup>* (1907<sup>a</sup>, figs.80-1; SAOS negs. B497, B531-8), BH723 (plate 10:2) of *Sbk-htp<sup>3</sup>* (1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.136; SAOS negs. B550-4). Some tombs contained models on the coffin lid and to the east, such as BH116 (plate 11:1-2) of *Nfry* (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, I; 1907<sup>a</sup>, figs.54, 56,

61; SAOS negs. B470, B481, B483-4, B560-1, B704, B707, B714-5), BH186 (plate 12:2) of T3wy (Garstang 1904b, IV-VI; 1907a, figs.68-9; SAOS negs. B200, B423, B488, B490-1, B565, B718), BH275 (plates 12:1, 13:1) of T33y (SAOS negs. B502-7, B568). Tombs also had models on the lid and to the west side, such as BH1 (plate 13:2) of 3ntf (1907a, figs.40-51; SAOS negs. B470, B590, B592-3) and BH575 (plate 14:1) of Hty-i (SAOS negs. B220-1, B528). In the latter 5 cases it was usually boats and offering-bearers which were placed on the floor because of their height and the lack of space between the coffin lid and chamber ceiling.

Not as helpful as the Beni Hasan records are Petrie's notebooks and tomb cards of the Sedment necropolis (held by UCL). Some chambers contained models to the south or foot of the coffin, like tomb 604 of Nb-m-nsw (Petrie 1924a, 14, XVII:1-3; tomb card) and 1525 (Petrie notebook 95a; tomb card). Others had all the models placed to the east, like 374 (tomb card), 1593 (notebook 95a), 2106 of W3dt-htp (tomb card diagram) and 2111 of Hnty-hty (tomb card diagram), whilst others practised a seemingly erratic distribution on the coffin lid and on all sides, such as tomb 1021 (Petrie 1924a, 15; tomb card) and 2100 (tomb card).

At Lisht south, where models survive they are placed east of the coffin in tombs 34:3 of Hpy (Lansing 1934, figs.27-8, 34) and an unnumbered tomb (Lansing 1920, 6, figs.2-3). Tomb 5301 of Hty had models on the coffin lid and to the east (Lansing 1920, 3-4).

An intact pit tomb at Riqqeh, 123A contained a coffin with a model boat on the lid (Engelbach 1915, 8). It is exceptionally rare to find wooden models in a tomb of this type.

The Saqqara necropolis produced a variety of dispositions. With models on the coffin lid and to the east were tombs HMK26 of Ipi-cnhw

(Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, fig.53) and HMK30 of *Gmn-m-h3t* (1926<sup>a</sup>, figs.57-8, pl. 22). The latter tomb had a small niche cut into the east wall to help facilitate the models. Models placed entirely on the west side were from tombs HMK40 of *Sny* (1926<sup>a</sup>, 55) and HMK69 of *Ip̄i-hr-ssnb.f* (1926<sup>a</sup>, 55, fig.61). Models placed predominantly on the coffin lid with others to the west were in tombs such as that of *Hnnw* and *Ip̄i-m-s3.f* (Quibell 1908, XXVII), and of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt* (1908, XII-XIX). One tomb of curious design belonged to *Inpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt*. It contained models ranged to the north and east in a sort of wall niche (Quibell 1927, 12-5, pl.21). A rather small tomb with a burial chamber too small to take the coffin was HMK159 of *Mwt-h̄tp̄i*. The coffin projected into the shaft with the models in a cutting on the south side of the shaft (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 57, fig.63).

At Abusir tomb MR1 contained 4 coffins but only 3 models, all placed on the coffin lids (Schäfer 1908, 18ff, fig.15). The large tomb MR42 of *Tpy* despite its size had all the models on the coffin lid (1908, 103-4, Abb.165-6). Tomb MR43 of *In-m-s3.f* had models on the coffin lid and to the east (1908, 107, Abb.172). Models entirely to the east side were in tomb MR8 of *Hri-š.f-h̄tp̄* II (1908, 82ff, Abb.136), whilst in MR6 of *Hri-š.f-h̄tp̄* I all the models were piled at the northern end as if pushed in by the coffin (1908, 42ff, Abb.59-60).

A large number of specially constructed niches in the eastern wall of the burial chamber is a particular feature of the Sedment necropolis, found in tombs such as 996 (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 15; tomb card) and 2112 of *Mrt-it.s* (tomb card).

1.8.2. SUMMARY.

Table 7 presents the model dispositions in their regional contexts, together with their relative frequencies. Only tombs which were intact or demonstrated limited disturbance from robbers (usually only the body had been interfered with) have been used to compile this Table.

TABLE 7: MODEL DISPOSITIONS

| Provenance   | Disposition  | Frequency                            |
|--------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Aswan        | Coffin lid   | 1                                    |
| Gebelein     | "Chamber"<br>exact position uncertain  | 2                                    |
| Thebes       | Floor serdab<br>West and east floor  | 1<br>1                               |
| Naga ed-Deir | Wall niche<br>West and south floor   | 1<br>1                               |
| Rifeh        | West floor   | 1                                    |
| Asyut        | East floor<br>West floor<br>North floor<br>South floor<br>East and south floor<br>"Chapel" (tomb 7)<br>"Chamber"<br>exact position uncertain | 3<br>3<br>2<br>2<br>1<br>1<br>1<br>1 |
| Meir         | "Chamber"<br>exact position uncertain<br>Floor serdab  | 3<br>1                               |
| Bershah      | "Chamber"<br>exact position uncertain<br>Coffin lid  | 3<br>2                               |
| Beni Hasan   | Coffin lid<br>Coffin lid and east floor<br>Coffin lid and west floor<br>"Chamber"<br>exact position uncertain<br>East floor<br>South floor   | 6<br>3<br>2<br>2<br>2<br>1<br>1      |

|         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| Sedment | Eastern wall niche                       | 8 |
|         | East floor                               | 4 |
|         | West, north and south floor              | 2 |
|         | South floor                              | 2 |
|         | Coffin lid                               | 1 |
|         | East and south floor                     | 1 |
|         | "Chapel" (tomb 613)                      | 1 |
| Lisht   | Floor serdab<br>(superstructure context) | 2 |
|         | East floor                               | 2 |
|         | Coffin lid and east floor                | 1 |
|         |  |   |
| Saqqara | Coffin lid                               | 3 |
|         | Coffin lid and east floor                | 3 |
|         | Wall niche                               | 2 |
|         | East floor                               | 2 |
|         | West floor                               | 2 |
|         | North floor                              | 2 |
|         | Coffin lid and west floor                | 2 |
|         | North and east floor                     | 1 |
| Abusir  | Coffin lid                               | 3 |
|         | Coffin lid and east floor                | 1 |
|         | East floor                               | 1 |
|         | North floor                              | 1 |

The region Aswan-Rifeh preserves so few undisturbed deposits that very little of significance can be stated about the model disposition. At Asyut models were most commonly placed on the floor around the coffin, the positions to east and west being popular. At Beni Hasan the most popular positioning, despite the lack of headroom in the burial chambers, was on the coffin lid, followed by the combination of coffin lid and floor space to the east under the eye-panel. Positions on the coffin lid and western floor space was less popular. At Sedment, the eastern wall niche, specially cut to hold the models was the most frequent disposition. Tombs without a wall niche favoured the eastern floor space near the eye-panel of the coffin. Saqqara exhibits an array of model dispositions equally favoured, with the coffin lid context and combined coffin lid and eastern floor area being fractionally more popular. At Abusir the coffin lid position was favoured.

Models are placed as close as possible to the deceased, using the

areas of the coffin lid and eastern floor beside the coffin. This latter position has particular significance because it is on this side of the coffin (left) that the *w3dt*-eye panel and falsedoor are situated. It is through these elements of coffin decoration that the deceased was supposed to receive sustenance and exit the coffin. Often offerings in jars and dishes were placed below the eye-panel necessitating the positioning of the models further along the eastern side of the coffin or indeed, in other parts of the burial chamber.

Positions not in the eastern floor area or wall niche may have been influenced by the space available within the chamber once the coffin had been introduced. Often the coffin took up most of the chamber, as is illustrated by the tombs at Beni Hasan. Models must then be fitted where possible. The type of model may also influence its position within the tomb. For instance, tall models could not be placed on the coffin lid. Evidence from Beni Hasan suggests that it was usually the boat models and offering-bearers which were placed on the floor. However, at this site offering-bearers are not large so that a number were found on the coffin lid. At Rifeh the tomb of *Nht-nh* and *Hnm-nht* contained the 2 coffins along the east wall so that all the offerings including the models were placed in the west floor area. At Thebes, the tomb of *Mntw-htp* had the coffin centrally placed in a very low chamber, so that the models and offerings were placed on the floor to either side.

The disposition of models is often seemingly the product of accident and necessity, in terms of the space allowed after the installation of the coffin. However, there is ample evidence to suggest that the ideal position on the lid or proximity to the eye-panel on the eastern side of the coffin was striven for and achieved in many tombs.

### 1.9. SHABTI FIGURES.

Small figures of the deceased appeared during the 11 dyn. of wax and mud. The surface find of such a figure at Saqqara in what is termed an Herakleopolitan context is not necessarily anything of the sort (Hayes 1953, 326); it may have originated from one of the MK tombs in the area. Truly mummiform figures are found only from the late 11 to early 12 dyns. onwards, the majority no doubt belonging in fact to wooden funerary boats. Nevertheless, shabti or mummiform figures increase in number towards the end of the 12 dyn. just as the MK wooden model corpus was dwindling and appear to have taken over some of the functions of those models (cf. Schneider 1977, 3, 18). Wooden figures particularly, cannot be automatically taken as shabtis unless they exhibit some evidence of having been stood upright, even then some mummiform figures on boats are standing.

### 1.10. IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN MODEL SCENES.

Schneider has traced the origins of shabti figures back to OK stone servant statuettes (1977, 3ff) and suggested that these represent the people involved in the mortuary cult of the deceased person in whose tomb they were placed (1977, 18ff). The introduction of servant statues into the tomb context is seen as an attempt to magically substitute the real mortuary cult with another requiring less effort. The funerary estate or dt was headed by the *s3 ikr*, the heir of the deceased who was the *shd-hmw-k3*. The *k3*-priests under his charge were his brothers and sisters called the *msw-dt*. Members of the funerary estate without rank were called the tsw and it is these people who actually ground the grain to make the bread and beer offerings (Schneider 1977, 18-9). Schneider notes that OK servant statuettes, where they are inscribed, are labelled *s3*, *s3t*, dt or *hm-*

k3 (1977, 22-3; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 96-100; Fischer 1977<sup>b</sup>, 74), that is, those persons of rank in the funerary estate but represented as the *tsw*, their direct subordinates. In this fashion, not only did a servant figure substitute for the product represented, but also for those directly responsible for the continuation of the mortuary cult.

Names inscribed on servant figures are relatively frequent in the OK. The inscriptions give the name and title of the tomb owner and sometimes of the servant depicted (cf. Schneider 1977, 22). After the OK inscriptions on models become rare, usually consisting of little more than explanatory docketts on granaries. Texts may be found on the bases of offering-bearer figures or their baskets. In most cases, these merely name the beneficiary in a *htp-di<sup>2</sup>-nsw* formula. Occasionally, a text may be found on a boat. Some texts, however, do appear to name the individual represented. Each figure on the model boats of *Mntw-htp* at Thebes (Steindorff 1896, 32-9) is labelled with its own name and prosopography. The 2 offering-bearers from the Rifeh tomb of the Two Brothers (Petrie 1907, 12) are named and their position within the household provided. Of the vast majority of wooden models, however most are anonymous. If, as Schneider suggests, the OK servant statues represent certain individuals and number the servants within a household, can this be taken as true of MK servant figures? The answer is no, since so many figures are found per tomb. It is unreasonable to suggest that persons of relatively low rank had large numbers of domestic servants in their employ. Certainly by the FIP numbers of models were increasing and so what and who they represented must have altered emphasis. Where individual servants are named, these may represent particularly favoured servants and are extremely rare in the MK, most are merely anonymous producers of food, drink and transport.



### 1.11. MODELS OF OTHER MATERIALS.

Not all funerary models were made of wood. Other materials were used such as clay, pottery, stone and faience. For instance, offering trays are predominantly of terra-cotta, whilst model foods are usually of faience.

A limestone figure from Sheikh Farag tomb SF 96 (BMFA 13.3657. Breasted 1948, 106, pl.98c) appears to represent a woman attending an oven (it is unfinished). Limestone has been used to produce small model boats, such as that from Aswan (CG 4919. Reisner 1913, 80, fig. 301) and Edfu tomb group XXIII-XXV (Michalowski 1950, 88, XXIII no. 146).

Clay or pottery is more frequently found because of its availability and cheapness. Pottery has been employed to produce a variety of models, chief among them being the offering-trays, "soul-houses" and dome granaries. These latter tend to be found at sites where wooden models were not found, emphasising the economy of the material. Other model types in pottery are boats, such as those from Cecil tomb 19 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Cecil 1903, 68), Rizeikat (CG 4817. Reisner 1913, 21, figs.91-2, V) and Edfu (Michalowski 1938, 123, XL:9).

Beni Hasan appears to have been particularly rich in models of pottery. Amongst these are figures executing jobs usually undertaken by wooden models, such as milling (Fitz. E.35.1903. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 226; Bourriau 1981, 118 no.236) and a scribe with writing board from tomb BH76 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 214; SAOS neg. B415). Crude figures engaged in unidentifiable activities were found in tombs BH137 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 194, fig.206) and BH380 (Fitz. E.66.1903. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224). Rather better produced painted pottery figures were found in tomb BH487 of *Snbw* (JE 43307. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 146, fig.144), one of them depicting a man stooping over a beer mash jar.


A particularly interesting group of models in terra-cotta were found at Hu (plate 15:1-2) in 1927 (Brus. E6273. JE 51347-8. Capart 1927, 48, fig.2; Breasted 1948, 48). The group consists of 10 small male figures each seated on a cube-like chair with arms outstretched. Accompanying them is a low table piled with cakes, loaves and vegetables. Another smaller table supports 2 large beer jars, one stoppered. The tables and figures are all painted. They were found in a shaft tomb along with a "soul-house", a broken wooden boat and inscribed coffin. The style and pose of the figures resemble those from Crete (Andronicos 1985, 41 no.24; Papapostolou 1981, 22, fig.20), although figures are not uncommon from within native "soul-houses" (cf. Petrie 1907, XXII). It is likely that this group originated from the "soul-house" they were found with, though of superior quality to most.

A class of object which appears to be unique to Beni Hasan are the pottery offering stands with modelled figures on the sides (plate 6:2 a female miller. SAOS E6308). These figures include naked males and females, offering-bearers and millers (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 195, figs. 206, 210-1). Garstang says nothing of their find spots, but by their nature, as offering stands they seem likely to have come from the superstructures of the shaft tombs. A similar stand with a naked female figure applied has been dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (Bourriau 1981, 62-3 no.112). What those superstructures consisted of is now largely unknown for the majority of shaft tombs throughout Egypt. Adding weight to the impression that they came from the surface is their broken state at both tops and bases and in some instances, the extremely friable nature of the clay, as if left exposed for some time. It is known that some other models in pottery, like granaries were left on the surface at Beni Hasan. This leads one to wonder what

else in the way of offerings and models had been deposited at the surface at this and other sites which are now lost to us.

## CHAPTER TWO: MODEL GRANARIES AND RELATED STRUCTURES.

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION.


The ancient Egyptian word for granary is *šnwt*  (Wilkinson 1878, 349; Erman 1950, 510; Gardiner 1978, 498 O<sub>51</sub>; Strudwick 1985, 255-6). The ideogram is thought to represent a pile of grain standing on a low platform or an enclosure with peaked corners, with a mound or silo in the middle. This form however, does not reflect the types of granary depicted in tombs and on coffins until the NK. The storage of cereal crops appears as a subject within agricultural scenes from the 6 dyn. (cf. Harpur 1987, 26, 220). Granaries are depicted more commonly as illustrations to the offering lists on tomb walls, and later are found at the foot end of coffins as part of the Object Frieze.

#### 2.2.1. REPRESENTATIONS OF OK GRANARIES.

The earliest 2 dimensional depictions of granaries are of tall cylindrical structures with a knob on the top, which stand on a low platform. Grain was introduced via a hole in the top of the silo of which the knob was the lid. At the base of each silo was a small door for the extraction of the grain (Badawy 1948, 118-9, fig.124-8; 1966, 32; Vandier 1978, 199). Models of this form of granary are extremely rare and are never of wood (Breasted 1948, 11-2, erroneously attributed to *Gmn-m-ḥ3t* at Saqqara; Koeford-Peterson 1956, XXIX:9). A clay model granary (plate 14:2) found at Gebelein in 1910 by Schiaparelli, Turin S.11960, from an unknown context depicts 9 such silos lining 3 walls of an enclosure. It is probably OK or FIP in date.

#### 2.2.2. REPRESENTATIONS OF FIP GRANARIES.

During the post 6 dyn. and FIP, granaries appear in tomb scenes

in a different form. Still placed on a low platform, the storage areas become domes or vaults with high, pointed walls. Part way up each vault is a square window or door from which the grain was extracted (Badawy 1948, 119-120, figs.133-5; Petrie 1898, XXVIII; Blackman 1924, XVIII, XXIII, XXV; Kanawati 1981, fig.17). The vault is usually painted grey, blue or black to indicate mud-brick, whilst the windows or openings formed by a square frame with a central horizontal bar are painted red and white to indicate wood. The window would have slid upwards to facilitate the extraction of grain. The shape of the early FIP granary is best represented by the naos sign  (Gardiner 1978, 495 O<sub>20</sub>). Only one model known to me represents such a granary (plate 16:1). It is JE 28839 entered in the JE of 1889, of unknown provenance. Of wood, the form this model takes is of a row of 5 vaulted storerooms painted onto the long sides in black, with red and yellow windows, and a white "void" above each vault. The vaults sit upon a platform in which are cut below each vault rectangular apertures with facilities for slidable doors (surviving in only 2 cases). To one side of the model is a flight of steps to the roof, which is given a parapet the height of the painted peaked corners. Directly above each vault is a small hole through which to pour the grain. Since nothing is known of the context of the model it can only be tentatively dated by its similarity to post 6 dyn. 2 dimensional granaries. Its dissimilarity with 8/9 dyn. to MK granary models suggests that the model is probably no later than the 8 dyn.

### 2.2.3. REPRESENTATIONS OF MK GRANARIES.

From the late FIP and continuing into the 12 dyn. granaries are depicted as freestanding domed structures without a platform and sometimes within or next to a pillared hall (Badawy 1948, 121-3; 1966,

33; Vandier 1978, 230ff; Magee 1983, 242, XXXVII:C, coffin of *Nmti-wi*; Steindorff 1901, 14, IV, coffin of *Hnwy*; Naville 1907, 56, XXIII, sarcophagus of *Kmsyt*; 55, XX; Winlock 1942, 43-4, pl.8, coffin of *33yt*). An enclosure wall with a door at one end may also be represented. Perhaps amongst the earliest of this group is a depiction from the tomb of *anh-ty.fy-nht* at Mo'alla, which consists of 4 and 5 domes on a platform flanking a large central dome without a platform (Vandier 1950, 115, fig.55; 1978, 231, fig.98). During the 11 dyn. granaries were being depicted as rows of domes preceded by or topped by a pillared hall in which sat the scribe and other officials concerned with the recording and movement of cereal produce (Badawy 1948, 121-3, fig. 141-4; 1966, fig.12; Vandier 1978, 230ff; James 1979, 163-4, fig.58; Hayes 1953, 316; Klebs 1922, 72-3). Representations on coffins are usually of the earlier type with the domes and pillars alternating as though they were within the hall itself (CG 28046, 28082-3, 28085-6. Lacau 1904<sup>a</sup>, 139, 170, 176, 201, 222; CG 28090, 28092, 28118, 28123. 1904<sup>b</sup>, 30, 51, 101, 114, 139). Similar arrangements may be seen in the Qubbet el-Hawa tomb of *S3-rnpwt I* (Müller 1940, Abb.27) and the 13 dyn. tomb at Hierakonpolis of *Hr-m-hcw.f* (Wreszinski 1927, tf.42).

No model granaries of any materials depict domes with an associated pillared hall, although model domes do exist.

Probably the earliest representation of an entirely flat roofed granary is to be found in the tomb of *Sbk-htp* at Mo'alla (Vandier 1978, 235, fig.101). The scene depicts 7 windows in a row to represent 7 magazines. On the left is a flight of steps to the roof which has on it a 6 pillared hall. The only other flat roofed granaries appear in the tombs at Beni Hasan. Tomb XVII of *Hty* of earlier than 11 dyn. date, depicts a large granary of 2 parallel rows of 10 silos each

(Newberry 1893<sup>b</sup>, XVII; Badawy 1966, fig.13). Steps lead from the central courtyard to the roof above the silos, which in the upper row is depicted as flat. The enclosure wall at the top right corner has a small triangular shape, possibly to indicate a peaked corner.

Tomb II of *Imn-m-h3t* dated to year 43 of Senwosret I (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, 24, VIII, XIII, year 43, 2nd month of inundation, day 15 corresponding to year 25 of the Oryx nome), depicts a granary with a court to the right and 4 flat roofed magazines with windows to the left. A flight of steps against the right hand magazine leads to the upper terrace via a doorway giving access on the right to a pillared canopy under which the scribe sits. To the left of the doorway 2 flat roofed magazines flank a domed silo.

Tomb III of *Hnm-htp* dated to the reign of Senwosret II (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, 69, XXXI, XXIX, recording in year 6 the visit of the Aamu), shows a scene of a granary with a door to the left giving access to a pillared hall off which open several rooms. The area to the right outside the hall depicts a group of 4 flat roofed magazines mounted by steps on the left to a canopy under which the scribe and overseer sit.

During the 12 dyn. at other sites such as Qubbet el-Hawa and Sheikh abd el-Qurneh domed granaries continued to be depicted (Vandier 1978, 275, 276, figs.117-8). On coffins domed granaries are the norm, but some examples of flat roofed structures survive on the coffins of *Nfry* in Beni Hasan tomb BH116 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.55a-b) and of *Spī* from Bershah (Jéquier 1921, 302, fig.785).

### 2.3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF GRANARIES.

Archaeological evidence of granary structures has most recently been approached by Kemp (1986, 120-136). Highlighted is the, "irreconcilability of [the] two types of evidence" (1986, 120), that is the

2 and 3 dimensional representations. Actual granary structures have been found at Abydos (Spencer 1979, 126-7), Deir el-Medina (Bruyere 1939, 50, 72-8; David 1986, 67; Bierbrier 1982, 26, 70), el-Amarna (Frankfort 1933, 46-7, 72-3, 99; James 1979, 224) and Gurob (David 1986, 92; Petrie 1891, 7-8). All are said to have been circular in design, silo-like and situated in a corner of a kitchen (although some Deir el-Medina silos were rectangular).

The closest to the typical MK model and 2 dimensional representations is a granary structure found by Petrie at Kahun (Petrie 1923, 39, XXXVIA, XLIV:7-8; Badawy 1966, 35-6, fig.16; Kemp 1986, 121-2, fig.2). This structure appeared to be square, enclosing a covered colonnade under which the scribe sat on a low bench opposite 3 large silo structures, along with several cellars and pits for the storage of grain and its products. The arrangement of pillars and silos echoes the arrangements seen in most MK representations of granaries on coffins and tomb walls. The internal division of model granaries is seen to some extent in the architectural remains of the Kahun structure (Kemp 1986, 122, fig.2) and second cataract forts (Kemp 1986, 123-130, figs.3-5). Large Kahun houses also appear to have rectilinear magazines within their structures to store grain for the working community (Kemp 1989, 153-4).

#### 2.4. THE BEGINNINGS OF MODEL GRANARIES.

A glance at the material comprising 3 dimensional representations of granaries (over 150 models or parts thereof studied here), reveals immediately that the vast majority of it does not comply with the 2 dimensional material. Model granaries of wood are of a simple design; square in shape with a peaked enclosure wall, several magazines along one or 2 walls and stairs to the flat roof. If the magazines had been



intended to imitate domed structures one would expect some attempt to show this either in the construction of the magazines or in their subsequent decoration, like the Cairo FIP model cited above. Domed structures do appear however, in the form of terra-cotta models, either in groups or singly. Are the different designs indicative of types of produce stored? Unfortunately, the inscribed labels on both scenes and models are of little help, since a mixture of cereal grains and fruits appear to have been stored within the same structure.

The appearance of the granary amongst the model corpus is relatively late. Stone examples of the 6 dyn. are rare. The OK model corpus in groups such as those belonging to *Ḳst* at Saqqara, *Ḳdw* II at Giza, the mastaba S676/684 at Giza, *Špy* at Dahshur, *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km* at Meir and *Mry-Rc-<sup>h</sup>c-<sup>š</sup>t.f* at Sedment do not include a granary, but do have offering-bearers, cooks, brewers, etc. The earliest datable model granaries come from the tombs of *Ḳni* at Gebelein and *St-k3* at Qubbet el-Hawa. These nomarchs are of the 8/9 dyns. (p. 17). Contemporary with these is the nomarch *<sup>c</sup>nh-ty.fy-nht*. In complete contrast with the Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa models, that from Mo'alla appears to consist of wooden domes (JE 52085-6. H.1-2 cms. Fischer 1961, 49, fig.2). The small size of these domes seems more in keeping with gaming pieces. They do however, have small square apertures part way up their sides which may be openings for the extraction of grain. The well preserved cemetery of Sedment produced a number of granaries of late FIP and MK date all of which are of the square flat roofed type.

From this widely dispersed material it should be possible to detect regional influences or preferences.

## 2.5. SURVEY OF WOODEN MODEL GRANARIES.

### 2.5.1. Qubbet el-Hawa.

1. Tomb 98 of *St-k3*. BM 21804. H.24.5 x W.42 x L.44 cms (plate 16:2). A square model with gently peaked corners (c. 20°). The door is placed in the left corner opening onto a court with a row of 3 magazines against the front wall and a row of 4 magazines on the back wall, each with movable windows and hieratic labels indicating the contents as *bš3, swt, isd, wch*. The stairs to the roof are on the left. In the roof are holes corresponding with each magazine. The walls are painted yellow and the door and windows red. The front walls have a red T shape on the corners (Budge 1887-8, 38; 1922, 21, 22; Breasted 1948, 12, pl.9c). Dated 8/9 dyn. (p. 17-18).

### 2.5.2. Gebelein.

1. Tomb of *Ini*. Turin S.13270. H.37 x W.37 x L.36 cms (plate 17:1). Unlike the foregoing model this example is tall with high walls, also peaked (c. 23°) and square. The door in the right corner leads to a row of 4 magazines with cut out windows and carved slots for the sliding shutters (missing). Holes corresponding to each magazine are found in the flat roof, behind a small parapet. There are no stairs or figures. The walls are a dark yellow, with details in a reddish brown. The model has suffered from the attentions of mice particularly around the windows and roof apertures. Dated 8/9 dyn. (p. 17).

2. ECMM 1251. H.37.5 x W.37.4 x L.37.5 cms. A square wooden granary similar to the above but without provenance. It has peaked corners (c. 35°), the outer walls painted a buff colour over gesso. The door is in the left corner, painted white with edges in red. The magazines, 4 in number across the back of the court, have sliding windows painted red and white fitting into vertical slots. The terrace has a small

parapet and 4 holes, slightly rodent damaged. Like the Gebelein model there are no stairs or figures.

A provenance of Gebelein for this model is suggested because it appears to belong to a group of models in the Myers Museum with very strong Gebelein characteristics in the style of the figures and the spartan nature of the granary. A pencil mark 20 on the model suggests it came from a tomb group context. Unfortunately no such marks were discernible on the group scene (p. 17) or boat. The similarity between these models and the Gebelein group is inescapable. The shape of the granary with its tall walls, slotted windows, lack of stairs and figures as original features do not compare with any model except that from Gebelein.

### 2.5.3. Deir el-Bahri.

The first 5 models below were found in the floor niche of pit 14, the royal tomb (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, IX; 1981, 25-8, tf.22-8, 68-71).

1. Pit 14. Tomb of Neb-hepet-Re. H.16.4-7 x W.34.7 x L.53.7 cms. A rectangular model with steeply peaked corners (c. 36°), the door in the left corner giving access to a court with a row of 5 magazines, partially open topped. Stairs to the left lead to a platform above the magazines. Figures within the model include a scribe and men filling grain sacks in the court (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 25-6 no.689, tf.22c-d, 23, 28, 68). Reign of Neb-hepet-Re.

2. Pit 14. H.16.5-18 x W.40 x L.51 cms. Poorly preserved rectangular model with angular peaked corners (c. 24°). The door is in the left corner. Steps lead from the right to the row of 4 open topped magazines with a platform on top (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 26 no.690, tf.24a, c-d, 67).

3. Pit 14. ROM NN(B). H.20.5 x W.41.5 x L.57.5 cms. Rectangular structure with steeply peaked corners (c. 32°). The door is slightly off centre. Steps to the left give access to the row of 5 open topped magazines (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 27, tf.25a, d-e, 70).
4. Pit 14. ROM NN(A). H.24.7 x W.34.5 x L.43.5 cms. A rectangular structure with gently curving peaked corners (c. 21°). The door is in the right corner and the stairs on the left. These lead to the flat roof with 5 holes corresponding with the 5 magazines below (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 27, tf.24b, e, 25c, 69).
5. Pit 14. ROM NN(C). H.17.5 x W.36.7 x L.53.5 cms. The model is rectangular with gently peaked corners (c. 25°) which are mostly lost. The door in the centre leads to the stairs on the left. Along the back wall are 5 open topped magazines with a platform on top (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 27, tf.25b, 71).
6. Pit 3. YPM 6743. H.24.5 x W.44 x L.41 cms. A rectangular granary with peaked corners (c. 30°). The door in the right corner leads onto a court filled with 5 figures engaged in measuring and sack filling activities. Across the back wall are 3 painted magazine windows. On the terrace, accessed by stairs to the left, are 3 men filling them. The walls are deep yellow, with a doorjamb of red and white (Naville 1907, 44, IX:5; Porter and Moss 1964, 656; Scott 1986, 74). 11 dyn.
7. Pit 4. Fragments of a granary (Naville 1907, 45; Porter and Moss 1964, 656). 11 dyn.
8. Pit 9. *K3wyt*. Fragments of granary (Hall 1905, 182). Reign of Neb-hepet-Re.
9. Pit 10. *Kmsyt*. Fragments of granary (Hall 1905, 182). Reign of Neb-hepet-Re.
10. Pit 22. *Hpwit*. Remains of granary model (Porter and Moss 1964, 655; Thomas 1966, 23). 11 dyn.

11. Pit 5. Fragments of granary model (Neville 1907, 46). Probably 12 dyn. (p. 33).

#### 2.5.4. Sheikh abd el-Qurneh.

1. TT280. Tomb of *Mkt-Rc*. MMA 20.3.11. H.36.5 x W.58 x L.74 cms. Model F represents a rectangular structure with peaked corners (c. 27°). The internal design of *Mkt-Rc*'s model differs from any other known examples. The entrance is situated in the side wall giving access to a small open court formed by a narrow corridor in which the door-keeper, 4 scribes, an overseer, a grain measurer and 2 labourers go about their business. A door at the far end of the the court opens to the left into a tiny square room off which open the 3 magazines on the side and back wall. Stairs in this room lead to walkways from which to empty the sacks of grain into the open topped storage areas. The real grain seeds deposited in the model had attracted the attention of mice which left behind their droppings (Winlock 1955, 25-7, 87, pls.20, 21, 24, 62, 63; Breasted 1948, 14, pl.11b; Porter and Moss 1960, 363-4). This model may represent the type of storage magazines within large villas, such as those at Kahun and elsewhere (Kemp 1989, 153, 154, 155). Reigns of Neb-hepet-Re and Sankh-ka-Re.

2. TT60. Tomb of *Snt*. Fragments of door and windows from a model granary (Davies 1920, 3). Reign of Senwosret I.

#### 2.5.5. Asyut.

1. Tomb 13. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The tomb evidently contained a model granary although it is not alluded to in the text (Chassinat 1911, XXXI:2). The model appears to be rather crudely made with steeply peaked corners (c. 55°). The illustration is too indistinct to make out much detail. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 23).

2. Tomb 7 of *Nḥtj*. Louvre E11938. H.32 x W.44.5 x L.41.5 cms. The granary is a square structure with small peaked corners (c. 22°). The door is on the right giving access to a court in which 4 figures measure and carry sacks of grain. There are 3 magazines with painted windows against the back wall. Steps on the left lead up to the terrace in which there is only one hole through to the area below. Crouched on the terrace is the scribe with a large board. The model is painted a grey-black imitating mud-brick on the exterior walls and the fronts of the magazines. The doorjambs, windows and tops of walls are red imitating wooden elements, whilst the inside is given a whitewash (Chassinat 1911, 50; Breasted 1948, 14, pl.12a; Noblecourt 1981, 116-7 no.111). Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 35).

3. Geneva 23470 (plate 17:2). Dimensions unknown. Model granary obtained from Khachaba, possibly from Asyut (information supplied by Dr. Mottier). The walls of this square model curve gently upwards into the modestly peaked corners (c. 5-10°). The doorway on the left is painted boldly in red on the black wall. A row of 3 magazines with painted windows against the rear wall are mounted by stairs on the right. Two figures measure and carry grain sacks in the court whilst the scribe on the terrace oversees their activity. The similarity between this model and that of *Nḥtj* reinforces the suggested provenance.

4. Tomb of *Hḥp-df*. Turin S.8651. H.33 x W.41 x L.42 cms (plate 18:1). The roughly square model has gently peaked corners (c. 13°). The door on the left leads to the court in which 2 figures carry grain sacks whilst another 2 are involved in beer production. The steps on the right lead to the terrace above the 3 magazines with painted windows. The scribe squats on the terrace with a large writing board (Farina 1931, 20ff, fig.55 top). Dated early 11 dyn. (p. 38).

5. Tomb 20. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. It is noted that a granary was found in this tomb (Chassinat 1911, 189). Dated 11 dyn. to the reign of Amenemhat II (p. 36).

#### 2.5.6. Meir.

Several model granaries are known to have been found at Meir.

1. Tomb B3:2. Location unknown. H.25.5 x L.45 cms. Model no.8 in this tomb is said to be a model house (Kamal 1911, 18). Its description is more in keeping with a granary structure. The doorway leads to a central court with magazines on either side. A stairway leads to the roof of the left hand block of magazines. Apart from 4 figures on the terrace, cooking activities are taking place in the court. It is not stated whether the corners are peaked. The tomb is situated in front of the rock tomb B3 of *Snbī* II. The latter was probably cut during the reigns of Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (Blackman 1914, 8). The neighbouring pit 3 of *s3t-h3ty-c*, *Nb-hwt* has been dated Senwosret II to Senwosret III (Rogge 1986, 123-4). It is not clear to which part of this time span the models in pit 2 should be placed.

2. Tomb of *K3y-Hnnt*. Location unknown. H.21 x W.41.5 x L.41.5 cms. Model no.3 is a square wooden granary with 3 magazines mounted by steps on the right. Three holes are to be found on the terrace (Kamal 1911, 23). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 39).

3. Tomb of *(Pn-)Wh-htp*. Location unknown. H.18 x L.32 cms. Model no.1 is said to be a granary (Kamal 1911, 34). It was painted black and had a red door. Three magazines with windows painted red and white were mounted by steps to the right (similar to Geneva 23470?). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 39; cf. also Lilyquist 1979a, 38 n.423).

4. Tomb of *(Pn-)Wh-htp*. Location unknown. H.18 x W.30 x L.44.5 cms. Model no.3 was a large rectangular granary with 3 large magazines and

4 smaller said to be behind them in an arrangement which is unclear. Stairs led from the court to the terrace (Kamal 1911, 35). Date as above.

5. Tomb of *Rc-htpi*<sup>3</sup> and *K3yt*. Location unknown. H.13 x W.25 x L.28 cms. Model no.8 is a rectangular granary with peaked corners (Kamal 1912, 100). It also has 3 magazines, stairs facing the door and several figures. Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 38-9).

#### 2.5.7. Bershah.

Tomb 10A of *Dhwtj-nht* contained several models, mostly boats which had been left by tomb robbers in a confused pile between the coffin and east wall (Dunham 1921, 46 and fig.). Amongst this mass were the granary models.

1. BMFA 21.409. H.29 x W.29 cms. Small square structure with low walls rising gently to low peaks (< 10°). The walls are painted a buff colour with the tops of the walls ornamented with a red stripe and vertical red lines above. A red T marks each corner. The door is painted in the right corner. There do not appear to be any structures within the court but there are the figures of a grain measurer, a man carrying a sack and the scribe (Roehrig 1988, 113, fig.58-9).

Eight model granaries were found in the tomb (Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, 24; Roehrig 1988, 113), each the same as that described and all with only 3 figures per model. Dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 40).

#### 2.5.8. Sheikh Ibada.

The rock-cut tomb of *Mr-šnt* contained a second burial in a decayed coffin. On the lid were a set of models. One of these was a granary, Brus. E785:2, H.21 x W.25.5 x L.25.3 cms (plate 18:2). The structure is square and tall with truncated peaked corners (c. 28°),



left rough where they were sawn off. The door in the left corner gives access to a court before a long open topped magazine with a platform to the left on which the scribe is seated. The whole model is painted a reddish colour. The 2 labourers in the court and the scribe sport textured court style wigs which are more common to the OK than MK, perhaps indicating a FIP date (Gayet 1902, 42). Dated to the FIP to Senwosret I (p. 24).

#### 2.5.9. Beni Hasan.

Model granaries were found at Beni Hasan in large numbers. Only 12 complete examples are known but elements from these structures such as the windows and stairs proliferate attesting to their widespread use.

1. Tomb BH1 of *3ntf*. LM 55.82.2. H.27 x W.37 x L.37 cms. Tomb BH1 contained a tall square structure with sharply peaked corners (c. 45°). The outer surface of the walls have been coarsely plastered white. The door in the left corner leads to the court in which are 4 magazines against the back wall. The windows are painted a dull red. Stairs to the left give onto the terrace in which are 4 holes. On the terrace is seated the scribe with a writing board and palette. Two labourers fill grain sacks and carry them up the stairs (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 57-8, figs.41-4; Bienkowski 1986, 38). Dated 11 dyn. or earlier (p. 44).

2. Tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htpi*. BM 41573. H.21 x W.30 x L.35.8 cms (plate 19:1). The roughly square model has gently curved and peaked corners (c. 20°). The walls are painted a dull grey with the doorjamb in red. A blue hatched design ornaments the tops of the walls. The courtyard and the 2 open topped magazines were filled with real grain seeds. Also inside the model was a scribe, an overseer, 3 labourers and a

separate offering-bearer, not belonging to this model but not having its own base, placed in the left magazine (SAOS neg. B611). Stairs to the magazines were on the right (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237).

Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 46).

3. Tomb BH707 of *Ipi*<sup>3</sup>. Location unknown. H.21.5 x W.30.5 x L.34.5 cms. Unlike most Beni Hasan models this structure has gently curved and peaked corners (c. 16°). The door in the right corner gives access to the court at the back of which are 3 magazines with sliding windows. The stairs on the left lead to the terrace with 3 holes through to the magazines. On the terrace the scribe with his writing board oversees 5 labourers in the court (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 123-4, fig.120).

Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 46).

4. Tomb BH275 of *T33y* (plate 19:2). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. This model is very much like that from tomb BH707, in that it has very low peaks on the corners (c. 11°). The walls are painted white with a red band along the tops. The door in the right corner gives onto the court in which are crowded 6 magazines. In the court and on the stairs are at least 6 labourers, one of whom carries his grain sack on his head (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 44-5).

5. Tomb BH575 of *Hty-i*<sup>3</sup>. Ash. E2310. H.35.5 x W.30 x L.51.6 cms. The rectangular structure has peaked corners (c. 39°). The exterior walls are painted yellow with a dado of blue-grey, a band of blue and white between them. The tops of the walls are the same blue-grey, whilst the peaked corners are streaked blue-grey. The door and jambs are red and are set in the centre of the wall. In the court are 4 open topped magazines against the back wall, with a fifth against the left wall. The steps to the terrace, which is formed by a small platform for the scribe and overseer, are to the right. When found the model was filled

with grain seeds identified as emmer wheat and barley. In the court are 3 figures measuring and carrying sacks whilst the scribe on the terrace writes in hieratic on his board (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 124-5, fig.121). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 45-6).

6. Tomb BH186 of T3wy. JE 37564. H.22.5 x W.37.5 x L.43 cms (NB all objects from BH186 are given this number). The rectangular structure has sharply peaked corners (c. 62°). The exterior walls are painted with a grey-black dado. The corner peaks, door and jambs are a dull red and grey. The door in the centre of the wall gives access to the court with 3 magazines on each side, which are open topped and contained real grain seeds identified as emmer wheat and barley. Four figures measure and carry the grain whilst the scribe sits above one of the magazines (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221, IV:13, V:16; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 87, fig. 76). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 46).

7. Tomb BH366 of Hty. Fitz. E.71e.1903. H.22.2 x W.24.5 x L.29 cms (plate 20:1). The model granary from this tomb is particularly crude. The outer walls exhibit marks made by the carpenter's adze which were never adequately smoothed off. The model is small and square with sharply peaked corners (c. 65°). In the courtyard are 3 magazines against the back wall with painted windows. The stairs to the right lead to the terrace which has the usual holes. The 5 figures, including the scribe in this model are out of proportion with the structure (SAOS neg. B601. Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221-2; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224; Bourriau 1981, 63 no. 113). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 47).

8. Tomb BH585 of Hnm-nhtj and Ntr-nhtj. Two model granaries were provided in this double burial, both virtually the same (only one located). Each has steeply peaked corners (c. 62°). Both have doors painted red which open in the centre of the long wall. Each has 4 labourers in the courtyards. Neither is furnished with steps to the

terraces. One example, BM 63838, H.24 x W.26.4 x L.35 cms, has a blue-grey dado on the exterior walls. This model has 3 painted magazine windows but no hole in the terrace. The other model has 2 open topped magazines of unequal size, the larger apparently entered via a door represented in paint. Both models have scribes who perch on small platforms over the magazines (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 98, fig.90). Since most material from BH585 was placed in Cairo it is likely that the other granary is there also. Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 47).

9. Tomb BH116 of *Nfry*. JE 37563. H.33 x W.25 x L.61 cms. The narrow rectangular model has moderately peaked corners (c. 33°). The door is in the middle of the right wall giving access to a central court flanked by 3 magazines on each side with painted windows. At the opposite end of the court are the stairs leading to the right set of magazines where the scribe sits with his writing board. Four labourers work in the court amongst real grain seeds (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 218, 220, II:5, III:7; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 72-3, figs.56, 60). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 48).

10. Tomb BH394. Ash. E2311. H.35.5 x W.26.5 cms (plate 20:2). The structure is rectangular with sharply peaked corners which are slightly truncated (c. 47°). The exterior walls are relatively well decorated, consisting of a blue-grey dado, above which is a band of yellow and then red. The door jambs and tops of the walls are blue. The peaked corners are streaked blue. The door is in the centre of the wall giving access to a court with a row of 4 magazines against the back wall, with painted windows. A square hole is cut in the terrace in the rear right corner, by the steps. Four figures work in the court (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 224; Moorey 1970, fig.27; 1983, fig.29; 1988, fig. 32). Dated FIP to Amenemhat II/Senwosret II (p. 22).

11. Tomb BH500 of *M3*. Aberdeen 2.140. Dimensions unknown (plate 21:1). The structure is rectangular with small peaked corners (c. 28°). The door is painted rather than modelled and is placed in the centre of the short wall giving access to a central court with the stairs at its opposite end. On each side are 2 open topped magazines containing real grain seeds. Four labourers measure and carry grain, overseen by a crouched and cloaked figure and the scribe who perch on a platform at the top of the stairs (SAOS neg. B604. Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 226; Reid 1912, 92 no.140). Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 65).

Other items and elements from Beni Hasan are listed below. The following tombs have a date range of between the FIP to 12 dyn. (p. 22): BH16 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212), BH540 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 228), BH580 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 231). The following have a date range of FIP to Amenemhat II/Senwosret II (p. 22): BH41 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 213), BH105 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 215), BH271 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), BH600 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 232), BH728 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 238), BH752 (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 238). The following have date ranges of FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22): BH584 (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 231), BH711 (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237). The following have a date range of between the 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 48): BH23 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212), BH181 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 218), BH268 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220), BH606 (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 232). Tomb BH64 (SAOS E7018? 1907<sup>a</sup>, 213) may date by pottery types to the 11 dyn. (type 2. Compare with Sedment type 84), whilst BH25 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 212) may date to the 12 dyn. Several tombs are of uncertain date due to lack of evidence: BH81 (LM 55.82.56. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 215, fig.92; Bienkowski 1986, 36, a scribe), BH107 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 216, a standing scribe), BH188 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 219), BH206 (Fitz. E.175.1903, SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 220. Door with metal fastening and other items), BH262 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220), BH264 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220), BH265 (Fitz. E.194.1903. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 220, figure from a granary), BH269 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220), BH272 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 221, a

scribe), BH283 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 222), BH285 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 222), BH287 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 222), BH412 (LM 55.82.43? 1907<sup>a</sup>, 225; Bienkowski 1986, 38), BH420 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 225, a scribe), BH423 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 225), BH592 (SAOS NN. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 232), BH637 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 234), BH762 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 238), BH778 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 239), BH791 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 240), BH845 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 241) and BH865 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242).

#### 2.5.10. Sedment.

At least 14 model granaries are known to have come from tombs at Mayana and Sedment. Unfortunately, few are described or illustrated, fewer still have been traced.

1. Tomb 2106 of *W3dt-htp*. AEIN 1571. L.22 cms. The structure is roughly square with very shallow peaked corners (c. 10°). The door is in the right corner opposite the stairs. The magazine is along the back wall and has on the terrace a single long slot through which to fill it. In the court are 7 figures all out of proportion with the walls (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, 11, XX:1; Mogensen 1930, 66, LXIII). Petrie sequence date 2 (9 dyn.), probably 10/11 dyn. (p. 20).

2. Tomb 1525. Man. 6601. H.18 x W.27.8 x L.35.5 cms. The model is rectangular with low angle peaked corners (c. 10°). The door is in the centre of the wall giving access to the court in which are 3 magazines against the back wall. The stairs to the left lead to the terrace which has holes for the grain, the magazine closest to the stairs having 3 holes instead of one (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:7). No sequence date. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 50).

3. Tomb 374. Brus. E5798c. H.23 x W.31.2 x L.32.2 cms (plate 21:2). A roughly square structure with gently peaked corners (c. 17°). A hole cut in the right corner suffices as the doorway and gives onto the court, across the back of which are 3 magazines with crudely painted windows. The stairs on the left lead to the terrace where 2 crude

figures are crouched. In the court are 2 other figures out of proportion with the structure, filling sacks. Also in the court is a model basket and trunk probably from another model. This tomb is not listed by Petrie. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 50).

4. Tomb 2105. Chicago 11494. H.18.7 x W.21.2 x L.25 cms. The structure has peaked corners. The door is off centre. In the court are labourer figures out of proportion with the walls. One of these labourers probably held the small leather bag of model tools found in the model (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 10, XXXIX; Breasted 1948, 13, pl.9d). Sequence date 2 (9 dyn.). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (see comments p. 49).

5. Tomb 2111 of *Hnty-h<sub>2</sub>ty*. Phil. E14259. Dimensions unknown. The square model has peaked corners (c. 22°). The door is on the left giving access to the court across the back of which are 4 magazines with painted windows. As well as stairs, labourers and a scribe, this model includes beer jars (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XX:5; Breasted 1948, 14). Sequence date 5 (9 dyn.). Dated 11 to Senwosret I (pp. 20, 49).

6. Tomb 2127 of *Nht-k3wi*. UCL NN. H.10 x W.20 x L.29 cms. Square granary with low walls, shallowly peaked and figures out of proportion (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I/Amenemhat II (pp. 20, 50-1).

Other Sedment granaries are similar to these examples in most respects. The following have a date range of FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20): 1002 (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII), 1593 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII), 1607 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII), 1668 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX), 1534 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Tombs of this date range mentioned in Petrie's notebooks as having granary elements but not published as such are 1523 and 1541. Tombs with a FIP to 11 dyn. date (p. 49) include 2120 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). An 11 to 12 dyn. date (see comments p. 49) is assigned to tomb 2102 (1924<sup>a</sup>, 10, XXXIX). The following has a date range of 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 50): 2112 of

*Mrt-ḥt*.s which contained a square granary with shallow peaked corners (Edin. 1921.1661. L.23 x W.22.5 cms). In the court are figures out of proportion with the structure (1924a, XXXIX). Of 11 dyn. to Senwosret I date (see comments p. 49) is tomb 2107 also containing parts of a granary (1924a, 11, XXXIX).

#### 2.5.11. Lisht.

The early 12 dyn. cemeteries at Lisht contained some evidence of the use of wooden models. Chief among these are boats followed by granaries (information supplied by Dorothea Arnold).

1. Mastaba of *Dḥwty*. MMA 32.1.125. Dimensions unknown. A large model with shallowly peaked corners. The structure is divided into 3 activity areas. The centrally placed door leads directly to the granary courtyard. On the left are 4 open topped magazines mounted by stairs running parallel. On a platform facing the door crouch the scribe and overseer, whilst 4 labourers work in the court (Lansing 1933, 20, fig.16; Breasted 1948, 38, pl.38a; Hayes 1953, 264). Dated Senwosret I (p. 53).

#### 2.5.12. Saqqara.

1. Lepsius tomb 10, pit 5 of *Gmn-wsr*. West Berlin 1364-5. Fragments of granary structure and sacks were found (Lepsius 1897, 158, 159; 1913, XLVI). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 25).

2. Tomb 2757 of *Ḥnpw-m-ḥ3t* and *Wsr-mwt*. Location unknown. H.47 x L.52 cms (plate 22:1). The roughly square structure has peaked corners (c. 35°). The door in the right corner leads to the court where a row of 3 magazines with painted windows lie against the back wall. On the terrace the scribe's writing board preserves traces of hieratic text. The walls of the model are yellow whilst the door is red (Quibell



1927, 14, 41, pl.25:1). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 55).

3. Tomb HMK26 of *Ỉpi<sup>1</sup>-cnhw*. Fragments of granary including the scribe (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 51). Dated 11 to 12 dyn. (p. 58).

4. Tomb HMK30 of *Gmn-m-h3t*. AEIN 1630. H.40 x W.48 x L.62 cms (plate 22:2). The rectangular structure has low peaked corners (c. 20°). The door in the middle of the short wall gives access to a central court with 4 magazines on each side. The windows are both carved and painted. The stairs at the opposite end of the court lead to the right terrace. Both terraces have holes through which to pour the grain. On the right terrace the scribe sits with his writing board and an extra pen stuck behind his ear. In the court 7 labourers measure and carry sacks, all figures being in proportion with the structure (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.30:a-b; Mogensen 1930, 67, LXVI; Breasted 1948, 13, pl.10a-b). Dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 56-7).

5. Tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Amongst the many wooden models found in this tomb were 2 granaries, evidently one each for the 2 deceased. In many respects they are similar to that of *Gmn-m-h3t* with centrally placed door, central court with magazines on each side and with peaked corners (Quibell 1908, 10, XII). Dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 56).

6. Tomb HMK2. Model granary (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 48, pl.33:c-d). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The tomb is of uncertain date, but probably MK.

#### 2.5.13. Abusir.

1. Tomb MR27. Fragments of model granary (Schäfer 1908, 98). Probably FIP.

2. Tomb MR42 of *Tpy*. Rostock (lost). H.18 x W.27 x L.34 cms. The rectangular structure has peaked corners (c. 20°). The door is in the

left corner giving access to a court with a row of 4 magazines on the back wall which have only 3 painted windows. The stairs to the right lead onto the terrace where there are 4 holes (Schäfer 1908, 106, Abb.169). Dated FIP to 11 dyn. (p. 27).

3. Tomb MR43. West Berlin 17442. Fragments of model granary. (Schäfer 1908, 107). Dated FIP to 11 dyn. (p. 27).

4. Tomb MR6 of *Hri-š.f-ḥtp* I. Leipzig 33. H.33 x W.40 x L.53 cms. The rectangular model has low angle peaked corners (c. 18°). The door on the right side leads into the court. Directly opposite the door are the steps to the terrace above the 3 painted magazine windows. The left magazine has 2 holes over it on the terrace. Left of the stairs are a further 2 open topped magazines with their own steps (Schäfer 1908, 63-5, Abb.94-5; Krauspe 1976, 31 no.46/1). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 59-60).

5. Tomb MR8 of *Hri-š.f-ḥtp* II. Fragments of model granary (Schäfer 1908, 88). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 60).

## 2.6. SUMMARY.

The angle of peak on the corners of the granary walls varies from c. 5-10° to > 60°. Table 8 presents these angles, along with the relative dating of the models and their frequencies. Only provenanced models have been used and only those with known corner angles. Table 8 illustrates that little significance in terms of date, can be assigned to corner angles, since models of all dates may have high or low angle peaks. The granary of *Dḥwty* from Lisht is of Senwosret I date. A characteristic of the Sedment models (Table 9) is the low angle peak even on models of 11 dyn. and earlier date. A similar situation may be seen at Beni Hasan. High angle peaks appear to be more common in 11 and 12 dyn. models, but the example from tomb 13 at Asyut is probably

of slightly earlier date. The commonest angle range is 20° to 30°.

TABLE 8: THE DATE : ANGLES OF MODELS GRANARIES

| Date       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8/9 dyn.   |   |   |   | 2 | 1 |   |   |   |
| 9/10 dyn.  | 1 |   | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 11 dyn.    | 2 |   | 4 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 |   |
| 11-12 dyn. |   | 9 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |   | 3 |
| 12 dyn.    | 2 |   |   | 1 |   |   |   |   |

Key: 1 flat walls without peaked corners  
 2 angle range 5°- 10°  
 3 angle range 10°- 20°  
 4 angle range 20°- 30°  
 5 angle range 30°- 40°  
 6 angle range 40°- 50°  
 7 angle range 50°- 60°  
 8 angle range > 60°

Table 9 gives the distribution of wooden model granaries, with their corner angles and frequencies. Only provenanced models have been cited. In terms of distribution granaries with peaked walls are found throughout Egypt. Low angled peaks (c. < 10° to 20°) tend to come from northern upper Egypt; from Sedment, Lisht and Saqqara, although similar models were found at Asyut and Beni Hasan. The group c. 20° to 40° tends to be concentrated in middle Egypt and a little further south; at Beni Hasan, Asyut and Thebes, however the Saqqara model from tomb 2757 is similar. High angled peaks (c. 40° to > 60°) are found almost exclusively at Beni Hasan and Asyut. This distribution indicates that low angle peaks are more common in the north whilst high angled peaks tend to be found in the south.

TABLE 9: THE DISTRIBUTION : ANGLES OF MODEL GRANARIES

| Provenance   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aswan        |   |   |   | 1 |   |   |   |   |
| Gebelein     | 1 |   |   | 1 | 1 |   |   |   |
| Thebes       | 1 |   |   | 4 | 3 |   |   |   |
| Asyut        |   | 1 | 1 | 1 |   |   | 1 |   |
| Bershah      | 2 | 8 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Sheikh Ibada | 1 |   |   | 1 |   |   |   |   |
| Beni Hasan   |   |   | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |   | 3 |
| Sedment      |   |   | 3 | 1 |   |   |   |   |
| Lisht        |   | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Saqqara      |   |   |   | 1 | 1 |   |   |   |
| Abusir       |   |   | 1 | 1 |   |   |   |   |

Key: 1 flat walled model without corner peaks  
 2 angle range  $5^{\circ}$  -  $10^{\circ}$   
 3 angle range  $10^{\circ}$  -  $20^{\circ}$   
 4 angle range  $20^{\circ}$  -  $30^{\circ}$   
 5 angle range  $30^{\circ}$  -  $40^{\circ}$   
 6 angle range  $40^{\circ}$  -  $50^{\circ}$   
 7 angle range  $50^{\circ}$  -  $60^{\circ}$   
 8 angle range  $> 60^{\circ}$

The feature of open topped magazines is evenly distributed and, like the peaks appears to have little chronological significance. Those models which do have open magazines seem to be mostly late 11 dyn. (the models of *Mkt-Rc* and *Neb-hepet-Re*) and early 12 dyn. (model of *Dhwty*). No models of earlier than 10 dyn. were found to have this feature.

The division of the interior of some granaries into a central court flanked by magazines was found only at Beni Hasan, Meir and Saqqara tombs. The only 2 dimensional representation of such an arrangement was from the 11 dyn. or earlier tomb XVII of *Hty* at Beni

Hasan. The models however, are of late 11 and 12 dyn. date.

## 2.7. GRANARIES WITH DIFFERENT STRUCTURAL DETAILS.

A number of granary models differ from the foregoing group in that they do not have peaked enclosure walls, but instead have a number of individual elements.

1. Gebelein tomb of *Hnwy*. East Berlin 13758. H.26 x W.42 x L.54 cms. The granary is rectangular with its door in the right corner leading to the court. In the court activities such as brewing are taking place. Across the back wall is a row of 2 magazines with painted windows. The magazines are mounted by stairs on the right which give onto the terrace which is screened on 3 sides by the enclosure wall which at this point is higher than at the front. On the terrace is a squatting scribe next to a table bearing 6 beer jars (Steindorff 1901, 24-5, Abb.24-5; Breasted 1948, 14, pl.12b). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 31).
2. Deir el-Bahri tomb of *Bw3w*. JE 31345. Dimensions unknown (plate 23:1). Amongst the crudely made models was a granary, rectangular in shape with a painted door. Like most models with peaked corners there is a court across the back of which are 3 open topped magazines. The scribe and overseer squat in the court, whilst the 3 labourers fill sacks and empty them into the magazines (Naville 1896, 3-4; Maspero 1915, 320; Porter and Moss 1964, 656; Winlock 1947, 43). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 33).
3. Bershad tomb E14, south, of *Sp<sup>i</sup>* III. JE 32831. W.26 x L.36 cms (plate 23:2). This tomb produced a set of well made models which included a rectangular structure without peaked walls. The door is in the right corner opposite which, against the back wall is a canopy for the 2 seated scribes. A further scribe and the overseer with *3b*-sceptre stand outside the canopy. Along the left wall is a row of 4

open topped magazines mounted by stairs running parallel to the magazine fronts. In the court 5 labourers measure and carry grain sacks (Daressy 1900, 38-9, fig.1). Dated 12 dyn., time of Senwosret II to III (p. 64-5).

4. Bershah. Copenhagen 5493. W.24 x L.31.5 cms. The rectangular model is placed on a base with a single figure outside the structure filling a sack. The granary has a courtyard with 3 magazines along the back wall which are open topped. In the court are 3 figures engaged in sack filling, baking and brewing activities, with an additional 2 emptying sacks into 2 of the magazines. The form of this model resembles the above Bershah model (Seipel 1989, 108 no.75). 12 dyn.

5. Sheikh Ibada tomb A of *Mr-šnt*. Brus. E785:27. H.26.1 x W.35.5 x L.35.4 cms (plate 24:1). The structure in many respects differs little from the peaked corner type. In the court are 3 labourers, an oven and 3 beer mash jars (Gayet 1902, 42). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 24).

6. Saqqara necropolis. At least 4 structures which may be termed storehouses were found at Saqqara. Their basic plan is rectangular, with an open court having magazines across the back wall and a terrace. The terrace is in all cases covered by a sloping roof supported by pillars, much like the slaughterhouse of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>*. The earliest example is from tomb HMK30 of *Gmn-m-ḥ3t*, 43 cms<sup>2</sup>, AEIN 1632 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.28:a-b; Mogensen 1930, LXVI; Breasted 1948, 16). Another example comes from tomb 2757 of *Wsr-mwt* and *Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t* (Quibell 1927, 12). Two examples were found in the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt*, Cairo cat.3136 (Quibell 1908, 8, 76, XIX:1, model no.18) and Cairo 14/3/5/8, H.35 x W.40 x L.60 cms (Quibell 1908, 11, model no.17).

Each model has doors to the row of magazines rather than windows. Items of meat were hung on lines on the terrace, whilst in model no.17 an ox is being slaughtered in the court. Other food producing activit-

ies include baking and brewing. Clearly these models were viewed as places not only of storage but also of production. They may be seen then as storehouses of processed food whilst the true granaries were structures for the storage of the raw materials for every Egyptian's staple diet of bread and beer.

#### 2.8.1. TERRA-COTTA GRANARIES.

Terra-cotta has been used as a substitute for wood in the production of some granaries. The best preserved example is that from Salamieh, Castle Norwich 37.2.i, H.15.2 x W.21 x L.29.2 cms (Blackman 1920, 206-8, XIX-XX; Bourriau 1988, 104-5 no.91). The construction of this model seems most closely to resemble 2 dimensional granaries. The walls are high and reach to the first storey. Although the walls are not peaked they do have a barely perceptible slope to the corners, which may be due to the plasticity of the material more than to any deliberate attempt at shaping. The door, in the left corner of the right side is surmounted by a hkr-frieze. Against the back wall are a row of 5 magazines with windows and holes in the terrace above for the introduction of grain. On the first storey is the terrace forming a flat roof over the magazines. On this terrace are 5 dome silos, each with a square aperture at the front and a hole in the top. Similar dome silos have been found on "soul-houses" at Rifeh (plate 27:3). A stairway running parallel with the front wall and turning 90° up the side wall gives access to the terrace.

The walls, floor and stairs are painted yellow, probably to imitate plaster. The terrace and domes are a grey in imitation of mud-brick. The exterior walls are painted with scenes of interest to the art historian, of men and women bringing grain sacks to the granary whilst the owner, *Ḥnī-īṯ.f* and another man play *snt* in the shade.

Recently Bourriau has dated the model on artistic grounds to the 11 dyn. (1988, 104f).

The placing of domed silos on the roof of domestic buildings is a feature of most NK storage representations. The only parallel in 2 dimensions for domed structures on an upper floor in the MK is from tomb II of *Imn-m-h3t* at Beni Hasan. However, the Salamieh model does not have a pillared hall like most granary representations and here the similarity ends.

A similar but fragmentary model is of unknown provenance, Heidelberg 1006, H.20.6 x L.34 cms, purchased in 1934 by Junkelmann-Prien (Stadelmann 1961, 54-8, II:a-b; Feucht 1986, 55 no.162). The fragment is painted with a scene of an offering-girl with 2 ducks, 2 donkeys laden with grain sacks and a boat with 5 crew. The corners of the model are low but peaked (c. 17°), and the door centrally placed.

At Beni Hasan Garstang found 4 granaries made of terra-cotta. Models in this material are found relatively frequently at Beni Hasan indicating perhaps a preference for the material rather than an attempt at economy.

1. Tomb BH53 of *Ntr-nht*. Ash. E2002, H.11.3 x W.30.8 x L.26.6 cms (plate 25:1-2). The model has a high enclosure wall with peaked corners (c. 15°). The door, centrally placed has the jambs modelled in high relief. At the back of the courtyard are 2 covered doorways to 2 open topped magazines. Stairs on the right lead up to the wall overlooking the magazines. Dated FIP to Senwosret II (p. 22).
2. Tomb BH531-532. Ash. E808, H.8.4 x W.23.8 x L.23.8 cms (plate 26:1-2). The square structure has peaked corners (c. 19°). The centrally placed door is in raised relief on the outer surface and in sunk relief on the inner. Three magazines or bins are formed by curved walls across the 2 back corners and the front right. Probably found on



the surface between BH531 and BH532.

3. Tomb BH774/775 of *Nb-hwt-htp*. SAOS E6359, H.8.5 x W.30 x L.36 cms (plate 24:2). The granary in contrast to the previous 2, is in coarse terra-cotta. Roughly square, the corners are slightly peaked (c. 22°). No door is represented. Across the back of the courtyard are 2 rows of 6 open topped magazines. The feet of a figure on the right of the magazines are represented by a scar. There is also a scar over the top of the wall as if the figure had stretched over, perhaps in the act of filling the magazine. Four other circular scars on the surface of the court attest to other figures, perhaps grain carriers or brewers (Garstang 1907a, 195, 239, fig.209 right). Tomb BH774/775 represents 2 shafts encroaching on each other, one cut later than the other. The contents of the tomb illustrates this fact by being a mixture of 11 to late 12 dyn. pottery with NK items like a bronze ring. It is likely however, that the granary is MK in date.

5. Beni Hasan. SAOS E6929. H.9.5 x W.32.7 x L.32 cms (plate 27:1-2). A square model with peaked corners (c. 30°). An open gateway is situated centrally in the front wall. Lining the 3 other walls originally, were 6 spherical, wheel thrown silos with square apertures cut in their fronts. When found the model was broken and 2 of the silos were missing (Garstang 1907a, 194-5, fig.201). This model most closely resembles the Salamieh granary.

#### 2.8.2. POTTERY DOME SILOS.

A class of object related to terra-cotta granaries are dome or beehive pots which represent the individual silos rather than the whole granary structure. These pots are wheel thrown vessels upturned and the mouth closed off, the upper portion (which had been the base) is often horizontally ribbed. Part way up the side an aperture is cut

with a separately modelled door attached and secured by means of 2 knobs.

#### 2.8.2.1. Esna.

1. Tomb 102E. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Pottery dome granary with separate door (Downes 1974, 93, 119, fig.64). Tomb 102E appears to have contained no other objects. Nevertheless Downes dated the tomb to the MK.

2. Tomb 121E. SAOS E4292, H.17.6 cms. Drab pottery dome with convex top. The door is missing (Downes 1974, 93, 120, fig.64). The pottery from this tomb and the scarab may be of late MK date.

3. Tomb 153E. This tomb had at least 2 deposits in it. Downes states that the dome granary is in the SAOS collection and is illustrated in figure 64 (Downes 1974, 93). In fact the model illustrated, is from tomb 121E, marked clearly on the object itself and matching exactly Downes' illustration. The granary from tomb 153E has not been traced.

#### 2.8.2.2. Gebelein.

1. The granary enclosure with silos, Turin S.11960 has been discussed (p. 89)

2. A smooth pottery dome granary with door was discovered by Schiaparelli in 1914, Turin S.15802. Dimensions unknown. Apart from the provenance of Gebelein nothing more is known of its history.

#### 2.8.2.3. el-Tarif.

1. Cemetery N. UCL 19077, H.11 x L.15.5 cms. From the cemetery area designated N by Petrie under the *Nb-wnn.f* complex came a double dome model on a rectangular base (Petrie 1909, XII:4). The domes are smooth and have pointed tops. Part way up the fronts are square door-

ways. The model is not discussed by Petrie, but its connection with area N places it in the late 12 to 13 dyns.

#### 2.8.2.4. Ballas.

1. An unnumbered tomb in the dyke cemetery of 12 dyn. date yielded a dome granary with ribbed top. Its base had a somewhat different appearance than other domes in that it was formed from a jar with a rim, giving the dome a ring base. A square door was cut in the side (Petrie 1896, 8, XLV:20). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

#### 2.8.2.5. Hu.

1. Two dome granaries, one with its door were found in the Y cemetery but without specific contexts. These are Fitz. E.98.1899, H.19.4 x diam.12.5 cms (Petrie 1901, 52, XXV; Bourriau 1981, 69 no.127) and UCL 18515, H.21.5 x diam.13.6 cms (this latter object is however, marked as coming from cemetery W).

#### 2.8.2.6. Abydos.

1. Tomb 7 A'06. Four dome granaries are known to have come from this tomb (SAOS E6846, Man. 3972, Bolton A.10.20.10. Snape 1986, 190, 406). Dimensions unknown. Each has a ribbed upper surface with a knob on the top like depictions of OK silos. The knobs on the doors by which they were secured are also rather long. A faint text in black hieratic appears to have been inscribed on each dome and dedicates them to *3tw-n-tt-hk3, Snb-ty.fy*. Other objects from this tomb are of mixed MK, SIP and 18 dyn. types indicating repeated reuse of the tomb. However, the name of the owner of the domes is of a 12 dyn. or later type, as well as the title (Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>, 7 no.13 "attendant of the royal table"; Quirke 1986, 110 "commander of the crew of the Ruler") which is of a

late MK date.

2. Tomb 821 A'09. Only the door from a dome granary survived in this tomb (Snape 1986, 333).

3. Tomb B13. An object described as a pottery granary was found at the top of the shaft (Peet 1914, 57, XIV:14).

#### 2.8.2.7. Asyut.

1. Hogarth tomb IX. BM 47374. H.11.2 cms (plate 27:4). This tomb was found largely intact. In a deep loculus were 2 coffins, that closest to the entrance being for a child. On its lid was the coarse unfired clay dome with heavy straw inclusions, having a square aperture and a step in front, which Hogarth described as an "oven" (Ryan 1988, 22-3). However, its similarity to the terra-cotta granary leaves little doubt as to its purpose. The coffin types in tomb IX suggest an 11 dyn. date.

#### 2.8.2.8. Beni Hasan.

1. Two dome granaries were found in tomb BH16 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 212). One of these is Brus. E3186, H.21 x diam.14 cms, which in addition to the square door had a lift off lid, the knob on top forming a sort of handle. Pottery from tomb BH16 ranges in date from the FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).

#### 2.9. DISTRIBUTION.

Besides the individual domes there are those which are integral parts of larger structures, like the Salamieh and Beni Hasan models. Domed silos are also found as part of "soul-houses" especially those from Rifeh (plate 27:3. UCL NN. Petrie 1907, XXII centre left). The distribution of these objects is entirely upper Egyptian, with few

examples being found as far north as Asyut and Beni Hasan. They appear to have come predominantly from tombs which contained no other models in any material. By and large the dating of the domes is late MK, 12 dyn., SIP and continuing sporadically a little later during a period when wooden models had ceased to be part of the desired mortuary assemblage, particularly at late MK sites like Esna and Abydos.

#### 2.10. THE PURPOSE OF DOME OR BEEHIVE POTS.

The purpose of such models is suggested by their form; grain silos. Unfortunately, all the models have been found empty, which has led to the suggestion that they are not granary silos but trinket boxes. Since single or small groups of silos are depicted in domestic situations in the NK (Badawy 1948, 123-4, figs.147-8) and that both domestic and state storage facilities were used and required to be closed by seals (Boochs 1982, 36-7, 40-1) there seems little reason to suppose these objects anything other than model storage bins, as indeed their shape implies. It would seem that both wooden models and pottery domes had a single origin but that the latter type developed along different lines, the former representing estate storage, as represented in the "core-house" at Kahun (Kemp 1989, 153-4), the latter domestic storage, as found in modest dwellings (cf. Kemp 1989, 154-5).

#### 2.11. DEVELOPMENT OF MODEL GRANARIES.

The point at which model granaries joined the model corpus has been established as the early FIP, that is during the 8/9 dyns. Prior to this granaries appeared sporadically in stone from the OK (Breasted 1948, 10-11). Shortly after the 8/9 dyns. the granary model was adopted by the Herakleopolitans in the north during the 9/10 dyn., and

spread throughout the country during the 10 and 11 dyns.

Granaries continued to be featured in the 12 dyn. The point at which the granary drops out of the corpus is based on well dated tomb groups containing other model types. These groups are on the whole mid to late 12 dyn. tombs which contain model boats and offering-bearers but not granaries; the tomb of *Mntw-htp* at Thebes dated Amenemhat II to III (p. 63); the tomb of *Hnm-nht* and *Nht-chnh* at Rifeh has been dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 64). However, the tombs of *Spi* III, E14, south, at Bershah and BH500 of *M3* at Beni Hasan did contain granaries and are dated Senwosret II to III and Senwosret II to Amenemhat III respectively. These 2 are exceptions. It would appear then that the model granary met its demise during the mid 12 dyn. but was revived in certain isolated cases in the mid to late 12 dyn. (the exception, that belonging to Tutankhamen has been mentioned, p. 67). Pottery dome granaries on the other hand continued to be produced during the SIP.

## 2.12. REGIONAL TRENDS.

It is possible to detect regional trends in the form that the granaries take. It is unlikely that granary models would have been transported any great distance once completed. Table 10 presents the distribution of models, with their types and frequencies. Only provenanced models are included.

TABLE 10: MODEL GRANARY TYPES

| Provenance   | Peaked               | Flat | Pottery | Terra-cotta |
|--------------|----------------------|------|---------|-------------|
| Aswan        | 1                    |      |         |             |
| Esna         |                      |      | 3       |             |
| Mo'alla      | (domed 1*)           |      |         |             |
| Gebelein     | 2                    | 1    | 2       | 1           |
| Thebes       | 7, 6*                | 1    | 1       |             |
| Ballas       |                      |      | 1       |             |
| Hu           |                      |      | 2       |             |
| Abydos       |                      |      | 5, 1*   |             |
| Asyut        | 5, 1*                |      | 1       |             |
| Meir         | ?5                   |      |         |             |
| Bershah      | 8                    | 2    |         |             |
| Sheikh Ibada | 1                    | 1    |         |             |
| Beni Hasan   | 12, 43*              |      | 2       | 5           |
| Sedment      | 14, 1*               |      |         |             |
| Lahun        | 2*                   |      |         |             |
| Lisht        | 1                    |      |         |             |
| Saqqara      | 6, 2* (storehouse 4) |      |         |             |
| Abusir       | 3, 2*                |      |         |             |

NB. \* indicates fragments

The terms referred to in Table 10 are peaked for models with peaked corners, by far the most frequently occurring model type. Under this heading have been placed the wooden domes from Mo'alla as it is not known whether the structure originally enclosing them was peaked or flat. Flat refers to models which do not exhibit the peaked corner feature. Under this heading have been placed the storehouse models from Saqqara. The pottery category refers to the pottery dome

granaries, whilst terra-cotta refers to the granary structures of that material, other than the individual pottery domes.

In terms of regional characteristics, it can be said that at Gebelein 2 of the 3 granaries had tall walls, no stairs or figures within the court, and slotted windows, this latter feature being found at no other site. At Thebes all models are rectangular with gently but steeply peaked corners, the stairs tending to be on the left. Where figures are preserved these tend to be out of proportion, their heads being ovoid with large painted eyes. Granaries from Bershah are known from 3 contexts only, the largest deposit of 8 models being from the tomb of *Dhwty-nht*, all being identical with peaked corners and coloured walls. The remaining 2 models from different deposits, and therefore probably more representative, are flat walled structures with open topped magazines. Asyut models are all of the peaked wall type, tending to have the exterior walls painted black or dark grey. From Beni Hasan, all models are fairly stoutly made, often with the exterior walls left rough. The angle of the peaked corners is high and sharply defined. At Sedment most models have low walls with gently peaked corners. The walls are usually low and the figures tall so that they appear incongruously out of proportion with the structure. The Saqqara peaked wall models are always well built with the figures nearly to scale. A special feature of this site is the appearance of the storehouse structure, a variation on the granary theme, having a sloping roof open at the front to reveal a courtyard, magazines at the back and an upper terrace on which meat is hung.

Terra-cotta and pottery models have been found at Esna, Gebelein, Ballas, Hu, Abydos, Asyut and Beni Hasan. The terra-cotta models are all, except for the Gebelein example of doubtful date, from Beni Hasan. The pottery dome granaries tend to be concentrated in the



region of southern upper Egypt, a few examples being found further north.

The only evidence of domed models made from wood are the small objects from the tomb of *ꜥnh-ty.fy-nht* at Mo'alla.

### 2.13. DISPOSITION.

Of the 156 provenanced granaries studied, 22 (14.1%) were totally without context. However, 134 (85.8%) have a stated context as follows: 132 (84.6%) in the substructure, 2 (1.2%) associated with the superstructure. A further 63 (40.3%) have specific provenances within the tomb complex. Figure 1 illustrates the 63 known locations, most from undisturbed deposits, represented on a scatter diagram as dots, on (24 or 38% of the 63) and around the coffin (23 or 36.5% of the 63), in the serdab (10 or 15.8% of the 63) and recess (6 or 9.5% of the 63) contexts.

Model granaries were most commonly placed to the east of the coffin (16 = 69.5%) or in the centre of the lid (11 = 45.8%). In no case was a granary found on the west (right side). There appears to be no rule governing the positioning of models within serdabs, with 1 to the north, 1 south and 1 west. There are however, 7 positions which are unknown within this context. In the eastern recess context granaries were equally divided between the middle (3) and the north (3).

Tombs large enough to accommodate models throughout the chamber are evenly distributed geographically. When placed on the floor (23 = 36.5%) granaries are found generally to the east, a position significant because of the placing of the eye-panel in the coffin. Of equal popularity is the position on the lid (24 or 38%), usually central (11 = 45.8%), with some towards the head (5 = 20.8%). This placement

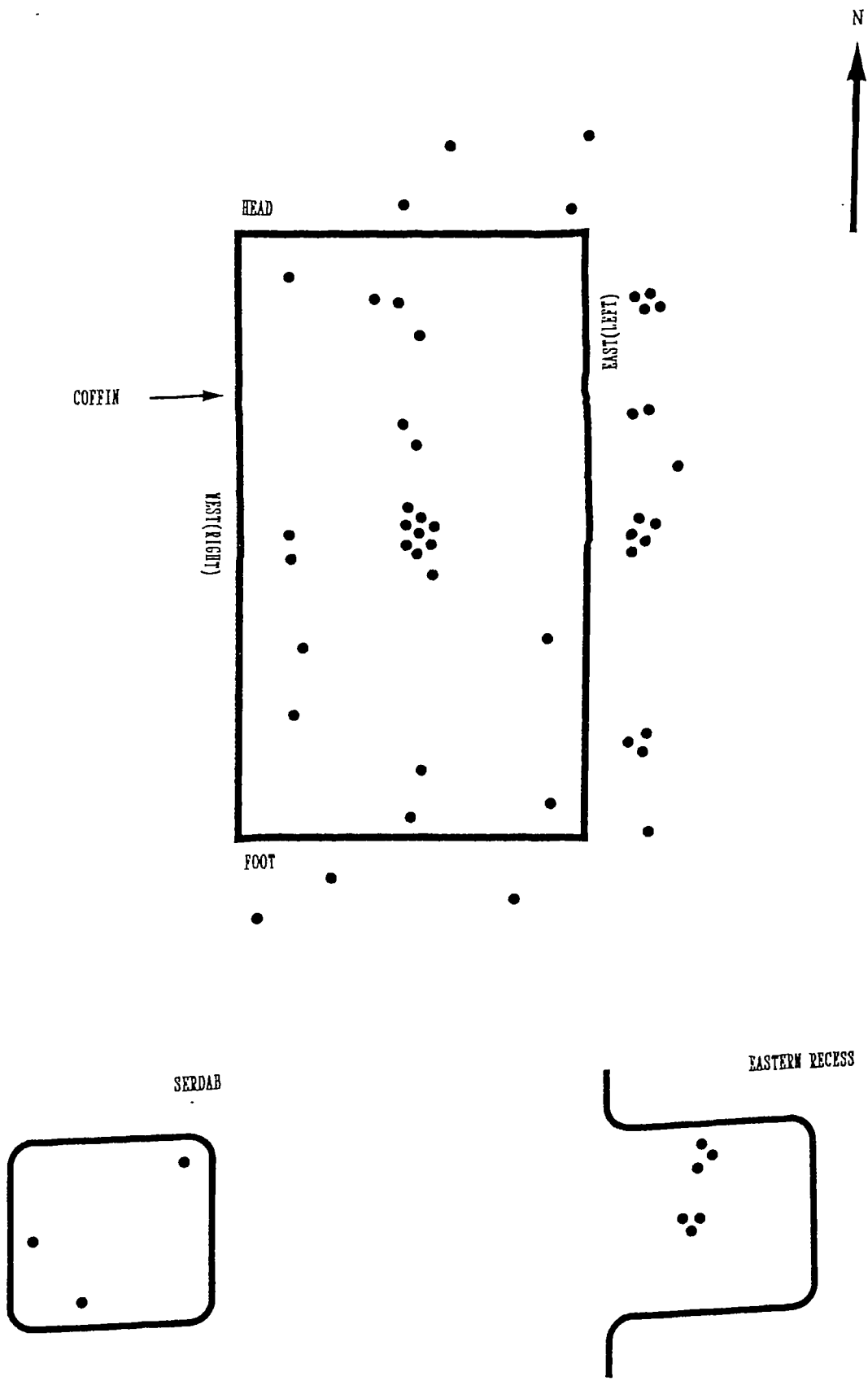


FIGURE 1

appears strange when we remember that the granary in the Object Frieze is always at the foot end. Several of the stated contexts of floor and lid placed models were unlike the majority of lid placed examples at the southern or foot end of the coffin, on the lid 3 (12.5%), on the floor 3 (13%), but were by no means common.

Other positions are the northern floor area where 4 (17.3%) models were placed. On the lid, less common positions are to the west (4 = 16.6%) and to the east (1 = 4.1%). It can be seen then that, granaries are most frequently to be found in the eastern floor area and in the middle of the coffin lid.

## CHAPTER THREE: MODEL PILGRIMAGE AND FUNERARY BOATS.

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION.

The topic of Egyptian boats, both 2 and 3 dimensional has been much discussed, in the form of catalogues (Reisner 1913; Göttlicher 1971; 1978; Glanville 1972) and analytical corpora (Belger 1895, 24-32; Boreux 1925; Winlock 1955; Vandier 1969, 688-922; Landström 1970). Apart from Reisner's categorising of boats, little has been done to explain specific usages or dating criteria until recently (cf. Tooley 1986<sup>a</sup>, 189-192; Spanel 1984<sup>a</sup>, 151-3; 1985, 243-253). Reisner defined 7 boat types (1913, iii); type I, OK square bow river boats; type II, MK and later rivercraft; type III, papyriform skiffs; type IV, papyriform boats; type V, funerary boats; type VI, solar boats; type VII, divine boats. A further form, type VIII, hollow hulled shallow water boats has been proposed (Tooley 1986<sup>a</sup>, 189-192; 1986<sup>b</sup>, 21).

This chapter will be concerned with the discussion of boats used specifically for the pilgrimage and funeral. They are distinguished from the greater mass of model and relief boats by their form, initially type III papyrus skiffs out of which developed the papyriform boat, type IV, which again developed into the hybrid boat form type V. However, some type II rivercraft are used. Boats of special significance may be distinguished by the presence of a canopy or naos over the figure of the owner or his coffin, thus lending the qualities of divinity. However, in certain cases a normal vaulted cabin was used.

### 3.2. TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FUNERAL BOAT.

Funeral boats are distinguished from pilgrimage boats by being towed. One of the earliest representations of the water borne funeral

cortège is from mastaba 2 of *Ḳn-Snfrw-Ḳt.f* at Dahshur (de Morgan 1903, 4-7, XXII; Vandier 1969, 693), of the 4 dyn. The boat carrying the coffin is type III and has not yet evolved into the classical papyri-form type IV boat.

Type IV boats are said to have been used for conveying persons of high status (Landström 1970, 56), for funerals and other rituals (Boreux 1925, 144ff, 158ff; Vandier 1969, 693-4; Landström 1970, 57; Reisner 1913, ii), which is borne out by 2 dimensional representation. Tombs of a 6 dyn. to FIP date at sites such as Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir, el-Hawawish, Qubbet el-Hawa and Deshasheh invariably employ a type IV boat in the funeral cortege.

Three tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi of approximately contemporary or consecutive date depict boats which are virtually identical (*Ḳbi*. Davies 1902<sup>b</sup>, 15, X; *D<sup>cw</sup>*. 1902<sup>a</sup>, 8, VII, XIV; *Ḳsi*. 1902<sup>a</sup>, XX; Vandier 1969, 693-4, figs.278, 279:1, 329; Boreux 1925, 153, 155, figs.35, 37). Each boat has a slightly higher stern sheer than the bow. The end posts are raised papyrus bundles with the rope ties visible, ending in a more or less stylised papyrus umbel. The boats of *Ḳbi* and *D<sup>cw</sup>* have a pair of *w3dt*-eyes painted on the bow. In the centre of each boat protecting the coffin is the canopy with shrine shaped roof. This particular type of canopy is used only for deities, royalty and the glorified dead.

The crew consists primarily of priests. The boat of *D<sup>cw</sup>* has at its bow a *hry-hb* priest, that of *Ḳbi* has a crouched *wt*-priest, whilst the second boat of *D<sup>cw</sup>* has a man termed *m-hnt* or *Ḳmy-r hnt* at the bow. The boat of *Ḳsi* has an unlabelled official at the bow. The term *m-hnt* is not a recognised religious or nautical title and may have been a scribal error for the title *Ḳmy-r Ḳswt* (Jones 1988, 51 no.9), "over-seer of a crew, master mariner" more normally associated with this

position on a boat. The other crew members include 2 *drty*-mourners and a helmsman. Perhaps the earliest boats in this group are those of *ibi* which have single rudders in place of the usual pair (Vandier 1969, 694; Landström 1970, 57). However, the boat of *isi* shows no sign of any form of steering. Propulsion in each case was achieved by being towed by typical square bowd OK type I rivercraft.

Tomb A2 at Meir of *Ppy-cnh/Hny-km* preserves a fine scene of 4 boats to be read as sequences in the voyage to the necropolis. The scenes are left unfinished in their line drawing stage. The line or profile of the type IV boats are sleeker than those at Deir el-Gebrawi and are longer. Each boat is towed and has double rudders. A canopy is set in the centre over the coffin (Blackman 1953a, 51-2, XLII-III, LXIV top; Vandier 1969, figs.280:1-2). Full explanatory texts accompany the scenes which provide names for the crew members and describe the activity taking place. The crew include the *imy-r iswt*, one placed fore and aft in each boat. Boat 1 (Blackman 1953a, XLIII) has personnel placed between the master mariners thus; *wt, hry-hb, dryt, coffin, dryt*. Behind the rear master mariner is the helmsman and *shd-wt*. Boat 2 (Blackman 1953a, XLII) is arranged; *imy-r iswt, wt, hry-hb, coffin, wt, imy-r iswt* (acting as a helmsman). Boat 3 in the same scene is arranged; *imy-r iswt, dryt, imy-r wt, hry-hb-wr, coffin, wt, dryt, helmsman, imy-r iswt*. The rubric reads, "making straight for the West" and "escorting right up to the tent of purification" (Blackman 1953a, 51, 52). The final sequence of the cortège finds the boats arriving at the necropolis.

As at Deir el-Gebrawi, the boats are deliberately placed facing in different directions to emphasise that what is being shown are stages in the funeral process which take place "en route" to the necropolis. In all cases the boats are on the east or west walls so

that they face either north or south along the axis of the Nile.

Similar, though abbreviated scenes are found in the tombs of *K3-ḥp/Ttī-īkr*, H79 (Kanawati 1980, fig.9), *Šps-īpw-mn*, H24 (Kanawati 1981, fig.19) at el-Hawawish. The latter describes the activity as "arriving safely in the beautiful West". At Deshasheh, the fragmentary funeral cortege of *Šdw* shows what is probably an early form of papyri-form craft (type III?) with a high deck and single rudder, probably towed (Petrie 1898, XXV; Vandier 1969, 694, fig.279:2). Of later form are the boats of *Mri* with double rudders (Petrie 1898, XXVII; Vandier 1969, fig.279:3). These however are self-propelled, paddled and sailed. Probably of later date, to judge by the boat type and stern sheer, is the cortège of *Hwns* at Qubbet el-Hawa (Vandier 1969, fig. 328:1). It is unclear for what purpose the papyri-form boat of *ꜥnh-ty.fy* at Mo'alla is being used (Vandier 1950, fig.77).

Funeral scenes of the cortege do not reappear until the early 11 dyn. The lacuna in our knowledge of the progression from the 6 and 8/9 dyn. to the early 11 dyn. scene types is due to the poor preservation of FIP tombs and the lack of decoration in them. With the dawning of the 11 dyn. a radical change in the type of boats used to ferry the coffin is detectable. At Beni Hasan tomb XVII of *Hty* depicts 2 type II rivercraft being towed and accompanied by mourners (Newberry 1893b, XII). The scene is otherwise unelaborated.

Dating to the time of Senwosret I is tomb 36 of *S3-rnpwt I* at Qubbet el-Hawa (Müller 1940, fig.12a). A type IV boat is depicted being towed in the funeral cortège and appears to have a *w3dt*-eye on the bow. At Beni Hasan tomb II of *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, is of similar date. The funeral boat is of type V (Newberry 1893a, XIV; Vandier 1969, 908, fig.339). The hull form is now radically altered, but developed from the papyri-form boat, with both the stern and bow posts bent upwards,

in a form usually associated with divinity (cf. Gardiner 1978, 499 P<sub>3</sub>. *wi3*, *m<sup>c</sup>ndt*, *nšmt*; Jones 1988, 246, 249). The crew is arranged; punter, 2 soldiers with spears, priest, priest with a censor, mourner, mummy, mourner, 2 helmsmen to attend the double rudders. The figures are not labelled. Two rubrics are placed over this boat indicating that some ambiguity was in the minds of the Egyptians regarding the exact purpose of such a boat. The main rubric describes the voyage of *Imn-m-h3t* to Abydos. A second rubric, handwritten and slanting describes the arrival at the necropolis.

Spanning the time of Senwosret I and II is the tomb of *Dhwtj-htp*, tomb 2 at Bershad (Newberry 1895<sup>a</sup>, XII, XVIII; Vandier 1969, 909, fig. 102). The scene which appears to show the funeral cortege contains only type II rivercraft. Tomb III of *Hnm-htp* at Beni Hasan depicts a variant type V boat being towed to the necropolis, although like the boat of *Imn-m-h3t* the rubric implies it is bound for Abydos (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, XXIX; Vandier 1969, 908, fig.341). The crew is arranged; look-out with the tow rope, *hry-hb Nhtj*, *sm Hri*, *sd3wty-ntr Nhtj*, mummy, mourner, helmsman. The boat is equipped with double rudders and a canopy over the mummy. Belonging to the time of Sobek-hotep III in the 13 dyn. is the Elkab tomb of *Sbk-nht* (Tylor 1896, II; Vandier 1969, 922, fig.347). The funeral boat is a classic type V with the mummy lying under a canopy. The boat is not water borne but is being towed by men and cattle on what appear to be wheels, but are more probably rollers.

Following the end of the MK and continuing into the NK type V boats are depicted in the funeral cortège with curled end posts having lotus umbels (Vandier 1969, 926ff; Landstrom 1970, 116-8; cf. Gardiner 1978, 499 P<sub>4</sub> or similar).



TABLE 11: TWO DIMENSIONAL FUNERAL CORTÈGE BOATS

| Date        | Type II | Type III | Type IV  | Type V |
|-------------|---------|----------|----------|--------|
| 4 dyn.      |         | 1        |          |        |
| post 6 dyn. |         |          | 4        |        |
| 9/10 dyn.   |         | (1 ?)    | 4 (+ 1?) |        |
| 11 dyn.     | 1       |          |          |        |
| 12 dyn.     | 1       |          | (1 ?)    | 2      |
| 13 dyn.     |         |          |          | 1      |

NB. numbers refer to tombs, not the number of boats within scenes

A tabulation of the boats reviewed here in the funeral cortege in Table 11, giving the dates of the tombs involved and the types of boats depicted indicates that not only was the subject more popular during the OK and FIP, but that during the OK and post 6 dyn. period the papyriform type IV craft was used almost exclusively, with type III occurring in the 4 dyn. and a possible type III during the FIP. In only one dubious case (*S3-rnpwt* I) is a type IV craft used outside the OK/FIP time span. During the 11 dyn. funerals appear to have been conducted with the use of type II rivercraft. By the early 12 dyn. the classic type V funeral boat had appeared, supplanting the type II craft and remained in use beyond the MK.

### 3.3. MODEL FUNERAL BOATS.

Are the conclusions from 2 dimensional representations of funeral boats reflected in the models? The early use of model wooden boats as part of the funeral ceremony or mortuary assemblage is attested in tombs of the 5 and 6 dyns.

### 3.3.1. OK MODEL BOATS (TYPES IV AND V).

1. Saqqara tomb 240 of *K3-m-snw*. A group of 11 model boats were placed at the mouth of the shaft (JE 63184-63193. Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 33, pl.49; Poujade 1948, 33-40). All are crudely made, of a papyriform shape or square bowed, with one example (JE 63184) corresponding to the Sahure seagoing ship (Vandier 1969, 875-884, figs.331-4; Landström 1970, 62-9, figs.185, 187, 191-2) and a boat represented in the Giza tomb of *Sndm-ib-inti* used as a funeral boat (Vandier 1969, fig.283:2; Landström 1970, fig.186).

2. A mastaba close to that of *Mitri* at Saqqara had on its north side a cache of 2 boats held together with ropes described as "solar" boats (Firth 1926<sup>b</sup>, 101). Where parts of boats survive, these are usually of type III or IV.

3. The largest and most important collection of OK model boats are a set of 16 from the east side of the offering pyramid of queen *Nt*, wife of Pepy II at Saqqara (JE 56386-56395. Jéquier 1933, 33-9; Poujade 1948, 7-23). Two boats were of type IV, with the stern raised slightly higher than the bow. Two others were of type V. Both types require double rudders, but no trace of the deck equipment was found. The remaining boats are of type I with bipod masts. Landström has noted that this is the only set of boats in the OK to include type V craft (1970, 59), emphasising that the use of this type of boat during the OK was entirely a royal prerogative (the Khufu boat is type V).

Most OK boats consist of little more than isolated oars or figures, none of which can satisfactorily be described as funeral boats.

### 3.3.2. FIP MODEL BOATS (TYPES IV AND V).

1. Naga ed-Deir tomb 202/43. UCLMA 6.17156. Dimensions unknown. The model boat is a classic type IV with narrow end posts painted in stripes to imitate bound papyrus ending in stylised umbels (Reisner 1904, 108, V:2). Amidships is a canopy over a rectangular coffin. The boat is propelled by 3 pairs of oarsmen. Two priests, one holding an altar stands before the coffin. A single helmsman attends the double rudders. Similar boats also from Naga ed-Deir are UCLMA C-15584 (Göttlicher 1978, 57 no.288, tf.22) and UCLMA 6.17160 (unpublished). The coffin and model types from tomb 202/43 are FIP (p. 23).

2. Abusir tomb MR30. Berlin 18150-1 (lost). The tomb contained a pair of type IV boats, both with a canopy over a mummiform figure. One boat was rowed, the other sailed (Schäfer 1908, 100, 101). Dated FIP? (p. 27).

3. Purchased at Luxor. CG 4807. L.140 cms. The type IV boat has double rudders, canopy and coffin. The hull profile has a slightly raised stern sheer of a type found during the 6 dyn. to FIP (Reisner 1913, 12-3, figs.51-9, IV). Probably FIP.

### 3.3.3. MK MODEL BOATS.

Middle Kingdom boats may be divided into the types V and II.

#### 3.3.3.1. TYPE V BOATS.

1. Gebelein tomb of *Hnwy*. Berlin 13756 (lost). Dimensions unknown. The hull is half way between type IV and V, but essentially papyriform with a raised stern post. The boat has double rudders, canopy and coffin. The crew consists of a helmsman, 4 crouched oarsmen and 3 mourning figures (Steindorff 1901, 25, Abb.27; Breasted 1948, 69). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 31).

2. Bershah, tomb 10A of *Dhwtj-nht*. BMFA 21.829. L.70.5 cms. The hull resembles that of *Hnwy* and is of extremely crude modelling. Painted on the bows are large *w3dt*-eyes. The boat has double rudders, a canopy with integral bier but the mummy is missing. Three pairs of kneeling oarsmen propel the boat. Other crew members include a look-out and helmsman (Breasted 1948, 68, pl.64a). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 40).
3. Said to come from Gebelein in 1885. CG 4811. L.61 cms. The boat is type V. The double rudders and stanchions have hawk headed terminals. Set towards the front of the boat is a canopy set over a bier with a mummy. Surrounding the mummy are 5 small male figures and a female mourner. The boat has been restored with a seated figure aft which does not belong to this boat (CG 4812) (Reisner 1913, 17-8, 19, figs. 76-85, V). Probably 11 to early 12 dyn.
4. Asyut tomb 7, chamber 1 of *Nhti*. The tomb contained several type V boats, one of which is equipped with a canopy, bier and mummy (Chassinat 1911, 32). The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman and several sailors. Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 35).
5. Meir. CG 4847. L.57.5 cms. The boat is type V with double rudders, canopy and model coffin which is inscribed for the owner *nty*. The deck has facilities for 9 crew of which 6 survive, all stationed around the coffin (Reisner 1913, 34-7, figs.132-4, IX). 12 dyn.
6. Meir 1893. CG 4851. L.84.5 cms. From the damaged hull, deck plan and scars the boat can be said to be type V. It has double rudders and *w3dt*-eyes. Under the canopy is set a model coffin (CG 4850) inscribed for *Wh-htp*. The crew consists of 10 figures of which 9 are squatting (Reisner 1913, 37-40, figs.137-144, X). 12 dyn.
7. Unprovenanced. BM 9524-5. Dimensions unknown. Both boats are type V with double rudders, canopies, mummies and crews of priests and mourn-

ers (Glanville 1972, 11-6, figs.10-5, IIIa-b; Breasted 1948, 70, pl.66a). 12 dyn.

8. Saqqara tomb of *Hpr-k3-Rc*, *Hri*<sup>3</sup> and *S3t-B3stt*. CG 4915, CG 4917. Dimensions unknown. The boat CG 4915 was classified by Reisner as type V, variant II (1913, xxi, 70-2, figs.259-267, XVII; Maspero 1885, 209, figs.). The end posts both curl to face forward and are short and stylised. The boat has double rudders, a canopy and bier and a square altar on and beside which are globular beer jars. Attending the mummy at head and foot are the 2 female mourners. A shaven headed priest reads from a scroll. The remaining crew consist of the look-out and helmsman. Boat CG 4917 is essentially the same, but is termed type V, variant III (Reisner 1913, xxi, 73-4, figs.273-6, XVIII; Maspero 1885, 209, figs.). The crew and equipment are virtually identical. Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 58).

9. Theban tomb of *Mntw-htp*. Berlin 13 (lost). L.87 cms. The boat was type V with well preserved paint, the hull being green and blue with a band of blue, white and red on the gunwales. The end posts were white and there were *w3dt*-eyes in panels on the bows. The double rudders and stanchions had hawk head terminals. Set amidships was an elaborate bier bearing the mummy and having an integral canopy with 6 rather than 4 columns. The look-out stood on the bows, whilst a priest slaughtered an ox and another, holding an altar stood forward of the boat. Attending at the head and foot of the mummy were the 2 female mourners whilst around it crouched the cloaked Four Sons of Horus. In the stern the helmsman attended the double rudders. Each figure, including the mummy was inscribed with its name, filiation and profession (eg. *wcb*, *Sbk-ddw ir n Imn-ddt*; *im3h hry-hb*, *Hwy*, *m3c-hrw*, *ir n Sb3*). The mourners were termed Isis and Nephthys. This would seem to indicate that each figure was once a living person known to the

boat owner (Steindorff 1896, 37-9, fig.38, IX, X:8; Breasted 1948, 69, pl.64b). Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 63).

10. Bershah tomb E14, south, of *Spi*<sup>†</sup> III. CG 4948. L.84 cms. The type V hull has a flat projecting base for stability. It is equipped with double rudders, mast and canopy, unusually set forward of the mast, under which is a bier and the mummy. The crew consists of a helmsman, 6 sailors, a cloaked mourner and 2 priests (Daressy 1900, 36, fig.1; Reisner 1913, 100-1, figs.359-361, XXII; Breasted 1948, 70). Dated mid 12 dyn. to Senwosret III (p. 64-5).

### 3.3.3.2. TYPE II BOATS.

1. Bershah? RMO F1939/1.1. Dimensions unknown. The boat is type II with a raised stern sheer. As with all type II boats it has a single rudder supported on a slightly curled stern. The rudder stanchion is set in a convex thwart. Amidships is the coffin with a vaulted lid and end boards. The coffin type is characteristic of the later 12 dyn. The hull form of the boat does not correspond with this date. Possibly this coffin doesn't belong on this boat. At either end of the coffin are crouched mourners. The crew consists of 4 pairs of standing paddlers. Paddlers are exceptionally rare on type II boats where rowers are the norm (information supplied by Dr. Raven). Probably late 11 to 12 dyn.

2. Bershah. CG 4952. L.74.3 cms. The hull is type II with the characteristic curled stern of the 12 dyn. Behind the mast lies the mummy under a canopy. The crew comprises 5 sailors, a priest and 2 mourners. The boat was found in 1898, probably by Daressy, but it has not been possible to allocate it to one of his tombs (Reisner 1913, 105-6, figs.369-371, XXIII). 12 dyn.

3. Meir tomb of *imy-r pr, Wh-htp*. MMA 12.183.3. L.115 cms. A type II

boat with a canopy, bier and mummy, crewed by 2 sailors, 2 mourners and 2 priests (Breasted 1948, 69; Hayes 1953, 272-3). 12 dyn.

4. Beni Hasan tomb BH140 of *Hnm-htp*. Ash. E1992. L.73 cms (plate 28: 1). The boat is type II with a slightly curled stern and flat base. The stern sheer is high. When found the boat was badly decayed but had clearly been a funeral boat. It has towards the stern a platform on which the mummy rested (a feature of Beni Hasan funeral boats), a mast and is crewed by a helmsman, look-out and 2 female mourners (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 216. SAOS negs. B486, B720). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 45).

5. Lisht south, mastaba of *Dhwtj*. MMA 32.1.124. L.80 cms. A floor niche yielded 2 model boats. One was a funeral boat of type II with curled stern, crewed by 6 oarsmen, a helmsman and look-out (Lansing 1933, 21, fig.17; Hayes 1953, 271; Breasted 1948, 68). Despite the presence of oarsmen the mast was hoisted. Behind the mast was the canopy over the mummy. Seated around the mummy were the figures of the Four Sons of Horus all cloaked, 2 female mourners and a priest. Dated to the time of Senwosret I (p. 53).

6. Bershad tomb 21 of *Imn-m-h3t*. Both models F and H are type II with curled sterns (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 19, fig.4. F is 107 cms L.). Both were equipped with a bier for the mummy. Model H was crewed by pairs of oarsmen, perhaps indicating that F had been sailed. Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 42).

7. Beni Hasan tomb BH500 of *M3*. Cairo 17/3/23/3. L.82.9 cms. The type II boat with curled stern is equipped with 5 pairs of oarsmen on cube seats, a helmsman and look-out. Between the oarsmen is the mast with a furled sail. Amidships and behind the mast rest is a table supporting 2 large globular beer jars. Towards the stern is the canopy over the mummy which lies on a raised platform (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>,

102, fig.91 bottom; Breasted 1948, 69. SAOS negs. B219, B523-4). Dated Senwosret II onwards (p. 65).

8. Beni Hasan tomb BH500. Ash. E2296. L.71.5 cms. Forming a pair with the above, the boat has a hoisted mast attended by 4 sailors, additional crew include the look-out and helmsman. Behind the mast is the canopy over the dais and mummy. Around the mummy are the crouched figures of the Four Sons of Horus (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 102, fig.91 top; Moorey 1970, 49, fig.21; Landström 1970, 83, fig.251; Breasted 1948, 69. SAOS negs. B523, B525). Date as above.

### 3.3.4. FUNERAL CORTEGE BOATS: CONCLUSIONS.

Table 12 sets out the boat model types with their date and frequencies. For dating purposes, those boats referred to here without provenance have been included in the Table.

TABLE 12: MODEL FUNERAL CORTEGE BOATS

| Date       | Type II | Type III/IV | Type IV | Type IV/V | Type V |
|------------|---------|-------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| 5 dyn.     |         | 4 (+ 1)     | ?2      |           |        |
| 6 dyn.     |         |             | 2       | 2         |        |
| 9/10 dyn.  |         |             | 6       |           |        |
| 11 dyn.    |         |             |         | 1         |        |
| 11-12 dyn. | 2       |             |         | 1         | 2      |
| 12 dyn.    | 7       |             |         |           | 8      |

Under the heading Type III/IV there is an entry for an additional boat. This refers to the "Sahure" type funeral boat. Under Type IV in the 5 dyn. are 2 questionable boats which are simply referred to as "solar", possibly implying papyriform.

The foregoing survey illustrates that the 3 dimensional funeral



boats are limited in number but were used from the 6 to late 12 dyns. During this time type IV was used from the 6 dyn. onwards, but no later than the 11 dyn. (type IV/V). Concurrent with the 11 dyn. type IV boats was the introduction of type V into the sphere of private individuals. Type II boats were used sporadically in the 11 dyn. From the early 12 dyn. types II and V were used with equal popularity.

In relation to the 2 dimensional representations (see Tables 11 and 12) the type V hull appears earlier in the model repertoire than in the scenes. In the models, not all boat types, particularly type II are towed but are equipped for self-propulsion. This perhaps indicates that they were viewed not simply as funeral boats, but had a wider usage.

#### 3.4. TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PILGRIMAGE BOATS.

The depiction of a pilgrimage is usually distinguished from the funeral by the deceased represented as a living person or as a seated mummy. On occasion the accompanying text indicates that there is some ambiguity about what is taking place (cf. Yoyotte 1960, 25-32 for a discussion of pilgrimages and this ambiguity).

Representations of pilgrimages are found in the same range of tombs as the funeral cortege. Amongst 6 dyn. to FIP scenes are those of *Isi* at Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies 1902<sup>b</sup>, XIX). The boat is type IV without rudder but having a bipod mast and sail. Attending the sail is a single crew member, others include 2 paddlers and the helmsman. A monkey plays in the rigging. Behind the mast is a canopy under which *Isi* is seated with an attendant. It is possible that the papyriform boat of *Hwns* at Qubbet el-Hawa was for pilgrimage rather than burial. During the late 6 dyn. up to the early MK the depiction of the pilgrimage is relatively scarce by comparison with the funeral

cortège. This position is reversed in the MK proper.

The 11 dyn. tomb of *D3gi*<sup>3</sup> at Thebes contains what Vandier interprets as the voyage to Abydos and subsequent return (Davies 1913, XXXVI; Vandier 1969, 891-3, figs.337-8). The scenes are badly damaged but 2 type II boats can be seen being towed, firstly, by a rowed boat to Abydos, and secondly, the return under sail. Each boat contained several standing figures, at least one of which may be identified as a priest. The accompanying texts are too insufficiently preserved to verify their exact destination.

Tomb TT60 at Thebes of *Snt* is dated to the reign of Senwosret I. There are no funeral scenes in this tomb but there are 2 pilgrimage scenes. Both boats are type V with hawk headed rudders and stanchions, and a canopy set amidships. The better preserved boat is towed by a large curled sterned rowing boat. Under the canopy the tomb owner and her husband sit side-by-side, closely wrapped like seated mummies (Davies 1920, 19, XVII; Vandier 1969, 919-921, fig.346). Facing in the opposite direction is the other pilgrimage boat, but this time both figures are dressed in civilian clothing (Davies 1920, XX). Neither boat appears to have any crew. It would seem from this representation that from Thebes one rowed north to Abydos as a mummy and returned, revitalised under sail as a living being.

Of similar date is a poorly preserved pilgrimage scene from tomb 36 of *S3-rnpwt* I at Qubbet el-Hawa (Müller 1940, fig.12b; Vandier 1969, 912, fig.342). The upper register shows a curled sterned type II boat towing another missing boat. Below are 2 similar boats being rowed and sailed, but their import is uncertain.

Tomb II at Beni Hasan of *Imn-m-h3t*<sup>3</sup> preserves the funeral scene described above but labelled as a pilgrimage, and one other. The second scene is of a type II boat with high stern sheer and curled

stern. The boat is towed by 2 others (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, XVI; Vandier 1969, 900, fig.340). The first 2 boats appear to have a canopy in the bows under which a figure of the tomb owner sits. One boat has amidships a vaulted roofed, open sided cabin with shields, whilst the other has a flat roofed pavilion. The towed boat has a wickerwork cabin with windows along the top through which 5 females are visible. In front of the cabin is a canopy shading a figure of the tomb owner. Despite the multiple representations of the tomb owner, this scene is interpreted as a pilgrimage accompanied by the family and household. The text above the boats reads, "faring north to Busiris".

The Ramesseum tomb of *Sh̄tp-ib-Rc*, probably of the mid to late 12 dyn. has a pilgrimage scene which is led by a type II boat in full sail, with curled stern (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, VI; Vandier 1969, 919, fig. 344:2). The towed boat is of type V with double rudders, *w3dt*-eyes on the bows and a canopy amidships. Under the canopy is the tomb owner as a seated mummy holding the flail, symbol of royalty, divinity and resurrection. The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman and 2 priests, one of which is a *sm*. The text as it is reproduced is too indistinct to determine the destination of this boat.

The 13 dyn. to SIP tomb of *Rnni*<sup>2</sup> at Elkab depicts 2 type V boats (Tylor 1900, IX, X). Under the canopy *Rnni*<sup>2</sup> is seated as a mummy with his mother, *ch-ms*. The text with the boat indicates that their destination was the, "terrace of the god, lord of the West" at Abydos.

Table 13 sets out the boat types with their dates and frequencies. The numbers, as with Table 11, refer to the number of tombs containing boat scenes and not the number of boats per tomb. It can be seen that compared with the funeral cortège, few tombs depict the pilgrimage.

TABLE 13: TWO DIMENSIONAL PILGRIMAGE BOATS

| Date        | Type II | Type III | Type IV | Type V |
|-------------|---------|----------|---------|--------|
| post 6 dyn. |         |          | 1       |        |
| 9/10 dyn.   |         |          | ?1      |        |
| 11 dyn.     | 1       |          |         |        |
| 12 dyn.     | 2       |          |         | 4      |
| 13/17 dyn.  |         |          |         | 1      |

As with the development of the funeral boat, up to the FIP papyriform type IV boats were employed, but not beyond this point. Type II rivercraft are used from the 11 dyn., and type V from the 12 dyn. and later. There appears to be a distinction between boat forms bound for Abydos and Busiris. On the Abydene pilgrimage type V predominates, whilst type II were used for the Busiris trip. Figures on the boats are likewise distinguished as mummies going to Abydos and as living persons bound for Busiris. There remains however, much ambiguity about where the voyages were destined and it is not clear if these scenes were intended to record actual pilgrimages, symbolic pilgrimages or a combination of both (cf. Yoyotte 1960, 27, 29, 32).

### 3.5. MODEL PILGRIMAGE BOATS.

All model pilgrimage boats prior to the 9/10 dyn. are type IV. They are distinguished from funeral boats in that they are all equipped with sails and oars for self-propulsion. They may also have open sided, vaulted roofed cabins instead of the canopy. The boats tend also to have a full compliment of crew, including soldiers as escorts. Paddled or rowed type IV boats occur more frequently than sailed vessels.

### 3.5.1. OK AND POST 6 DYN. MODEL BOATS (TYPE IV).

1. Giza serdab S790 of *Ḫdw* II. Hildesheim? Dimensions unknown. Two poorly preserved boats are papyriform, paddled and with canopies amidships with figures of the deceased below (Junker 1947, 92, tf.16; Breasted 1948, 74). Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 8).

2. Meir tomb A1 *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km*. CG 4880-1. L.106.5 and 80 cms. Both type IV boats, with slightly raised stern sheer are equipped with double rudders and crewed by 10 and 8 forward facing paddlers, as well as the look-out and helmsman. Towards the stern are canopies with small daii for the thrones of the owner. However, the figures of the owner were never added (Reisner 1913, 51-3, figs.179-189, XII-III). Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 12).

3. Hogarth Asyut tomb LVI. BM 45089. L.84.5 cms. The boat resembles the papyrus skiff form, type III rather than type IV (Glanville 1972, 28-30, figs.28-9, VIa). It has 8 pairs of paddlers but no rudders. Towards the stern is a cavity suitable for the statuette of the owner which is now lacking. The papyrus skiff type III is characteristic of the Asyut site as the examples Turin S.8657-9, 8790-1, 14815-6 from Schiaparelli's Asyut excavations illustrate (unpublished). Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 13).

### 3.5.2. FIP MODEL BOATS (TYPE IV).

1. Gebelein tomb of *Ḫni*. Turin S.13272. L.136 cms (plate 29:2). The type IV boat is rowed, the hull with long slender end posts has stylised umbels like buttons. The stern sheer is raised. It is equipped with double rudders, a canopy amidships with a high backed throne below, and is crewed by the look-out, helmsman and 3 pairs of oarsmen. The figure of the owner was never included. All the figures have pointed faces with large, heavily downward drooping eyes. Dated 8/9

dyn. (p. 17).

2. Tomb of *Ini*. Turin S.13273. L.136 cms (plate 29:1). The boat closely resembles its companion, except that it has a bipod mast and is crewed by a look-out, helmsman and 2 crouched mast attendants. Date as above.

3. Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 98 of *St-k3*. BM 21805. Dimensions unknown. The type IV boat resembles the Gebelein examples, but has a lower stern sheer. It has most of its elements missing. The deck plan however, indicates that there had been double rudders, 3 pairs of oarsmen (2 pairs of curious seated oarsmen survive), a look-out (now facing the wrong way), a helmsman and a canopy (Glanville 1972, 1-3, figs.1-2, IV; Göttlicher 1978, 53 no.272c). Dated 8/9 dyn. (p.17-18).

4. Tomb of *St-k3*. Bournemouth NN. Dimensions unknown. The boat resembles its companion and is equipped with double rudders, a mast, a canopy and is crewed by a helmsman, look-out and 3 crouched mast attendants. Under the canopy is a seated figure of the owner (Budge 1887-8, 38; Hall 1984, fig.1). Date as above.

5. Said to be from Akhmim in 1889. CG 4804. L.118 cms. The type IV hull has very long and narrow end posts. The crew consists of 2 pairs of paddlers and a helmsman. The boat had had double rudders. Amidships, behind the mast seated on a cube chair is the figure of the owner attended by 2 priests, one with his left arm crossing his chest, the other reading from a scroll (Reisner 1913, 9-10, figs. 37-44, III; Göttlicher 1971, X:3). Hull profile comparison with the Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa boats suggests a FIP date.

6. Purchased in Luxor in 1889. CG 4911. L.144 cms. The type IV hull bears a marked resemblance to the Gebelein examples. The similarity is carried over to the modelling of the crew; 3 pairs of oarsmen, look-out and helmsmen, and the canopy over a high backed throne. It is

likely that although bought at Luxor, this boat came from Gebelein (Reisner 1913, 67-8, figs.243-250, XVI; Göttlicher 1971, X:2). Date as above.

7. Unprovenanced. ECMM 2172. Surviving L.109 cms. This is another very similar boat, but lacking parts of the end posts. It has 3 pairs of oarsmen, helmsman, canopy and high backed throne. The model is unprovenanced, but probably came from Gebelein. Date as above.

8. Upper Egypt 1891. CG 4808. L.152 cms. The type IV boat has double mast steps for a bipod mast, double rudders, canopy and high backed throne. The crew, a look-out, helmsman and 2 crouched mast attendants, like the hull are stylistically similar to the Gebelein examples (Reisner 1913, 14-6, figs.60-73, IV, XXIX; Göttlicher 1971, XI:1).

Date as above.

9. Bershah? Copenhagen 5488. L.173 cms. The type IV boat was purchased from a dealer who claimed the provenance as Bershah. In view of its similarity to the Gebelein examples this seems unlikely (Buhl 1974, 41 no.26, fig.26; Göttlicher 1978, 54 no.273, tf.21). Date as above.

10. Abusir tomb MR25 of *Imp*. Bremen B.941. L.75 cms. The tomb yielded a type IV boat with mast, 2 sailors, look-out and a figure of the owner with his name inscribed on the kilt (Schäfer 1908, 96-7, Abb. 154-155b; Göttlicher 1971, XLVIII:4; Porter and Moss 1974, 347). Dated FIP? (p. 27).

### 3.5.3. MK MODEL BOATS.

During the MK pilgrimage boats can be divided into 3 groups. The most frequently found models are type II, with types IV and V in the minority.

### 3.5.3.1. TYPE II BOATS.

1. Lepsius tomb 10 of *Gmn-wsr*, Saqqara. West Berlin 1232. L.50 cms (plate 28:2). From 1 chamber came a model pilgrimage boat. It is essentially type II, but has a type VIII hollow hull (Tooley 1986<sup>a</sup>, 189-192; 1986<sup>b</sup>, 21, fig.3), augmented by a fitted deck. The boat has a single rudder. The crew consists of 2 pairs of oarsmen and a look-out. Amidships is a vaulted roofed canopy under which the owner is seated as a mummy (Lepsius 1897, 157; 1913, XLV; Göttlicher 1971, XXXVI:2; Breasted 1948, 84). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 25).
2. Saqqara tomb of *Hnnw*. Cairo 29/12/15/2. Dimensions unknown. The type II boat has a high stern sheer. It is equipped with a rudder, a hollow vaulted roofed cabin decorated with wicker designs, and a mast rest. The owner is crouched and cloaked inside the cabin. The crew consists of the helmsman, a look-out holding a depth sinker and 5 pairs of kneeling oarsmen (Quibell 1908, 16). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 26).
3. Abusir tomb MR6 of *Hrī-š.f-ḥtp* I. Leipzig 38. L.64 cms. This is a rowed type II boat. The stern sheer is slightly raised with a slight curve to the rudder support. Mast rests are situated amidships and beside the open sided, vaulted roofed cabin. The owner crouches inside the cabin. The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman and 8 oarsmen (Schäfer 1908, 71-3, Abb.111-3; Breasted 1948, 84; Göttlicher 1971, XLIX:3; Krauspe 1976, 30 no.42/1). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 58-9).
4. Abusir tomb MR6. Leipzig 35. L.63.5 cms. The boat forms a pair with the above. It has a mast and open sided, vaulted roofed cabin. The only crew member is the helmsman. Inside the cabin the owner crouches. Surrounding him are the Four Sons of Horus (Schäfer 1908, 75-7, Abb. 118-120; Breasted 1948, 84; Göttlicher 1971, XLIX:2; Krauspe 1976, 30 no.43/1). Date as above.



5. Meir tomb B3:2 of *Wh-htp*. L.72 cms. Location unknown. A type II boat was found with 14 oarsmen, helmsman and look-out (Kamal 1911, 17). The owner crouches inside a vaulted roofed cabin, attended by a priest with an altar. There are also said to be jars on the deck. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 39).
6. Saqqara tomb 2757 of *Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t* and *Wsr-mwt*. JE 46766. Dimensions unknown. The type II boat is crewed by 10 oarsmen, a look-out and helmsman. Inside the cabin crouches the owner (Quibell 1927, 14, model 18, pl.23:1; Breasted 1948, 84). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 55).
7. Saqqara tomb 2757. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Model 15 is also type II. It has an open sided cabin under which the owner crouches, surrounded by the Four Sons of Horus. The crew comprises a helmsman, look-out and 4 sailors (Quibell 1927, 14, pl.23:2; Breasted 1948, 84). Date as above.
8. Deir el-Bahri Pit 28 of *Bw3w*. CG 4910. L.59 cms. The type II boat has a raised stern sheer. It is equipped with a mast rest and open sided, vaulted roofed cabin. The crew comprises the helmsman, look-out and 3 mast attendants. The owner crouches, cloaked in the cabin. Surrounding the cabin are the Four Sons of Horus. Evidently there was some confusion when the boat was made since it has no mast but is a sailing vessel. In place of the mast is a mast rest, apparently as found (Naville 1896, 3-4; Reisner 1913, 65-6, figs.232-241, XVI). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 33).
9. Beni Hasan tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htp<sup>2</sup>*. BM 41574. L.69.8 cms. The type II boat has a slightly raised stern sheer. It is equipped with a mast rest and mast with furled sail. Set towards the stern is an open sided, vaulted roofed cabin with the owner inside. Behind the cabin is a trunk. The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman, 3 mast attendants and 2 men with punt poles (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237;

Glanville 1972, 22-5, figs.21-3, IVa, Va. SAOS negs. B552-4, B556).

Dated 11 dyn. (p. 46).

10. Asyut tomb of *Mshiti*<sup>2</sup>. CG 4918. L.154 cms. The type II boat has lost many of its elements, but nonetheless preserves its mast and an elaborate, many roomed cabin containing the cloaked and crouched figure of the owner with 5 other figures. The remaining crew outside the cabin include the look-out and a kneeling shaven headed figure with a triangular kilt. The stern sheer is raised (Reisner 1913, 74-80, figs. 277-300, XVIII; Göttlicher 1971, XIII, XXIV-V). Dated to the reign of Neb-hepet-Re (p. 36).

11. Beni Hasan tomb BH575 of *Hty-i*<sup>1</sup>. Ash. E2297. L.60 cms. The stern sheer of the type II boat is slightly raised. The boat is equipped with a rudder, mast, linen sail and open sided, vaulted roofed cabin. The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman, 3 mast attendants fore of the mast and 2 men with punt poles. The figure of the tomb owner is not present (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 230, fig.229; Breasted 1948, 84. SAOS negs. B220-1, B526, B528, B530). Dated late 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 46).

12. Unprovenanced 1902. BM 36422. L.69.8 cms. The type II hull has a raised stern and bow sheer, but is broken at both ends. It has a tall mast, mast rest and hollow, vaulted roofed cabin. A square socket beneath the cabin indicates that a figure of the owner had been affixed. The crew comprise 2 sailors behind the cabin one either side of the mast rest, and 6 mast attendants, with another in front of it (Glanville 1972, 55-8, figs.57-9, Xb; Breasted 1948, 83). The style and cutting of the crew's hair and their jowl beards with chin straps suggests that the provenance may have been Meir (compare with BM 25360, CG 4802-3). 12 dyn.

13. Meir 1892 (with 27 other boats. Belger 1895, 24-5). CG 4902. L.85

cms. The type II hull has a slightly curled stern and the remains of a bowsprit. The boat was provided with a rudder stanchion and small mast. The crew consists of 4 mast attendants standing and one seated aft of the mast, with 2 seated forward of it. A look-out stands in the bows. The owner crouches on a low stool, closely wrapped in the stern. Facing him in the bow is a standing scribe with a board under his left arm (Reisner 1913, 7-8, figs.26-31, II). 12 dyn.

14. Bershad tomb 10A of Dhwtj-nht. BMFA 21.406. L.86 cms. The type II boat has a long cabin with a canopy at the front under which the owner is seated with 3 other figures who seem by the position of their arms to be singing (Dunham 1921, 45; Breasted 1948, 83-4, pl.77a). The hull is extremely crude and solid. A single mast attendant survives on deck. Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 40).

15. Beni Hasan tomb BH186 of Tjwy. Ash. E2301. L.71.5 cms. The stern sheer is raised on this type II boat. Set amidships are 3 mast attendants, whilst 3 pairs of oarsmen provide additional propulsion. Other crew members are the look-out, a soldier in the bow and helmsman in the stern. Towards the stern is the open sided, vaulted roofed cabin with shields lashed to it. A large model quiver with lances emerges from the cabin. In front of the cabin the owner plays *snt* with another figure (Pusch 1979, 57-9, tf.16). This type of escorted armed boat is sometimes called a war boat (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 225, V:14; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 151, 157, figs.149, 157; Moorey 1983, fig.23; Breasted 1948, 103. SAOS negs. B489, B498, B527). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 46).

16. Beni Hasan tomb BH186. JE 37564. Dimensions unknown. The hull is similar to the above and is equipped with mast, sail, rudder and open sided, vaulted roofed cabin. The crew comprises 3 mast attendants, 2 men with punt poles, look-out and helmsman. On the port side is a figure bailing out with an oval bucket (cf. the significance of the

- bailer, *pg3* or *md3bt* in the CT. Mueller 1972, 106). The figure of the owner is missing (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 225; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 84, fig.72; Landström 1970, 74. SAOS negs. B488, B490-2, B494-5). Date as above.
17. Beni Hasan tomb BH585 of *Hnm-nhti* and *Ntr-nhti*. JE 37564.  
Dimensions unknown. The stern sheer is steeply raised on the type II hull. The boat is provided with a rudder, mast and open sided, vaulted roofed cabin with attached shields and quiver. The crew consists of a look-out, helmsman, 2 men with punt poles and 3 mast attendants (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 97, fig.88. SAOS negs. B531-6, B538, B542, B547). The figure of the owner is missing (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222, present when found). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 47).
18. Beni Hasan tomb BH585. JE 37564 (NB the JE number refers to the entire group). Dimensions unknown. The boat has a similar hull form to the above (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 97, fig.89; Landström 1970, 74, fig.220. SAOS negs. B540, B544). Under the vaulted roofed cabin crouches the female owner with an attendant carrying a mirror (cf. Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 18, fig. 122). Date as above.
19. Beni Hasan tomb BH868. Science Museum 1935-201 (plate 30:1). Dimensions unknown. The stern is curled on the type II hull. It is equipped with a single rudder, the boat also has a mast and 4 pairs of oars lashed to the gunwales. The crew consist of a helmsman, a look-out with a buffer, 4 mast attendants and in the stern a crouched and cloaked figure of the owner surrounded by 4 similarly clad Sons of Horus. The owner is distinguished by a painted polychrome collar (SAOS neg. B557). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 45).
20. Hogarth Asyut tomb XXXV. BM 45088. L.50.8 cms. The type II hull is stoutly made with a gently rising stern sheer. On the bow is a modelled bowsprit giving a blunted appearance. The boat has a single rudder and mast rest. The crew consists of 2 rows of 8 figures, 3 of which

are seated paddlers. The remaining 5 figures are all cloaked and crouched, perhaps representing the owner and the Four Sons of Horus. A helmsman sits on the stern (Glanville 1972, 35-7, figs. 35-6, VIIa). Dated 12 dyn. (p. 37).

21. Hogarth Asyut tomb XXXV. BM 45087. L.54.5 cms. The type II hull is stout with a rudder stanchion and a hole in the deck for the mast. The crew consists of 2 very small mast attendants. Crouched in the stern and bow are 2 groups of 3 figures, all cloaked, facing each other. It is possible that one was intended to be the owner (Glanville 1972, 33-5, figs.33-4, VIc). Date as above.

22. Unprovenanced. Purchased in 1901. BM 34274. L.88.2cms. Stylistically related to boats from Bershah of the 12 dyn., especially those from tomb E14 (cf. CG 4947-8). The type II boat with a semi-spoon shaped hull has a flat projecting base. It is equipped with a bowsprit, mast and forked rudder support. The crew are depicted in a vigorous rowing pose, with one leg raised onto the painted thwarts. There are 6 pairs of oarsmen, a look-out and the owner crouched and cloaked in the stern. Two small crouched figures sit either side of the mast and have cloaks which fall off the left shoulder (Glanville 1972, 42-3, figs.40-2, VIIIa). 12 dyn.

23. Unprovenanced. Purchased 1901. BM 35291. L.62.2 cms. The spoon shaped hull with blunted bow and forked rudder support are reminiscent of type VIII hollow hulled boats (Tooley 1986<sup>a</sup>, 189ff). The crew consists of 8 oarsmen vigorously rowing, a look-out and helmsman. The owner, cloaked and crouched sits in the bow facing aft. A smaller figure with the cloak falling from the left shoulder crouches between the 2 rows of oarsmen. Between the aft pair is a standing figure with the left arm across the chest facing the owner. Amidships a servant figure carries a satchel on his back and a board in his right hand

(Glanville 1972, 46-9, figs.47-50, IXa; Breasted 1948, 81, pl.73b).

Probably also from Bershah. 12 dyn.

24. Meir 1892-3. BM 25360. L.113 cms. The stern is curled on this type II sailing boat. It is equipped with a mast, sail, rudder stanchion and 2 rudders. One rudder has been restored resting in the bowsprit so that there is a rudder at each end of the hull. The fore rudder is steadied by a figure which originally would have held a depth weight or buffer. The well documented models indicate that such a construction with a rudder at both ends is not original. The crew comprise 8 aft mast attendants and 2 forward. In front of the rudder stanchion is a standing mummy which faces the second figure of the tomb owner, crouched and cloaked in the bow facing aft (Glanville 1972, 16-9, figs.16-8, III:c). 12 dyn.

25. Unprovenanced. BM 35292. Dimensions unknown. The type II boat is squat with a steep stern sheer. There are facilities for rowing or sailing, the crew comprising, rowers and mast attendants. A figure of the owner is near the stern (Glanville 1972, 49-51, figs.51-3, IXb; Breasted 1948, 80, pl.79b). 12 dyn.

26. Unprovenanced. BM 35923. Dimensions unknown. The type II boat is longer and sleeker than the above, but is equipped and crewed in a similar manner (Glanville 1972, 52-5, figs.54-6, Xa). 12 dyn.

27. Unprovenanced. CG 4841. L.91 cms. This type II boat is evidently "made-up" because it has not only oarsmen and mast attendants, but also forward facing paddlers amidships. The cloaked figure of the owner sits below the canopy in the stern (Reisner 1913, 28-30, figs. 116-120, VII). 12 dyn.

28. Bershah tomb E14, north, of *Spi* II. CG 4951. L.65 cms. The type II boat has an upsweeping stern sheer with a forked rudder support like type VIII boats (cf. Tooley 1986<sup>a</sup>, 189f) and a blunted bow. It is

equipped with a mast and cabin constructed like a fabric or matting shelter over a framework of poles. Below this squats the cloaked owner. The crew consists of the look-out, helmsman and 4 mast attendants. In addition, a figure ministering to the owner wears a satchel or double pack on his back (Daressy 1900, 30-1, fig.1; Reisner 1913, 103-4, figs.365-8, XXIII; Breasted 1948, 84). Dated to the reign of Amenemhat II (p. 41).

29. Bershah tomb E14, south, of *Spi* III. CG 4947. L.85.5 cms. The type II hull is roughly spoon shaped on a flat projecting stand. Standing amidships are 2 rows of 3 men facing each other, their arms crossed on their chests. A squatting cloaked figure in the stern but too far forward to be the helmsman must represent the owner. No other crew are present (Daressy 1900, 35-6, fig.2; Reisner 1913, 99-100, figs.355-8, XXI; Breasted 1948, 84). Dated mid 12 dyn. to Senwosret III (p. 64-5).

30. Theban tomb of *Mntw-htp*. West Berlin 12. Dimensions unknown. The type II boat has a curled stern and bowsprit. It is equipped with a mast rest, mast and hollow, vaulted roofed cabin in which the owner crouches. The crew consists of 8 pairs of seated oarsmen, helmsman and look-out. In addition there is on board a female miller forward of the mast and a male beer masher aft (Steindorff 1896, 32-6, Abb.33-4, VIII, X:1-4; Breasted 1948, 81; Göttlicher 1971, XXVII:2). As with Berlin 13 (lost) each figure is inscribed with his name. The miller is termed *S3t-Imn, irt n Hri* (Steindorff 1896, 36-7). Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 63).

31. Rifeh tomb of the Two Brothers. Man. 4741. L.66 cms. The type II rowing boat with curled stern and bowsprit is equipped with a rudder with decorated blade, mast rest, mast and solid vaulted roofed cabin in front of which the owner sits on a chair. The crew comprises a crouched look-out, helmsman and 5 pairs of seated oarsmen (Petrie

1907, 12, X:C bottom; Murray 1910, 18, pl.16 top; Breasted 1948, 84; Göttlicher 1971, XVI:3). Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 63).

32. Rifeh tomb of the Two Brothers. Man. 4742. L.66.3 cms. The sailing vessel resembles its companion. It is equipped with a mast, 2 yard-arms and a solid vaulted roofed cabin. The crew comprises a standing helmsman, look-out and 4 mast attendants. The cloaked owner squats in front of the cabin, whilst the Four Sons of Horus are situated around the cabin (Petrie 1907, 12, X:C top; Murray 1910, 17-8, pl.16 bottom; Breasted 1948, 84). Date as above.

#### 3.5.3.2. TYPE IV BOATS.

1. Beni Hasan tomb BH1 of *Intf*. LM 55.82.3. Dimensions unknown. The hull of this type IV boat is rather roughly made with a slightly raised stern sheer. The end posts are squared in section with the usual button like umbels. The boat has a double rudder, mast and canopy. The crew consists of 3 mast attendants, helmsman and 2 men with punt poles. A unique feature of this boat is a square hole cut in the canopy. This is now restored with gauze over the aperture to allow filtered light through, but there is no evidence in the SAOS negatives to suggest that this is how the Egyptians intended the canopy to look (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 60-1, fig.46, frontispiece; Landström 1970, 92, fig.283; Breasted 1948, 78; Bienkowski 1986, 38, pl.4; Bourriau 1988, addendum. SAOS negs. B471, B473). Dated 11 dyn. or earlier (p. 44).

2. Abusir tomb MR6 of *Hri-š.f-htp* I. Leipzig 37. L.64 cms. The paddled type IV boat has end posts unlike the 8/9 dyn. examples, which are short and thick, with the stern sheer raised slightly. Under the canopy sits a figure of the owner. The crew includes the look-out, helmsman and 4 pairs of paddlers (Schäfer 1908, 73-4; Breasted 1948,



75; Göttlicher 1971, L:1; Krauspe 1976, 30 no.42/2). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 58-9).

3. Abusir tomb MR6. Leipzig 36. L.54.5 cms. A sailed type IV boat. It has a mast, canopy and seated owner. Three sailors attend to the mast. The Four Sons of Horus crouch round the canopy (Schäfer 1908, 76-8, Abb.121-3; Breasted 1948, 77; Göttlicher 1971, XLIX; Krauspe 1976, 30 no.43/2). Date as above.

4. Saqqara tomb 2757 of *Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t* and *Wsr-mwt*. Cairo. Dimensions unknown. The boat is type IV (Quibell 1927, 14, model 16, pl.22:2; Breasted 1948, 75). It is equipped with a mast, mast rest and canopy. The owner sits under the canopy whilst the boat is propelled by 4 pairs of paddlers and a helmsman steering with a paddle. A look-out stands in the bow. A similar boat (Cairo 14/3/15/7? Quibell 1927, 12) made up the pair. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 55).

5. Saqqara tomb 2757. Cairo 29/12/15/3. Dimensions unknown. The type IV boat has a mast and canopy under which is the seated owner. The crew consists of 3 mast attendants and a helmsman steering with a paddle. The Four Sons of Horus surround the canopy (Quibell 1927, 14, model 17, pl.22:1; Breasted 1948, 77. Also numbered JE 46767). Date as above.

6. Saqqara tomb of *Hri-š.f-nḥt*. The boat was sailed and featured a canopy, seated owner and chest (Quibell 1908, 7). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 54).

7. Saqqara tomb HMK159 of *Mwt-ḥtpi*. A pair of boats were found bearing figures of the female owner and crewed by 8 oarsmen (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 57, fig.63). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 57).

8. Saqqara tomb HMK30 of *Gmn-m-ḥ3t*. AEIN 1629. Dimensions unknown. The type IV hull is squat and thick in the beam, with short narrow end posts and button like umbels. The stern sheer is raised whilst the bow

is lowered giving a sloped appearance to the deck. The boat is equipped with mast and mast rest, and canopy set in the stern. The crew consists of 4 pairs of paddlers, a helmsmen steering with a paddle and a look-out. The standing figure of the owner beneath the canopy, is small by comparison with the kneeling paddlers (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.29a; Mogensen 1930, 68, LXVI; Breasted 1948, 75; Göttlicher 1971, XVI:1). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 57).

9. Saqqara tomb of *K3-rnn*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. At least 8 boats are known from this tomb (Quibell 1908, 7-13). The type IV hulls are similar to those of *Gmn-m-h3t*, but are narrower in the beam. The first boat was provided with a mast rest, mast and canopy in the stern under which the owner is seated, accompanied by 2 model quivers. The crew comprises 4 pairs of paddlers and a steersman in the stern (Quibell 1908, 9-10; Breasted 1948, 78). Dated late 11 to 12 dyn. (p. 56).

10. Saqqara tomb of *K3-rnn*. Cairo. Dimensions unknown. Forming a pair with the above and coming from the ledge in the tomb is a model provided with a mast, yard-arm and canopy under which the owner stands. The crew consists of a look-out, helmsman, 2 seated and 3 standing mast attendants. A standing figure in the bow may be a Reis. Under the canopy is a vault lidded chest (Quibell 1908, 7, 13, XII). Date as above.

11. Saqqara tomb of *K3-rnn*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A similar pair of boats was owned by *Nfr-smdt*. The first is simply described as papyriform with a canopy under which the female owner is seated (Quibell 1908, 11; Breasted 1948, 78). The second, with decayed hull is also type IV. It was equipped with a mast and canopy and crewed by 2 seated and 2 standing mast attendants, whilst *Nfr-smdt* rests below the canopy (Quibell 1908, 12, XVIII:1; Breasted 1948, 78).

Boats of type II were also found in this tomb (Quibell 1908, 9-10, models 7, 9, 16-7, XVII:2, XXVI:22), and as with the *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* models (see below), it is unclear whether the remaining boats in the fleet can be viewed as ritual craft. Date as above.

12. Hogarth Asyut tomb XLV:a. BM 46605. L.73.6 cms. The type IV hull is slender and elegant despite damage by decay. The deck plan of small holes indicates that it had been propelled by 4 pairs of paddlers and crewed by a look-out and cox or captain. Situated towards the stern is the fine statuette of the owner seated on a cube throne with his hands resting on his thighs. The stern post has a slight droop, whilst the bow is missing (Glanville 1972, 30-3, figs.30-3, VIb). Dated early 12 dyn. (p. 37).

13. Meir 1892. CG 4803. L.78 cms. Although the boat is classified as type IV its end posts are attached in such a way as to appear an after thought, being short, cylindrical and virtually horizontal. It is equipped with double rudder stanchions and facilities for a mast. The crew consists of 5 mast attendants, a man in the bow facing aft, a helmsman and a scribe with a board under his arm. It is possible that peg holes in the stern represent where the owner had sat (Reisner 1913, 8-9, figs.32-6, III; Göttlicher 1971, XXXII:8, XXXIII:4). 12 dyn.

#### 3.5.3.3. TYPE V BOATS.

1. Deir el-Bahri Pit 14 of Neb-hepet-Re. Geneva 4769. L.146 cms. Broken up and deposited in the floor niche was a type V boat. Both raised end posts and most other elements are lost. The deck plan indicates that double rudders were present. Several holes indicate the positions of the crew. Surviving figures include 2 striding men, one amidships with a long kilt and facing the stern, the other on the bow.

A half kneeling male faces the central figure, the right arm crossing the chest. A similar figure kneels on the port side towards the stern. A figure, heavily cloaked or wrapped, resembling the *Tknw*-figure kneels near the stern. All the figures are shaven headed (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 14ff, Abb.2, tf.3a-c, 64; Castioni 1977, 25 no.7). Reign of Neb-hepet-Re.

2. Deir el-Bahri Pit 14. Geneva 4768bis. L.150 cms. The type V boat forms a pair with the above. It is crewed by one standing figure in the bow and a group of 5 cross-legged men facing the stern, with one or both arms crossing the chest. They face the figure of the king (head missing) seated on a throne in the *Hb-sd* cloak. Both arms are crossed on the chest (Naville 1913, 31; Arnold 1981, 14ff, Abb.2, tf. 3a-c, 64; Castioni 1977, 25 no.7). Date as above.

The royal nature of these 2 boats call into question whether they can really be called pilgrimage boats, since parts of the royal funerary symbolism involve the king riding with Re in the *mcndt* and *msktt* barques, rather than the *nšmt* barque of Osiris, which was essentially the same in hull form.

3. TT280 of *Mkt-Rc*. The models from this tomb are exceptionally well preserved. The majority of boats are type II, with 2 type III, but a group of 4 type V boats, described by Winlock as "yachts" are the only truly ceremonial boats included in the set (1955, 59-60). The "yachts" form 2 pairs, models T/U and V/W:

Model U. JE 46716. L.139 cms. Crewed by 8 pairs of paddlers, 2 helmsmen and 5 "officers" (Winlock 1955, 60f, 99, pls.5, 46, 49-50, 55, 79, 85-6; Porter and Moss 1960, 360).

Model T. MMA 20.3.4. L.145 cms. Crewed by 9 sailors, 2 helmsmen, a look-out and a man with a punt pole (1955, 60, 63-4, 97-9, pls.1, 4-7, 45, 49-50, 55, 78, 85; Breasted 1948, 77, pl.68b; Göttlicher 1971,

XII, XXX). Both boats represent *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* seated on a cube throne beneath a canopy set astern. Accompanying him is his son (1955, 60, pl.1). Both models have large *hs*-vases in front of the canopy inscribed with the *htp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula to Osiris, Lord of Busiris (1955, 60, 64). In addition model T has 3 priests attending to *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>*, carrying a censor, leg of beef and scroll wishing for "thousands of bread, beer, oxen and fowl" (1955, 60).

4. TT280. The second set of type V boats, although identical in profile to the above, differ in that the double rudders and stanchions are hawk headed, like most funeral boats:

Model V. JE 46717. L.132 cms. Crewed by 8 sailors, 2 helmsmen, 3 men in the bows and one "officer" with his arms crossed on his chest (Winlock 1955, 60, 61, 63, 99-100, pls.5, 47, 55, 80, 85-6).

Model W. MMA 20.3.5. L.132.5 cms. Crewed by 8 pairs of paddlers, 2 helmsmen and 2 "officers" (1955, 60-1, 63, 100-1, pls.5, 48, 55, 77, 81, 86; Breasted 1948, 76, pl.66b). *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* sits on a cube throne beneath a canopy with his son at the side. In front of the canopies are large uninscribed *hs*-vases.

The different crewing of the boats and the slightly different iconography imply that they were envisaged for differing purposes or destinations. Since the set T/U mention Busiris directly it may be assumed that that was the ultimate destination of this pair. The set V/W were probably intended for the voyage to Abydos since they were equipped with funerary symbolism. Dated to the reigns of Neb-hepet-Re and Sankh-ka-Re (p. 164).

5. Asyut tomb 7, chamber 1 of *Nht<sup>3</sup>*. JE 36293. L.98.5 cms. The type V sailing boat is equipped with double rudders and a canopy. The crew comprise 3 mast attendants, 2 sailors facing the owner, a look-out and a man holding a short curved stick on the stern. Beneath the

canopy with the owner are 2 other figures, one crouching (Chassinat 1911, 51, XIV:1; Porter and Moss 1934, 266; Adam 1981, 14 no.7, pl.7; Breasted 1948, 77-8). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 35).

6. Asyut tomb 7:1. Louvre E12027. L.81 cms. The rowed type V boat is crewed by 4 pairs of seated oarsmen and look-out. The figure in the bow is described as the owner clasping a bow in his right hand. Both boats have large *w3dt*-eyes on the bows (Chassinat 1911, 51, XIV:2; Breasted 1948, 76, pl.69a; Noblecourt 1981, 118-9). Date as above.

7. Meir tomb of *imy-r pr, Wh-htp*. MMA 12.183.4. L.124 cms. The type V hull is well preserved with white painted end posts and *w3dt*-eyes on the bows. The boat is equipped with double rudders, the stanchions having hawk head terminals, a mast and canopy. The boat has undergone fanciful reconstruction being provided with no less than 4 figures of the owner; the canopy shields an empty throne, on either side are 2 standing mummies, in front is a seated mummy, with a larger shaven headed figure facing them, who is not a priest. A tiny helmsman squats in the stern (Breasted 1948, 70; Hayes 1953, 273, fig.179). Dated 12 dyn.

It is evident that these figures come from other boats, not only because there are too many of them, but because they are of different scales. There is an apparent parallel of multiple images also from Meir, where the owner is seen as a cloaked figure and standing mummy (BM 25360. see above). The Meir boats were not documented upon discovery and many examples of "made-up" boats have been displayed in museums (cf. Legrain 1900, 65). The well documented boats, such as those from Beni Hasan, Bershah and the tomb of *Mkt-Rc* indicate that only one figure of the owner was provided per boat, but that the form could be varied from a living person to a seated mummy, etc. (plate 32:1. Seated mummies from Beni Hasan tomb BH283).

8. Riqqeh tomb A123 of Tnt. A type V boat is said to have been crewed by animal and hawk headed figures which accompany the owner (Engelbach 1915, 8, VIII:5) was found. Dated 12 dyn. (p. 52).

Boats which should be noted but which are inadequately published include the following:

Meir B3:2. A type V? boat (Kamal 1911, 17).

A type II? boat of 14 oars (Kamal 1911, 17).

Meir tomb of K3y-Hnt. Several boats, one type V (Kamal 1911, 23-5).

Meir tomb of Rc-htp<sup>i</sup> and K3yt. A type V boat of 8 oars (Kamal 1912, 100).

A type V boat, sailed (Kamal 1912, 101).

Meir A3 of Wh-htp. A type IV/V boat variant (JE 42937? Kamal 1912, 113, fig.).

A type IV boat (JE 42911? Kamal 1912, 113, fig.; cf.

Poujade 1948, XI).

Bershah D15 of Sp<sup>i</sup> I. Two "funerary" boats (Daressy 1900, 26).

Bershah 23:III of Nhr<sup>i</sup>. "Funerary" boat (JE 34292. Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 41).

Two other "funerary" boats (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 42).

Beni Hasan BH36. A type V boat, stern post and hawk headed stanchion (plate 30:2. Fitz. E.8.1903. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 212. SAOS neg. B410).

Beni Hasan BH287. A type IV boat, of 8 paddles (plate 31:1. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 222. SAOS neg. B510).

### 3.6. PILGRIMAGE BOATS: CONCLUSIONS.

Table 14 presents the types of model pilgrimage boats found, along with their frequency and date. Unprovenanced models have been used in the Table, as in the above survey, only where they serve to illustrate the dating of types.

TABLE 14: MODEL PILGRIMAGE BOATS

| Date        | Type II | Type III/IV | Type IV | Type V |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|--------|
| post 6 dyn. |         | 1           | 4       |        |
| 8/9 dyn.    |         |             | 9       |        |
| 9/10 dyn.   |         |             | 1       |        |
| 11 dyn.     | 11      |             | 9       | 6      |
| 11-12 dyn.  | 7       |             | 5       | 2      |
| 12 dyn.     | 15      |             | 2       | 2      |

The overview of model pilgrimage boats (Table 14) indicates that type IV boats were the second most popular boats in the MK and were the norm in the 6 dyn. to 8/9 dyn. period. During the MK they are generally found in the 11 dyn. and no later than the reign of Amenemhat II. Where they occur this late the hull form is hardly recognizable (eg. CG 4916). Of those studied 8 were sailed and 12 paddled or rowed, the remaining boats are of unknown propulsion.

Less popular was type V. Of the well dated examples none were later than the first 2 reigns of the 12 dyn. It is stated by Hayes that type V boats exclusively, were found in the cemeteries surrounding the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht (1953, 271). In fact the boats of *Dhwty* prove this to be otherwise (they are type II).

The highest proportion of pilgrimage boats were of the type II hull, equally divided between sailing and rowed varieties. The type appears in the late FIP/ 11 dyn. and continues until the time of Amenemhat III.

By comparison with the results obtained from the funeral cortege models, it is evident that a clear distinction was made between the 2 types. Whereas papyriform boats are succeeded by type V in the funeral cortege in the 11 dyn., this former type continued to be used for the



pilgrimage. The type II boat was much more widely employed for pilgrimages and indeed it is this type which makes up the bulk of ordinary model boats. Pilgrimage boats of all types are, unlike most funeral boats, capable of self-propulsion, requiring no towing. This latter detail is crucial in determining whether a boat is for the funeral or pilgrimage, when taken in conjunction with a mummified body or representation of the living owner. If, as is suggested by 2 dimensional evidence, type II boats were bound predominantly for Busiris, this destination would seem to be more popular than Abydos among model boats. This imbalance may be explained by the inherent ambiguity of the relief scenes and the models themselves. It is probable that apparent funeral boats doubled as pilgrimage boats for the journey to Abydos. Thus the apparent proliferation of type II hulls and lack of type V among the models should be viewed with caution.

Whether a boat can be said to be bound for Abydos or Busiris simply by its means of propulsion is not proved. It would seem more likely that sails and oars were simple metaphors for going south or north, the destination depending largely on the geographical position of the cemetery concerned. Indeed, this is illustrated by the fact that intact deposits have boats facing in opposite directions in the act of rowing north or sailing south.

### 3.7. SUMMARY.

Beside what may be termed "ordinary" boating scenes in tombs and wooden models of boats, there are 2 distinct categories of depictions and models. These are funeral scenes and boats, and pilgrimage scenes and boats. Tables 11 and 13 illustrate the degree to which these scenes are depicted, 17 times in the case of the funeral scene and 10 times in the case of the pilgrimage scene. The popularity of the

funeral scene in the OK, post 6 dyn. period and 9/10 dyn. is proportionately higher than in the MK proper, whilst the pilgrimage scene is found less frequently in the OK to 9/10 dyn. than in the MK. Therefore, the funeral scene can be said to be more popular than the pilgrimage scene between the 4 dyn. and 9/10 dyn., the situation being reversed during the MK when the pilgrimage scene is more frequent than the funeral scene.

To what extent is this trend reflected in model boats? The vast majority of model boats cannot be stated as serving a particular purpose other than to provide transport. Several types of boat are found, but even most of these which comply to the funeral or pilgrimage type hull forms as set out here cannot be said to serve these functions because they do not carry a mummy figure or a figure of the owner. This is not to suggest that these boats were not intended as such, more that they do not fit a pattern. Tables 12 and 14 illustrate the numbers and types of model boats fitting into these 2 categories. During the OK to 9/10 dyn. period there occur 17 models which may be funeral boats. Of these, one is of the so-called "Sahure" boat type, with raised end posts which are flattened like paddles. The funeral scene in the tomb of *Sndm-ib-inti* (Vandier 1969, fig.283:2; Landström 1970, fig.186) demonstrates that when this boat type is found in the private sphere (in contrast to the royal representation of Sahure. see Vandier 1969, 875-884, figs.331-4), this boat model may well represent the funeral barge, whilst the accompanying models of type III/IV may serve another purpose. Similarly, the boats of queen *Nt*, 2 of type IV and 2 of type V, because they are in the royal sphere and because they did not preserve any indication of crew, may not in fact be funeral boats. However, during the MK there is little doubt about the purpose of funeral boats, being equipped with a figure of the mummified owner.

From the 11 to 12 dyn. period there are 21 provenanced examples. Initially, these are the hybrid type IV/V, developing into the true type V and additionally type II. During the 12 dyn. there is an even split between these 2 types. Tomb scenes, however, tend to favour type V.

Model boats which represent the pilgrimage are far more frequently found than the funeral category, 74 examples studied here. Again, the category is more frequent during the MK than the OK to 9/10 dyn. period, 15 to 59. During the earlier period type IV boats predominate. In the MK, type II is dominant (33 examples), type IV second (16 examples) and type V last (10 examples). Tomb scenes on the other hand, tend towards type V with a few examples of type II, type IV being entirely absent except in the post 6 dyn. and 9/10 dyn. period.

### 3.8. MUMMIFORM FIGURES ON BOATS.

It is likely that the first mummiform figures out of which shabtis developed were originally from model boats (see p. 84). Several unpainted wooden mummiform figures (plate 31:2) were found in Beni Hasan tombs BH81 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 103, fig.92a), BH285 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 222. SAOS neg. B437), BH380 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 224. SAOS neg. B432), BH516 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 227) and BH570 (SAOS E1888. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 230). The example BH81 appears in SAOS neg. B432 to be numbered BH387, and in the album noted by Garstang as BH380. The SAOS collection has a mummiform figure E1887 which is marked 517, not BH516. A further figure is Ash. E4254 marked 777. It is clear that several figures were found but that some confusion over very similar figures arose, whilst track of others was lost. The latter example and those in the SAOS collection appear to have been standing upright. No boats from Beni Hasan exhibit the

phenomenon of standing mummies. Therefore, great caution should be exercised when assigning a wooden mummiform figure a purpose, particularly when found in a tomb where other wooden figures were found.

Similar wooden mummiform figures have come from other sites, particularly Meir. These are, on the whole, better made than the Beni Hasan examples, being painted and sometimes with the owner's name inscribed down the front (JE 42938, CG 456-8 Reisner 1913, 41-2, figs. 147-8; cf. also Hayes 1953, 327, fig.216). The figures appear to have originated from funeral cortège boats.

### 3.9. THE DATING OF MODEL BOATS BY HULL FORM.

It has been stated by Spanel (1984<sup>a</sup>, 151-3; 1985, 243-253) that hull forms of type II boats may be used as a reliable tool for dating. He distinguishes between the Herakleopolitan period and post re-unification 11 dyn., using model boats from the tombs of *K3-rnn* at Saqqara, *Hri-š.f-htp* I and *Imp* at Abusir, *W3dt-htp* at Sedment, *T3wy*, *Hty-i*, *Nfry*, *Sbk-htpi*, *Ntr-nhti* and *Hnm-nhti* at Beni Hasan, *Dhwty-nht* at Bershah and *Mshiti* at Asyut compared to the relief scenes in the Beni Hasan nomarch tombs XV and XVII of *B3kt* III and *Hty*, finding similarities with the boats of *Mkt-Rc*. A comparison with the dating presented here illustrates that Spanel's hypothesis is too limited in its date range. Consideration must be taken of where a boat comes from and what other objects were found with it, particularly ceramic evidence and the *htp-di-nsw* formula.

For instance, the Beni Hasan boats exhibit what might be termed "archaic" hull forms well into the 12 dyn. The characteristic 12 dyn. curled stern was late appearing in the model repertoire in the provinces when it appeared during the reign of Senwosret I at Lisht (Lansing 1924, 40, figs.9-10; 1933, 21, fig.17; Breasted 1948, 84;

Hayes 1953, 271). The only true curled sterns at Beni Hasan came from tombs BH500 (Ash. E2296. Cairo 17/3/23/3) and BH868 (Science Museum 1935-201). The former case has been dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III, the latter 11 dyn. to Senwosret II. A similar lag behind the traditions set at  $\overset{2}{I}t-t3wy$  is seen at other provincial sites.

The type IV hull may be used as a rough guide for date. Boats with long slender end posts, often squared in section and with painted stripes horizontally are generally earlier (ie. 8/9 dyns. to 10/11 dyns.) than examples with shorter thicker end posts (ie. 11 dyn.).

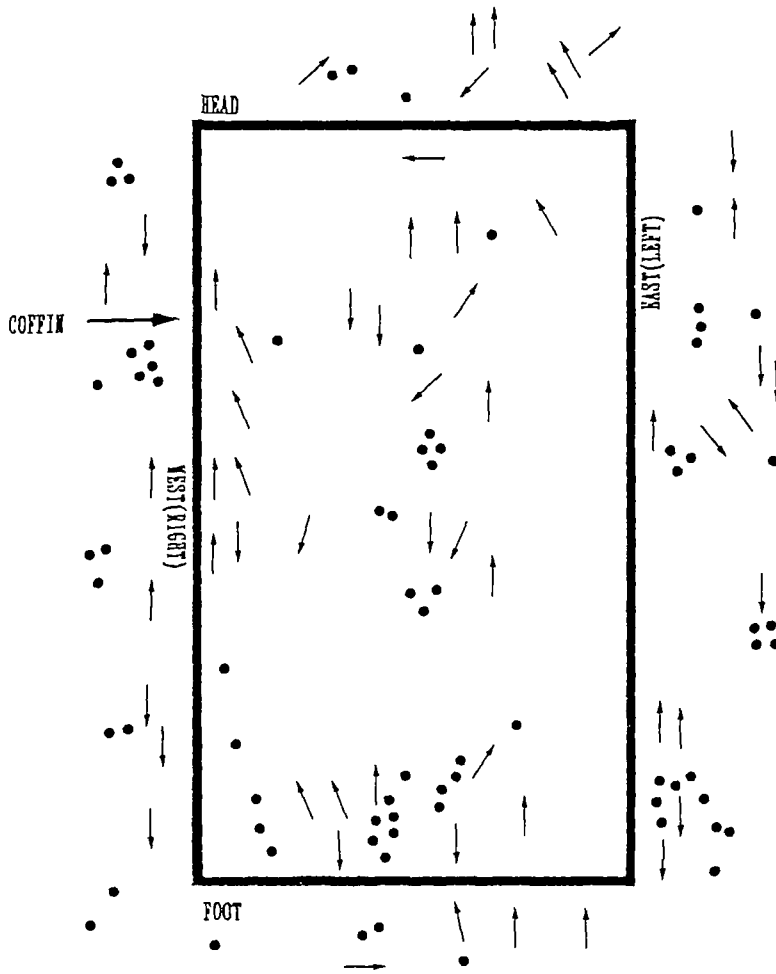
### 3.10. DISPOSITION.

There are no hard and fast rules governing the position of boats within the tomb context. There are however, trends which are detectable. As figure 2 shows (scatter diagram of the chamber floor, coffin lid, serdab and recess contexts) boats have been found in all parts of the chamber; on the coffin lid, in serdabs, niches and recesses. Boats are often found in pairs and tend to be placed facing in opposite directions; south for sailing craft, north for rowing boats. On occasion boats have been found both facing north or south, or in the "wrong" directions.

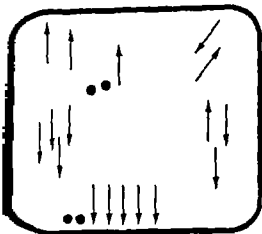
174 contexts are known of which 50% (87) have stated orientations (indicated as arrows). Of these 174 incidents 6.32% (11) were on the floor at the head of the coffin (ie. north). 20.7% (36) were placed on the floor left (east) of the coffin. 4.59% (8) were on the floor at the foot (south) of the coffin. 13.23% (23) right (west) of the coffin. 32.2% (56) were on the coffin lid. Other contexts such as the serdab account for 12.06% (21), the majority facing south (11 = 6.3%). Recesses, usually in the east wall had 10.91% (19) of models.

Over all, the stated orientations produced 36.79% (32) facing

↙ Known orientation



SERDAB



EASTERN RECESS

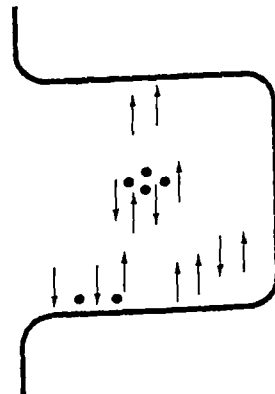


FIGURE 2

north, 36.79% (32) facing south, 17.25% (15) facing in other northerly directions, 6.89% (6) in southerly directions, whilst 1.14% (1) faced east and 1.14% (1) west.

In particular, models placed north of the coffin tended to face north. On the east side models fell into 2 groups; at the foot end and from the middle up to the head end. In both groups a roughly equal amount faced north or south. At the southern end of the coffin boats tended to face north, with one example facing east. On the west side, the models clustered towards the middle and head end. The split between north and south orientation was fairly even. Models on the coffin lid covered most parts, except the eastern edge. The majority faced north, the position on the lid itself not influencing the orientation. One example faced west.

In the serdab context by far the most frequent orientation was south, with boats occupying all parts of the serdab. In the eastern recess context most boats were found towards the southern end, some in the centre but few at the north. The split in orientation was even.

Models found between Qubbet el-Hawa and Beni Hasan tended to be found most frequently on the floor west of the coffin or on the western part of the coffin lid. Sites north of Beni Hasan, particularly Sedment and Abusir tended to place models on the floor east of the coffin or in the eastern model recess and on various parts of the coffin lid.

Garstang's field photographs of Beni Hasan reveal that most boats placed on the floor faced south, whilst those on the coffin lid tended to face north-west. This distinctive positioning becomes logical when local geography is taken into consideration. At Beni Hasan the Nile bends sharply to the west, north of the site. Hence facing north from Beni Hasan would involve turning a north-westerly bearing to negotiate

the bend in the river. To the south the Nile runs fairly straight. The positioning of the models reflects exactly the local orientation of the river (in much the same way as boats are depicted on east or west walls of tombs facing north and south).

### 3.11. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BOATS IN THE MODEL CORPUS.

The boats studied here have specific if ambiguous functions. The majority of model boats do not have the features enumerated above and are "ordinary" type II boats and some type VI solar boats. Their function is to supply the deceased with a means of transport. Such a function is amply attested in the CT where a ferry boat is required to take the deceased to the Fields of the Afterlife. References to boats are found specifically in CT 395-405 (Faulkner 1973, 20-56; Mueller 1972, 99-125). The latter spell in particular lists parts of the boat to be used (Jéquier 1911, 37-82; Faulkner 1973, 42; de Buck 1954, 161-2, 167). The vignette to these lists in the Book of Two Ways (CG 28127. Turin. de Buck 1954, 161-2) illustrates a type V boat, evidently intended as a real papyriform craft (cf. Faulkner 1972, 60-63. CT 189, 195). It is clear that tied up in the imagery of the boat is the idea of passing to the Field of Reeds, at the same time serving as a funeral and pilgrimage boat. The iconography of the type V CT boats indicates the elevated and semi-divine nature of the deceased, whilst the vast bulk of models are more mundane, but nonetheless served the same purpose.

### 3.12. THE MODEL OAR OR RUDDER.

Wooden oars or rudders are frequently found in MK tombs where it is not clear if there had been a model boat. Rudders are frequently of very large size with painted designs of *w3dt*-eyes and lotus blossoms



on the blades. The Object Frieze depicts such a rudder under the heading *hpt* (Jéquier 1921, 328, fig.840). The rudder is seen as part of religious festivals in the hand of the king (Kees 1912, 22-90) and appears to be involved in the jubilee or revivification and rejuvenation of the reigning monarch. The vignette to chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead in the NK associates the rudder or oar with the 7 celestial cows (Faulkner 1985, 137, 142-3). Each rudder is named and represents the cardinal points of the sky. The rubric to chapter 148 is, "Spell for making provisions in the realm of the dead" (Faulkner 1985, 137). The rudder therefore, represents not only rebirth and revitalisation, but in the NK and probably also in the MK as well, the provisioning with food of the deceased to ensure continued existence.

## CHAPTER FOUR: OFFERING-BEARERS AND SERVANTS BRINGING SUPPLIES.

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter aims to isolate the origins of the model type through reference to 2 dimensional sources and precursor OK models. It will be seen that the iconography and function of offering-bearers in-the-round changes emphasis from the OK to the 12 dyn. Iconographic details will be seen to have local chronological importance.

### 4.2. ORIGINS OF FUNCTION. TWO DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS.

Figures, predominantly young females, although males do occur, depicted bringing supplies of food and drink to the deceased are found in the 4 and 5 dyn. royal monuments (eg. Seneferu), and subsequent private tombs. The term "estate" or "domain" has been used for the figures because of the hieroglyphic labels accompanying them. The figures are often in walking pose with a load on the head steadied by one hand and an offering in the other (Vandier 1964, 126-131; Eggebrecht 1977<sup>b</sup>, 370-1). Two major groups of 2 dimensional figures have been identified; *ḥwt* and *niwt* (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 3-5). The former represent royal estates, usually funerary (1962, 4, 5), the latter villages which may be said to make up an estate (1962, 6-7). The *ḥwt* may be depicted like the inundation god, Hapy, or as they are now called, fecundity figures (1962, 28; Baines 1985, 83ff, 110). Normal proportions are more usual. They are distinguished by their pose of feet together, the *ḥwt* hieroglyph on the head and the offerings carried, a *ḥtp*-altar and *ꜥnh*-signs. The *niwt* appear to have developed out of this former figure type, but always have normal human proportions. They are distinguished by their walking pose and the basket carried on the head (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 30-1). Following

royal examples, tombs of the 5 dyn. officials depict the procession of "estates" concentrating on the *niwt* form which are in essence non-royal establishments (1962, 11). All figures bring the produce of those "estates" as a supply of food and drink for the deceased.

The classic iconography of the offering-bearer in walking pose, with a basket on the head and hand held offerings remains constant in 2 and 3 dimensions. Small variations in pose, dress and offerings break up a potentially monotonous theme. The ideal number of such figures in royal complexes and some larger private tombs is the number of nomes in upper and lower Egypt (Vandier 1964, 129). Limited space in most private tombs resulted in a contraction of this number which developed from the 6 dyn. onwards as function shifted emphasis.

By the 6 dyn. "estate" figures designated so by label were being replaced by female members of the family (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 38; Vandier 1964, 113). At the same time rows of male figures are seen bringing the tomb furniture. These latter are labelled family members and priests. The emphasis moves from personification to a mixture of real and idealised figures (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 38-9; Eggebrecht 1977<sup>b</sup>, 370-1).

It is possible to identify an element in the offering-bearer as *sh̄t*, the marshes or countryside and their abundance, particularly in the person of the Fen goddess *Sh̄t*. An offering-bearer designated by this name was found in the Dendera chapel of Neb-hepet-Re (Habachi 1963, 25, fig.7, VI) and in a model figure with the marsh hieroglyph on her head (RMO F1930/4. H.32 cms. Wijngaarden 1942, 759, XXVII; Breasted 1948, 67, pl.61a; Guglielmi 1973-4, 212-3, V).

Also identifiable is an element of the *dryt*-mourner found in only 4 definite instances in the 5 and 6 dyns. (Lepsius 1913, XXIV; Porter and Moss 1931, 36; Fischer 1976, 45-9) at Giza. These figures are,

unlike contemporary offering-bearers, given personal names, indicating that they were members of the family taking part in the funerary ritual.

Other elements which may find expression in the iconography of the offering-bearer are personifications of the cycle of the agricultural year (Eggebrecht 1977<sup>b</sup>, 370). Where figures appear in pairs, as they do most often in models, these may represent upper and lower Egypt in the same manner as OK royal scenes depict the number of the nomes.

#### 4.3.1. OK REPRESENTATIONS: DYN. 5 AND 6.

Private representations of the 5 dyn. are mostly limited to the Memphite necropolei with a few in the provinces. Details of figures include a long dress, usually with 2 straps, long straight hair, broad collars, chokers, bracelets and anklets (G5170 Giza. Junker 1938, IV; M22 Hawawish. Kanawati 1983, fig.19; L6 Hawawish. 1986, fig.5). The baskets carried are usually highly detailed in their basketry and figures regularly have "estate" labels.

Late 6 dyn. figures are more varied with the appearance of the single strap dress (M43 Hawawish. Kanawati 1985, figs.6, 8, pls.2, 4b) and a fillet round the head (G79 Hawawish. Kanawati 1982, fig.26; H27 Hawawish. 1986, fig.27; F1 Hawawish. 1986, fig.3; Q15 Hawawish. 1986, fig.21). The choker collar disappears.

#### 4.3.2. POST 6 DYN. REPRESENTATIONS.

Dresses are found with one or 2 straps regularly, usually the latter, which tend to be broad. The hair is worn long, swept behind the shoulders often coloured white to indicate a headcloth and with a fillet (A2 Meir. Blackman 1953<sup>a</sup>. XXIX, XXXI), or worn short (H24

Hawawish. Kanawati 1981, fig.25; *Ibi*, Deir el-Gebrawi. Davies 1902<sup>a</sup>, VII; *Dcw*, Deir el-Gebrawi. 1902<sup>b</sup>, VIII). The hand held offerings include ducks, legs of beef, blossoms, gazelles and calves on leads. This latter detail was first seen in the 4 dyn. Giza tombs (eg. *Hww-wr*. Lepsius 1913, XXXVIII; Porter and Moss 1931, 58-9; Klebs 1915, 142). Objects carried on the head include round bottomed baskets, trapezoid baskets and trapezoid chests (a basket with a like shaped inverted or vaulted lid), the latter type being common.

Figures form 2 distinct groups; those representing "estates" and those family members. The Deir el-Gebrawi tomb of *Ibi* depicts both groups. In one instance there is a row of 12 identical figures with "estate" labels between them (Davies 1902<sup>a</sup>, VII), in another there are 4 figures of the same iconography, but differing in that their pose varies and personal names are applied to them (1902<sup>a</sup>, XVII). An identical group of 12 figures, without "estate" labels is found in the tomb of *Dcw* (Davies 1902<sup>b</sup>, VIII). The lack of labels may indicate that they do not represent real estates. Five figures are found in the tomb of *Ppy-cnh*, A2 at Meir. A row of 4 are not labelled but their action is described (Blackman 1953<sup>a</sup>, XXIX), whilst an isolated figure is left entirely without text (1953<sup>a</sup>, XXXI).

#### 4.3.3. FIP AND MK REPRESENTATIONS: DYNS. 8/9 TO 12.

FIP offering-bearer scenes depict figures with long hair swept behind the shoulders and with fillets (TT186, el-Khokha. Saleh 1977, pl.19, frontispiece) or with short hair (*cnh-ty.fy*, Mo'alla. Vandier 1950, figs.16, 37; TT405, el-Khokha. Saleh 1977, figs.50, 53, pl.14). The figures tend to be in small numbers and wear 2-strap dresses.

Figures of the 11 dyn. are more diverse in type, pose and dress than hitherto seen. The hair becomes long and straight leaving the

ears visible. Dresses may consist of a long skirt leaving the breasts naked (*Sbk-ḥtp*, Kom Ombo. Wenig 1968, VI; *Nfrw*, Deir el-Bahri. Cooney 1956, pls.46-7; *Kmsyt*, Deir el-Bahri. Naville 1913, II; Wildung 1984, fig.46). Single and 2-strap dresses continue. Baskets are invariably open trapezoids, whilst other loads include trays and jewellery boxes. Hand held offerings include blossoms, fowl, jugs, and for the first time mirrors (*Kmsyt*. Naville 1907, XXIII; CG 20427. Lange 1902<sup>b</sup>, 22-3).

A stela dated year 30 of *Shṭp-ib-Rc* and year 10 of *Hpr-k3-Rc* (CG 20516. Lange 1902<sup>b</sup>, 108-111; 1902<sup>c</sup>, XXXV) depicts 10 figures of which 4 are male. The females wear long dresses and straight hair. The offerings carried include baskets, cages of birds, boxes and cosmetic jars. Another stela, also dated year 10 of *Hpr-k3-Rc* (CG 20515. Lange 1902<sup>b</sup>, 105-8; 1902<sup>c</sup>, XXXV), depicts a group of 5 figures (one is male) bringing amongst the offerings, animals on leads.

Tomb II of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* at Beni Hasan of Senwosret I date contains a scene of 4 figures. The hair is long and full covering the shoulders, giving the impression that the dresses have one strap only. Offerings of full trapezoid baskets, "shopping-bag" containers of dates and blossoms are carried (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, X, XIX-XX). The labels associated with each figure indicates their position within the household of *Imn-m-ḥ3t*.

Tomb B2 of *Wh-ḥtp s3 Snbi* at Meir of Senwosret I date depicts a diminutive female figure with cropped hair wearing a dress with one strap (Blackman 1915, V). Behind this is a larger figure with long hair, both are without labels. In the same tomb are a group of 4 female Hapy like offerers. All are naked but carry different offerings including a large round based bowl of lotus flowers, a jewellery box and mirror. Their action is described in the rubric above them.

Of the same date is TT60 of *Snt* at Thebes which depicts 3 female figures of which 2 have long hair and single strap dresses. The labels indicate that they are members of the household. The third figure, between them is on a smaller scale. It has cropped hair and a wraparound garment with one strap (Davies 1920, XIII, XXVI).

Tomb III of *Hnm-htp* at Beni Hasan is dated Senwosret II. A scene depicts 2 distinct groups of figures. The first, is of traditional iconography with long hair and single strap dresses. The second group is distinguished by the headdress or cap in which the hair is concealed. The dresses are 1- and 2-strap. The carried loads include beer jars in a yoke, a jewellery box and mirror (Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, XXXV).

Tomb C1 of *Wh-htp s3 Wh-htp/Hny-hr-ib* at Meir has unusual scenes. In it, some figures have long full hair whilst others have it piled on top of their heads. All dresses have 2 broad straps (Blackman 1953<sup>b</sup>, XI, XVIII). Offerings include caged birds, trays of meats, bread and fruit. The rubric indicates that these offerings are brought on the occasion of the festivals enumerated.

Representations after the 12 dyn. of the traditional offering-bearer are scarce. A stela, CG 20747 depicts a small figure with the hair in a plait. The skirt reaches from the waist to shins (Lange 1902<sup>b</sup>, 380; 1902<sup>c</sup>, LVII). The SIP tomb of *Rnni* at Elkab contains 5 figures with long hair, single strap dresses and trapezoid baskets (Tylor 1900, I).

#### 4.3.4. LATER REPRESENTATIONS.

Female offering-bearers are found in some early 18 dyn. Theban tombs. The iconography is traditional but the execution is more fluid than that of the MK. The scene of 5 females in TT39 is described in

the rubric as a ritual procession and the goods carried as *3wt*-gifts and *snmw*-food supply (Davies 1923, LXIII; Porter and Moss 1927, 72). In the same tomb are other figures which are labelled the "Tree-goddess of the West", *š-rsy* and *š-mḥty* (personifications of lakes. Davies 1923, LVI; Baines 1985, 327-9). Another group which bring trapezoid baskets, blossoms and cranes on leads are termed *hnm hr-s3 t3*, "dependents on the land" and personifications(?) of moisture and air (Baines 1985, 63-4, 171, 180).

Offering-bearers in TT155 carry domed loads (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, XIII; Porter and Moss 1927, 145). The fragment appears to be part of levying of taxes. A similar case is seen in TT17, where traditional iconography figures bring sacks (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, XXII; Porter and Moss 1927, 59). The figures are said to be tenants bringing their due to be stored in the estate granary (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 24-5). The latest attested offering-bearers are from the tomb of Petosiris in the time of Ptolemy I (Lefebvre 1924, XX-I, XXXV-VI, XLVI-L). Of these figures only 2 are of traditional iconography, carrying baskets, lotus and lily blossoms, and with a goose and calf on leads.

#### 4.4. TEXTS FROM SCENES.

Besides the iconographic changes, the shift in emphasis from "estate" to family or household member is seen in the texts accompanying the scenes. From the late 6 dyn. some figures are intended as members of the funeral estate and labelled as *hnmw-k3 nw dt.s* (G79 Hawawish. Kanawati 1982, fig.26). This trend is seen also in figures termed *nt dt.s*, "of her estate" (H24 Hawawish. Kanawati 1981, fig.27) and are given personal names, indicating that the figures are not "estates" but members of an estate.



The post 6 dyn. representations diversify so that in the tomb of *Ḳbi*, Deir el-Gebrawi 4 figures are labelled *s3t.f*, *špst-nsw* and *hkrt-nsw-wc̣tt* (Davies 1902<sup>a</sup>, XVII).

During the 11 and 12 dyns. the metamorphosis is complete; "estate" labels completely disappear. Figures, when labelled are termed *s3t* and *hmt* (CG 20515. Lange 1902<sup>c</sup>, XXXV). Other labels include household members, such as *htt-pr*, "household servant" (Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>, 138 no.1183) or "cleaning woman" (Ward 1986, 13; Tomb II and III Beni Hasan. Newberry 1893<sup>a</sup>, XVIII-XX, XXXV), *htt-pr n ct-hnkt*, "servant of the kitchen" (Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>, 138 no.1184; 1982<sup>b</sup>, 194) or "scullery-maid of the kitchen" (Ward 1986, 13; Tomb III Beni Hasan), *wb3yt*, "female butler" (Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>, 85 no.706) or "housemaid" (Ward 1986, 6-7; Tomb TT60) and *ckyt*, "female enterer" (Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>, 78 no.635) or "maid servant" (Ward 1986, 5-6; Stela CG 20427, 20516).

Many figures however, remain unlabelled. NK representations are a mixture of OK type personifications and MK servants.

#### 4.5.1. MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS: OK TO EARLY FIP (8/9 DYNs.).

##### 4.5.1.1. Gebelein.

1. Tomb of *Ḳni*. Turin S.13271. H.25 cms (plate 32:2). Although no independent offering-bearers of this period have come from Gebelein, one was incorporated into a baker-brewer model. It stands with feet together, clothed in a short skirt from below the navel. The skin is yellow indicating that the figure is female. The nipples, navel and bracelets are in black. The body is out of proportion and lacks modelling. The face is triangular with a sharp pointed chin, beak-like nose, high slit mouth and large painted eyes which are distinctive in the way they slant downwards at the outer edges, a short cosmetic line on the outer corners adds to the slant. The iris is a small dot within

the white of the eye. The black hair is represented closely cropped to the skull leaving small unmodelled ears visible. The figure carries a tray of cakes on the left shoulder supported by the left arm bent double, the right hanging to the side. Dated 8/9 dyn. (p. 17).

2. Unprovenanced. ECMM 2. H.23.4 cms (plate 4:2). This baker-brewer model resembles the Gebelein group very closely in size, composition and style. It too includes an offering-bearer with a tray of cakes. The figure differs only in the hair which is short but not closely cropped at the base of the skull. Probably from Gebelein. Dated 8/9 dyn. (p. 17).

#### 4.5.1.2. Asyut.

1. Hogarth tomb LIV. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. According to Hogarth's report, a female offering-bearer with a wide shallow basket was found in this tomb. It has not been traced. Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 13).

2. Hogarth tomb LVII:b. BM 45096. H.25.7 cms (plate 33:1). Male porter in walking pose, wearing a short kilt and closely cropped hair.

Hogarth's report indicates that the figure when found was carrying a large goose. Now, both arms and the goose are missing. A hole in the left side may indicate where the goose was secured to the porter.

Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 13).

#### 4.5.1.3. Meir.

1. Tomb A1 of *Ny-cnh-Ppy-km*. CG 250. H.56-9 cms. A group of 3 female offering-bearers were found on one base walking in single file, each of diminishing height. All figures wear white dresses with a single strap over the right shoulder and have closely cropped black hair. The head loads are of the closed trapezoid basket or chest variety. The

front figure steadies the load with the straight left arm, the right hanging pendant. The remaining 2 figures hold both arms up straight (Grébaut 1890-1900, 37, XXXIX; Borchardt 1911, 161, bl.54; Breasted 1948, 61). From model group 2. Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 12).

2. Tomb A1. CG 241. H.36 cms. Male porter in walking pose, wearing a short kilt and court wig. On the back is a satchel supported by a strap passing round the neck and the bent left arm. In the crook of the bent right arm is a wicker box (Borchardt 1911, 157, bl.51).

Details of the face and leg musculature places this figure in group 1. Date as above.

3. Tomb A1. CG 254. L.48.5 cms. A black and white spotted cow carrying 2 grain sacks (Borchardt 1911, 163, bl.55). Date as above.

4. Meir. AEIN 670. H.40 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a long white dress with straps crossing the chest but leaving the breasts naked. The stature is somewhat stout. The head is covered by a white headcloth which falls to a truncated point at the nape of the neck. Round the headcloth is a red fillet. On the head is a large round based basket with 8 conical beer jars, supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The right hand is pendant and holds a duck.

Walking in front of the figure is a small calf (Schmidt 1906, pl.191; Mogensen 1930, XII). The eyes are set in the face at an angle with the inner canthi marked and the irides looking upwards. The brows are straight, falling slightly at the outer edges. Iconographically, the figure resembles post 6 dyn. and early FIP scenes.

5. Tomb A4 of *Hpy-km*. ECMM 1. H.43.2 cms. This figure is virtually identical with the last except that the head load is a closed chest which is inscribed with the owner's name, and a gazelle-like animal preceding the figure (Breasted 1948, 61; Ballance 1976, 138; Bourriau 1988, 103-4 no.90). The *h<sup>1</sup>tp-di<sup>1</sup>-nsw* formula on the base of *Hpy-km*'s

k3-figure (CG 440. Borchardt 1925, 42-3, bl.73) is consistent with a FIP to Amenemhat II date, whilst the style of the figure resembles early MK statuary, suggesting that the date of the ECMM 1 offering-bearer and AEIN 670, its twin, be dated later than the early FIP.

6. Meir? RMO F1936/10.1. H.58.4 cms. A similar figure to the above but carrying a trapezoid basket, wearing a single strap dress and hair swept behind the shoulders is preceded by a small calf. The modelling of the figure is rather crude (Raven 1987, 86 no.63, where it is suggested as Asyut). FIP?

#### 4.5.1.4. Sedment.

Tomb 274 of *Mry-Rc-hc-Št.f.* BM 55728. H.31.5 cms (plate 33:2).

Integral to a brewing model is a female offering-bearer in walking pose wearing a dress with V neckline, long black hair swept behind the shoulders and tucked behind the ears. The head load is missing, the left arm raised to support it bent at the elbow, the hand held straight up. The pendant right hand holds the legs of a goose with curved neck (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 2, XI:5; Breasted 1948, 34). The face has large painted eyes outlined in black without cosmetic line. The brows are curved. Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 11).

#### 4.5.1.5. Dahshur.

1. Mastaba 24 of *Špy.* CG 510. H.35 cms. Female offering-bearer in walking pose, base missing, stout stature, wearing a white dress with 2 broad straps covering the breasts and a white headcloth over the hair. Round the headcloth is a red fillet. On the head is a closed chest, the join between the base and lid marked by a red zigzag line. The chest is supported by the left arm held straight. The pendant right hand is pierced, the bird missing (de Morgan 1903, 19-20,

fig.47; Borchardt 1925, 76; Breasted 1948, 61). The oval face has large eyes set straight, outlined in black with inner canthi marked and irides looking upwards. The brows are curved. The nose and mouth are shallowly modelled. Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 10).

2. Mastaba 24 of  $\text{Špy}$ . CG 509. H.30 cms (plate 33:3). Identical figure forming a pair with the above. Base and lower legs missing (de Morgan 1903, 20; Borchardt 1925, 75, bl.87; Breasted 1948, 61). Date as above.

#### 4.5.1.6. Saqqara.

1. Mastaba D54. CG 111. H.51 cms. Limestone male figure depicting a naked youth in walking pose. In the pendant right hand are a pair of sandals. The left arm is bent double to the shoulder to grasp the neck of a sack carried on the back (Borchardt 1911, 86-7, bl.24; Breasted 1948, 57-8). Dated 5 dyn.

2. Tomb of  $\text{Išt}$ . JE 88579. H.34 cms. Female offering-bearer in walking pose wearing a white dress with 2 broad straps covering the breasts and a white headcloth drawn tight to the skull and falling just below the nape of the neck. Round the headcloth is a black fillet. The head load is a closed chest supported by the left arm slightly bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand has lost its bird (Lauer 1950, 16, pl.2c right; Drioton 1958, 216, pls.10a-b right, 11a-b right). The oval face has wide eyes set at an angle, with inner canthi marked. The brows are straight but curve at the outer edges. Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 9).

#### 4.5.1.7. Giza.

1. Tomb G2381 Y. H.24 cms. Location unknown. Male figure carrying a jar on its head (Stevenson-Smith 1949, 94, fig.21; Breasted 1948, 58).

6 dyn.?

2. Serdab S790 of *Idw* II. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Near the north-east corner was a group of models which included a single female offering-bearer in walking pose. The left arm is held across the chest to grasp something over the right shoulder, possibly a load across the shoulders (like CG 111 or CG 241?. Junker 1947, 92, Abb.25, tf.16). Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 8).

3. Serdab S790. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Two figures are termed "Bäuerinnen" or peasants, who are said to carry loads on their heads (Junker 1947, 92; Breasted 1948, 60). Date as above.

4. Mastaba S676/707/684. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A figure is identified as "eines Dorfes" or a personification of an "estate". The figure was so poorly preserved it had to be consolidated with paraffin wax (Junker 1947, 45). Dated post 6 dyn. (p. 8).

5. Mastaba S676/707/684. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The serdab contained a wooden figure identified as an offering-bearer (Junker 1947, 45-6; Breasted 1948, 60). Date as above.

6. Several limestone figures of male dwarfs carrying jars are known to have come from 5 dyn. tomb contexts at Giza (Breasted 1948, 58, pl. 50a-c).

#### 4.5.2. MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS: LATE FIP AND MK (9/10 TO 12 DYN.).

##### 4.5.2.1. Qubbet el-Hawa.

Cecil tomb 22. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A female figure is said to carry a duck or pigeon and have movable arms. This latter detail is probably due to loose tenons (Cecil 1903, 72). Dated 12 dyn. (p. 31).

#### 4.5.2.2. Mo'alla.

1. Said to come from Mo'alla. JE 49634. H.65 cms (plate 34:1). Female figure in walking pose, stout stature, short legs, wearing a white dress with single strap over the right shoulder. The hair is long and straight covering the ears. On the head is a trapezoid basket in one piece with the head and body. It is supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand is pierced, the bird missing. Traces of paint on the feet indicate the presence of sandals. The fleshy face has a narrow mouth and nose, with deep nostrils. The eyes are set straight in the face, the inner canthi marked and small fishtail cosmetic lines. The brows are straight but curve at the outer edges. The style of the eyes has parallels with late 11 dyn. to Senwosret I sculpture (Evers 1929<sup>a</sup>, pls.2, 29, 33, 45; 1929<sup>b</sup>, Abb.58; Winlock 1955, pl.30; Bourriau 1988, 18 no.8; 20 no.9).

2. Said to be from Mo'alla. JE 49633. H.56 cms (plate 34:2). Female offering-bearer in walking pose, wearing a green dress with 2 broad straps covering the ample bosom. Red, green and black collar, bracelets and anklets are worn. The hair is long, parted in the centre with a crescent of hair on the forehead. At ear level a white band holds the hair. On the head is a trapezoid basket with the basketry marked in black, supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand is pierced, the bird missing. The oval face has a wide mouth and damaged nose. The large eyes are set straight, outlined in black with inner canthi marked. The brows arch and taper towards the outer edges. The modelling of the body and the hairband indicate a mid to late 12 dyn. date (Hayes 1953, 216, fig.133).

#### 4.5.2.3. Gebelein.

1. Tomb of *Hnwy*, chamber 5. West Berlin 13742. H.38.5 cms (plate 34: 3). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The figure lacks modelling to the body, which is elongated with short legs. The skin is coloured yellow and bodily details such as the nipples, navel and pubis are black. The figure wears black line bracelets and anklets. The head is little more than a knob of wood, pointed at the front to indicate the curve of the face and with short full bottomed hair. On the head is a trapezoid basket steadied by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. The pendant right hand holds the wings of a black and white striped bird. The face has no details except goggle-like eyes with dot irides (Steindorff 1901, 27, Abb.28a). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 31).

2. Tomb of *Hnwy*, chamber of *Hnwy*. Berlin 13743 (lost). H.41 cms. Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The body is better proportioned than the preceding, with a yellow skin tone and the nipples, navel, pubis, bracelets, anklets and sandals in black. A line joins the navel and pubis. The hair is long and covers the ears. The black rimmed eyes are set straight, the brows curving (Steindorff 1901, 27, Abb.28b; Breasted 1948, 66, pl.58a). Date as above.

#### 4.5.2.4. Sheikh abd el-Qurneh.

1. TT280 of *Mkt-Rc*. JE 46725. H.122 cms. Model K. Female figure in walking pose wearing a dress covered with a polychrome bead netting. The 2 broad straps are also of polychrome beads. A collar, bracelets and anklets are worn. The hair is long, parted in the centre and leaves the ears visible. The modelling of the body reveals gently swelling thighs and hips, with a high narrow waist. On the head is a trapezoid basket filled with 4 beer jars with conical stoppers. It is



supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand grasps a duck by the wings. The youthful face has a rounded nose with deep wing creases, a wide mouth of equal lips edged by a small ridge, philtrum, and large painted eyes with a slight downward slant at the outer corners. The cosmetic line emphasises the inner corners, the brows are straight, falling slightly at the outer edges (Winlock 1920, 26, fig.9; 1942, 25, pl.25; 1955, 40-1, 90-1, pls.4-7, 30-1, 55; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.58; Saleh 1987, no.74). Dated to the reigns of Neb-hepet-Re and Sankh-ka-Re (p. 32).

2. TT280. MMA 20.3.7. H.112 cms. Model L. Female figure forming a pair with the above. Virtually the same except that the dress is a polychrome feather or scale design and the basket contains food models like a haunch of beef (Winlock 1920, 26, figs.6, 9; 1942, 25, pl.25; 1955, 39, 40-1, 91, pls.3-4, 30-1,55; Hayes 1953, 266, fig.174; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.58). Date as above.

3. TT280. MMA 20.3.8. H.27 cms. Model M. A procession of 2 male and 2 female figures in single file. The group is led by a shaven headed priest in knee length kilt with a strap over the left shoulder. A large *hs*-vase is supported in the left hand against the left shoulder, whilst a censor is held in the right. The second male figure, shaven headed, carries a pile of folded sheets on his head, supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand is pierced, the load missing. Both females wear white dresses with one strap over the left shoulder and long hair covering the ears. On the heads are trapezoid baskets of beer jars and loaves, whilst large geese or ducks are held in the hand. All had been clad in strips of linen (Winlock 1955, 41-2, 91-2, pls.7, 32, 55; Breasted 1948, 67, pl.62b). Date as above.

#### 4.5.2.5. Deir el-Bahri.

1. Pit 14 of Neb-hepet-Re. ROM 910.18.17. H.32.5 cms (plate 36). A procession of 3 female figures in single file. The group is considered suspect and provenanced only from the memory of C. T. Currelly, who excavated with Naville. From photographs (provided by Dr. Millet) the group may be described as unusual. Each figure wears an ankle length skirt ornamented with vertical red stripes and black dots. The hair is short and full bottomed. The modelling of the body is minimal with shallow navel and small breasts. Besides bracelets, each figure wears a collar with a lotus flower design suspended from the bottom of which and passing between the breasts are 2 lines forming a pectoral. The trapezoid baskets have diagonal basketry supported by the right arms bent at the elbows. The left arms are pendant, hands held open. The faces are crude with wedge noses, thin lips and painted eyes.

Certain features of this group have parallels. The decorated skirts are similar to the unprovenanced figure Fitz. E.201.1939, which also has short hair and chest ornamentation (cf. also Chassinat 1911, II:4, the funerary mask of *Idwt*). The hair, pose and skirts are mirrored in the unprovenanced figure Fitz. E.194.1939. One feature which is disturbing is the basketry on the baskets, possibly these are restorations? No other known baskets preserve diagonal markings. Assuming the provenance to be correct, dated to the time of Neb-hepet-Re.

2. Pit 22 of *Hpwit*. Fragments of offering-bearer, model duck (Thomas 1966, 23). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 33).

3. Pit 28 of *Bw3w*. JE 31349-50 (plate 38:1). Two pairs of female figures in walking pose wearing white dresses with one strap over the left shoulder. The hair is long and swept behind the shoulders revealing small ears. The modelling is very crude and the stature

virtually steatopygous. On the heads of the front figures are round baskets of beer jars, on those behind, trapezoid baskets with overhanging lids, all supported by the left arms held straight. Small birds are held in the right hands (Neville 1896, 3-4; Winlock 1947, 43). The crude pointed faces have oversized eyes outlined in black with slightly curved brows. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 33).

4. Pit 29. Fragments of offering-bearer (Thomas 1966, 24). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 33).

5. Pit 5. BM 41673. H.85 cms (plate 35:1). Female figure in walking pose, base missing, wearing a green dress with 2 straps passing between the breasts and a green court wig. The figure has a slender physique with high jutting hip bones, narrow waist and small breasts. The skin tone is a curious yellow-green. Also worn are green bracelets and anklets. On the head is a trapezoid basket with convex sides, integral lid and basketry marked. It is supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow. The right hand is pierced, the bird missing (Neville 1907, 46-7, IX; Porter and Moss 1964, 656). The face has a fleshy nose, thick equal lips and irregular eyes, outlined in black with a cosmetic line. The brows are straight over the eyes, curving towards the outer edges. Dated by eye details late 11 to early 12 dyn. (cf. p. 188. JE 49634, Mo'alla).

6. Pit 5. BMFA 05.231. H.84 cms (plate 34:4). An identically modelled figure forming a pair with the above. It differs in that whilst the left arm is raised to support the basket, the right is bent in front, the hand pierced probably to support a large *hs*-vase, in a characteristic 12 dyn. pose (Neville 1907, 46-7, IX; Breasted 1948, 63, pl. 56a). Date as above.

7. Pit 121. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Model offering-bearer with *hs*-vase (Porter and Moss 1964, 652). 12 dyn.

8. Tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp*. Berlin 10 (lost). H.77 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing an ankle length skirt ornamented with a polychrome scale design and with 2 red braces passing between the breasts. The figure also wears bracelets and anklets. The hair is long and covers the ears. At ear level a green, red and blue band holds the hair and is tied at the back. On the head is an inscribed trapezoid basket supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. The right arm is bent in front of the body the hand holding a ḥs-vase. Over the left shoulder is a long handled mirror case (Steindorff 1896, 40, XI:1, 3-5; Breasted 1948, 65, pl.61b; Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 43, fig.52). The round face has a wide mouth and small nose. The small eyes are outlined in black with a blue fishtail cosmetic line and brows. Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 63).

9. Tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp*. West Berlin 22. H.60 cms (plate 37). Forming a pair with the above, this figure differs in that it is less accomplished, has a plain white skirt and braces, white hairband and black and white *swrt*-necklace. The nails of fingers and toes are indicated in white. Both inner and outer canthi are over-large (Steindorff 1896, 41, XI:2, 6; Breasted 1948, 65). Date as above.

#### 4.5.2.6. Asasif.

1. Carter tomb 37, burial F:D. Parts of broken offering-bearer, crudely made, stuccoed and painted with a basket on its head were found (Carter 1912, 87). Probably 12 dyn.

2. MMA tomb 5A R4, burial C2. H.39 cms. Location unknown. Female figure with feet together wearing a white dress with single strap over the left shoulder. The hair is long and swept behind the shoulders. The left arm is raised and slightly bent at the elbow, but missing the

forearm. The figure is very crude (Fischer 1976, 43, fig.7). Fischer considered this piece to be a dryt-mourner because of its attire, but there seems little reason to suppose it anything other than an offering-bearer, since it is clad like one and is in the traditional pose. Dated SIP (p. 66).

3. MMA tomb 510. MMA 26.3.221. Dimensions unknown. Figure with short hair and right arm raised in front, other elements missing. 12 dyn.

4. MMA tomb 604. MMA 26.3.338. Dimensions unknown. Naked female figure with long hair, other elements missing (Hayes 1953, 266).

#### 4.5.2.7. el-Tarif.

The Saff el-Dawabba tomb of Intef I, shaft W4 yielded a model basket like those on offering-bearers (Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 26 no.I 4342). Reign of Intef I.

#### 4.5.2.8. Luxor/Thebes.

1. Purchased in Luxor. CG 495. H.70 cms. Female figure in walking pose, in a long dress with pointed breasts and short full bottomed hair (Borchardt 1925, 69, bl.84; Breasted 1948, 66).

2. Purchased in Luxor. CG 231. H.52 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a green dress with 2 straps edged in black and white. The hair is long, covering the ears. Sandals, anklets and a *swrt* are also worn (Borchardt 1911, 152, bl.48).

3. Thebes. West Berlin 9536. H.44.5 cms. Female figure in walking pose with slender body and swelling thighs, high narrow waist and full bosom. It wears a red dress with 2 broad straps with a yellow and green scale design down the front. The long hair is parted in the centre and covers the ears. A heavy collar is also worn. The left arm is pendant but curves inwards, the right hand being pierced. It is

difficult to envisage what was carried (Breasted 1948, 66, pl.56b; Wenig 1969, 47 no.27a; Fay 1986, 57). The eyes are set at an angle with cosmetic line and inner canthi marked, and brows which are straight but curve at the outer edges suggest a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date (cf. p. 188. JE 49634, Mo'alla).

4. Thebes. MMA 12.181.251 (plate 35:2). Dimensions unknown. Female figure in walking pose with short full bottomed hair. The trapezoid basket has integral lid and is supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow. The right arm is bent in front, the hand pierced to hold a *hs*-vase (Porter and Moss 1964, 616). 12 dyn.

5. Thebes. BM 32736. H.35 cms (plate 35:3). Female in walking pose, wearing a white dress with one strap. The hair is long and swept behind the shoulders. The damaged basket is supported by the straight left arm. Face missing. Resembles closely JE 31349-50 (purchased by G. J. Chester in 1882).

6. Thebes. MMA 19.3.3. Dimensions unknown. Lower part of an offering-bearer wearing a polychrome scale design dress (Porter and Moss 1964, 624).

#### 4.5.2.9. Naga ed-Deir.

1. Tomb N202/43. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Male porters were found carrying jars on their shoulders and heads (Reisner 1904, 108, IV:1, V:1; Breasted 1948, 59). Dated 9/10 to 11 dyn. (p. 23).

2. Tomb N69. UCLMA 6-15376. Torso of a female offering-bearer.

3. Tomb N69. UCLMA 6-15394. Head of an offering-bearer, possibly part of the above.

4. Tomb N3737. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Crude offering-bearers (Stevenson-Smith 1949, 103). Dated by Stevenson-Smith FIP to MK.

#### 4.5.2.10. Akhmim/Hawawish.

1. Purchased at Akhmim 1888. BM 20867. H.64.7 cms (plate 38:2, 39:1). Female figure with feet together wearing a white skirt with red, green and blue block design hem and waist band, and red braces which pass round the breasts. Polychrome bracelets and anklets are worn, along with a red meleagrina shell pendant. On the head is a polychrome wicker cushion-like object steadied by the left arm bent sharply at the elbow. The right arm is bent in front of the body, the pierced hand empty. The feet are cut from the same wood as the base without the space between them cut out. The rest of the body is joined at the ankles. The hair is short and full bottomed with deep striations running across the head. The square face is large with a firm jaw, small pursed lips, wedge nose and slanting eyes. These latter are outlined in black with cosmetic line, inner and outer canthi marked and the brows arching, the outer edges being straight (purchased by Budge). Mid to late 12 dyn. (compare West Berlin 22, Deir el-Bahri. p. 193).

2. Unprovenanced purchase 1895. CG 496. H.38 cms (plate 39:2). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The skin tone is yellow-brown. The body modelling reveals a slender physique with high hip bones, narrow shortened torso and elongated right forearm. The depression of the navel and small breasts are delicately rendered. The pubis is stippled black and the vulva marked. Across the torso is a double red and black bead string from the left shoulder. Around the neck is a string with a bulla bead pendant. Bracelets are also worn. The hair is short and full bottomed at the front, with deep striations across the head with a wide parting. At the back it falls into 4 sections. On the head is a tall trapezoid basket with lid supported by the straight left arm, the hand closing over the top. The right arm is

bent in front of the body, the pierced hand empty (Borchardt 1925, 69-70, pl.84; Breasted 1948, 66). Similarities in the pose and particularly the slanting eyes suggest that this model came originally from Akhmim. Date as above.

#### 4.5.2.11. Rifeh.

1. Tomb of the Two Brothers. Man. 4734. H.34.7 cms. Female figure with feet together wearing a long yellow dress covered by a linen strip. The hair is long, parted in the centre and has a crescent on the forehead. On the head is a trapezoid basket, the basketry indicated in black and yellow lines on a brown ground. Food offerings such as loaves are modelled on top and painted white. It is supported by the right arm bent at the elbow. The left arm is bent in front, the palm uppermost on which is balanced a red jar (Petrie 1907, 12, XE; Murray 1910, 16-7, pl.21:5; Breasted 1948, 65). The triangular face has a small nose and narrow mouth. The eyes are carved with rimmed upper and lower lids outlined in black, the inner canthi emphasised. A gentle groove from the navel depression runs up between the small breasts. The base is inscribed with the name of the servant depicted. Dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (p. 64).

2. Tomb of the Two Brothers. Man. 4738. H.28 cms. Female figure with feet together. Similar to the above except that the hair is longer to below the shoulders, the left arm is pendant to hold a bird, the eyes are not rimmed, the waist is higher and narrower. The base is inscribed with the name of the servant depicted (Petrie 1907, 12, XE; Murray 1910, 17, pl.21:6). Date as above.



#### 4.5.2.12. Asyut.

1. Tomb 6. BMFA 04.1774. H.66 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with one strap over the left shoulder. The black hair held by a white fillet is short at the front with a pigtail at the back. On the head is a trapezoid basket steadied by the left arm bent at the elbow. A bird is held in the right hand (Chassinat 1911, 5-6; BMFAB 3:2 1905, 13, 14 no.2; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.54a; Porter and Moss 1934, 266). Dated 10/11 dyn. (p. 23).

2. Tomb 14 of *Wpw3wt-m-h3t*. Louvre E11990. H.63.2 cms (plate 39:3 centre). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white skirt with 2 braces passing between the breasts. The hair is short and full bottomed. The stature of the figure is somewhat stout. On the head is a trapezoid basket with integral lid, the basketry marked. It is supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. In the pendant right hand is a large red duck held by the wings. The damaged face has painted eyes with fishtail cosmetic lines (Chassinat 1911, 164, XXXV:1; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.57; Vandier 1958, 147, 149, L:4). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 35).

3. Hogarth tomb XIV. BM 45055. H.42.3 cms (plate 40:1). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white skirt with braces passing between the breasts. The hair is short, full bottomed and held in a white fillet. On the head is a tall trapezoid basket with integral lid supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand held up straight. The bird is missing from the pendant right hand. The face has a wedge nose, lightly indicated mouth, painted eyes with inner canthi marked and fishtail cosmetic line. The brows are straight, falling at the outer edges. Dated by stylistic similarity to Louvre E11990, 11 to early 12 dyn.

4. Tomb of *Mshti*. UCL NN. L.13.5 cms (plate 40:2). Large stuccoed and

painted bird from an offering-bearer. The feathers are indicated in blue and black scales on a yellow ground. Red beak. No feet indicated. Dated to the time of Neb-hepet-Re (p. 36).

5. Tomb 7 of *Nḥtj*, chapel. Louvre E12029. H.57.7 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with one strap on the left shoulder, ornamented by a polychrome bead girdle from the waist. Also worn are bracelets and anklets. The hair is short at the front held by a white fillet, falling in a pigtail at the back. On the head is a trapezoid basket with integral lid supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand straight up. A large bird is held by the legs in the right hand. The round face has well defined eyes outlined in black, inner and outer canthi marked, long fishtail cosmetic lines and brows which are straight, falling at the outer edges (Chassinat 1911, 30-1, fig.2, IV; Vandier 1958, 147-8, L:1; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.59a; Noblecourt 1981, 114, fig.109). Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 35).

6. Tomb 7, chapel. JE 36290. H.57.5 cms. Female figure in walking pose resembling closely the above except for a polychrome bead apron hanging diagonally from the left hip to the hem (Chassinat 1911, 33, IX; Breasted 1948, 63; Vandier 1958, 149, L:2; Adam 1981, 12 no.5; Wildung 1985, 96 no.42). Dated as above.

7. Tomb 7, chapel. JE 36291. H.57 cms. Female figure in walking pose resembling Louvre E12029. It differs in that the pigtail has 7 pendants from its end, across the torso are 2 crossover bead strings and the hem is ornamented with a green feather design (Chassinat 1911, 34, X; Breasted 1948, 63; Vandier 1958, 149, L:3; Adam 1981, 12 no.6; Wildung 1985, 96 no.41). Dated as above.

8. Tomb 7, chapel. H.60 cms. Location unknown. Female offering-bearer. Not described (Chassinat 1911, 32). Date as above.

9. Tomb 7, chamber 1 of *Nḥtj*. Louvre E11992. H.56.6 cms. Female

figure in walking pose, wearing a white skirt, the hair and pigtail held by a white fillet. On the torso is a white necklace passing between the breasts. On the head is a small trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent sharply at the elbow. Right arm broken. The slender physique, dress and arm pose separates this model from those in the chapel (Chassinat 1911, 49; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.57; Vandier 1958, 149; Noblecourt 1981, 115, fig.110). Dated as above.

10. Tomb 7, chamber 4 of *Nht* and *Hnn-mr-ikrt*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Female offering-bearer said to be similar to that in tomb 6 (Chassinat 1911, 135). Date as above.

11. Hogarth tomb XXXIV. Wooden duck from an offerer (Hogarth MSS). Probably 11 to 12 dyn.

12. Hogarth tomb XLIII. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Decayed offering-bearer (Hogarth MSS). Dated 11 to 12 dyn. (p. 37).

13. Hogarth tomb VI. BM 45074. H.52.1 cms (plate 40:3). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with one strap over the left shoulder and short full bottomed hair held in a white fillet. The nipples are indicated by groups of black dots. On the head is a trapezoid basket with integral lid, the basketry marked in black, supported by the left arm slightly bent at the elbow, the hand straight up. In the pendant right hand, held by the wings is a large duck. The triangular face is crudely modelled with a wedge nose, no mouth and painted eyes, outlined in black with fishtail cosmetic lines and brows which curve. Dated 11 dyn. (p. 36).

14. Hogarth tomb VI. BM 45075. H.40.6 cms. Female figure forming an identical pair with the above. Date as above.

15. Tomb 20 of *enh.f* and *It-ibi*. Louvre E11991. H.63.2 cms (plate 39: 3 right). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with one strap over the left shoulder, the hair in a pigtail held by a white

fillet. On the head is a trapezoid basket with white integral lid supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand straight up. Between head and basket is a white mat. Held by the wings in the pendant right hand is a large duck. The face has eyes outlined in black with fishtail cosmetic lines and straight brows (Chassinat 1911, 189; Breasted 1948, 64, pl.57; Vandier 1958, 149, L:4). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 36).

16. Tomb 20. Louvre E12001. H.49.7 cms (plate 39:3 left). Female figure closely resembling the above but smaller. Date as above.

17. Hogarth tomb VII. BM 45054. H.22.5 cms. Male figure, coarsely made, in walking pose with a beer jar on the head. Dated 12 dyn. (p. 36).

18. Hogarth tomb VII. BM 45050 (not found). Dimensions unknown. Female figure with a jar on the head (Hogarth MSS). Date as above.

19. Hogarth tomb VII. BM 45056. H.33.3 cms (plate 41:1). Female figure in walking pose wearing a 2-strap dress, the hair is short falling longer between the shoulder blades in a point. Head load and arms are missing. The modelling of the body, particularly in the region of the knees, hips, pubis and waist is detailed. The face has a straight nose, equal lips, almond shaped eyes outlined in black with down slanting cosmetic lines and curved brows. Date as above.

20. Asyut 1907. JE 38984. H.33.5 cms (plate 41:2). Female figure in walking pose wearing a dress ornamented with zigzag and dot stripes in red, blue, yellow and white. The hair is short at the front with a pigtail behind. Head load and arms missing. Probably FIP to 11 dyn.

21. Asyut, purchased. Cleveland 42.14. Dimensions unknown. Female figure in walking pose wearing a long dress and long hair which covers the ears. On the head is a basket supported by the left arm bent at

the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. A duck is held in the right hand (Breasted 1948, 64, pl.59b). Probably 12 dyn.

22. Asyut 1911. Cairo 8/4/23/11. Dimensions unknown. Female figure in walking pose closely resembling that from tomb 14. Probably 11 dyn.

23. Asyut 1912. JE 43378. H.40 cms (plate 41:3). Female figure with feet together wearing a 2-strap dress of a red, blue, green and white feather or scale design. The long, centrally parted hair falls to the front at the left and is pushed behind the right shoulder. At ear level is a red band. On the head is a small trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand has lost its bird. The modelling of the body, the full bosom and hair band suggest a mid to late 12 dyn. date (cf. Brus. E7030 for comparable hair style).

24. Asyut? Louvre E10781 (E610). H.108.5 cms. Female offering-bearer in walking pose wearing a 2-strap dress ornamented with a black, green and red scale design. The green hair is court style. On the head is a trapezoid basket with convex sides and a leg of beef placed on top. It is supported by the left arm bent sharply at the elbow. The right arm is bent in front of the body, the hand holding a green *hs*-vase. The elegant oval face has a long nose, small mouth with pouting lower lip, eyes set straight, outlined in black with inner canthi marked, fish-tail cosmetic lines and brows which are virtually straight (Breasted 1948, 64, pl.59b, 60; Vandier 1958, 151, LI:3; Michalowski 1978, 113). The figure has been assigned a provenance of Asyut through details of the eyes. However, the size, predominance of green, pose and pointed breasts more closely resemble Theban examples. Dated 12 dyn.

25. Khachaba found 3 offering-bearers which are not described (Kamal 1916, 82). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Schiaparelli also found several figures including Turin S.8794 (H.62.5 cms), 14783

(H.47 cms) and 14785 (H.47 cms). Male figures include Turin S.14794 (H.27.6 cms) and 14367 (H.25 cms), the latter with a calf slung across the shoulders.

#### 4.5.2.13. Meir.

1. Tomb of *Wh-htp<sup>i</sup>*. H.33 cms. Location unknown. Female figure, broken, wearing a dress which reaches to the knees. The left arm is pendant holding a bird. The right arm, also pendant has an empty hand (Kamal 1911, 16; Breasted 1948, 66). Dated 11 dyn.? (p. 39).

2. Tomb of *Wh-htp<sup>i</sup>*. H.27 cms. Location unknown. Male figure carrying 2 water jars in a yoke (Kamal 1911, 16; Breasted 1948, 59). Date as above.

3. Tomb of *Wh-htp<sup>i</sup>*. H.17 cms. Location unknown. A procession of 8 male figures, 7 simply walking, the final figure holding a jar in the right hand and a table or altar in the left (Kamal 1911, 16; Breasted 1948, 59). Date as above.

4. Tomb of *K3y-Hnt*. Cairo cat.3213. Dimensions unknown. Model of 2 pack-donkeys in single file driven by a bearded male with a stick and a small boy (Kamal 1911, 23; Breasted 1948, 72). Dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 39).

5. Tomb of *Rc-htp<sup>i</sup>* and *K3yt*. H.40 cms. Location unknown. Female figure, crude, the skin painted yellow and the body wrapped in linen. On the head is a jar or small basket. A jar is held in the left hand and a bird in the right (Kamal 1912, 99; Breasted 1948, 66). Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 38-9).

6. Meir. CG 796. H.37 cms. Female figure with feet together wearing a single strap dress and long hair. The left arm is raised to support the missing basket. The right arm is pendant (Borchardt 1930, 97). Date uncertain.

7. Meir. JE 30537. Small offering-bearer (not seen).

8. Meir. Limoges. H.30 cms. Female figure with feet together. Traces of a dress with one strap over the left shoulder are detectable. The hair is close cropped. The pendant right hand is pierced, the bird missing. The head load and left arm are missing. The head is little more than a knob of wood on which a crude face is painted (Delpeche-Laborie 1939, 26 no.7, II).

9. Meir. Limoges. H.32 cms. Female figure with feet together wearing a 2-strap dress reaching the knees and long hair. The left arm raised to support the small trapezoid basket is bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. The pendant right hand is held open. The face is very crude (Delpeche-Laborie 1939, 27 no.10, II; Breasted 1948, 66). Probably 11 dyn.

#### 4.5.2.14. Bershah.

1. Tomb 22, chamber I of *Šmsi*. JE 34297. H.22 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a dress ornamented with a yellow and green lotus design on the 2 straps and an inlaid lozenge design on the body. The hair is court style. A hole above the right ear may be where the raised arm was attached to support the basket (missing). The face has inlaid eyes (Kamal 1901a, 34). The *h<sub>1</sub>tp-di<sub>1</sub>-nsw* formula on the coffin is of pre-11 dyn. type.

2. Tomb 10A of *Dhwty-nht*. BMFA 21.326. H.41.5 cms (plate 42). Known as the "Bershah Procession" this is one of the finest offering-bearer models. The 4 figures are led by a shaven headed priest in a triangular kilt. The left arm is raised in front of the body to support a large *hs*-vase resting against the shoulder. In the pendant right hand a censor is held. Behind are 3 females in walking pose wearing dresses with broad straps. Figure 1 has hair short in front but long behind.

On the head is a flaring trapezoid basket with over-hanging lid, the basketry marked. It is supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand grasps a duck by the wings. Figure 2, in similar pose, has court style hair. The basket contains 4 sealed beer jars. Figure 3, with long hair revealing the ears has the left arm bent double to the shoulder the palm uppermost to balance a small jewellery box. The right arm, also doubled grasps the cord handle of a dappled mirror case (Dunham 1921, 45-6; Breasted 1948, 67, pl.63; Terrace 1968<sup>a</sup>, XLV; 1968<sup>b</sup>, 8-18, figs.1-3, 7-8, 10-7). The faces are finely worked with large eyes outlined in black emphasising the inner corners, the brows straight over the eyes, curving at the outer edges.

The above description is that of the recently restored group (Roehrig 1988, 116, ns.82-3, plate). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 40).

3. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.484. H.35.4 cms (plate 43 left). Female figure with feet together wearing a dress with one strap over the left shoulder. The hair is short at the front with a pigtail at the back. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. The pendant right hand is held open. The exposed nipple is indicated by black dots. The face is crude with wedge nose, slit mouth, almond shaped eyes and curved brows (Roehrig 1988, 115-6, fig.70). Date as above.

4. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.418. H.41 cms (plate 43 right). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The skin is yellow with the nipples, navel and pubis in black. The hair is long, revealing the ears, but longer at the back. On the head is a trapezoid basket. The arm positions are as above (Roehrig 1988, 115-6, fig.70). Date as above.

5. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.883. H.36.5 cms. Female as above. Body naked as



- BMFA 21.418. The hair is short at the front, in a pigtail behind. Date as above.
6. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.884. H.37.2 cms. Female resembling BMFA 21.484. Feet together, wearing a single strap dress and a pigtail. Date as above.
7. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.881. H.37.3 cms. Female resembling BMFA 21.418. Feet together, body naked, long hair. Date as above.
8. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.882. H.40 cms. Female resembling BMFA 21.418. Feet together, body naked, long hair. Date as above.
9. Tomb 10A. BMFA 21.11769. H.23 cms. Male figure in a triangular kilt and cropped hair. Under the left arm is a writing board and scribal palette. The pendant right hand is clenched (Roehrig 1988, 116, fig. 72). Date as above.
10. Tomb 10A. All in BMFA, dimensions unknown. At least a dozen male offerers were found in the tomb, including priests who probably led processions (Roehrig 1988, 116). Date as above.
11. Tomb 23, chamber III of *Nhri*<sup>3</sup>. H.19 cms. Female figure with feet together in a white dress. On the head is a basket steadied by the left hand (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 42; Breasted 1948, 66). Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 42).
12. Tomb F13 of *Nfri*<sup>3</sup>. JE 32836 (plate 59 left). Dimensions unknown. Female figure with feet together wearing a white skirt with one strap over the left shoulder. The long hair is parted in the middle and covers the ears. On the head is a small basket. Both arms are missing (Daressy 1900, 40). Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 41).
13. Bershad 1900. JE 34295. Naked female offering-bearer (not seen).
14. Bershad. BMFA 03.1650. H.22.5 cms. A procession of 4 men in single file carrying grain sacks on their backs (Breasted 1948, 60, pl.51).
15. Bershad, purchased. BM 30719. H.32.2 cms (plate 44:1). Three

offering-bearers in a restored group scene. The 2 females stand with feet together wearing knee length white dresses with one strap over the left shoulder and short hair, parted in the middle, falling to a carved point behind. On the heads are trapezoid baskets supported by the left arms held straight (the second figure is wrongly restored with the right arm in the up position; the hand is clenched). The first figure has the right arm held out straight in front, the hand pierced. The final figure is male, carrying a sack on his back. The faces have eyes set straight, outlined in black, the inner canthi marked and having a cosmetic line. The brows are straight but slanted. By eye style, possibly early 12 dyn. (cf. p. 188. JE 49634, Mo'alla).

#### 4.5.2.15. Sheikh Ibada.

1. Tomb A of *Mr-~~Snt~~*. Brus. E785:33. H.43.5 cms (plate 44:2). Female figure in walking pose wearing a 2-strap dress and long hair covering the ears. An elaborate collar is also worn. On the head is a trapezoid basket with the basketry marked in black, supported by the left arm held straight (Breasted stated that both arms were held up. The right is now missing. 1948, 65). The large face is crudely modelled with wedge nose, pursed slit mouth and large eyes, outlined in black with black irides within the the whites. The brows are straight. Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 24).

2. Tomb A. Brus. E785:24. H.25 cms (plate 44:3 left). Male figure in walking pose, wearing a white kilt and court wig. The arms are doubled to the sides of the shoulders, the hands pierced to take the cord of a sack carried on the back (Breasted 1948, 59). Date as above.

3. Tomb A. Brus. E785:25. H.25.1 cms (plate 44:3 centre right). Male figure, details as above. Restored with a jar hanging from the left hand. Date as above.

4. Tomb A. Brus. E785:3. H.24 cms (plate 44:3 centre left). Male figure as above, the left arm pendant, the right slightly raised. All loads lost. Breasted states that the figure had 2 jars balanced on its shoulders (1948, 59. Really referring to Brus. E785:25?). Date as above.

5. Tomb A. Second burial. Brus. E785:26. H.23.5 cms (plate 44:3 right). Male figure in walking pose on a thick base. A hole in the top of the head attests to a head carried load. Breasted states that the left arm was raised to steady the load (missing. 1948, 59). Date as above.

6. Tomb C of *P3ht-m-h3t*. Louvre E20575. H.47.5 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a 2-strap dress and short full bottomed hair. On the head is a wide, shallow basket supported by the left arm, slightly bent at the elbow. In the pendant right hand is a small bird. The crude face has a wedge nose, slit mouth and large painted eyes with straight brows (Gayet 1902, 45, XIX; Breasted 1948, 63, pl.55b). Dated early 11 dyn. (p. 43).

#### 4.5.2.16. Beni Hasan.

Over 30 offering-bearers are known to have been found at Beni Hasan by Garstang:

1. Tomb BH362. Fitz. E.6.1903. H.31 cms (plate 45:1). Female figure with feet together, roughly modelled, wearing a white skirt outlined in blue and covered by a strip of linen. The hair is long. The nipples are black dots. On the head is a rectangular trapezoid basket supported by the straight left arm (the right missing). The crude face has a wedge nose and large painted eyes with straight brows (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 223). Dated FIP to Senwosret II (p. 22).

2. Tomb BH771. SAOS NN. Basket from an offerer (1907<sup>a</sup>, 237). Dated FIP

- to Senwosret II (p. 22).
3. Tomb BH850. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Decayed female figure (1907<sup>a</sup>, 241). Dated FIP to Senwosret II (p. 22).
  4. Tomb BH76. Ash. E2307. H.20.5 cms (plate 46:1). Female figure in walking pose wearing a skirt outlined in blue and covered by a strip of linen. The long hair is painted on the shoulders. Below the skirt the pubis is painted blue. Originally on the head (SAOS neg. B414) was a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right arm has no hand. The face is damaged (1907<sup>a</sup>, 214). Dated FIP to Senwosret II (p. 22).
  5. Tomb BH105. Part of an offering-bearer carrying birds (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242). Dated FIP to Amenemhat II (p. 22).
  6. Tomb BH394 of *Hnm-htp*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. In the centre of the disturbed chamber was a female figure with a trapezoid basket supported by the straight left arm (SAOS neg. B520). Dated FIP to Amenemhat II/Senwosret II (p. 22).
  7. Tomb BH865. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Female figure, no details (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242). Dated FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).
  8. Tomb BH81. SAOS NN. Basket from an offerer (1907<sup>a</sup>, 214). Dated FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).
  9. Tomb BH862. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Female figure, no details (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242). Dated FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).
  10. Tomb BH1 of *3ntf*. LM 55.82.1. H.52 cms (plate 45:2). Female figure in walking pose, wearing a white knee length dress with one strap over the left shoulder, covered by a strip of linen. The hair is long and augmented at the front by cartonnage(?) lappets to the breasts. On the head is a vaulted lidded chest supported by the left arm bent sharply at the elbow. In the pendant right hand a pair of birds are held by the legs. The crude face is square with a wedge nose, pursed lips and

staring relief eyes with dot irides and straight painted brows

(Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 220; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 61-2, fig.47; Breasted 1948, 64;

Bienkowski 1986, 38). Dated 11 dyn. or earlier (p. 44).

11. Tomb BH275 of T33y. JE 43295 or 26/3/23/4. H.38 cms (plate 46:2).

Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The body is minimally modelled with small breasts and a slight swell to the stomach. The nipples, navel and pubis are indicated in black. The hair is short and full bottomed. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand curving above the top of it. The pendant right hand is clenched. The round face has a wedge nose, slit mouth and painted eyes outlined in black with short cosmetic lines and straight brows which curve at the outer edges (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221. SAOS neg. B429). Dated early 11 dyn. (p. 44-5).

12. Tomb BH275. Edin. 1914.73. H.8.2 cms (plate 47:1 right). Male figure in walking pose wearing a long triangular kilt and with cropped hair. In the outstretched arms a black and white leg of beef is carried. Facial details as above (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 105, fig.95; Breasted 1948, 59. SAOS neg. B569). Date as above.

13. Tomb BH275 (plate 47:1 centre). Male figure in walking pose wearing a short kilt and short hair. The left arm is bent double to the shoulder, the right pendant. Load lost. Referred to as a "torch carrier" (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221. SAOS neg. B569). Date as above.

14. Tomb BH275 (plate 47:2 left). Male figure as above. Both arms bent double to support a yoke across the shoulders (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221. SAOS neg. B572). Date as above.

15. Tomb BH275 (plate 47:2 right). Male figure as above. Both arms are pendant, but under the left arm is a writing board (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>b</sup>, 105, fig.95). Date as above.

16. Tomb BH275. Bristol H4587. H.22.8 cms (plate 48:1 right side of model). Male figure, integral to a bakery model has feet together, wears a short kilt and hair. On the head is a round tray supported by the straight left arm, the right pendant (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221. SAOS neg. B570). Date as above.
17. Tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htpi*. Edin. 1953.128 (plate 49:1). Dimensions unknown. Female figure with feet together, entirely naked but wrapped in a strip of linen. The legs are differentiated by a wide groove, the small breasts are pointed. No base provided. The hair is long and modelled at back and front. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported by the straight left arm. The pendant right hand holds a pair of birds by the wings. The large oval face has a small nose, pursed mouth and painted eyes outlined in black with long cosmetic lines and straight brows (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 237. SAOS neg. B455). Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 46).
18. Tomb BH575 of *Hty-i*. Ash. E2306. H.26.5 cms (plate 48:2). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked, but wrapped in a strip of linen. The crude figure has a yellow skin tone with the nipples indicated by black dots. Round the neck is a 2 row collar of red and black dots. The hair is long and swept behind the shoulders. On the head is a tall trapezoid basket with zigzag basketry, supported by the straight left arm. The right arm held in front of the body has lost its bird. The pointed triangular face has a wedge nose, no mouth and enormous painted eyes, inner canthi marked, outlined in black with fishtail cosmetic lines and slightly curved brows (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 132, fig.131; Breasted 1948, 66. SAOS neg. B440). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 46).
19. Tomb BH575. Ash. E2308. H.15.3 cms (plate 48:2). Male figure in walking pose wearing a short white kilt covered by a strip of linen,

and cropped hair. On the head is a square load supported by the straight right arm, the left pendant. Referred to as a "dwarf", but probably represents a boy (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 222; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 132-3, fig.131; Breasted 1948, 59. SAOS neg. B440). Date as above.

20. Tomb BH707 of *Ipi*. H.47 cms (plate 49:2). Location unknown. Female figure in walking pose wearing a white skirt covered by a strip of linen. The hair is long and modelled at back and front. The body is well modelled with high narrow waist and full bosom. On the head is a trapezoid basket with integral lid, supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. Between the head and the basket is a white mat. The pendant right hand holds a duck by the wings. The oval face has a straight nose, small mouth and large painted eyes outlined in black with fishtail cosmetic lines and slightly curved brows (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 109, fig.98; Breasted 1948, 62. SAOS neg. B449). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (p. 46).

21. Tomb BH585 of *Hnm-nhti* and *Ntr-nhti*. Cairo. H.35.1 cms (plate 50:1). Two female figures integral to a baker-brewer-butcher scene. Both stand with feet together, entirely naked except for elaborate polychrome collars. The hair is long, modelled at the back, drooping over the shoulders, but painted in front. The left hand figure carries a trapezoid basket supported by the straight left arm. The right arm is held in front of the body with a large jar in the hand. The right hand figure holds a fan in the pendant left hand, whilst the right arm is held out in front of the body, the hand holding a *b3st*-jar. The bodies are voluptuous, with swelling thighs, high narrow waists and wide pointed breasts. The faces have wedge noses, slit mouths and painted eyes (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 94-5, fig.84. SAOS neg. B583). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 47).

22. Tomb BH585. JE 37569. H.37.8 cms (plate 51). A pair of female figures standing side-by-side with feet together, entirely naked except for elaborate polychrome collars, covered by strips of linen. The modelling and stature as above. The hair is long with the lappets ending in vertical lines representing plaited hair. The pubises are represented by black stippling. The left hand figure has the right arm raised in front to hold a large *hs*-vase. The right hand figure has on the head a trapezoid basket, the basketry marked, supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The right hand holds a large bird by the legs. The faces are as above except that the eyes are outlined in blue with cosmetic lines and straight blue brows (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 223; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 95, fig.85; Breasted 1948, 66). Date as above.

23. Tomb BH186 of T3wy. JE 43295. H.47.9 cms (plate 52 left). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked but covered by a strip of linen. The long hair is modelled and parted in the centre. On the head is a tall trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. In the pendant right hand a pair of birds are held by the wings. The round face has a wedge nose, wide slit mouth and crude painted eyes (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 87-8, fig.77 left; Breasted 1948, 65. SAOS neg. B423). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 46).

24. Tomb BH186. Cairo 26/3/23/5. H.40.2 cms (plate 52 right). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked but wrapped in a linen strip. The body modelling resembles that of BH585. The long hair is modelled with a centre parting. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand holds a pair of birds by the wings. The crude face has a wedge nose, down curved slit mouth, small painted eyes with straight modelled brows (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 221; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 88, fig.77 right; Breasted 1948,



66. SAOS neg. B426). Date as above.
25. Tomb BH116 of *Nfry*. JE 37563. H.48 cms (plate 53). Female figure with feet together, entirely naked. The body has little modelling and the pubis is indicated by black stippling. The hair is long. On the head is a large square trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent sharply at the elbow, the hand closing over the top of it. In the pendant right hand a bird is held by the wings. The crude oval face has a wedge nose, thick lips and round painted eyes (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 218-9, II:6; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 76-7, figs.61, 64; Breasted 1948, 65. SAOS neg. B419). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 48).
26. Tomb BH116. Cairo. H.28 cms (plate 53). Male figure in walking pose wearing a long kilt and court wig. In the outstretched arms a large *hs*-vase is carried. Facial details as above (Garstang 1904<sup>b</sup>, 219, II: 6; 1907<sup>a</sup>, 74, 76, figs.61, 64; Breasted 1948, 59. SAOS neg. B419). Date as above.
27. Tomb BH548. Arms of a large offerer (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 229). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 48).
28. Tomb BH711. Ash. E2304. L.17 cms. Crudely carved pack-donkey with stick legs (one remaining). Painted white with details in red. Dated FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).
29. Tomb BH194. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Female figure, basket missing (1907<sup>a</sup>, 219). Date uncertain.
30. Tomb BH262. Fitz. E.29w (birds). Female with 2 birds (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Date uncertain.
31. Tomb BH264. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Decayed figure with "geese" (1907<sup>a</sup>, 220). Date uncertain.
32. Tomb BH616. SAOS NN (arm, bird). Female with birds (1907<sup>a</sup>, 233). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Date uncertain.
33. Tomb BH277 (plate 50:2). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

Female figure with feet together, naked (?) except for a strip of linen. Long hair. Tall trapezoid basket supported by the straight left arm, the right pendant. The face has a wedge nose, painted eyes outlined and with a cosmetic line, the brows curved (1907<sup>a</sup>, 221). The funerary mask with which the model was found (SAOS neg. B430) implies a 12 dyn. date.

34. Beni Hasan. SAOS NN. H.26.1 cms (plate 54). Poorly preserved female figure with feet together and naked. The modelling of the hair and body closely resembles that of BH585. Traces of black on a yellow ground indicate eyes with cosmetic lines and possibly a bead string round the body (at the back).

35. Beni Hasan? (plate 55:1). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Female figure with feet together wearing a 1-strap dress over the left shoulder and long hair parted in the centre and held at ear level by a white band. On the head is a square trapezoid basket supported by the left arm sharply bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand holds a bird by the wings. The round face is well modelled with large painted eyes, cosmetic lines and curved brows. A paper label reading 760 or 1760 can be seen. Some doubt existed in Garstang's mind when this negative (SAOS neg. B546) was included in the Beni Hasan negative volumes. The figure, of 12 dyn. type, differs entirely from all other Beni Hasan figures, therefore it is likely it does not come from that site.

#### 4.5.2.17. Sedment.

This was the most prolific site for offering-bearer figures, in the region of 40 being found.

1. Tomb 1506. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Possibly FIP.

2. Tomb 392. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Four offering-bearers (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVI). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
3. Tomb 393. UCL NN (bird). Four offering-bearers (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVI). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
4. Tomb 1523. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A pair of offering-bearers (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
5. Tomb 1529. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
6. Tomb 1531. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
7. Tomb 1532. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
8. Tomb 1535. UCL NN (chest, mirror case). Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
9. Tomb 1541. UCL NN (oval platter). Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
10. Tomb 1570. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
11. Tomb 1571. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
12. Tomb 1583. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
13. Tomb 1593. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
14. Tomb 1684. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).

15. Tomb 1823. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
16. Tomb 2100. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Two figures with baskets (1924<sup>a</sup>, 10). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
17. Tomb 1566. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
18. Tomb 2115. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A pair of female figures in single file with feet together wearing white dresses with one strap over the left shoulder, wrapped in strips of linen. The hair is short and full bottomed. On the heads are narrow based trapezoid baskets supported by the straight left arms. The pendant right hands held slightly forward of the bodies grasp birds. The crude triangular faces have wedge noses, no mouths and thickly outlined eyes with straight brows (1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XXV:11). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
19. Tomb 1629. UCL NN (basket) Offerer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 20).
20. Tomb 2106 of *W3dt-htp*. AEIN 1572. H.22 cms (plate 56). An integral offering-bearer on a baker-brewer-butcher model. The female figure stands with feet together wearing a dress with one strap over the left shoulder covered by a linen strip. The hair is short in front and long at the back. On the head is a large flaring trapezoid basket with 4 beer jars, supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, held forward of the shoulder, the hand closing over the top of it. In the pendant right hand a large duck is held by the wings. The long oval face has shallowly modelled features and painted eyes set at an angle, with cosmetic lines and straight brows (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XX:3; Mogensen 1930, 211, LXIII). Dated 10/11 dyn. (p. 20-1).
21. Tomb 2106. AEIN 1572. Dimensions unknown. On the same model is a male figure with feet together wearing a short kilt and full bottomed

hair. On the head is a small square basket supported by the right arm bent at the elbow. The left arm is pendant. Date as above.

22. Tomb 100. Offering-bearer (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVI). Dated FIP (pottery type 641. Arnold 1988, n.336) or 11 dyn. to Amenemhat I (Arnold 1972<sup>b</sup>, 44-5; Bourriau 1988, 184 no.181).

23. Tomb 1573. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

24. Tomb 1580 of *Nhti*<sup>?</sup>. UCL NN. H.36 to 27.2 cms (plate 55:2). A group of 3 identical female figures, probably in procession. Each is in a walking pose wearing a white dress with one strap over the left shoulder covered by a strip of linen. The hair is long and swept behind the shoulders. On the heads are trapezoid baskets supported by the straight left arms with well modelled hands. The front figure has a single large jar in the basket, the middle figure's which is slightly hollowed, probably took model food, whilst the rear figure carries beer jars in the basket (3 missing). In the pendant right hands birds are held by the wings. The faces are crude and pointed with wedge noses, slit mouths and thickly outlined eyes with straight brows (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

25. Tomb 1575. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

26. Tomb 1589. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

27. Tomb 1595. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

28. Tomb 1604. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearer (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

29. Tomb 1679. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A pair of offerers (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 49).

30. Tomb 2105. Chicago 11496. H.23.6 cms. A pair of female figures in single file, with feet together, naked except for strips of linen and short full bottomed hair. On the heads are trapezoid baskets supported by the straight left arms. The right hands held slightly in front of the bodies hold birds. The facial features are crudely painted and incised (1924<sup>a</sup>, 10, XXVI:11; Breasted 1948, 62, pl.52b). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (see comments p. 51).

31. Tomb 2107. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A pair of offerers closely resembling the above pair (1924<sup>a</sup>, 11, XXVI:12). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (see comments p. 51).

32. Tomb 1525. Man. 6597a-b. H.29 cms. A pair of offering-bearers in single file with feet together wearing short skirts and short full bottomed hair. The skin tone is reddish. On the heads are trapezoid baskets supported by the straight left arms, with small birds in the pendant right hands. The crude triangular faces have wedge noses, no mouths and small eyes (1924<sup>a</sup>, -7, XVII:4; Breasted 1948, 62). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 21, 50).

33. Tomb 1525. Man. 6597c. H.25 cms. Female figure with feet together resembling the above pair. There is no load on the head, but a small bird is held in the right hand (1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:5; Breasted 1948, 62). Date as above.

34. Tomb 374. Brus. E5798e. H.25 cms (plate 57:1). A pair of female figures in single file with feet together wearing 1-strap dresses covered by linen. The hair is short and full bottomed, slightly longer in front. On the heads are narrow based trapezoid baskets supported by the straight left arms. The pendant right hands have lost their birds. The crude triangular faces resemble the above figures (1924<sup>a</sup>, 7; Breasted 1948, 62). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 50).

35. Tomb 2111 of Hnty-hty. Phil. E14621. H.35 cms. A pair of females

walking in single file. Each wears a long dress with one strap over the left shoulder, the exposed nipples indicated in black stippling. The hair is short and full bottomed at the front with long pigtailed behind. The bodies are well modelled with swelling thighs, narrow waists and ample bosoms. On the heads are trapezoid baskets supported by the left arms bent at the elbow. The front figure carries 4 beer jars. Between the heads and baskets are round mats. In the pendant right hands large ducks are held by the wings. The oval faces have rounded noses, thick equal lips, large painted eyes outlined in black with curved brows (1924<sup>a</sup>, 12, XXVI:9; Breasted 1948, 62, pl.55a).

Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 49).

36. Tomb 2127. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Offering-bearers (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 50-1).

37. Tomb 2112 of *Mrt-it.s*. Edin. 1921.1660a. H.28.5 cms (plate 57:2). A pair of female figures in single file with feet together wearing single strap dresses and short full bottomed hair, slightly longer in front. On the heads are narrow based trapezoid baskets with black basketry on a yellow ground and white tops, supported by the straight left arms. Small birds are held in the pendant right hands. The crude faces have virtually no noses, no mouths, thickly outlined eyes in which small irides are set with straight brows (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX; Breasted 1948, 62). Dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II (p. 50-1).

38. Tomb 1021. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A pair of figures with baskets (1924<sup>a</sup>, 15, not in registers). Date uncertain.

39. Tomb 1687. UCL NN. H.25.8 cms (plate 55:3). Female figure, badly damaged, with legs together, entirely naked. The skin tone is a dark yellow, with black nipples. The modelling of the body is minimal. The hair is short and full bottomed with carved texture. On the head is a narrow based trapezoid basket. Both arms are missing. The bird is

present. The square face has a small wedge nose, incised lips, large painted eyes and straight brows (1924a, XXXIX). Date uncertain.

40. Tomb //681. UCL NN (bird).

41. Sedment? Phil. E7545. H.28 cms. A pair of figures in single file, unprovenanced, but closely resembling the Sedment type (Breasted 1948, 62, pl.49b).

#### 4.5.2.18. Lahun.

Tomb N17 of *Yti*. UCL 6645. H.9.5 cms (plate 58:1). Male figure with feet together wearing a white kilt gathered in front to a point. the head is shaven with large protruding ears. The left arm is bent double to the shoulder to support a globular jar cut from the same wood. The torso leans to the right, the right arm missing. The face is badly damaged (Petrie 1923, 34). Date Senwosret II (p. 51-2).

#### 4.5.2.19. Lisht south.

1. Mastaba shaft 6LP2. MMA 24.1.1. H.47 cms (plate 58:2). Fine female figure with feet together wearing a 2-strap dress and long hair revealing large carved ears. The modelling of the body is good. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm bent at the elbow, the hand straight up. The pendant right hand is pierced, the bird missing. The small round face has a straight nose, a mouth with pouting lower lip, large painted eyes outlined in black, inner canthi marked and straight brows which curve at the outer edges (Lansing 1924, 39, fig. 13). Probably contemporary with the pyramid of Senwosret I.

2. Shaft 6LP13 (ex MMA 24.1.22a-c). Arm and feet of an offerer painted yellow. Date as above.



#### 4.5.2.20. Dahshur.

Recent re-excavation of the Dahshur cemeteries suggests the presence of fragmentary offering-bearers (information supplied by Do. Arnold).

#### 4.5.2.21. Saqqara.

1. Tomb 289 of *Ḳpī-m-s3.f* and *Hnnw*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Associated with the coffin of *Ḳpī-m-s3.f* are what are termed a "set" of offering-bearers (Quibell 1908, 15). Associated with the coffin of *Hnnw* was a single female offering-bearer (1908, 16). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 26).
2. Tomb HMK3. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Two decayed offering-bearers (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 48). Dated FIP to Senwosret I (p. 26).
3. Tomb 2757 of *Ḳnpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt*. JE 46772. H.34 cms (plate 59 right). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with short sleeves, the straps of which pass under the breasts. The hair is long revealing the ears. On the head is a ridged circular basket containing 4 beer jars, supported by the straight left arm, the hand closing over the top of it. In the pendant right hand a duck is held by the wings. The oval face has a small nose, pursed lips, large painted eyes outlined in black, inner canthi marked, with straight brows which fall to a curve at the outer edges. The base is inscribed (Quibell 1927, 15, pl.26:2; Breasted 1948, 62). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 55).
4. Tomb 2757. JE 46771 or 14/3/15/9. H.33 cms (plate 60 left). Female figure forming a pair with the above. It differs in that it carries on its head a square basket and a blossom in its right hand. The base is inscribed (Quibell 1927, 15, 43, pl.26:2; Breasted 1948, 62). Date as above.
5. Tomb 2757. JE 46773 (plate 58:3). Dimensions unknown. A pair of female figures in walking pose side-by-side. They wear white dresses

with short sleeves, the straps passing under the breasts. The long hair is parted in the centre and reveals the ears. The figures also wear white bracelets and red anklets. The skin tone is a curious dark green. The modelling of the bodies shows the swell of the thighs, the navel depression and groove to between the full bosoms. On the head of the left hand figure is a trapezoid basket supported by the left arm curving to clasp it at the front. In the right hand is a bird. The right hand figure carries a round basket with beer jars supported by the straight left arm. In the right hand is a blossom. The faces resemble the above figures (Quibell 1927, 13). Date as above.

6. Tomb HMK30 of *Gmn-m-h3t*. AEIN 1628. H.33.5 cms (plate 61). A pair of female figures walking in single file wearing 2-strap dresses and long hair which reveals unmodelled ears. The bodies are sensitively modelled indicating the legs, pubis, navel and small breasts. On the heads are trapezoid baskets with basketry marked and projecting bases, supported by the left arms bent at the elbow, holding them from the front. The front figure holds a duck by the wings in the right hand (the rear's is missing). The long oval faces have pointed chins, long noses, small mouths, carved eyes with curved brow bones (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 53, pl.29:B; Mogensen 1930, 220, LXVII; Breasted 1948, 62, pl.52a). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 57).

7. Tomb HMK26 of *Ḳpī-cnhw* and others. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Associated with the coffin of *Ḳpī-cnhw* I were 2 offerers (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 51). Associated with the coffin of *Ḳpī-cnhw* II were 4 offering-bearers and a male porter (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 51). Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 58).

8. Tomb 10. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A female figure in walking pose wearing a long dress and holding the basket from the front is visible in the debris of the tomb (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, 45, pl.33:A).

Dated 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 57).

9. Tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt*. JE 39126. L.165 cms. A procession of (originally) 20 figures in 2 files, of tall females and small boys. The females in walking pose wear dresses with one strap over the left shoulders and long hair parted in the centre. The positions of arms and loads differ. Some carry trapezoid baskets, others round baskets, large globular jars, chests and deep round based baskets, all supported by the bent left arms. In the pendant hands a variety of birds and blossoms are held. One figure has the right arm bent in front of the body to hold the long stalk of a papyrus blossom. The boys in similar poses carry baskets, boxes, folded sheets and large chests (between 2), with hand held offerings including birds and a fan (or mirror?). The oval faces have large painted eyes set straight and outlined in black (Quibell 1908, 8, XV; Breasted 1948, 66-7). Dated late 11 to 12 dyn. (p. 56).

10. Saqqara 1934. JE 63255. H.22 cms (plate 62). A procession of (originally) 14 figures, 6 females and 8 males in graded heights. The females stand with feet together wearing 1-strap dresses and hair in pigtails (one has long hair). On the heads are trapezoid baskets with basketry marked and projecting bases, which contain jars, supported by the straight left arms. In the right hands birds and blossoms are carried. Like the above group, the male figures carry baskets, chests, sheets and a stretcher (between 2), with hand held offerings including fans. Probably 11 dyn.

11. Saqqara. JE 26026. H.39 cms (plate 58:4). Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress with 2 broad straps and a long wig, parted in the centre, covering the ears and held at ear level by a white band. The left arm is raised and bent at the elbow, the hand curved (basket missing). The pendant right hand is pierced. The damaged face

has a well defined eye outlined in black with no brow indicated. The modelling of the body with swelling thighs, hips, high narrow waist and hair band suggest a mid to late 12 dyn. date.

12. Saqqara. JE 45153. H.31 cms (plate 60 right). Female figure in walking pose in a long dress and wig with centre parting. On the head is a bucket-like basket supported by the straight left arm from the front, the hand closing over the top of it. The pendant right hand is pierced. The face has a straight nose, small mouth and carved eyes. Apart from a cursive inscription on the base, the figure is devoid of paint. Date uncertain.

#### 4.5.2.22. Abusir.

1. Tomb MR6 of *Hrī-š.f-ḥtp* I. Leipzig 40. H.31 cms. Female figure in walking pose wearing a white dress and long hair. On the head is a trapezoid basket supported at the front by the left arm, bent at the elbow. The pendant right hand holds a duck by the wings. Face damaged (Schäfer 1908, 80, Abb.131; Breasted 1948, 62; Krauspe 1976, 32 no.48/5). Dated 11 dyn. (p. 58-9).

2. Tomb MR1 of *Īn-m-ḥt* and others. Bremen B.13110. Dimensions unknown. Associated with the coffin of *S3t-B3stt* was a female figure with a basket (Schäfer 1908, 39). Dated early 12 dyn. (p. 59).

#### 4.6. REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Of the 213 provenanced figures or parts thereof studied here, 187 are female, 26 are male. Only 93 female figures preserve all their parts. These are the most useful for determining regional types.

#### 4.6.1. Gebelein.

Only 4 figures are known to have come from Gebelein. Two of these are integral figures to virtually identical bakery models, Turin S.13271 (plate 32:1) and ECMM 2 (plate 4:2), dating to the 8/9 dyn. The remaining 2 figures are models from the same tomb, that of *Hnwy*, West Berlin 13742 (plate 34:3) and Berlin 13743 (lost), though they were apparently found in different chambers. Both are 11 dyn.

A uniformity is seen in the 8/9 dyn. and 11 dyn. models in the form of semi or total nudity. Both the earlier figures wear short skirts, whilst the later examples are naked. In all cases, the bodies are coarsely modelled with little or no indication of sex other than the skin tone and the painted black nipples and pubises. The faces tend to be triangular, with large painted eyes with thick black rims and small irides. The 8/9 dyn. models are distinctive for their sharply pointed chins, crude slit mouths and heavily downward drooping eyes. These features are not seen on the 11 dyn. models, though the general face shape is preserved. Jewellery, on all the figures comprises black lines for the bracelets and anklets.

The pose of feet together is common to all the figures, but the tray carrying arm position is peculiar to the 2 early figures. The 11 dyn. figures both have the left arm raised and bent at the elbow, whilst the right arm hangs to the side, the hand holding the wings of a bird.

#### 4.6.2. Theban region.

From the Theban region have come 23 female figures, 3 of which are fragments, 2 are pair models, 2 are procession models, 5 of which have uncertain details, leaving 11 figures with most of their elements preserved. The Theban figures form 3 broad groups, which do not on the

whole appear to be related to a date difference. The first group comprises models with polychrome dresses and long hair. Examples have come from the tomb of *Mkt-Rc* (late 11 dyn.), the tomb of *Mntw-htp* (mid to late 12 dyn.) and figure MMA 19.3.3 (date uncertain). Perhaps related to this group is West Berlin 9536, with a red dress and straps in a red, green and yellow scale design. This figure too has long hair. The eyes of the *Mkt-Rc* models and West Berlin 9536 are similar, being set slightly at an angle in the face, the inner and outer canthi marked, and the brows straight but falling at the outer edges. The eyes of the *Mntw-htp* model differ in that they are very small, have fishtail cosmetic lines and are outlined in blue. The MMA 19.3.3 figure is preserved in the lower portion only. The procession model from the tomb of Neb-hepet-Re (plate 36), while not wearing polychrome dresses are seen to fall into this category by virtue of the decorated skirts they wear. Their hair however, is short, a feature found on several other Theban models.

The second group are those with green dresses or where green is the predominant colour. These figures tend also to have short hair. Examples are from pit tomb 5 at Deir el-Bahri (late 11 to early 12 dyn., plates 34:4, 35:1) and CG 231. The former pair, BM 41673 and BMFA 05.231 can be related to other figures stylistically on the grounds of the short hair style, the sharply bent raised arm, the narrow waist and angular, pointed breasts and the exaggeratedly concave sided baskets. Figures matching this type are MMA 26.3.221 with short hair, CG 495 with pointed breasts and short hair and MMA 12.181.251 (plate 35:2) possessing all the features. Also characteristic of this group is the tendency to have the right arm raised in front of the body in order to carry a *hs*-vase. This latter feature is a distinguishing characteristic of 12 dyn. figures, although only

those from pit 5 are dated here, partly by their position in the necropolis and partly by the arm position.

The third group of models are those which wear plain dresses and tend to have long hair. Examples include the procession model of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* (late 11 dyn.), the pair models CG 31349-50 (11 dyn., plate 38:1), West Berlin 22 (mid to late 12 dyn., plate 37), the figure from tomb MMA 5A R4:C (13/17 dyn.) and BM 32736 (plate 35:3). The faces of the Cairo pair models resemble in shape and decoration those from Gebelein, being triangular with thickly outlined eyes. The form of the body and clothing however are dissimilar. In only one case, West Berlin 22, did a figure of this group carry a *ḥs*-vase. Only one example is known of a figure depicted naked, MMA 26.3.338, which also had long hair.

A trend at Thebes is for models to be large scale, like the *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* figures, those from pit 5, those from the tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp* and CG 495. All are over 60 cms tall.

Following this scheme, it can be posited that the unprovenanced figure Louvre E10781, which has been provenanced as Asyut (Vandier 1958, 151) in fact may come from the Theban region. It is large scale (108.5 cms tall), it has a scale pattern dress in red and green, the green predominating in the garment, skin tone, basket, hair and vase. It has a narrow waist with wide, pointed breasts, the hair is short, the basket has flaring concave sides and the figure carries a *ḥs*-vase. The face is triangular with small eyes outlined in green with fishtail cosmetic lines not unlike those of Berlin 10 (lost). The figure, therefore, has more in common with Theban figures than those from Asyut (see below).

#### 4.6.3. Akhmim/Hawawish.

Only one figure is known to have come from the Akhmim region, having been purchased there by Budge (plate 39:1). Its provenance is not therefore entirely certain. Stylistically, however it is a distinctive piece. The figure stands with feet together, wearing a white skirt secured by 2 red braces. On the head is a cushion-like object steadied by the raised arm bent sharply at the elbow. The right arm is bent in front of the body to carry a *hs*-vase. The hair is short but given texture by deep grooves running from one side of the head to the other (plate 38:2). The face is rather small and square with a firm, jutting jaw. The mouth has pursed lips, the nose is crude and the eyes, very small are set at an angle in the face.

A remarkably similar, but unprovenanced figure is CG 496 (plate 39:2). Though smaller, naked and having a straight raised arm certain features suggest these 2 figures are related. The CG 496 figure wears a bulla bead pendant, mirroring the meleagrina shell pendant worn by the BM 20867 figure. The hair, although separated into sections at the back is short and textured by grooving from one side of the head to the other. The face is somewhat rounder, but the eyes in particular, set at an angle in the face recall those of the Akhmim figure. Similarly, the pose, with the left arm raised in front to hold a *hs*-vase further suggests a link.

Whether the BM figure comes from Akhmim or not, its style is distinctive and it is possible that the Cairo figure came from the same regional atelier.

#### 4.6.4. Asyut.

The Asyut figures form a homogeneous group. Of the 27 figures 3 are fragments, 15 have all their elements intact, the remaining



figures having some part missing. On the whole Asyut figures are easily recognised and follow a set pattern, there are of course exceptions.

Characteristic of the Asyut offering-bearer are one of 2 basic hair styles, short and full bottomed, with a pigtail, often held by a fillet or simply short and full bottomed with a fillet. Examples of the former style are from tomb 7 of *Nhti* Louvre E12029, E11992, Cairo JE 32920, JE 32921 and 2 other figures, from tomb 6 BMFA 04.1774, from tomb 20 Louvre E11991, E12001, and the figure JE 38984 (plate 41:2). Of these the last figure and that from tomb 6 are probably 9/10 to 11 dyn., whilst the other figures are late 11 dyn. and 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II illustrating a continuity in style through the greater part of the MK.

Related to the pigtail hair style are the short full bottomed wigs. These are virtually identical with the pigtail style and indistinguishable from the front. Examples include those from tomb 14 Louvre E11990, tomb XIV BM 45055 (plate 40:1), tomb IV BM 45074-5 (plate 40:3) and the Cairo figure 8/4/23/11. All of these, like the pigtail style are held by a white fillet or head band. The only datable example from tomb 14 is late 11 to early 12 dyn.

The attire worn by these figures is also homogeneous, usually formed by the one strap dress. In all but 3 cases these are simple white dresses. The 3 exceptions have an over slip of polychrome or embroidery on the hem (Louvre E12029, Cairo JE 36290-1). An alternative dress is that with 2 braces rather than straps, which pass between the breasts (Louvre E11990, BM 45055, Cairo JE 38984, plate 40:1). This latter figure has the dress ornamented with polychrome zigzags (plate 41:2). One example from tomb 7 wears a simple white skirt and a long necklace which passes between the breasts, instead.

The offerings carried by these 2 groups are the same, a well formed basket with integral lid on the head and a large bird held by the wings. The left hand supporting the basket is held straight up so that the fingers stand proud of the top.

The faces are all basically oval to triangular with little or no indication of the mouth, a small nose and eyes with the inner canthi marked, outlined in black and with fishtail cosmetic lines. It is the fishtail cosmetic lines which are distinctive because they are usually fairly long. The figures are usually between 50 and 60 cms tall.

Beside these basic types are others which do not comply with the rules as set out. One such is BM 45056 from tomb VII (plate 1:1). The figure is in walking pose, wears a 2-strap dress (the straps are broad), has a well carved physique and with short hair hugging the head and falling to a point behind. The eyes are large and downward slanting (12 dyn.). The figure Cleveland 42.14 has long hair covering the ears, and the raised hand holding the basket closes over the top of it. The face and eyes however, share the Asyut style. The Cairo figure JE 43378 (plate 41:3) is altogether different. It stands feet together, with long hair, half of it swept behind the shoulder and held by a red band at ear level. The dress has 2 broad straps and is a polychrome design of scales. The basket is small and without a lid. These figures are all of 12 dyn. type, it is possible that the style found at Asyut from the 10/11 dyn. and early 12 dyn. changed at some point producing figures with a variety of features.

#### 4.6.5. Meir/Bershah region.

In the Meir/Bershah region 18 female figures were found. Of these 1 is the "Bershah Procession" group, 1 is a set of 3 figures in procession, 2 are integral to a model bakery, 6 have elements missing

and 8 are complete. The models from tomb 10A at Bershah form a unit, excepting the "Procession", which appear to be related to the Asyut style. Unlike Asyut figures 4 of them are naked (BMFA 21.418, 21.881-3, plate 43 right), whilst 2 wear single strap white dresses (BMFA 21.484, 21.884, plate 43 left). The hair is in 2 cases long (BMFA 21.418, 21.884) and in 4 cases in a pigtail style, but without a fillet (BMFA 21.484, 21.881-3). The pose of feet together and the crude faces with thickly outlined eyes set them apart from the Asyut style.

A different style is exhibited by the "Bershah Procession" (plate 42). These figures are all carefully carved and proportioned. The 3 female offerers in this group have the same walking pose and long, broad strapped dresses. Their hair however, ranges from long, to short and bobbed (unlike the short full bottomed wigs of the Asyut figures), and short in front but long at the back. The baskets carried by these figures are trapezoid, one with over-hanging lid. The faces are oval with large, open eyes which are outlined in black emphasising the inner canthi. These figures show attention to detail on the part of the maker. The bakery model BM 30719 (plate 44:1) contains 2 female figures which forms a link between the Asyut style, the Bershah 10A tomb style, the "Procession" style and the next style to be discussed. These figures wear single strap dresses, their hair is short at the front ending in a point at the back (like Asyut figure BM 45056). The eyes, while resembling the "Procession" have fishtail cosmetic lines, recalling the Asyut style.

Another style found in the Bershah/Meir region are figures which combine long hair with short dresses reaching to knee level. At Bershah, this style is encountered in the integral figures in model BM 30719 (12 dyn.), tomb F13 JE 32836 (Senwosret I to Amenemhat II, plate

59 left). At Meir the style is found in the figures from the tomb of *Wh-htpi* (11 dyn.) and the 2 Limoges figures. All of these figures have a single strap on the skirt. An exception is one of the Limoges figures which has 2 straps. The remaining Meir figures are insufficiently published to ascertain whether they comply with this style.

All the Bershah and Meir figures of each style group, except the "Procession", stand with their feet together.

#### 4.6.6. Beni Hasan.

Beni Hasan has yielded 22 figures and fragments of 5 others. Of these 1 group are integral to a model, there is also 1 pair model, 12 figures are well preserved, the remaining 8 have parts missing. The basic style at Beni Hasan is the coarse execution of figures standing rarely taller than 40 to 45 cms. The style included 11 figures with feet together (BH362, BH275, BH723, BH575, BH585 both groups, BH186, BH116, BH277, SAOS NN and unnumbered, plates 45:2, 46:2, 48:2, 49:1, 50-55:1), 9 figures which are naked (BH275, BH723, BH575, BH585 both groups, BH186, BH116, BH277 and SAOS NN, plates 46:1, 48:2, 49:1, 50-54), 13 figures with long hair (BH362, BH76, BH1, BH723, BH575, BH707, BH585 both groups, BH186, BH116, BH277, SAOS NN and unnumbered, plates 45, 46:1, 48:2, 49-55:1). Arm positions are predominantly in the traditional pose of a bent raised arm, found in 8 figures (BH76, BH1, BH275, BH707, BH585, BH186, BH116 and unnumbered, plates 45:2, 46, 49:2, 51-53, 55:1). The majority of figures have straight pendant right arms.

Related to this style are figures with skirts (BH362, BH76 and BH707, plates 45:1, 46:1, 49:2). Only 2 figures are known to have worn dresses. That on the figure from tomb BH1 (plate 45:2) is short to the knees in the style of the Bershah/Meir region, but both this figure

and the unnumbered example have single straps.

Particular features of Beni Hasan figures are the hair, the birds carried and the linen wrappings. At least 9 figures exhibit the phenomenon of long hair which is carved at the back but painted only at the front (BH76, BH362, BH723, BH585 both groups, BH116, BH277 and SAOS NN, visible in plates 46:1, 50:1, 54). In addition BH1 which is carved at the back has applied cartonnage(?) lappets at the front instead of simply painted (plate 45:2). This particular figure, without the applied lappets resembles the short full bottomed hair on the figure from tomb BH275 (plate 46:2), perhaps exhibiting influence from the Sedment style (see below).

In the region of 5 figures are known to have carried birds which are carved in pairs (BH1, BH723, BH186 both figures, plates 45:2, 49:1, 52). A pair of birds from a figure in tomb BH262 are known. Garstang indicates that other such figures were found (1907<sup>a</sup>, 242 tomb 105; 220 tomb 264; 233 tomb 616).

At least 10 figures were found wrapped in linen strips. It is misleading to think that the strips substituted, at this site, for painted and modelled clothing. Most Beni Hasan figures are depicted naked or semi-clad. Nevertheless, those figures which did have clothing were also found wrapped in linen. This practice recalls the procession of figures from the tomb of *Mkt-Rc* which are depicted clothed and also wrapped in linen.

The body form of some of the naked figures is distinctive. Tomb BH585 yielded 2 sets of figures, a pair model JE 37569 and a pair integral to a baker-brewer group in Cairo. All 4 figures are naked, standing with feet together. The ankles are narrow, emphasising the swell of the thighs which are exceptionally high merging with the waist, giving the body a short torso. The breasts are low on the chest

tending to be wide and outward pointing. Other such figures are BH723, BH186 and SAOS NN (compare plates 50:1, 51, 52 right, 54, 49:1). The other naked and semi-clad figures are poorly modelled with little or no body detail. This latter feature tends to occur on the smaller figures under 30 cms. These figures also tend to have straight, stick-like raised arms, the lack of detail no doubt being the result of size.

The date of the figures from Beni Hasan is in most cases late 11 dyn. to Senwosret II. The 2 figures complying less to the Beni Hasan style than the other figures, BH1 and BH275 are dated early 11 dyn.

#### 4.6.7. Sedment.

In the region of 49 figures are known to have been found at Sedment. Most of these have not been traced, their details remaining unknown. However, 12 figures have known variables. Of these 2 are integral to bakery models, 1 forms a set of 3 which may have walked in procession, 8 are pair models and 1 is a single figure.

Characteristic of the Sedment style, like that from Beni Hasan, is the coarseness of the figures, their small size and their linen wrappings. Their form, however is quite distinct. Commonly found in pairs on one base they stand with feet together (2105, 2115, 1525, 374, 2107, 2112 and Phil. E7545, plate 57). Rarely do figures have a walking pose (274, 1580 and 2111, plate 55:2). The remaining figures have their feet together.

Sedment figures wear a short full bottomed hair style (2105, 2115, 1525, 374, 2107, 2112, 1687 and Phil. E7545, plates 55:3, 57). The figures from tombs 374 and 2112 (plate 57) have the hair slightly longer in the front. One figure, that from tomb 2111 has a pigtail hair style. Figures are rarely naked (2105 and 1687, plate 55:3), but

tend to wear single strap dresses (2106, 1580, 2115, 374, 2107, 2111, 2112 and Phil. E7545, plates 55:2, 56-57) or skirts (1525 both groups). The post 6 dyn. model belonging to *Mry-Rc-hc-št.f* (plate 33:2) wears a dress with 2 broad straps forming a V neckline.

Arm positions at Sedment are 10 with the raised left arm held straight, being formed from unmodelled sticks (2105, 1580, 2115, 1525 both groups, 374, 2107, 2112 and Phil. E7545). These figures also hold the pendant right arm slightly in front of the body instead of to the side as found at other sites (plates 55:2, 57). The larger, better executed figures from tombs 274, 2106 and 2111 (plates 33:2, 56) are those with long hair, a walking pose (except 2106) and have the raised arm bent at the elbow. Of these, 274 is post 6 dyn., whilst 2106 is 10/11 dyn. and 2111 dated 11 to early 12 dyn. The Sedment style figures cover the FIP to Amenemhat II, illustrating a continuity in style throughout the use of the cemetery.

The baskets carried by most figures, with the exception of those from 2106 and 2111, are longer than they are wide and tend to have very narrow bases, verging on points.

#### 4.6.8. Saqqara.

Saqqara yielded 15 figures, of which 2 are processions, 2 are pair models, 6 have elements missing, with 5 complete figures. The procession models are far larger than those from other sites, comprising of (originally) 20 figures from the tomb of *K3-rnn*, and of (originally) 14 figures on the model Cairo JE 63255 (plate 62). These are formed from 2 files of figures, in graded heights, the females being tall and the boys being smaller.

The Saqqara style is exhibited in the form of figures with long hair which is parted in the middle (Cairo JE 46771-3, JE 39126, JE

26026, JE 45153 and AEIN 1628, plates 58:4, 60). The procession model JE 63255 also has figures with a pigtail style (only one figure wears long hair). Dresses are usually of the 2-strap variety, although the single strap does occur. Tomb 2757 yielded 4 figures, 2 of which are a pair model. All these figures wear a type of dress peculiar to this tomb. The dresses have short sleeves and leave the breasts exposed (plates 58:3, 59 right, 60 left). The pair model is also peculiar for the green skin tone of the figures. There are no naked or semi-clad figures. The raised arm position of Saqqara figures are 5 held straight (Cairo JE 46771-3, JE 63255 and JE 45153) and 3 bent at the elbow (AEIN 1628, Cairo JE 39126, JE 26026). However, of the arms held straight the figures JE 46771-3 have barely perceptible bends. The hands of all these figures are closed over the top of the their baskets, whilst the figures JE 46773 (left hand figure) and AEIN 1628 hold the top of the basket from the front (plates 58:3, 61). A figure in the debris of tomb 10 (Firth 1926<sup>a</sup>, pl.33:A) and one from Abusir tomb MR6 (Schäfer 1908, Abb.131) can be seen in this pose.

All figures, except a few on the procession JE 63255, are in walking pose. The pair models are in single file and side-by-side, illustrating that the style is purely from Saqqara and not influenced from the pair model of Sedment.

The baskets carried by Saqqara figures are of the usual trapezoid shape, but have projecting bases (AEIN 1628, Cairo JE 63255). There is also a tendency for figures to carry round or bucket-like baskets (Cairo JE46772, JE 46773 right, some on JE 39126 and JE 63255, JE 45153, plates 61-2). The hand held offerings include birds, mirrors and commonly lotus blossoms (plates 58:3, 59 right, 60, 62). The phenomena of model processions and hand held lotus blossoms as well as the variety of loads carried on the heads in the Saqqara necropolis



were probably inspired by the scenes of "estates" in the tombs of the OK nobles and the royal monuments both at Saqqara and Giza.

Offering-bearer models from Saqqara range in date from 11 dyn., 11 to early 12 dyn., and mid to late 12 dyn. All, except Cairo JE 26026 (plate 58:4) which by the modelling of the body and band at ear level can be no earlier than mid 12 dyn., exhibit a continuity in style during the MK.

#### 4.7. DATING OFFERING-BEARER MODELS.

There are no hard and fast rules for dating offering-bearer figures, but the task is made easier within specific cemetery contexts where particular fashions are taken into account. Many figures are however, too crude to be dated on factors like facial features. Since Vandier's pioneering work on offering-bearers (1958, 147-154), many more figures have come to light making criticism of that work justified.

Vandier's starting point was the Meir group from the tomb of *Ny-ꜣnh-Ppy-km* (1958, 148, XLIX:7), where the straight raised arm is said to be a characteristic OK feature. Other figures listed above prove this to be otherwise. For instance, 29% of the 93 complete figures display this feature, seen most densely from Sheikh Ibada to Saqqara, being the norm in the Sedment necropolis and ranging in date from FIP to Senwosret II. Post 6 dyn. figures are distinguished by the V neck-line in their dresses, whilst the headcloth, chest and animal on a lead may be later.

Vandier considered all the Asyut figures to be FIP (1958, 148-9) basing his FIP type on this group. The evidence for dating presented above (and by others) shows that very few of these figures are to be viewed as FIP. Rather, the 1-strap dress, short full bottomed hair,

fillet and pigtail are to be seen as characteristics of Asyut. The feature of one or 2 straps may be found within a single tomb, invalidating it as a date indicator. Vandier considered all other figures to be later than the Asyut group (1958, 149-150), thus figures with 2-strap dresses with long hair were dated 11 dyn.

Figures of the 12 dyn. are said to be characterised by the forward bent arm, the hand holding a *hs*-vase (Vandier 1958, 151). This is largely correct, although the feature may have appeared at the Theban necropolis in the late 11 dyn. (cf. BMFA 05.231, plate 34:4). Plain dresses and nakedness are also said to be characteristic of the 12 dyn. (Vandier 1958, 151). Neither of these features can be used as a date indicator, since most figures wear plain dresses and nakedness is a regional fashion between Bershah and Beni Hasan.

The following features are rendered as percentages of the 93 complete provenanced female figures, giving date range and regional distribution:

A. Feet together. 46.2% (43 figures). The earliest examples are from Gebelein in the 8/9 dyns., although 11 dyn. figures from this site exhibit the feet together pose. At Akhmim to Rifeh figures are dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III, whilst Meir figures are 11 to 12 dyn. and the densest group, from Bershah to Sedment are 11 dyn. to Senwosret II.

B. Walking pose. 53.7% (50 figures). The trend was set in the OK (6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period) with figures from Sedment, Meir, Dahshur and Saqqara, but proliferates in the Theban, Asyut and Saqqara necropolei where they are dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat III.

C. Straight raised arm. 29% (27 figures). Virtually all figures with this feature are of poor or mediocre workmanship with a date range of FIP to Senwosret II. Figures exhibiting this arm position have been

found at Meir and Dahshur in the post 6 dyn., at Saqqara in the 11 dyn., at Sedment in the 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II, at Beni Hasan in the FIP to Amenemhat II, most being 11 dyn., at Bershah in the 12 dyn., at Thebes in the 11 dyn. It is a characteristic of the region between Sheikh Ibada and Sedment.

D. Bent raised arm. 68.8% (64 figures). This is the classic pose, first appearing at Saqqara and Sedment in the post 6 dyn., and at Meir in the FIP. The pose is found at all sites yielding offering-bearers being the norm at Bershah dated 11 to early 12 dyn., at Asyut dated 11 and 12 dyn., at Thebes covering the 11 to late 12 dyn. period.

E. Pendant arm. 84.9% (79 figures). Most figures preserve this arm which held a bird in the hand because it is less likely to suffer damage than the raised arm. In terms of dating, this arm position is the classic pose therefore it is found on 6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. figures, on FIP figures and those of the 11 and 12 dyns. up to the point where figures cease to be produced.

F. Forward bent arm. 12.9% (12 figures). The hand usually holds a *hs*-vase. This arm position makes its first appearance in a form part way between the forward bent arm and the pendant arm at Sedment dated to the FIP and 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. These though are not strictly speaking of this category and are not accounted for in the statistics. The earliest true example comes from pit 5 at Deir el-Bahri dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. At Beni Hasan the coarse figures do not have the arms bent, but are simply raised forward. These date from the 11 dyn. to Senwosret I or Amenemhat II. At Bershah the pose is found on a 12 dyn. figure, as it is at Asyut. The pose became more common during the mid 12 dyn. at sites such as Rifeh, dated Senwosret II to Amenemhat III, at Thebes of a similar date and at Akhmim in the mid to late 12 dyn. The pose is found most frequently at Thebes, but not on figures

from the 11 dyn. Deir el-Bahri cemetery (except that cited from pit 5).

G. Nakedness. 19.3% (18 figures). This feature is found at Gebelein in the 11 dyn., Akhmim in the mid 12 dyn. and particularly between Bershah and Beni Hasan. At Beni Hasan nudity is common on figures ranging in date from early 11 dyn., 11 dyn. to Senwosret II. At Bershah figures are late 11 to early 12 dyn. At Meir a figure was dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II. Rarely are naked figures found at Thebes and Sedment of 11 dyn. to Senwosret I date. In many cases, the figures are draped in linen, and the bodies poorly modelled, perhaps to indicate the youth of the female concerned.

H. Skirts (naked torsos). 9.6% (9 figures). The earliest are from Gebelein in the 8/9 dyns. Others from Thebes of late 11 dyn., Asyut of late 11 to early 12 dyn., Sedment of similar date and particularly Beni Hasan where figures can be dated FIP to Senwosret I, and 11 dyn. to Senwosret I.

I. 1-strap dress. 35.4% (33 figures). Single strap dresses have been found at most sites, particularly Asyut and Sedment. At Asyut a couple may be 10/11 dyn., the remainder being late 11 to early 12 dyn., whilst at Sedment they are FIP to Senwosret I and 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. From Bershah to Asyut this form of dress is the norm during the period 11 dyn. and the transition from the late 11 to early 12 dyn. A late example from Thebes is 13/17 dyn., whilst others of 11 dyn. date have been found at the site.

J. 2-strap dress. 35.4% (33 figures). This type of dress is the normal attire from the OK 6 dyn. and post 6 dyn. period to 12 dyn., particularly in the latter. During the earlier phase, on figures from Meir, Saqqara, Dahshur and Sedment the straps were broad often forming a V neckline, but sometimes passing between the breasts. The 2-strap dress

has been found at Abusir in the 11 dyn., at saqqara in the 11 and 12 dyns., at Lisht in the early 12 dyn., at Sheikh Ibada in the FIP to Senwosret I and 11 dyn., at Bershah in the late 11 to early 12 dyn., at Meir in the 11 dyn., at Asyut in the 11 to 12 dyns. and at Thebes in the same period. At Asyut and Akhmim the straps are very narrow forming braces.

K. Short or court wigs. 32.2% (30 figures). The feature of short cropped or full bottomed hair made its first appearance in the post 6 dyn. figures from Meir. The other post 6 dyn. figures from Meir, Saqqara and Dahshur are probably to be thought of as short haired as the heads are covered by close fitting headcloths. Short full bottomed hair is a characteristic of the Sedment figures, with a date range of FIP to Senwosret I and 11 dyn. to Amenemhat II. At Beni Hasan the only short haired figure is 11 dyn., as are those from Sheikh Ibada and Gebelein. Bershah short haired figures are 12 dyn., whilst those from Asyut are 11 dyn. and late 11 to early 12 dyn. The Akhmim figures are 12 dyn. At Thebes, one of the styles encountered is the use of short hair. Here the feature covers the entire MK period.

L. Pigtails. 13.9% (13 figures). The majority of figures wearing pigtails are from Asyut of 10/11 dyn. and late 11 to early 12 dyn. date, whilst others have been found at Saqqara of 11 dyn. date, at Sedment of 11 to 12 dyn. date and at Bershah of late 11 to early 12 dyn. date.

M. Long hair. 48.3% (45 figures). The earliest figure with long hair was from the post 6 dyn. tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-h<sup>c</sup>-št.f* at Sedment. Many 11 dyn. figures from Thebes and Beni Hasan have long hair, whilst it is the norm at sites from Meir to Saqqara of all dates. Mid to late 12 dyn. figures may be distinguished by the band at ear level and a crescent of hair on the forehead popular from the time of Amenemhat

II. At Saqqara the hair is often parted in the centre.

#### 4.8. DISPOSITION.

The positioning of offering-bearers appears to follow no set pattern. Figure 3 (scatter diagram of the floor, coffin lid, serdab and eastern recess context, gives the 64 known positions. The height of the figures dictates that most were placed on the floor of the chamber (34 or 53.1%). In this context proportionally more, 15 (23.4%) have been found on the eastern or left hand side of the coffin, than other sites. These fall into 3 groups; near the eye panel, in the centre, near the foot. Of the 10 (15.6%) of figures on the coffin lid most were near the foot end, towards the eastern side. Twelve (18.7%) of figures were placed to the west (right) of the coffin, again, concentrating towards the head end, middle and foot. Six (9.3%) figures were placed at the head of the coffin, with 4 (6.2%) at the foot end.

In the serdab context 7 figures were randomly positioned, forming 10.9% of the total. The eastern recess context contained 6 figures (9.3%), with figures concentrated in the centre and towards the northern end. At Asyut, tomb 7 contained 4 figures in the chapel, one east of the pillar and 3 west of it (inset, figure 3).

Little is known of the orientation of offering-bearers. The majority seem to have been placed so as to face the chamber entrance, usually north, but often south (eg. *Mntw-htp*, Thebes). In the serdab of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* the offering-bearers were placed facing each other, oriented east and west.

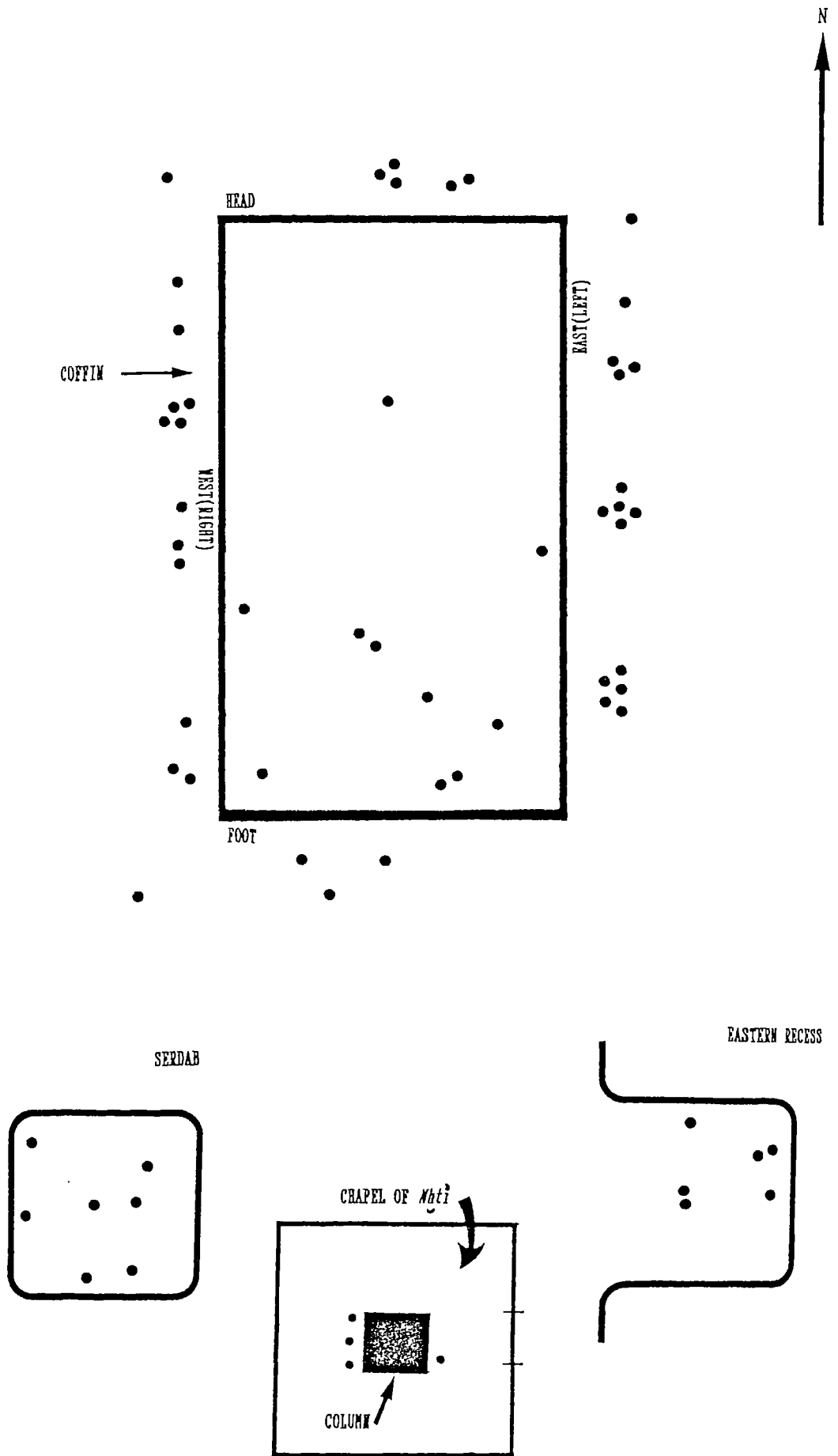


FIGURE 3

#### 4.9. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MODEL OFFERING-BEARERS.

Of 213 figures (or parts thereof) only 10 or so have any trace of text. The best preserved figures are those from Rifeh which each have a 2 column text on the base giving the servants' names, prosopography and title:

Man. 4738: 1) *im3hyt, wb3yt, Iki* 2) *ir n Ddw, m3c-hrw.*  
 "The *im3hyt*, housemaid, *Iki* born of *Ddw*, justified".

Man. 4734: 1) *im3hyt, ckyt, ///r* 2) *ir n Hntn, m3c-hrw.*  
 "The *im3hyt*, maid servant, *///r*, born of *Hntn*, justified".

These are the only offering-bearers to provide the name of the servant depicted and their position within the household of the deceased. The appearance of such figures would imply that the servants were particularly favoured and granted continued existence with the householders. The vast majority of figures are anonymous, and had they represented their donators, as they seem to have in the OK, one would expect inscriptions like the OK servant statuettes which term the figures *dt.f, s3.f.*

Two other inscribed figures came from the Theban tomb of *Mntw-htp*. In these cases the inscriptions are on the bases and baskets:

Berlin 10: 1) *Int /// ///t ///h ///* 2) *wc**bt** ht nbt nfrt*  
 Base 3) *n k3 n imy-r pr, Mntw-htp.*  
 "Bringing ..... every good thing and pure for the *k3* of the steward, *Mntw-htp*".

Basket: *htp-di'-nsw Wsir, nb c**nh** t3wy, mfk3t(?), nb im3h,*  
*imy-r pr, Mntw-htp.*  
 "A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of ankh-tawy, all turquoise(?), for the *im3h*, steward, *Mntw-htp*".

West Berlin 22: *htp-di'-nsw Wsir, nb Ddw, ntr-c3, nb 3bdw,*  
 Basket *prt-hrw h**nk**t.*  
 "A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, of an invocation offering of beer".



Two figures from the Saqqara tomb 2757 had inscriptions on the bases:

JE 46772: 1) *ḥtpw n(b)* 2) *df3w nb* 3) */// n Ḳnpw, n k3.f.*  
"All offerings and provisions .... for *Ḳnpw[-m-ḥ3t]*,  
for his *k3*".

JE 46771: 1) *ḥtpw, df3w n* 2) *[ḥry]-ḥb, wt n* 3) *nnḥḥ(?)*.  
4) *im3ḥ Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t.*  
"Offerings and provisions for the lector, embalmer,  
*nnḥḥ(?)*, the *im3ḥ, Ḳnpw-m-ḥ3t*".

The Saqqara figure JE 45153 which has a cursive text on its base in 3 lines is illegible in places:

1) *wb3yt(?)* ..... 2) *im3ḥ ḥr Wsir ///t* 3) Illegible name.  
"Housemaid(?)....the *im3ḥ* under Osiris NN".

If the signs are to be read *wb3yt*, then what follows may be the name of the servant herself. However, this reading is uncertain and may simply read "offerings", in which case the illegible name is that of the deceased.

From Meir came the FIP figure ECMM 1 with inscribed chest for,

*sd3wty-bity, smr-wcty, imy-r ḥm-ntr, Ḥpy-km.*  
"Royal seal-bearer, sole companion, overseer of priests,  
*Ḥpy-km*".

Where texts appear on offering-bearer models they are intended to convey the action of bringing supplies and to make the identity of the beneficiary clear.

#### 4.10. THE BENI HASAN POTTERY STANDS.

A number of pottery stands from Beni Hasan had on the sides of them figures of female offering-bearers, forming a related yet unique class of model (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 195, figs.205, 210-211). Each figure had been cut from a slab of clay and is naked. Details such as the

pubis, navel, eyes, etc. were punctate or incised, whilst small breasts and sometimes knees, were formed from small applied pieces of clay.

1. SAOS E6306. Max.H.17.1 cms (plate 63). Central fragment of a tapering stand with the lower body of an offerer in relief. The pubis is incised and filled with dots. The knees are applied.
2. SAOS E6344. Max.H.29.3 cms (plate 64). Tapering stand with 3 holes spirally arranged and 3 figures between. The topmost is the lower body of a naked male servant with a jar. The second is the lower body of a female offerer with incised and punctate pubis and applied knees. The lowest is represented by a rectangular scar.
3. SAOS E6815. Max.H.10.4 cms (plate 65:2). Flat clay torso of an offerer from a pottery stand. The navel is punctate, the breasts applied. On the head is a small basket supported by the right arm, the hand with incised fingers closing over the top of it. The face has punctate nostrils and mouth, eyes marked by depressions and hair by slashes across the top and sides of the head.
4. Tomb BH533. SAOS E6308. Max.H.20.8 cms (plates 65:1, 67:1). A large stand was found in several pieces (some now missing), with holes and figures placed spirally (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, figs.210-211 right). The offering-bearer survives from the top of the pubis upwards, although it had had legs. Body details are as above. The face and head are somewhat ape-like with strong brow bone. The small basket is supported by the left arm, whilst the pendant right hand holds a jar.
5. Tomb BH867 or 567. LM 1973.1.374. Max.H.29 cms (plates 66:1, 66:2). Tapering stand with an offerer in relief, preserved from the knees upwards. The figure is as above, except that it has an incised umbilical line between the top of the pubis and navel (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.205 right; Bienkowski 1986, 36).

6. SAOS neg. B376 left (plate 67:1). A broken stand with a naked female figure of the usual design (untraced).
7. SAOS neg. B463 left (plate 67:1). A tapering stand with denuded surface bearing figures in relief. The offerer resembles the other figures but differs in that its legs are depicted together, instead of separate (untraced).

All the stands are approximately contemporary. A similar stand with a naked female modelled on the side has been dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (Bourriau 1981, 62). However, the site covers the period 11 dyn. to Senwosret II, to which time span the stands should be dated (see comments of Bourriau 1981, 60).

## CHAPTER FIVE: OFFERING-TRAYS, "SOUL-HOUSES" AND RELATED MATERIAL.

### 5.1. INTRODUCTION.

Terra-cotta offering-trays are an imitation in clay of the stone altars usually placed in the superstructure of tombs onto which libations were poured for the cult of the deceased. On the surface of the trays are modelled meats, vegetables and breads. Drainage channels may also be present. Trays take several forms which can be directly related to the site of origin, due to the hand-fashioning of these objects in localised contexts. The "soul-house" form is related to the tray in that the court of the house served the same function as the tray form on its own. Related to offering-trays and "soul-houses" are wooden model houses and stone and faience food models.

The chronology of offering-tray morphology has been based largely on the assumption that the earliest examples imitate exactly the shape of stone altars and that later examples became decadent (Petrie 1900, 20, 26; 1907, 15-6; Mond 1937, 59; Vandier 1955, 976-7; Stadelmann 1977, 1067; Kuentz 1981, 248-252, 254; Niwinski 1984, 809-811). Morphology, the shape which an object takes, can be proved to be the result of location rather than date, although date has a minor role to play. The study below attempts to show that regional trends had a strong effect on the shape of offering-trays and "soul-houses". The terminology used here is as follows;

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Altar-form.     | A squared shape usually having a spout like a stone offering table. |
| Horseshoe-form. | An elongated semicircular shape.                                    |
| Plate-form.     | Oval or round dinner plate shape.                                   |
| Slab-form.      | A flat form without side walls.                                     |
| Tomb-form.      | A structure imitating tomb architecture.                            |
| Field-form.     | Square shape divided into sections.                                 |

"Soul-house".            A domestic structure of one or more storeys.

## 5.2. CHRONOLOGY.

Petrie was the first to attempt to analyse offering-tray chronology and from thence form development. Despite his early observations that Altar-form trays were found in 12 dyn. contexts at Lahun in rubbish heaps containing only 12 dyn. potsherds (1890, 25, XIII:102), and from similar contexts under the enclosure wall of Senwosret II date at Kahun (1891, 9, IV:20, 23), he asserted that trays of such form which he found at Dendera and Rifeh were of the earliest date (1900, 26; 1907, 15-6). At Dendera offering-trays were found in or near poorly defined trench graves, with little or no other material (Petrie 1900, 26). The earliest example, he states, is a square tray with 2 small depressions near the front edge (1900, XIX:15). This form he called class D, dating to the 9/10 dyns. This tray appears to have no tomb number and was found isolated, its dating therefore, can only be very tentative. The next tray is of class E and is said to have come from tomb 325 of *Mri*<sup>3</sup> (1900, XIX:3). This tray is Horseshoe-form with a dividing wall pierced by 2 drainage channels at the front. Pottery from tomb 325 (1900, XVII:46, XVIII:170, 172) and kohl pot form (1900, XVII:105) are consistent with 11 to 12 dyn. types elsewhere. Four pieces of inscribed lintel from the same tomb are said to be executed in the style of the 10 to 11 dyns. (1900, 20, 51, XIc), the tomb being situated in a group of 7 to 11 dyn. mastabas. Class F trays such as that illustrated from tomb 549 of *Htpi*<sup>3</sup> are said to be of mid 11 dyn. date (1900, XIX:13). Tomb 549 consisted of a simple pit apparently without superstructure, which contained only fragments of 2 stelae dedicated to *Htpi*<sup>3</sup> and *Wni*<sup>3</sup> (1900, 20, 51, XIb). The style of the stelae suggest an early MK date. The tray is

Horseshoe-form, with a single drainage channel, modelled meats (a leg of beef and head of ox), vegetables and bread, with a cubic chair at the centre back.

At Rifeh, Petrie encountered not only offering-trays but large numbers of "soul-houses". The basis of his dating was the Dendera corpus, specifically the occurrence of *hs*-vases which are dated 6 to 11 dyn., but none in the 12 dyn. (Petrie 1907, 15-6). Lilyquist has pointed to the error in this thinking and together with Williams and Arnold has illustrated an overlap of the pottery corpus with those at Riggeh, Harageh, Lahun, Sedment and Lisht of the 12 dyn. (Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 108-9; Williams 1975, 52, 58, 117ff; Arnold 1988, 106-146). The trays as illustrated by Petrie are all of the Altar-form type (1907, XIV). The examples numbered 12 to 15 were considered to be decadent because their surface detail lessened and their form became rounder. However, "soul-houses" developed out of offering-trays, thereby becoming more complex, quite the opposite of decadence.

Three offering-trays and a "soul-house" were found by Petrie at Ballas. Two of the offering-trays were Slab-form and came from intrusive burials north of the town, the implication being that they were of later date than the 12 dyn. phase of burial (Petrie 1896, 42, XLIV:5, 6). A two storeyed "soul-house" and Horseshoe-form tray were found in the 12 dyn. cemetery at the end of the embankment (1896, XLIV:4, 7).

A large number of offering-trays were found at el-Tarif in the Theban necropolis (Petrie 1909, 3-4, XX-XXI; Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 26, 29-30, XIII, XVI; 1973, 142, 150, LXVIII-LXIX). The majority are of the Horseshoe-form and come variously from pre-reunification to 13 dyn. contexts. Some of the Altar-form trays come from later than 12 dyn. tombs (Tombs N2 and N3 under the *Nb-wnn.f* complex. Petrie 1909, 4,

XX:602, 605, 608).

Excavators have relied largely on Petrie's established corpora for dating their own material (cf. Vandier 1955, 976-7; Kuentz 1981, 245ff; Niwinski 1984, 810-11); if a tray is Altar-form it is assumed that it must be early; if one finds "soul-houses" they must be late. For instance, Mond and Myers at Armant were loath to give the trays they found a 12 dyn. date because they were not consistent with the sequence of development set out by Petrie, and thus suggested that they were later than the Dendera examples because of their "decadence" and certainly not concurrent with "soul-houses" of 12 dyn. date elsewhere (Mond 1937, 59).

However, other criteria have been used with effect (Niwinski 1975, 74-112; 1984, 810). Offering-trays from Elkab have been found in cemeteries dated by means of the cartouches  $\overline{H}^c-k3w-R^c$  and  $Nbw-k3w-R^c$  (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18; Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251). The latter cartouche is indistinct and may read  $Nbw-\overline{h}pr-R^c$ . Faience and alabaster shabtis (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:2), and a type IV "concubine" (Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251), combined with the brick-vault tomb type point towards a 12 dyn. date. At Edfu topographical and archaeological evidence such as tomb type, object types and the presence of the cartouche  $Ny-m3ct-R^c$  also suggest a later rather than earlier date for the trays found there (Michalowski 1950, 62). From the tomb of  $\overline{H}ny$  at Asyut came an Altar-form tray (Wainwright 1926, 160). The burial can be dated by its relationship to the tomb of  $\overline{H}p-df$  in whose courtyard it was sunk, and which contained the cartouche  $\overline{H}pr-k3-R^c$ .

Offering-trays and "soul-houses" have been found outside Egypt, in Nubia, from mortuary and fortress contexts. None of these contexts can be said to be earlier than the 12 dyn. The shapes which are found imitate those found in Egypt, including the Altar-form which have been

found at Kubban (Tomb 110:54. Firth 1927, 68), Buhen (Tomb J42. Randall-McIver 1911, 177), Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, 160, object 31-12-104 and 31-12-105, XC:c) and Uronarti (Dunham 1967, 112, LXIV, fig.4 objects 28-11-253a room 6 block VII, 28-11-265 and 268 room 9 block VII, 28-11-294 room 12 block VII, 28-11-309 room 20 block VIII, 28-12-10 room 41 block VIII, 28-12-332 room 74 block II, 29-1-192 room 114 block III). The contexts of the finds within the fortresses appear in all but one case to be domestic, situated in barracks quarters. The exception came from what, "may have been a Middle Kingdom Temple" (Dunham 1967, 13). Variations of the Horseshoe-form with and without small hut like structures were found at Kubban (Tombs 110:3, 110:46, 110:54. Firth 1927, 56, 59, 67-8), Aniba (Tombs N308, S31, S41. Steindorff 1935, 41, 147, tf.16.b.2; 1937, 168, 174, tf.35.7 and 9) and Semna (Tomb S537. Dunham 1960, 85, 87-8).

### 5.3. MORPHOLOGY.

Petrie's investigation of offering-trays went little further than to suggest dates for the types he found. He did however, make tentative movements towards locational differences when he stated, "We never find here [at Rifeh] the two parallel water channels, which often occur at Dendera, and on those in the Cairo museum from near Erment; that seems to be a more southern type" (1907, 16). The observation is basically correct, but was never taken any further. The trays which he claims to have come from Armant in the Cairo museum have not been located (Mond 1937, 59). Those trays discovered by Mond at Armant are quite distinct from the Dendera and Rifeh examples.

The thoroughness of Petrie's "soul-house" typology leaves little room for improvement, therefore that type of tray will not be discussed in any great detail. Below is a site by site description of tray



morphology from the south northward. The linear morphological trends can be seen in figure 4 which includes the forms, Horseshoe, Plate, Slab, "soul-house" and Altar. Approximately 370 trays were studied. It should be noted that the term terra-cotta, used here and in Chapter Two, applies to objects made of clay, not wheel thrown, and not functional in every day life, in the way pottery vessels were.

#### 5.4. THE SURVEY.

##### 5.4.1. Qubbet el-Hawa.

1. What is described as a perfect model of a tomb with offerings and another similar model were found by Lady Cecil at Aswan in association with tomb 23 (1903, 72). A further model house or tomb was discovered near tomb 29 (1905, 278). All are said to be of coarse red earthenware. None of these objects has been located. Location and dimensions unknown.

2. A Horseshoe-form tray in 2 pieces with a dividing wall pierced by 2 holes, but without drainage channels or food models was found in the vicinity of the MK tombs (excavations of Edel. Personal observation from material stored in the tomb of *S3-rnpwt* I). Many others, apparently of Horseshoe and Altar-form have been found (Niwinski 1975, 112 n.1). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

##### 5.4.2. Elephantine.

An unspecified number of offering-tray fragments described as FIP to MK in date were found in the cemetery areas on Elephantine Island (Kaiser 1973, 90 n.1). None of these are described or illustrated. The fragments from recent excavations indicate that there was an even mix of forms (information supplied by Dr. Seidlmayer).

#### 5.4.3. Edfu.

Of the 11 or so trays found at Edfu the majority are of the Horseshoe-form, a few of Altar-form and various other forms. Most were found in close association with tombs, but a few were found loose in the cemetery areas. The most recent study of offering-trays by Niwinski is based on these trays now in the Varsovie museum, Poland (1975, 74ff).

##### **Horseshoe-form:**

1. Tomb TLIV/LV. L.32 x W.31 x H.5.9 cms. Location unknown. Broken. One small cup and remains of another near the back wall. Remains of 5 parallel drainage channels (Michalowski 1938, 121, 189, XLII:2 no.605).
2. Tomb TVII cemetery NOI. L.32 x W.31 x H.5.9 cms. Location unknown. Broken. One cup in the centre of the tray with meat offerings behind. Remains of 7 parallel drainage channels (Michalowski 1950, 67, 305, XL:2 no.975).
3. Tomb TXXI/XXXIII cemetery NOI. L.32 x W.32 x H.6.5 cms. Location unknown. One cup and the remains of another near the back wall. Modelled breads and ox head in the centre. Eight parallel drainage channels (Michalowski 1950, 84, 305, fig.47, XL:3 no.976).
4. Tomb TXXI/XXXIII. L.18 x W.18 x H.6.5 cms. Location unknown. Broken. All that is distinguishable on the surface of this tray are the positions of 2 cups near the centre and of a single "square" channel (Michalowski 1950, 84, 305, XL:4 no.977).
5. Isolated find. Varsovie 141476. L.34 x W.31.5 x H.6.1 cms. One large cup and remains of another near the back wall. Vegetables, bread, ox head and leg of beef in the centre. Five rough parallel drainage channels (Michalowski 1938, 121, XL:3 no.606; Niwinski 1975, 85, fig.9).

6. Tomb TXXVIII. Varsovie 141475. L.41 x W.18 x H.6.8 cms. Against the back wall is a small booth containing a seat. In front of the booth are meats, vegetables and bread. Against the left side wall are 3 water jars. There are also 2 pairs of deep drainage channels at the front (Michalowski 1950, 82, 306, XL:1 no.979; Niwinski 1975, figs.22-3).

**Altar-form/Field-form:**

7. Tomb TXLIV. JE 68761. L.31 x W.31 x H.6.7 cms. Broken. This tray originally had a spout. Against the back wall is a cubicle entered from the left side. One deep drainage channel from the cubicle to the spout divides the tray in 2. Each half is modelled to represent 9 garden or small cultivation areas in the form of shallow squares. No food offerings were placed on this tray (Michalowski 1938, 122, XLII:4 no.609).

8. Isolated find. L.30 x W.25 x H.11 cms. Location unknown. Remains of a badly broken tray including meat offerings and having 6 parallel drainage channels (Michalowski 1938, 121, XLII:2 no.607).

**Tomb-form:**

9. Isolated find. Varsovie 141477. L.16 x W.17 x H.10 cms. Broken. Model tomb with a double vault (Michalowski 1938, 122, XLII:1 no.610; Niwinski 1975, 109, fig.34).

10. Cemetery NOI. Varsovie 141491. L.31 x W.18.5 x H.15.5 cms. Model tomb having a double vault. The small chamber at the back contains a dais on which is laid a mummiform figure (Michalowski 1950, 306, XLII:1 no.980; Niwinski 1975, 109, fig.35).

**"Soul-house" form:**

11. Isolated find. Varsovie 139502. L.41 x W.60 x H.16 cms. The house structure consists of a pillared courtyard containing water bottles, food offerings and 4 parallel drainage channels. The upper storey is

missing, but a model bed is visible within the back room (Michalowski 1938, 122-3, XLI:2 no.611; Niwinski 1975, 94, figs.20-1).

#### 5.4.4. Hierakonpolis.

Lansing found 3 offering-trays and parts of another within the tombs on "Old Kingdom Hill". All are apparently very similar.

##### Horseshoe-form:

MMA 35.7.52-4. L.37.5 cms. Somewhat squared in shape the trays have small huts against the back walls, to the right of which are stairs onto the roof. To the left are 3 or 4 water jars. In front of the hut are vegetables, loaves and a bound calf. Double "square" drainage channels are at the front edges of the trays (Hayes 1953, 255, fig. 161). It has not been possible to obtain access to the pottery with which these trays were found. Presumably the trays were found in association with the 13 dyn. tomb of *Hr-m-h<sup>c</sup>w.f* rather than the FIP tomb of *Ppy-n-cnh*.

#### 5.4.5. Elkab.

Quibell published 5 trays, of which 3 are Horseshoe-form, 2 are Tomb-form. The offering-trays discovered by Sayce and Somers Clarke are not described, but a number of trays in museums seem likely to have come from these excavations and are Horseshoe-form. Other examples in Cairo and Oxford are Altar-form and have no tomb numbers. A group of 5 trays in the Petrie museum were purchased by Quibell at the site.

##### Horseshoe-form:

1. UCL 18402. L.31 x W.26 x H.10 cms (plate 67:2). The back part of the tray is entirely enclosed with a centre door, forming a hut. Above the door and to the left are 2 small windows providing cleristary

lighting. In front of the door and to either side are modelled vegetables, bread and an ox head. The drainage channels are lightly scored, 4 in number and parallel (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:3; Petrie 1937, 5 no.62?).

2. UCL 18403. L.36 x W.27 x H.9 cms (plate 67:3). Originally this tray had a canopy and 3 pillars at the back, with stairs, still surviving, to the roof. In the court are meat offerings and a small square tank (10 x 7 x 2 cms) against the left front wall. A stand for 2 large jars is against the stairs. There are also 5 short parallel drainage channels (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:4; Petrie 1937, 5 no.59).

3. Elkab. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The tray has only the modelled ox head, leg of beef and vegetables in the midst of 5 parallel drainage channels (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:5).

4. Elkab 93. Ash. E2095. L.29 x W.25.4 x H.7.3 cms (plate 68:1). The tray is divided into 3 sections by a cross wall and a wall between this and the back of the tray. Running from behind and piercing the cross wall are 2 "keyhole" drainage channels. There are no food offerings.

5. Elkab 129. Fitz. E.215.1902. L.32.9 x W.27.5 cms (plate 68:2). Running from the centre back are 7 drainage channels; one down the centre and 6 radiating from the centre back to the sides. Onto these are modelled a leg of beef to the left, an ox head and cucumbers(?) on a plate to the right.

6. Fitz. E.230.1902. L.31.2 x W.27.2 cms (plate 68:3). This tray is essentially the same as the above, except that the disposition of the food offerings is reversed; the leg of beef being on the right and the ox head and plate of cucumbers(?) on the left.

7. UCL 18417. L.34 x W.28 x H.8.5 cms (plate 69:1). At the centre back of the tray is a vaulted booth with a high backed chair below it. To

the left is a table supporting 4 globular jars. Scattered in front of the booth is a headless bound calf, leg of beef, ox head, loaf and onions. A squared "loop" channel drains to the front of the tray. Said to have been bought at Elkab by Quibell (Petrie 1937, 5 no.58).

8. Elkab 37N. Ash. E2094. L.31 x W.32 cms. Relatively plain tray (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, V:4).

**Altar-form:**

9. Elkab. JE 31721. Dimensions unknown. A vaulted roofed hut is at the centre back of the tray, whilst in its courtyard is a bound calf offering.

10. Elkab 158iv. Ash. E2093. L.37.2 x W.25.2 x H.11.6 cms (plate 69:2). The tray has been heavily restored. However, its original equipment included bread, vegetables, cuts of meat including an ox head in the left front corner. Some sort of shelter had stood at the back which has been restored as a canopy with 2 pillars. In front of the shelter is a squared "keyhole" drainage channel leading to the spout. It is possible that this tray is the one referred to from tomb M14 (Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251).

**Tomb-form:**

11. UCL 18400. L.30 x W.25 x H.13 cms. A Horseshoe-form tray with stepped side walls, and a pillared hall at the back with a row of applied clay buttons along the façade, which may represent a tomb façade decorated with funerary cones. There are 2 depressions near the front edge, but no channels running from them (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:1; Petrie 1937, 5 no.64).

12. Elkab 29. UCL 18401. L.42.5 x W.37.5 x H.15 cms (plate 70:1). The structure has 2 vaults at the rear, in front of which is a vaulted entrance. To the left are a leg of beef, onions and an ox head. Slashes on the top of the right wall represent stairs to the roof. A

squared channel drains to the front (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18, V:2).

Several other trays said to come from Elkab are held by the Petrie museum:

1. UCL 18419. L.37 x W.26 x H.7.8 cms (plate 69:3). Altar-form. Food offerings are an ox head, leg of beef and vegetables. The channels are 3 joined T shapes (Purchased at Elkab. Petrie 1937, 4 no.43).
2. UCL 18418. L.29 x W.24 x H.7 cms (plate 70:2). Altar-form. At the back is a booth formed from 2 walls, inside which is a stool and round table. At the front is a square pool with 11 holes for canopy poles, around which are arranged a stand with 2 jars, an ox head, leg of beef, loaf and vegetables (Purchased at Elkab. Petrie 1937, 5 no.60).
3. UCL NN. L.30.3 x W.24 x H.6 cms. Horseshoe-form. Across the back wall are a leg of beef, loaf and onions. A curved double T drainage channel features at the front (Possibly Elkab? Petrie 1937, 4 no.46).
4. UCL 18420. L.31.5 x W.25 x H.5.2 cms (plate 70:3). Plate-form. Towards the back are a complete bound calf offering, a leg of beef, loaf and vegetables. A lightly indicated T channel pierces the front wall (Purchased at Elkab. Petrie 1937, 4 no.47).
5. UCL 18421. L.29.4 x W.24.6 x H.5.1 cms (plate 71:1). Plate-form. Similar to the above (Purchased at Elkab. Petrie 1937, 4 no.48).

Sayce claimed to have found 2 broken terra-cotta "soul-houses" within tomb M12, but no descriptions are available (Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251). The date of Sayce tomb M12 is probably late 12 dyn. (cf. Kemp 1980, 168ff), at least in part, from the evidence of a fertility figure of type IV found in it. Most of the Elkab necropolis has received insufficient publication, and with the wide dispersion of objects, the dating of individual items is virtually impossible. However, the character of the necropolis, along with object types, like the faience shabti (Ash. E3738) and instances of royal names indicate a general 12

dyn. date for its object types (Quibell 1898<sup>b</sup>, 18; Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251; Kemp 1980, 167-8; Bourriau 1988, 97-8 no.80).

#### 5.4.6. Esna.

At least 10 offering-trays are known to have come from Garstang's excavations at Esna. Few of these have, however, been traced, but some are illustrated by Downes (1974, fig.65). Most appear to have been Horseshoe-form, some Slab-form and Altar-form.

##### Horseshoe-form:

1. Esna 37E. LM 1973.1.354. L.27.2 x W.20.8 cms. The tray has at its centre back an ox head, in front of which are a loaf, a long object and a leg of beef. A single "keyhole" drainage channel runs down the middle of the tray (Downes 1974, 93, 118, fig.63; Bienkowski 1986, 48). Pottery in this tomb is a mixture of 12 and 18 dyn. types.
2. Esna 80E. LM 25.11.05.120. L.27.2 x W.20.4 cms. A tray similar to the above is said to have come from this tomb (Downes 1974, 118), but is now lost. Pottery from this tomb covers the period of Amenemhat III to SIP (cf. type 157a, similar to Arnold 1982<sup>b</sup>, Abb.10 no.15).
3. Esna 137E. Ash. E807. L.28 x W.32 x H.5.8 cms (plate 71:2). The tray has a dividing wall behind which are modelled an ox head and leg of beef close to the back wall. A single drainage channel pierces the dividing wall (Downes 1974, 93, 121, fig.65, where it is not assigned a tomb number). Pottery from this tomb is predominantly 12 dyn. but runs into the SIP.
4. Esna 263E. Glasgow '23-33at. L.30.8 x W.26.3 x H.5.5 cms. This tray is not alluded to in the tomb registers, but is clearly marked on the object itself. In form and decoration it is remarkably similar to 137E. The tomb was a family tomb with 5 chambers, one of which contained a meleagrina shell pendant with the cartouche *Hpr-k3-Rc*



(Downes 1979, 59, fig.30). However, pottery is predominantly of SIP types, and it is now impossible to say which part of the tomb the tray came from.

5. Esna 319E. Glasgow '23-33av. L.33.5 x W.23.7 X H.4 cms. At the centre back is an ox head, in front of it is a loaf, to the left are 2 cucumbers and to the right, a leg of beef. A single drainage channel runs down the centre (Downes 1974, fig.65 shows 2 offering-trays from tomb 319E). Tomb 319E also contained 5 chambers, and as with 263E it is not known where the tray originated. The pottery covers the period of Amenemhat III to SIP.

6. Esna. Glasgow '23-33au. L.31 x W.29.2 x H.4.8 cms. Somewhat different from other Esna trays, this example has a bound calf on the left, a leg of beef, loaf and vegetables between a double "cross" drainage channel group.

**Plate-form:**

7. Esna 54E. Man. 3773. H.5.7 x Diam.27.2 cms. Circular with a raised rim all round. Modelled inside are an ox head, leg of beef and a loaf. *The tomb register for 54E has no reference to this tray.* The single piece of pottery can only be described as MK. A cartouche shaped pendant with scroll designs supports this general date (Downes 1974, 66).

**Altar-form:**

8. Esna 249E. CUMAA 1922.914. L.31.1 x W.27.2 x H.4 cms (plate 71:3). A squared tray with a small spout (Downes 1974, 93, fig.65. SAOS neg. E42 left). It has a dividing wall behind which are modelled a leg of beef and an ox head with crescent shaped horns. A single lightly indicated channel drains into the spout. Pottery from tomb 249E is predominantly SIP with a few 12 dyn. types.

**Slab-form:**

9. Esna. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Three slabs of terracotta without tomb numbers were found at Esna (Downes 1974, 93, fig. 65). One oval slab has a "keyhole" drainage channel on either side of which is a small depression. The other oval slab has a "figure-of-eight" channel, also with a depression on either side. The square slab has 2 triangular channels running into each other, again with depressions on either side.

**"Soul-house" form:**

It is possible that parts of at least 2 "soul-houses" were found in the Esna necropolis (Downes 1974, 93, fig.65).

10. SAOS neg. E89/E90 (plate 72:1) shows a "soul-house" with 2 pillars and stairs to the right leading to the roof. A row of cones are in front of the house. Other indistinct items are modelled in the court and on the roof. The court is Altar-form. Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

**5.4.7. Rizeikat.**

Despite the numbers of offering-trays reputed to have come from this necropolis none are published or available for study. All that can be learnt about them is that they were of varying forms with modelled onions, pieces of meat, ox heads and geese (Daressy 1926, 18). The JE lists at least 2 trays, JE 28869 and 28893, the latter being described as round. Dimensions unknown.

**"Soul-house" form:**

Ash. 1890.657. L.29 x W.17 x H.19.9 cms (plates 72:2, 73:1). The "soul-house" was bought by G. J. Chester in 1890 at Rizeikat. It is of 2 storeys, the façade being open and pillared. There are 2 windows on each side on the upper floor and one on either side of the lower

floor. The courtyard is semicircular with 2 parallel drainage channels. The left side wall is made into a staircase up to the roof, which is reveted. On the roof are coarsely modelled food offerings. The model is of a pale buff coloured terra-cotta, with patches of white and blackening.

#### 5.4.8. Gebelein.

Like Rizeikat, the offering-trays from Gebelein are largely unpublished and are mostly unavailable for study. Three trays are known of in the Cairo museum, each being of the Plate-form, a fourth tray of Altar-form was found by Schiaparelli in 1914. A Horseshoe-form tray is also said to have come from Gebelein. A complex "soul-house" is said to have come from this site.

##### Horseshoe-form:

1. Tübingen 1646. L.34 x W.26 cms. The back of the tray is covered by a canopy, with a single pillar in the middle. In front of the pillar are 2 parallel drainage channels. To the left are a leg of beef, vegetables and bread. To the right and against the wall are several water jars. Also on the right is a decapitated bound calf offering (Brunner-Traut 1981, 29, tf.39. Bought 1968).

##### Altar-form:

2. Gebelein. Turin S.16030 (plate 73:2). Dimensions unknown. The back of the tray is closed-off by a structure with 3 doorways. Between the doors are 2 chairs, whilst to the left are water jars in their stand. Legs of beef, and loaves are modelled in the courtyard.

##### Plate-form:

3. Gebelein tomb 2a. JE 54561. Dimensions unknown. Said to be of round Plate-form with a bound calf offering.

4. Gebelein. JE 66853. Dimensions unknown. Similar to the above, but

with a single hole piercing the front wall for drainage.

5. Gebelein. Cairo 3/9/27/1 (also 8/2/15/14?). Dimensions unknown. The tray is of oval shape with a dividing wall, pierced by 3 parallel channels, between which are modelled a loaf, an ox head and leg of beef.

"Soul-house" form:

6. Gebelein. RMO F1901/1.62. L.47 x W.30 x H.27 cms. The "soul-house" is formed by a high enclosure wall square in shape, with the front part open. Within are 4 tall towers each with a staircase to an open door containing a seated figure. In front of the front left tower is a round offering table covered with loaves and cakes. Around this are 5 bowls, an ox head and a goose. In front of the table are 3 parallel drainage channels (Boeser 1910, 1 no.3, IV, XXI:1-2).

#### 5.4.9. Salamieh.

Evidence for tombs at Salamieh comes from various sources, one of which is the Cairo JE. The volume for 1953 contains the entries of 3 offering-trays. The following details are discernible from the catalogue photographs;

Horseshoe-form:

1. Salamieh. JE 89509. Dimensions unknown. Water jars in stands are modelled on the left side wall. Towards the front edge are loaves, vegetables and a leg of beef. There is also a single "square" drainage channel.

2. Salamieh. JE 89510. Dimensions unknown. A small cubicle is against the back wall. To the right are water jars and to the left a bound calf offering with its head severed. Vegetables and round loaves complete the food offerings. At the front edge of the tray is a single square "keyhole" drainage channel.

**Altar-form:**

3. Salamieh. JE 89511. Dimensions unknown. A small vaulted cubicle is at the centre back of the tray. Running from it is a single drainage channel to the spout. On either side of the channel are modelled food offerings, including an ox head.

**5.4.10. Armant.**

The offering-trays which are known to have come from Armant were found by Mond and Myers in tombs 1213 and 1214 exclusively. They were found in large numbers within these 2 tombs, both complete and fragmentary. It appears that the vast majority originated from tomb 1214. The types found are mainly Plate-form, very few of Horseshoe-form or Altar-form, and none of the "soul-house" or Tomb-form categories.

**Horseshoe-form:**

1. Tomb 1214. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A squared tray was found complete. A leg of beef, loaves, vegetables and a well modelled bound calf made up the offerings. In front of them are 3 parallel drainage channels (Mond 1937, 59, 63, XXII:6 middle right).

**Altar-form:**

2. LM 1973.1.352. L.42.9 x W.36.5 x H.8.5 cms. A well made tray in Liverpool museum is said on the catalogue card to have come from Armant. It consists of a cubicle against the back wall, a square sunken pool in the centre, which has a small seat behind it and 2 parallel drainage channels running from it to the spout. To the left of the pool are modelled loaves and a bound calf offering, with a well modelled ox head in the front left corner (Bienkowski 1986, 31).

**Plate-form:**

This form of tray proliferates at this site. All are basically the same, having modelled loaves, vegetables and meat offerings. A

distinctive feature of the trays is the bound calf, which in most cases is relatively well rendered. Occasionally, the calf is depicted with its head severed. Trays differ from each other in the number and design of drainage channels. Of the 26 known trays, a few will suffice as illustrations of these differences.

3. Armant 1214. LM 1973.1.366. L.26.6 x W.23.9 x H.4.6 cms. Round, with a high wall all round. To the left is a complete bound calf offering, a leg of beef and a loaf. To the front is a small T shaped channel. The tray is of a dense hard buff clay with traces of white wash (Mond 1937, XXII:6 top right; Bienkowski 1986, 31).

4. Armant 1213. LM 1973.1.356. L.29 x W.24.3 x H.3 cms. Round plate with no rim. At the back is a bound calf offering, the head completely severed, a loaf, onions and leg of beef. To the front is a small T shaped channel. The tray is in a buff clay, heavily straw tempered (Mond 1937, XXII:6 centre top; Bienkowski 1986, 31).

5. Armant 1214. LM 1973.1.351. L.25.5 x W.20.6 x H.4.3 cms. Oval with a rim which curves inwards. To the left is a bound calf offering, to the right onions with a loaf and leg of beef. To the front is a T shaped channel. The tray is of coarse orange clay, straw tempered and with a red wash (Mond 1937, XXII:5 bottom right; Bienkowski 1986, 31).

6. Armant 1214:8. LM 1973.1.355. L.30 x W.26.1 x H.3 cms. Oval with a flat topped wall. To the left is a bound calf offering with a slash through its neck. In the centre and to the right are a loaf, 2 piles of onions and a leg of beef. To the front is a T shaped channel. The tray is of a pale buff clay, straw tempered and with a light red wash (Mond 1937, XXII:5 bottom left; Bienkowski 1986, 31).

Fragments of other trays from tomb 1214 may also be of this form as may the fragments of at least 13 trays from tomb 1213 (Mond 1937, 56, 63). Other Armant offering-trays are Cairo JE 57541 (oval), JE

57542 and JE 57543 (both round). Dimensions unknown. Two trays had a single linear channel (Mond 1937, XXII:5 top left, XXII:6 centre left). The *htp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula on the stela from 1213 is consistent with that in use from the time of Senwosret I, although the style is somewhat provincial, whilst the pottery may be of later date (cup type 10. Bourriau 1981, 19 no.7; 69 no.128a-b; 1988, 135 no.135a-b). This would seem to indicate that the trays belong to the 12 dyn.

#### 5.4.11. Theban necropolis.

##### A. Ramesseum tombs.

1. Magazine 32. Man. 1863. L.39 x W.26 x H.7 cms (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 4).

##### B. Deir el-Bahri.

2. UCL 8820-8822. Several fragments of offering-tray are said to have come from the Deir el-Bahri complex of Neb-hepet-Re. The pieces are marked in blue chalk DB XI and are mentioned in the EES distribution list 1907 (8). The largest group, UCL 8822, W.45.6 cms (plate 74:1) are from a Horseshoe-form tray in 7 surviving pieces. These have on their surface bread, onions, a leg of beef and 2 bound calf offerings. This tray is exceptional for its size, larger than any other tray known to the author. This fact argues well for the royal provenance which the EES distribution list suggests.

3. An offering-tray is said to have come from pit tomb 22 (Thomas 1966, 23). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The excavators of this tomb do not mention the tray in their publications. It is possible, therefore that other trays existed, but are not mentioned in reports.

### C. Asasif.

#### Horseshoe-form:

4. Carter location 16. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The surface is without food offerings, but has a double "cross" shaped drainage channel (Carter 1912, 28, XVIII:16).

#### Field-form:

5. Carter location 24. Cairo 14/7/17/1-2. Dimensions unknown. Two deep square trays may best be described as Field-form. Each is divided into garden squares and have holes along the top of the enclosure wall to take the poles of a canopy (Carter 1912, 54, XLVII:2).

### D. el-Tarif.

A large number of offering-trays have been found in the el-Tarif area. Petrie found 23 in area A, of which 15 are Horseshoe-form, 4 are Altar-form, and 4 Plate-form. Area B yielded 7 of Horseshoe-form, 2 rectangular, 5 Plate-form and 1 Slab-form (1909, 3, XX-I). Two small tomb groups N2 and N3 were found under the *Nb-wnn.f* temple, and yielded Altar-form trays (1909, 4, XX:602, 605, 608). Characteristic of el-Tarif trays is the tendency to be Horseshoe or Plate-form and the lack of food offerings. In place of food is a variety of drainage channel numbers and forms. A few will suffice as illustrations.

#### Horseshoe-form:

6. B42. L.33 x W.25.2 cms. Location unknown. Two parallel "keyhole" shaped drainage channels (Petrie 1909, XXI:612). The pottery is predominantly 11 dyn. with some items ranging as late as Amenemhat II (pottery type 324. Bourriau 1981, 61 no.108).

7. A6. L.36.6 x W.26.4 cms. Location unknown. A "cross" shaped drainage channel (1909, XXI:616). Pottery types are 11 dyn. (pottery type 429. Arnold 1968<sup>c</sup>, Abb.7).



8. B33. UCL 18408. L.33.5 x W.26 x H.8 cms (plate 74:2). A double T shaped drainage channel (1909, XXI:626). Pottery types range from the 11 dyn. to the reign of Amenemhat II (pottery type 102. Bourriau 1981, 69 no.128b).

9. B20. L.33.6 x W.26.4 cms. Location unknown. A double "cross" shaped drainage channel (1909, XXI:628). Pottery types appear to be Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (globular jar 417. Bourriau 1981, 66 no.119).

10. Tomb N4 shaft 3. L.35 x W.27.5 cms. Location unknown. A leg of beef and an ox head (?) are near the back. In front of them is an M shaped drainage channel (Arnold 1973, 142, LXVIIIa:989).

11. Abu Majit. L.31 x W.18.5 cms. Location unknown. An M shaped drainage channel with 2 horizontal channels cutting across (Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 30 no.I 2120, XVIa). Probably 11 to 12 dyn.

12. B20. L.33 x W.18.6 cms. Location unknown. The tray is somewhat rectangular in shape. On it are 2 parallel "keyhole" drainage channels joined by 2 horizontal channels (Petrie 1909, XXI:611). Date as for no.9.

**Altar-form:**

13. N2. L.34.8 x W.27.6 cms. Location unknown. An ox head is modelled at the centre of the back wall. A leg of beef and vegetables are placed to the right and left respectively. The tray is dominated by the double T shaped drainage channel (1909, 4, XX:608).

14. N3. L.34.8 x W.27 cms. Location unknown. At the centre back is a small ox head. To the left are vegetables, a leg of beef and a loaf. The tray is without drainage channels (1909, 4, XX:602).

15. N3. L.34.8 x W.19.2 cms. Location unknown. Broken. An ox head and loaves are modelled on the left of the tray. The remains of a single drainage channel can be seen down the middle (1909, 4, XX:605). The N group of tombs, except N3 do not preserve any pottery (1909, XX:603).

The pottery in N3 may be dated early to mid 12 dyn. (cf. Bourriau 1981, 70 no.132).

**Plate-form:**

16. B24. L.31.2 x W.25.8 cms. Location unknown. Oval Plate-form with a single "loop" drainage channel which cuts across a dividing wall (1909, XXI:619). Possibly 11 dyn.? (pottery type 448. Arnold 1968<sup>c</sup>, Abb.7).

17. A13. L.27.6 x W.24 cms. Location unknown. Oval to round Plate-form with flattened centre. The base of the plate has a double T shaped drainage channel (1909, XXI:624). No pottery.

18. Abu Majit. L.36.5 x W.32.8 cms. Location unknown. Oval to round plate. Three channels converge at the front of the plate and pierce through. The channels are joined by a roughly incised line across their ends by the back wall. A circular depression is also to be seen on either side of the 2 outside channels (Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 29 no.I 2119, XVIb). Probably 11 to 12 dyn.

**Slab-form:**

19. B cemetery. L.36 x W.32.4 cms. Location unknown. The slab is round to oval and has a complex A shaped design with radiating channels from it (Petrie 1909, XXI:617).

**"Soul-house" form:**

20. Saff el-Qsasiye subsidiary tomb N1.1 and N1.2. Parts of a "soul-house" furnished with a chair and staircase to the roof were found (Arnold 1973, 142, LXIXc, nos.II.2792 and 2881).

**E. Dra abu el-Naga.**

21. An Altar-form tray with a bound calf offering and water jars, Cairo cat.1895, has all round the top of the enclosure wall holes to take the poles of a canopy. Dimensions unknown.

#### F. Thebes.

Under this general heading the following trays may be noted,

1. MMA tomb 5A R. JE 58763. Dimensions unknown. "Soul-house" from the redim.
2. MMA tomb 5A R6. JE 58764. Dimensions unknown. Offering-tray.
3. JE 27262. Dimensions unknown. Plate-form tray with a bound calf and other offerings, with a single drainage channel.
4. JE 27364. Dimensions unknown. Horseshoe-form tray (plate 75:1) with a kiosk to the left and a bound calf offering.
5. JE 48348. Dimensions unknown. Horseshoe-form tray with an ox head at the centre back, with other offerings in front and 3 parallel drainage channels.
6. Glasgow '03-260a. Plate-form tray. L.25.3 x W.21.2 x H.4.6 cms. Foods include a bound calf, leg of beef, vegetables and a loaf, accompanied by a T shaped drainage channel.

#### 5.4.12. Ballas.

The cemetery of Ballas yielded at least 4 or 5 trays.

##### Horseshoe-form:

1. Portico tomb, Dyke area. L.37.8 x W.24 cms. Location unknown. An ox head is by the centre back wall. In front are 2 parallel drainage channels. Placed between the channels from left to right are a cucumber(?), a loaf and a leg of beef (Petrie 1896, 8, XLIV:7). Probably 11 to 12 dyn.

##### Slab-form:

2. Two very similar slabs came from tomb vaults in the northern town area. Each is roughly oval with 2 round depressions at one end and one or 2 channels from these to the bottom end (1896, 8, XLIV:5-6). Trays, Brus. E1939 (plate 75:2. L.23.4 x W.19.2 x H.4.1 cms) and Man. 4529

(L.25 x W.20), although similar do not correspond exactly with Petrie's diagrams. That from Brussels for instance, has a finger groove all round its outer edge which is not indicated by Petrie. 12 dyn.?

"Soul-house" form:

3. Dyke area. Location unknown. A tomb is said to have contained a terra-cotta house (1896, 8, XLIV:4. Approximate width 26 cms). Of two storeys, the house is mounted by stairs on the left side to the roof. Both floors have open fronts and a pillar. Modelled food and jars are placed against the left and right walls. A square depression in the centre of the court has a single drainage channel. Probably 12 dyn.

5.4.13. Dendera.

The trays from the Dendera necropolis appear to be of the Altar, Horseshoe and Plate-forms. One single example may be a Slab-form tray. Of the trays found by Petrie 15 are illustrated. However, it is known that Fisher in 1917 found 302 (Slater 1974, 301). There do not appear to be any "soul-houses" and in detail the trays are quite different from the Theban corpus. Slater has classified the Dendera trays into 8 groups (1974, 302-9). A rough sequence date has also been suggested; OT1-2 corresponds to period A-N, OT3-5 to a period later than A-N, OT4-6 are of period Z (Slater 1974, 311-4). In dynastic terms this means that trays were found over the period 6 to 12 dyn. Period N begins in the reign of Senwosret I, whilst period Z is covered by the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (Slater 1974, 351). It would seem from this that Plate-form trays are the oldest, Horseshoe-form with a cross wall next, Horseshoe-form trays without walls are then followed by Altar-form trays in the 12 dyn.

### Horseshoe-form:

1. Dendera. Edin. 1898.382.64. L.28 x W.22.8 cms (plate 76:1). Four modelled bottles are against the left wall. In front of them is a leg of beef. At the back of the tray is a rounded hut with a roughly shaped human figure seated within. In front of the booth are 4 round loaves. To the right are meat cuts including the body and head of a bound calf offering (Petrie 1900, 26, XIX:1). Type OT6 (after Slater 1974, 306, 314, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).
2. Dendera 325. L.37.8 x W.25.8 cms. Location unknown. Elongated horseshoe shape without any surface detail except for a cross wall 19.8 cms from the back, through which are pierced 2 drainage channels. The tray was found associated with tomb 325 of *Mrī*. Petrie's class E (1900, 26, XIX:3). Type OT2-3 (after Slater 1974, 303-4, 312, dated FIP).
3. Dendera. L.35.4 x W.28.2 cms. Location unknown. At the centre back is a cube seat. To its right are an ox head, 6 loaves and to the left, a leg of beef, a round loaf and onions. A tall stand is in front of the seat. About 10 cms from the front of the tray is a cross wall pierced by 2 parallel drainage channels (Petrie 1900, 26, XIX:7). Type OT4 (after Slater 1974, 304, 314, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).
4. Dendera. L.39 x W.33 cms. Location unknown. At the centre back is a semicircular seat. In front of it are an ox head, leg of beef, cucumbers and bread. About 15 cms from the front of the tray is a cross wall which is pierced by a single "loop" channel (1900, 26, XIX:8). Type OT3-4 (after Slater 1974, 304, 314, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).
5. Dendera 549. L.37.2 x W.30 cms. Location unknown. At the centre back is a throne seat with a high back. In front of it and covering

the centre of the tray are onions, a leg of beef, an ox head, a cucumber and loaves. A single drainage channel is near the front edge. The tray is said to come from tomb 549 of *Htpi*<sup>2</sup>. Petrie's class F (1900, 26, XIX:13). Type OT4? (after Slater 1974, 304, 314, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).

6. Dendera 351. Man. 3253 L.37.2 x W.31.8 x H.6 cms. Grouped in a row across the back wall are, from left to right, a leg of beef, an ox head, onions, a loaf(?) and a cucumber. Half way along the length of the tray is a cross wall pierced by 2 short parallel grooves, which lead into a square "keyhole" channel, which in turn has 2 parallel channels to the front edge (1900, 26, XIX:11). Type OT3? (after Slater 1974, 304, 312, dated FIP).

Altar-form:

7. Dendera. L.29.4 x W.20.4 cms. Location unknown. Mounted on a *htp*-like platform at the back of the tray is a semicircular seat. Also on the platform are an ox head and leg of beef. Near the front edge and spout are projecting side walls, which do not meet (1900, 26, XIX:2). Type OT7 (after Slater 1974, 306, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).

8. Dendera. Brus. E1938. L.29.6 x W.25.2 x H.8.7 cms. The tray has been heavily restored on the right side and at the spout. However, situated at the back is a rounded booth. To the left are 4 round loaves and 4 long items at right angles to the wall. Type OT7?.

Plate-form:

9. Dendera. L.30 x W.23.4 cms. Location unknown. A cube seat is placed against the back wall. In front of it are an ox head, leg of beef, onions and a loaf. Near the front of the tray is a cross wall which is pierced with a single "loop" channel, which in turn pierces through the front wall (1900, 26, XIX:9). Type OT2 (after Slater 1974, 303,

312, dated FIP).

**Slab-form:**

10. Dendera. L.21 x W.22 cms. Location unknown. The square slab has raised side walls all round. Two shallow rectangular depressions near one edge are for the liquid libation. Petrie's class D (1900, 26, XIX:15). Type OT7? (after Slater 1974, 306, 351, dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat III).

Dendera trays as discussed by Slater are shown to cover the entire FIP to the end of the 12 dyn. Slater's suggestion that Plate-form trays are exclusively FIP in date needs to be tempered by evidence from other sites which indicate the form more as an 11 dyn. phenomenon within the Theban sphere of influence.

*Others trays include:*

1. Man. 3256. L.42 x W.31 x H.7 cms. Horseshoe-form (Petrie 1900, XIX: 10).
2. Man. 4402. L.30 x W.24.5 x H.6 cms (unpublished, not seen).

**5.4.14. Hu.**

The cemeteries at Hu have yielded only a few items.

**Plate-form:**

1. Tomb W70. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The better preserved example is Plate-form which nearly merges into a Horseshoe-form. The tray consists of a small rounded booth on the right side near the front. At the back are the remains of 4 jars. Scattered in front of the booth are vegetables and loaves, with an ox head against the left wall and a leg of beef nearby. At the front edge of the tray are 2 deep depressions around which is a low wall pierced along the top to hold the poles of a canopy. A single drainage channel curves from the booth to the pool (Petrie 1901, 43, XXV).

**"Soul-house" form:**

2. Hu Y369. UCL 18411. L.24 x W.19 x H.9.5 cms (plate 74:3). The "soul-house" is broken but enough remains to give an impression of its original appearance. The building is partitioned at the back by a wall, giving access on the right to a small room which contains a bed complete with head-rest. The back and right walls have intact grooves in the top edge which would indicate that only the inner partition and left wall supported a roof. In the centre of the court is a single pillar. At the front left are the remains of 3 steps leading to the roof. No food models were found.

3. A further "soul-house" was found by Capart in pieces and which appeared to contain 10 terra-cotta figures seated at a meal, with 2 tables for food and drink (p. 87; Capart 1927, 47-8, fig.2). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

**5.4.15. Mostagedda.**

1. Cemetery 1200. L.8.4 cms. Location unknown. Part of an offering-tray was found with surface modelling (Brunton 1937, LXII:10).

Probably FIP.

2. Tomb 721. L.22.4 x W.24 x H.7.2 cms. Location unknown. The tray is rectangular, possibly Altar-form (1937, 102, LXIII:11). At the back appears to be a cube chair, with an ox head to its right. Other foods include onions. All the foods are placed on a raised area round the tray. Also on the platform are small cups at each corner. Probably FIP.

**5.4.16. Matmar.**

1. Cemetery 300. L.19 x W.23 cms. Location unknown. Part of an offering-tray was found loose (Brunton 1948, 38). It has a groove



round the edge and 2 circular depressions in the centre. Probably FIP.

2. Tomb 1200. Part of another rough tray was found in the fill (Brunton 1948, 39). Probably FIP.

3. Cemetery 1300. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Terra-cotta slab shaped like a *h̄tp*-table (Brunton 1948, 36, XXV:16). Probably FIP.

#### 5.4.17. Abydos.

Despite the size of the MK cemetery groups at Abydos, relatively few trays are known. This may be due to the amount of turning-over the site has suffered in ancient and modern times, and of course, trays may have been transported elsewhere for sale. The shape predominant at Abydos is Plate-form.

##### Horseshoe-form:

1. Abydos. SAOS E6355. L.29.5 x W.25.5 x H.9.3 cms (plate 77:1). A rounded booth is against the back wall, with 2 holes for lighting. To the left is a table with 4 water jars and a quern to the right. A leg of beef, an ox head and a bird(?) are to the left, onions are in the centre and loaves are on the right of the tray. The front edge, which is closed off by a wall, is pierced with a double T shaped channel. The tray comes from Garstang's excavations but has with it no information other than that it came from Abydos. Probably 12 dyn.

##### Altar-form:

2. Tomb 710(?). L.24.6 x W.21.6 cms. Location unknown. Grouped across the back of the tray are a leg of beef, an ox head, a loaf and a bird with outstretched wings. Two tanks are positioned either side of the spout with a channel each draining into one at the spout. Between the tanks are an incised table supporting 2 *h̄s*-vases and a square object (Petrie 1925, 11, XXVIII). 12 dyn.

**Plate-form:**

3. el-Amrah. Ash. 1933.1413. H.7 x Diam.22.3 cms (plate 77:2). The bound calf, ox head, leg of beef, vegetables, water jars and loaves are modelled on the inner surface of an irregular plate. At the front is a single hole pierced through as a drainage channel. The tray is said to come from el-Amrah but is without any further information. 11 to 12 dyn.

4. Abydos. Dublin 1920.293. L.26.5 x W.20.9 cms. Oval with a bound calf offering to the left, a leg of beef, loaf and onions to the right. In front is a T shaped channel. The tray was obtained from Garstang along with items from Abydos. Although not marked as such, Abydos appears a logical provenance.

5. Abydos. Bolton A231.1968. Dimensions unknown. Oval tray virtually identical with the last. Obtained by the W. H. Lever collection (on loan) with items from Abydos, which is its suggested provenance.

6. Abydos. Man. 5109. L.42 x W.27.5 x H.10.3 cms. Oval shaped with holes along the top of the wall. Modelled offerings include a bound calf. A single short channel pierces through the front wall. Obtained with objects from Garstang's Abydos excavations of 1909.

**"Soul-house" form:**

7. Tomb D102. L..30 x W..39 x H..18 cms. The house has a semicircular court from the right side of which are stairs to the roof. The house itself is solid with a door in its left side, facing the stairs. A small canopied area lies at the back. It is not clear what offerings are modelled in the court (Peet 1913, 24, IX:3). 12 dyn.

8. Tomb 514 A'08. Glasgow '23-33as. L.70.5 x W.33.8 x H.31.8 cms (plate 76:2). The house is rectangular and missing its roof. In front of it is a semicircular court with offerings. These include a table with water jars on the left, a bed with a head-rest on the right. The

middle area is taken up with a leg of beef, onions and loaves. The front of the structure is flat except for a doorway in relief. Inside is a cube-like chair at the back and a bed on the left wall. A rectangular window is modelled in relief on the right side, whilst a simple hole suffices in the other 2 walls (SAOS neg. A259). The house was found by Garstang in 1908 (Snape 1986, 267).

#### 5.4.18. el-Minsha.

A single Horseshoe-form tray is known to have come from this site and is entered in the JE of 1931 under the number JE 54576. It has offerings modelled on its surface. Other than these few details, nothing else is known of the tray. Dimensions unknown.

#### 5.4.19. Rifeh.

The type of tray at Rifeh is predominantly the "soul-house". In the region of 150 or so were found, in sharp contrast with 15 or so offering-trays. All trays from Rifeh are of the Altar-form (except for one dubious example) and are characterised by 2 square tanks, occasionally only one.

##### Altar-form:

1. Rifeh. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The tray is crudely made and is almost a slab. Near the back is an ox head and some unidentified objects. The majority of the tray is taken up by the 2 rectangular tanks. A channel from each converges into the spout (Petrie 1907, 16, XIV:2).

2. Rifeh. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. The tray has 3 cups placed on the walls, with scars of at least 5 others. These are one at each corner and others evenly spaced between. An ox head is by the back right corner with some cucumbers(?) in front. There are no

drainage channels (1907, 16, XIV:4).

3. Bristol H471. L.21.5 x W.17.5 cms. Part of a tray with an ox head to the left, a leg of beef in the middle and onions to the right. In front of these are 2 tank depressions (1907, 16, XIV:7).

4. Man. 4378. L.26.5 x W.25.5 x H.6.5 cms. The tray has to the left an ox head, a row of onions, leg of beef and loaves. The 2 tanks in this example have 4 post holes round each for the canopy. A channel from each depression drains into the spout (1907, 16, XIV:8).

5. Brus. E3180. L.32.1 x W.33.9 x H.7.2 cms (plate 77:3). The tray is similar to the above (1907, XIV:9).

6. Edin. 1907.713.4. L.29.3 x W.29.3 cms. An ox head, onions and meat cuts are placed in the back left corner. The middle of the tray has 2 square tanks with a channel from each running to the spout (1907, 16, XIV:11).

7. Bristol H470. L.28.7 x W.27.5 cms. The tray is similar to the above.

8. BM 68811. L.24 x W.25 cms (plate 78:1). The tray has a square tank in the middle from which a deep groove runs to the spout. Modelled in the back right corner are an ox head, leg of beef, and vegetables (1907, 16, XIV:12).

9. Tomb 7. UCL 18410. L.33 x W.29 x H.15.5 cms (plate 78:2). The tray is a transitional phase between offering-tray and "soul-house". It has at the back a tall booth with a chair inside. Parts of the side walls of the tray are higher and with scars on the top where the roof had been. In front of the booth are modelled cucumbers and meat cuts with the scars of 6 pillars. Near the centre front is a square tank with a single channel running to the spout (1907, XVI:7).

10. Said to be from Rifeh. UCL NN. L.34.5 x W.28.5 x H.5.4 cms (plate 78:3). The tray although Altar-form, has rounded corners like nos.14-

15 of pl.XIV. A table for 4 jars lies across the back left corner. Across the back are a leg of beef, an ox head, a bound calf, and a loaf. Vegetables and bread are placed next to the spout which has 2 parallel drainage channels.

11. Bristol H472. L.34.3 x W.27.8 cms. An Altar-form tray with rounded corners has a "keyhole" tank and drainage channel to the spout. Food offerings are lightly incised (1907, XIV:15).

Other trays include:

1. Man. 4379. L.27.5 x W.27 x H.7.5 cms. Altar-form.

2. Man. 4380. L.32.5 x W.23 x H.4.8 cms. Altar-form.

**Horseshoe-form:**

14. Fitz. E.45.1907. L.21 x W.28 cms (plate 79:1). Said to be from Rifeh tomb L///? or ///7?. However, some confusion appears to accompany the register entry of this item. The provenance is given as "certainly Rifeh", presumably because it was entered at the same time as the "soul-houses". By comparison with 2 items from Elkab it seems more plausible that this tray originated from Quibell's work at Elkab. An ox head is placed at the centre back, with a leg of beef and a loaf at the centre. A group of 4 superimposed M shaped channels cover the entire surface of the tray.

**"Soul-house" form:**

In the region of 150 "soul-houses" were found at Rifeh sharing a common form of a courtyard, usually Altar-form, with a pillared facade. The "soul-houses" may be of relatively simple or elaborate form. Petrie distinguished 14 variants labelled A to N, having a variety of details in various combinations (Petrie 1907, 16-20, XXIId).

Type A: shelter across the back wall with pillared portico, flat roof, Altar-form courtyard with square tank.

Man. 4372 (1907, XV:5), Man. 4376 (1907, XV:106).

Type B: shelter formed from a pillared portico, roof with revetment, with or without stairs to the roof, Altar-form court with square tank having holes for poles round it.

BMFA 07.551a (1907, XV:31; Hoffman 1988, 91 no.91),

Edin. 1907.713.4a, MMA 07.231.11 (1907, XV:86),

Bristol H475, Man. 4375, Brus. E3175 (1907, XV:100).

Type C: hut/booth under a pillared portico, Altar-form court with square tank sometimes with holes for poles round it.

Fitz. P.276 (1907, XVI:21), Man. 4373 (1907, XVI:1).

Type D: house formed by 3 doorways and a portico in front, roof with revetment and 2 air vents, minimal Altar-form court with little indication of a tank.

Man. 4374 (1907, XVIA:151), Man. 4381 (1907, XVI:12),

Brus. E3177 (1907, XVIA:122).

Type E: house with 2 or 3 doorways and a portico in front, roof with 2 air vents and the revetment between, Altar-form court with square tank sometimes holes for poles round it, modelled food in the court.

BMFA 07.550 (1907, XVIA:13; Lacovara 1988, 108 no.41),

Ash. E3899 (1907, XVIA:25), Chicago (ex. MMA 07.231.32),

Macclesfield 1954.77 (1907, XVIA:98; David 1980,50),

JE 38970, Man. 4383 (1907, XX:18), Man. 4384, Brus. E3176  
(1907, XVIA:19).

Type F: house formed from 2 to 5 separate chambers at the back of the court and a portico in front, flat roof, no stairs, Altar-form court with minimal tank.

CUMAA Z.17396 (1907, XVIIIA:55), Man. 4371 (1907, XVII:69).

Type G: house with a portico, roof with a revetment across the air vents forming a small room on the roof, Altar-form court with square

tank.

Brus. E3178 (1907, XVIIIA:85).

Type H: house with 2 or 3 doorways and a portico in front, roof with 2 air vents and 3 revetments between them, forming an upper storey, Altar-form court with square tank.

Ash. E811, UCL 10711 (1907, XVIIIA:121), Bristol H477 (1907, XVIIIA:153), Man. 4365 (1907, XVII:35), Man. 4389.

Type J: house with portico, sometimes 2 storeys high, roof with 2 air vents across the whole roof, each with its own revetment, Altar-form court with minimal tank.

Ash. E3902 (1907, XVIII:42), MMA 07.231.10 (1907, XVIIIIA:71), Man. 4388 (1907, XVIIIIA:4).

Type K: house with none or 2 doorways, at least one door roughly drawn on the terra-cotta to indicate it is closed, roof flat with no vents, rough Altar-form court with minimal tank.

Ash. E3901 (1907, XVIIIIA:16), Man. 4387 (1907, XVIII:80).

Type L: house with 2 or 3 doorways, stairs to an upper floor, no vents, furniture modelled in the court; sometimes the house has a portico on both storeys, in a terraced effect, Altar-form court with minimal tank.

Bristol H478 (1907, XVIII:44), Ash. E3903, JE 38969,  
Ash. E3904 (1907, XVIII:118), Man. 4357 (1907, XVIII:97),  
Man. 4385 (1907, XX:41), Man. 4386 (1907, XVIIIIA:59).

Type M: house with portico and 2 storeys, high enclosure wall, furniture modelled in the court, solid construction, almost square court with little indication of the tank.

American Museum of Natural History (ex MMA 07.231.31. 1907, XVIIIIB:22), Ash. E818 (1907, XVIIIIB:32), Fitz. E.48.1907 (1907, XIX:79), Man. 4358.

Type N: house similar to type M, the enclosure wall has 4 stripes along it, furniture modelled in the court.

MMA NN (lost. 1907, XVIIIIB:103), Ash. E814 (1907, XVIIIIB:119), Man. 4359 (1907, XIX:77), Man. 4360 (1907, XIX:58), Man. 4361.

Unnumbered: fragments and types unknown.

UCL NN (1907, XX), UCL NN (1907, XXII), Ash. E813, Ash. E822, Ash. E826, Ash. E3898, Ash. E3900, Macclesfield 1855.77, 1856.77, Bristol H476, 479, Man. 4397 (1907, XXII), Man. 4398 (1907, XXII), Man. 4403, Man. 4362 (1907, XXII), Man. 4363, Man. 4366 (1907, XXII), Man. 4367 (1907, XX:160), Man. 4369, Man. 4390a-c, Man. 4394 (1907, XXI:122), Man. 4396b.

#### 5.4.20. Asyut.

At least 24 offering-trays from Asyut are known of but few are published. Of these all but one are Altar-form and in most cases share a common feature of tanks or cups in the front corners. From Hogarth's excavation notes it can be seen that his tombs XII, XIII, XIV, XVIII, XXVII, XXXII, XXXV, XL, XLVII and LI contained complete or fragmentary trays. In addition trays held by the British Museum are from tombs XIV, XXVI, XXXIV and XXXVI.

#### Altar-form:

1. Tomb XIV? BM 46621-2. L.19.5 x W.15 cms (plate 79:2). The tray is rather flat at the back but has clear walls in the area of the spout. A square grooved object is placed at the centre back (a cushion?). One cup in the right front corner survives, whilst a second in the rear left corner is represented by a scar. The fragments of the other 2 corners are missing, but it is safe to assume that there had been a



cup in each corner. Two parallel "keyhole" channels run to the spout. The excavation report claims that a tray was found in tomb XIV. However, the object itself appears to be marked XVI. Tomb XVI is not listed as yielding a tray or fragments thereof. Tomb XIV is dated 11 dyn. (p. 37).

2. Tomb XXXIV. BM 46617. L.24.5 x W.27 cms (plate 79:3). The spout from this tray is missing. No food items are modelled on the surface. Instead a square shape with a spout is placed against the back wall, like an Altar-form within an Altar-form. Probably 11 or 12 dyn.

3. Tomb XXXVI. BM 46616. L.32.6 x W.26.7 cms (plate 80:1). Part of the back of the tray and spout are missing. At the centre of the back is an ox head. To the left are conical loaves, to the right a leg of beef, and near the spout, onions. A groove made by a finger runs all round the tray at the base of the wall. Near the centre of the tray is a large ingot-shaped object. Probably 11 or 12 dyn.

4. Unnumbered. BM 46615. L.28.8 x W.22.8 cms (plate 80:2). The greater part of the centre is missing. Across the back are 3 or 4 freestanding jars. In front are an ox head, onions and bread. In the front corners are tanks formed by shallow walls.

5. Unnumbered. BM 47372. L.28.3 x max.W.20.6 cms (plate 81:1). Despite the total loss of the right side, the tray clearly has a spout and was ornamented on each corner by a small cup. At the centre back is an ox head. The left side preserves a leg of beef, conical and shaped loaves and onions. A single channel runs to the spout.

6. Tomb TI of *Hny*. JE 50041. L.30 x W.25.8 cms. The tray is well preserved and full of modelled foods such as an ox head at the centre of the back wall, cuts of meat in the centre and to the left, onions and loaves. Near the centre is a modelled *hs*-vase with a spout. Down the right side is a long feather-like object. The front corners are

separated from the main body of the tray by low walls forming tanks from which issue 2 drainage channels, which along with a centre channel drain into the spout (Wainwright 1926, 161, fig.1). The *ḥtp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula on the coffin is consistent with a late 11 to early 12 dyn. date. The pottery types (1926, figs.2-8) support this date (Arnold 1968c, Abb.1 nos.3-4 el-Tarif style).

7. Tomb 14 of *Wpw3wt-m-ḥ3t*. L.17 x W.16 cms. Location unknown. The following details may be discerned from the illustration; 2 cups modelled in the centre, tanks in the front corners formed by low walls, 2 drainage channels from the centre and from the tanks drain into the spout (Chassinat 1911, 164, XXXIV:1). Dated late 11 to early 12 dyn. (p. 35).

8. Asyut. Cairo 20/10/17/22. Dimensions unknown. A bound calf offering is seen by the back wall. With it are meats and vegetables. The front corners form 2 square tanks with low walls, with access to the spout.

9. Asyut. JE 39109. Dimensions unknown. The tray has a cup in each corner including the front corners which also form square tanks. The central area is occupied by an ox head, leg of beef, onions and bread (Niwinski 1975, fig. 13).

10. Asyut. Turin S.9179 (plate 81:2). Dimensions unknown. The rear has a raised semicircular platform on which are modelled a leg of beef, loaves and vegetables. The front corners are made into square tanks by low walls draining into the spout (Found in 1908 by Schiaparelli).

11. Asyut. Turin S.10648 (plate 82:1). Dimensions unknown. The corners of this tray are rounded. An ox head is placed against the back wall. Clustered in the middle of the tray are loaves and other modelled foods. The front corners are occupied by small cups and squared tanks draining into the spout (Found in 1910 by Schiaparelli).

### Horseshoe-form:

12. Tomb XXVI. BM 46610. L.27 x W.20.6 cms (plate 80:3). The tray is of very solid construction and is rather heavy. At the front is a wall pierced by 2 channels running from the 2 square tanks in the front corners. A solid form like a *h̄tp*-sign is situated in the centre with a groove running all round. The back part of the tray is formed by a solid semicircular platform. Tomb XXVI is dated 11 dyn. or earlier (p. 37).

#### 5.4.21. Meir.

Only one item is known to have come from Meir. It is described as a "soul-house", rectangular, with granary domes(?), of terra-cotta and with dimensions 40 x 30 cms. It was found in the tomb *Wh-h̄tpi*, north of that of *s3t-h̄3ty-c*, *Nb-h̄wt* (Kamal 1911, 14 no.1). Kamal described the details of this structure as follows,

"Elle renferme un cour au milieu de laquelle se dresse l'espèce de bâti rond en terre sèche, au sommet duquel on se couche, soit pour dormir à l'air libre, soit pour se mettre à l'abri des scorpions et des serpents. Autour de cette tourelle se groupaient quatre somaâ, qui sont de petits magasins pour les céréales et pour la provision de la famille; l'un d'eux a disparu sur le mur d'enciente un oiseau est perché; un autre oiseau lui faisait pendant, de l'autre côté, qui a disparu."

Probably 11 dyn. (p. 39).

#### 5.4.22. Bershah.

Apart from 2 items, offering-trays at Bershah are entirely different from those at other sites, not only in their shape but also in their material.

1. Tomb 22, chamber I of *Šmsi*. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A terra-cotta tank, which may be Field-form or simply a deep dish (Kamal 1901a, 33). Dated 9/10 dyn. (p. 42).

2. Tomb 21 of *Imn-m-h3t*. A model of a three storeyed house is said to have come from this tomb (Hayes 1953, 255). However, this object may refer to part of a wooden model. Dated Senwosret I (p. 41-2).

**The Bershah cartonnage trays:**

3. Tomb E14, south, of *Spī* III. JE 32862. L.45 x W.33 cms. Rectangular tray made of painted cartonnage with modelled and painted clay food items such as roast duck, ox head, cucumbers, onions, leg of beef, bread and figs attached to the bottom (Daressy 1900, 34, fig.1). Dated mid 12 dyn. to Senwosret III (p. 64-5).

4. Tomb D15 of *Spī* I. JE 32863. L.49 x W.36 cms (plate 82:2). Rectangular tray of painted cartonnage with clay model grapes, meats, cucumbers, onions and breads attached. Also a model cup set in the centre inscribed with a text dedicating it to *Spī* (Daressy 1900, 26, fig.2). Dated Amenemhat II to Senwosret III (p. 64).

5. Tomb 22, chamber III of *Dhwtj-nht*. Location unknown. Diam.8.7 cms. Round tray with modelled cartonnage and clay foods on its surface (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 37). Dated Senwosret I to Amenemhat II (p. 42).

6. Tomb 23, chamber III of *Nhri*. Cairo. L.32 x W.24 cms. Rectangular cartonnage offering-tray described as a table (Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 41). On its surface are the modelled foods, including a cucumber (JE 34309). Dated late 11 dyn. (p. 42).

7. Tomb 23:III. Cairo. Diam.36 cms. Round tray with clay and cartonnage offerings (JE 34304-08, bouquets of lotus blossoms, roast ducks and pigeons. Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 41). Date as above.

**5.4.23. Beni Hasan.**

Beni Hasan tomb BH324. SAOS E6357. L.35 x W.32 x H.9 cms (plate 83:1). The tray is roughly square, but has suffered damage to the left side and front. It is not possible to say whether the tray had a

spout. As it survives, the centre of the back wall is occupied by a square enclosure with a doorway in the front right corner. To the left are the stumps of 2 jars(?). Directly in front of the enclosure are 2 further stumps, possibly of cups. The top of the wall is grooved and has a small funnel-like depression by the enclosure (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 195, 223, fig.202, where it is described as a "farmyard"). Pottery from the tomb suggests a 12 dyn. date.

#### 5.4.24. Sedment.

Several offering-trays were found in the Sedment necropolis, though few are published. All are of the Altar-Form.

1. Tomb 286. CUMAA 1921.615. L.25.5 x W.21.3 x H.5.6 cms (plate 83:2). The tray has a small covered spout, with surface details consisting of 2 shallow depressions near the front corners (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XIII:7).

Tomb 286 is not in the tomb registers.

2. Tomb 730. L.23 x W.21 cms. The tray has a cross wall, behind and in front of which is a complex design of channels (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 8, XIII:4). Petrie's notebook sketch of the tray does not match the published version. Rather, the tray is similar to that from tomb 1560, whilst a tray matching the published illustration is noted as coming from tomb 1528. Tomb 730 is not in the tomb register. Tomb 1528 is recorded as having a "hotep altar" and is of FIP date by pottery (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVII).

3. Tomb 1560. Man. 6585. L.31 x W.24.5 cms. The tray is formed of 2 Altar-forms, one inside the other. At the corners are shallow cups. Diagonal channels converge on the spout (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 8, XIII:3). Pottery suggests an 11 dyn. date.

Other offering-trays include those published from tombs 1589 (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII), 1649 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXVIII), 1684 (1924<sup>a</sup>, XXXIX),

and unpublished from tombs 1611, 1614 and 1576 (Petrie notebooks). Pottery from tomb 1589 is 11 dyn. (p. 49). The funerary mask from tomb 1649 has been dated FIP to early MK (Rogge 1986, 89). Pottery in tomb 1684 is of FIP to Senwosret I date (p. 20). Pottery from tombs 1576 (types 63m, 86t. Arnold 1988, 144 n.336. However, type 64l has been dated 11 dyn. to Amenemhat I. Bourriau 1988, 134 no.131), 1611 (types 8n, 16e, 90p. Arnold 1988, 144 ns.336, 340) and 1614 are of FIP types.

#### 5.4.25. Harageh.

A few offering-trays are known to have come from tombs at Harageh, but are not described or illustrated (Tombs S337, S620, B398. Engelbach 1923, LX, LXI, LXII). As was the case with the Sedment material some confusion seems to have arisen over which tray came from which tomb and exactly how many were found. The field notebooks indicate that fragments of more than one tray were found in tomb S620. A "soul-house" is noted as coming from tomb B397 rather than B398. Pottery from tomb S620 is of types common during the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (1923, LXII). Cylinder beads from the same tomb carry the cartouches *Nbw-k3w-Rc*, *Hc-k3w-Rc* and *Ny-m3ct-Rc* (1923, XX:20-1). Pottery from both tombs B397 and B398 are consistent with late 12 dyn. types (1923, LXI:41k, 67s. Bourriau 1981, 70 no.133; Arnold 1982<sup>b</sup>, Abb.2:1). The pottery from tomb S337 dates from Senwosret II to Amenemhat III (type 67s. see above).

Three surviving offering-trays from Harageh are all Altar-form, although one verges on Horseshoe-form.

1. Harageh. Glasgow '14-64ap. L.36.5 x W.24.3 x H.4.5 cms. A low wall surrounds the tray. At the front is a spout formed in the centre of a projection which is walled and covered, but pierced by the drainage channel. The left back corner is missing. The surface details include,

2 jar stands, legs of beef, round loaves and onions. The scar of a cup is also found.

2. Harageh. Glasgow '14-64ao. L.30 x W.24 x H.4.7 cms. This tray is curious for its shape. The right side is missing, but it is clear from the surface that the whole object had been 2 Altar-form trays joined together, the left hand tray only, surviving. Surface details are of an ox head at the centre back, a leg of beef in the middle, round loaves along the edges and the scar of a cup in the front right corner.

3. Harageh. Glasgow '14-64an. L.33.2 x W.30.2 x H.5.8 cms. At the centre back there appears to be an ox head with onions on either side. Two low walls form 2 large compartments on the sides in which are loaves and other modelled foods.

#### 5.4.26. Kahun/Lahun.

Although not from cemetery contexts it is proper to mention here 3 trays found at town sites. All are Altar-form, have ox heads at the centre back with modelled meats, vegetables and loaves. Each also has a *hs*-vase. One example has 2 square tanks in the front corners formed by low walls (Petrie 1890, XIII:102; 1891, 9, IV:20, 23). It is likely from their context that the trays date from at least the time of Senwosret II.

#### 5.4.27. Giza.

A large terra-cotta "soul-house", Brus. E2283, L.45 x W.26.1 x H.31.5 cms was purchased, the stated provenance being given as Giza. Very few mortuary remains have been found at Giza therefore it is unlikely, though not impossible, that the vendor's provenance of Giza is correct. The house has 2 storeys and figures making food in the court-

yard, as well as a seated mummy in one of the ground floor doorways.  
12 dyn.

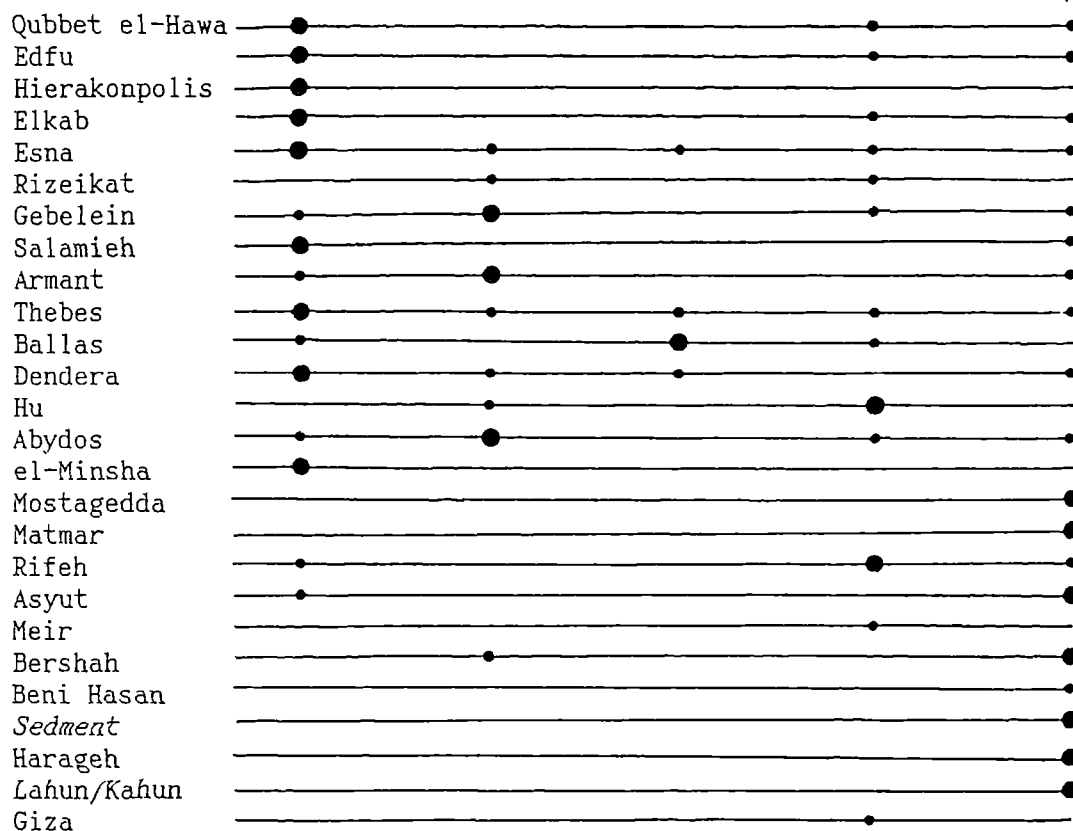
#### 5.4.28. SUMMARY.

It has been shown that there is a demonstrable south-north trend in tray morphology. Figure 4 illustrates the tray morphological trends from Qubbet el-Hawa in the south to Giza in the north. The forms illustrated are: Horseshoe, Plate, Slab, "soul-house" and Altar. Minor types like the Field-form and Tomb-form are not included in the figure. It can be seen that in southern upper Egypt the predominant form is the Horseshoe, found between Aswan and el-Minsha. The Plate-form tray is predominant in several cemeteries in upper Egypt, in particular Armant and Abydos. The Altar-form is predominant from Mostagedda in middle Egypt to Lahun in lower Egypt.

Table 15 presents the same information as figure 4, with the frequencies of the tray forms and includes the Field and Tomb forms. Only provenanced trays have been used (370 examples).

Trays from the Aswan area are too poorly preserved to indicate their predominant form. At Edfu the forms are mostly Horseshoe-form, with multiple drainage channels at the front edge, also having one or 2 modelled cups in the middle. At Hierakonpolis the form is sub-Horseshoe, with "square" channels and a hut. Elkab is characterised by the Horseshoe-form with the back portion closed-off to form a hut, the most frequently found channels are multiple. The trays from Esna begin to show indications of mixed influence with the use of the oval form and Altar-form. However, most are Horseshoe-form, with an ox head against the back wall and one or 2 channels, sometimes "keyhole" shaped. Trays from the Rizeikat/Gebelein/Salamieh/Armant region show a high degree of uniformity, making use of the oval and round Plate-





- Form present
- Form dominant

FIGURE 4.

form, often with a bound calf offering and a single or parallel pair of channels, occasionally T shaped piercing the front of the plate. Also closely related to this regional type are the trays from the Theban necropolis. Along with the round or oval plate, the Horseshoe-form was most popular. The distinguishing feature of Theban trays is however, the lack of modelled food items replaced by a heavy stress on the libation through their variety of drainage channel patterns. The

area between Ballas and el-Minsha exhibits all types of trays and "soul-houses", indicating an equal influence from the south and north on the ateliers in this region. Within this area is the Dendera necropolis. Trays from here tend to be Horseshoe-form, with a dividing wall across the middle pierced by 2 parallel or one "loop" channel. From Mostagedda to Rifeh the only type of tray found is Altar-form. The Rifeh examples are characterised by having an ox head in one corner and by square "keyhole" drainage channels. Trays from Asyut, likewise Altar-form, preserve in their front corners small walls forming tank-like areas which drain into a central channel. From Bershah came a series of highly individual trays made of cartonnage which appear to have owed little to true trays for their morphology. Trays from Beni Hasan and Sedment, are like those from Thebes except that they are Altar-form, in concentrating more upon the libation with a series of dividing walls and channels. The Harageh group exhibit a high degree of localisation in their forms, which may best be described as Altar-form (cf. Niwinski 1975, 85-91 for similar conclusions).

TABLE 15: OFFERING-TRAY FREQUENCIES

| Provenance     | 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----------------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qubbet el-Hawa | 1+ |   |   | 2 | ? |   |   |
| Elephantine    | ?  |   |   |   | ? |   |   |
| Edfu           | 6  |   |   | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Hierakonpolis  | 3  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Elkab          | 8  |   |   | 5 | 2 |   | 2 |
| Esna           | 6  | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |   |   |
| Rizeikat       | 1+ |   |   | 1 |   |   |   |
| Gebelein       | 1  | 3 |   | 1 | 1 |   |   |
| Salamieh       | 2  |   |   |   | 1 |   |   |

|             |    |     |   |      |    |   |
|-------------|----|-----|---|------|----|---|
| Armant      | 1  | 26+ |   |      | 1  |   |
| Thebes      | 26 | 10  | 1 | 2    | 10 | 2 |
| Ballas      | 1  |     | 3 | 1    |    |   |
| Dendera     | 7+ | 1+  | 1 |      | 2+ |   |
| Hu          |    | 1   |   | 2    |    |   |
| Abydos      | 1  | 4   |   | 2    | 1  |   |
| el-Minsha   | 1  |     |   |      |    |   |
| Mostagedda  |    |     |   |      | ?  | 2 |
| Matmar      |    |     |   |      | ?  | 3 |
| Rifeh       | ?1 |     |   | 150+ | 13 |   |
| Asyut       | 1  |     |   |      | 11 |   |
| Meir        |    |     |   | 1    |    |   |
| Bershah     |    | 2   |   | ?1   | 3  |   |
| Beni Hasan  |    |     |   |      | 1  |   |
| Sedment     |    |     |   |      | 8  |   |
| Harageh     |    |     |   |      | 3  |   |
| Lahun/Kahun |    |     |   |      | 3  |   |
| Giza        |    |     |   | ?1   |    |   |

NB. + indicates an uncertain number

Key: 1 Horseshoe-form  
2 Plate-form  
3 Slab-form  
4 "Soul-house"  
5 Altar-form  
6 Field-form  
7 Tomb-form

This morphological trend indicates very clearly that geography played a major role in the forming of the trays. It can be said that Horseshoe-form trays tend to originate in Upper Egypt, from Aswan to el-Minsha, that Plate-form trays tend to be found in the Rizeikat to Theban region and that Altar-form trays tend to come from northern

Upper Egypt, or Middle Egypt. It must be borne in mind however, that what is presented here is an indication of *trend*, and that forms other than those most frequently found may appear in these areas. Table 15 indicates that offering-trays, whilst found distributed throughout the Nile valley, are found concentrated in the Theban region, from Gebelein to Abydos. Rifeh has produced a unique concentration of "soul-houses", whilst 2 family tombs at Armant contained over 20 trays.

In theory, following this scheme it should be possible to suggest a general provenance for those examples in museums which are without a provenance. A few examples will suffice.

1. UCL NN. L.27.3 x W.20.6 x H.3.9 cms (plate 84:1). Altar-form tray. Ox head at the centre of the back wall, bound calf carcass to the left with a leg of beef. Rows of onions on the right side with a row of round cakes between the 2 "keyhole" channels (Petrie 1937, 4 no.41?). Similar trays have been found at Asyut.
2. UCL 18406. L.32 x W.24 x H.6 cms (plate 82:3). Oval Plate-form with a double "cross" pattern of drainage channels which pierce the front wall. There are no food models. Similar trays have been found in the Theban area, and Elkab.
3. LM 1973.1.362. L.41.5 x W.30 x H.6.1 cms. ex Wellcome collection W71/18. Altar-form tray with a raised semicircular platform at the centre of the back wall on which is an ox head. To the right is a leg of beef. At the front edge are dividing walls forming 2 tanks which drain into the spout. Similar trays have been found particularly at Asyut.
4. Dendera? UCL NN. L.29 x W.24.5 x H.8.5 cms (plate 84:2). Horseshoe-form tray with a design of radiating channels from a central groove. To the left is an ox head. In the centre are a leg of beef, a loaf and

a tray of cucumbers (Petrie 1937, 4 no.49). A similar tray is Fitz. E.45.1907, said to be from Rifeh. Another similar tray is Fitz. E.230.1902, said to be from Elkab. The UCL example is not from Dendera since the tray it is likened to (Petrie 1900, XIX:5) is nothing like it. It is unlikely that Rifeh is a correct provenance for either tray. An example from Elkab tomb 129, Fitz. E.215.1902, is virtually the same as this group indicating that Elkab is likely to be their site of origin. Certainly the feature of multiple drainage channels indicates that they came from the Edfu-Elkab region.

#### 5.5. DATING.

It has been shown that much of Petrie's dating criteria was based on incorrect assumption. Recent studies involving pottery have put much of this to right. It is possible therefore, to indicate the chronology of offering-tray development.

Amongst the earliest trays to be found are those from the Mostagedda/Matmar district, mostly Altar-form of FIP date. Contemporary with these are trays from Dendera dated by Slater A-N, FIP to 11 dyn. (1974, 311), which are Horseshoe-form. Trays from the Sedment necropolis span the period of the 9/10 dyns. to early 12 dyn. Pottery types from Edfu, Abydos, el-Tarif, Esna, Armant, Harageh, Riqqeh and Rifeh all point to an 11 dyn. to mid 12 dyn. date at those sites. The presence of offering-trays in the el-Tarif royal cemetery attests to the production of these objects in the early 11 dyn. at a time roughly contemporary with the Herakleopolitan 9/10 dyn. instances in the north. It is thus virtually impossible to state categorically that the innovation of terra-cotta for offering slabs originated from this site or that, or that a particular form is the earliest. Niwinski however, states that offering-trays originated in the Lisht/Sedment region

during the early 12 dyn. or slightly earlier (1975, 95) as direct imitations of stone offering tables (1975, 91). The idea then spread southward altering form as it went, until it reached Edfu where the form is no longer Altar-form but Horseshoe-form, of later date than the Sedment examples (1975, 97-8). The archaeological record does not seem to support this theory. Trays of Horseshoe and Altar-form have been found at Qubbet el-Hawa and the FIP tombs on Elephantine Island, at the same time they appeared in the north.

The latest attestation of the use of offering-trays in the mortuary assemblage appears to be around the time of Senwosret II (Petrie 1890, 25; 1891, 9; Niwinski 1984, 810), although an example found with a cartouche would suggest an Amenemhat II date (Elkab tomb M12). Cemeteries with disturbed contexts like Edfu and Esna appear, like the Nubian cemeteries to continue to use offering-trays later than this.

#### 5.6. SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION.

If terra-cotta had been used as a cheap substitute for stone in the production of offering slabs it would be expected that they should be found only in association with burials of little means. Trays have been found in the tombs of *Shr-t3wy-<sup>3</sup>Ini-<sup>3</sup>it.f* I at Saff el-Dawaba (shaft W4. Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 26) and *Nht-nb-tpy-nfr-<sup>3</sup>Ini-<sup>3</sup>it.f* III at Saff el-Baqar (shafts W3.2.4 and W3.4. Arnold 1973, 150). The possibility that the trays were thrown into the shafts from other ravaged tombs cannot be discounted. A similar explanation cannot be discounted from the exceptionally large tray from the 11 dyn. complex of Neb-hepet-Re. Other examples however, like that from tomb 14 at Asyut of *Wpw3wt-m-h3t* have been found with wooden models. Niwinski states that offering-trays and "soul-houses" were the domain of the poorer populace of the

12 dyn. who did not have the resources to provide a well equipped burial (1975, 107, 112). On a general level, this is in part correct.

Petrie stated of the trays he discovered at Dendera that,

"most....were found in indistinguishable pit tombs without any sculpture." (1900, 26).

That the tombs yielding these trays were badly robbed and denuded is not taken into account by Petrie. Therefore, it is probably wrong to assume that all his trays originated from modest burials.

The status of those owning these trays would therefore, appear to be of little significance since both the lowly and high ranking populace had access to the materials required for their manufacture. High ranking persons would be more *likely* to own altars of carved stone. However, the very economy of the material made these objects ~~more accessible to a wider range of the populace than wooden models~~ and it remains that most offering-trays were found in cemeteries which did not contain burials of high status with models in wood.

#### 5.7. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION.

Offering-trays and "soul-houses" are found in the north at the sites of Harageh, Lahun/Kahun and Giza (see figure 4 and Table 15). It is possible that items may appear in the current Delta excavations. Niwinski places the northern limit of tray production at Lisht/Sedment (1975, 93), which is incorrect. The distribution through the Nile valley is relatively even, reaching as far south as Qubbet el-Hawa and Elephantine Island. Again, Niwinski is too conservative, putting the southern limit at Edfu (1975, 93). In fact, offering-trays have been found in the Nubian fortress cemeteries at Aniba, Buhen, Uronarti, Mirgissa and Kubban. These, Niwinski claims are imports from Egypt (1975, 93 n.63), which seems highly unlikely, given that no skill was required to produce them and the great distance involved.

## 5.8. DISPOSITION.

Petrie noted early on that offering-trays were frequently found on or near the surface of the graves and tombs he excavated (1900, 26; 1907, 14), and that as a result many were worn and broken. Of the 370 trays studied, 83 (22.4%) were found in contexts unstated or unknown. At least 3 (0.8%) were found in rubbish dumps. 195 (52.7%) were from a tomb mouth context, 9 (2.4%) came from the superstructure or shaft areas. 80 (21.6%) were found in the burial chamber itself.

Superstructure contexts include examples from Nubia (not accounted for in the statistics). At Kubban tomb 110:54 a tray was found in the chapel area (Firth 1927, 67-8). Aniba tomb S31 had a wall niche in the south-west wall containing a tray (Steindorff 1937, 168). Aniba tomb S41 contained 2 trays, one in the chapel (Steindorff 1937, 174) and another in the shaft (1937, 174). The offering-trays from the Abu Majit tomb at el-Tarif were also in the chapel (Arnold 1972<sup>a</sup>, 29, fig. 7). At Asyut tomb 14 of *Wpw3wt-m-h3t*, an offering-tray was found in the chapel with its spout facing the *k3*-figure of the owner (Chassinat 1911, 164, XXXIV:1). Asyut Hogarth tomb XVIII had the offering-tray by the door of the tomb (BM MSS).

Tombs with the offering-tray in the shaft include Edfu tomb TXXI/XXXIII, where the tray was by the south access wall to shaft XXXIV (Michalowski 1950, 84, 305). Abydos tomb 514 A'08 contained in its shaft mouth a niche constructed specifically to take the tray (SAOS neg. A259).

Examples of trays found in the burial chamber include that from the Asyut tomb of *Hny*, where the burial was disturbed, so the possibility that the tray had been thrown into the chamber by robbers cannot be discounted (Wainwright 1926, 161). There are instances however, where the chamber context is intact and where there is no doubt that



the tray was placed in the chamber deliberately during the burial. At Edfu, tomb TXXVIII contained several bodies, one of which had placed next to it a tray (Michalowski 1950, 82, 306). Abydos tomb D102 had a niche cut into the east wall of the chamber in which was placed the tray, on the left side of the coffin (Peet 1913, 24). At Bershad tombs D15, E14, 22 and 23 had cartonnage trays in the burial chamber. That in tomb D15 was found in a wall niche (Daressy 1900, 26), the remainder were placed on the coffin lid (Daressy, 1900, 34; Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 37, 41).

These examples serve to illustrate that it cannot be assumed that all offering-trays were placed at the surface or mouth of the tomb shaft or in the chapel. It is clear that originally offering-trays were conceived as substitute stone altars, and as such were placed in a position where the living could pour libations for the dead. Out of this practice developed the idea that the trays were self-contained providers of nourishment, a departure which meant that they could be placed in positions inaccessible to the living but not to the dead, thus effectively doing away with the necessity for the deceased's family to visit the tomb to replenish the food supply. Parallel examples of stone altars placed within a sealed burial chamber are known from late 12 dyn. contexts (Farag 1971, fig.6, Vb), perhaps providing a date for this development of ideas.

Niwinski has, plausibly, suggested that not only is the offering-tray a substitute altar, but that the "soul-house" in certain forms represents the tomb superstructure or offering place (1975, 102-5), whilst other forms undeniably represent domestic and sepulchre architecture. The tomb architecture examples, placed at the surface of the burial may have served as substitute offering places or chapels. Thus, several types of "soul-house" were produced, functioning in

slightly different ways, but nonetheless serving to provide the deceased with a continued supply of sustenance, much as the offering-trays did.

#### 5.9. MODEL FOOD OF OTHER MATERIALS.

Provision of food has also been found in the form of model faience, stone, wood, etc., items of individual fruits and vegetables. Examples of faience food include a cucumber from tomb M1 at Elkab (Ash. E3790. Kemp 1980, 167). Faience figs, grapes and cucumbers were found in Abydos tomb 416 (Ash. E3306, E3289, E3303. Garstang 1913, 108, XIV; Kemp 1980, 135-8, fig.44, pl.13). A model cucumber was found in the Ramesseum group of tombs (Man. 1792. Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3; Kemp 1980, 166). At Beni Hasan tomb BH526 contained 2 model pomegranates (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 228). Hawara tomb 58 contained a faience model pigeon (UCL 27975. Petrie 1912, 36, XXX:6; Bourriau 1988, 102 no.88a). Gurob tomb C2 contained model figs (Fitz. E.2478.1943. Newberry in Petrie 1890, 49-50; Keimer 1929, 75-7, III:4-5, VIII; Bourriau 1988, 102 no.87b-d). Harageh tomb 353 contained a faience model calf (UCL 18744. Engelbach 1923, 6; Bourriau 1988, 102 no.88b). At Lisht south in the West Tomb was found a large group of faience model fruits, including cucumbers, grapes, figs, pear shaped fruits and piles of grain (Lansing 1924, 38, fig.2; Kemp 1980, 167). Tomb 34:3 of *Hpy*, also at Lisht south was found to contain a model cucumber (Lansing 1934, 30, fig.29). Tomb 453 of *Imxy* at Lisht north yielded a faience tile on which were modelled a cucumber, 2 bowls, a man carrying 2 jars on his shoulders and a jerboa (Mace 1914, 220, fig.17; Kemp 1980, 167). Other faience fruits and vegetables are known to have come from Lisht north (Kemp 1980, 165, pl.25-6). A large group of faience items consisting of a "concubine" figure, hippopotami, and 40 figs in 2 groups, 50

lubya beans, grapes and cucumbers (Keimer 1929, 164; Kemp 1980, 49-97, I) are said to have come from a tomb at el-Matariya.

Unspecified wooden fruits were found in tomb 91 at Saqqara (Quibell 1907, 6), whilst an alabaster leg of beef is known to have come from the Balansourah region (JE 88893. Entry of 1948).

On the whole models of faience are later than those of other materials, being generally of the late 12 to 13 dyns. (cf. Kemp 1980, 168ff; Bourriau 1988, 102-3, for this dating). It is notable that faience foods are found most frequently in the 12 dyn. Fayoum cemeteries, precisely where faience "concubine" figures were produced, and where there are no terra-cotta offering-trays.

#### 5.10. COFFIN TEXT REFERENCES.

The provision of food and drink in the Afterlife took up much space within the CT, both in the *ḥtp-dī<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula (Faulkner 1977, 276. CT 725; 1978, 58-9, 63 CT 906, 908, 917), the offering table within the coffin (Jéquier 1921, 287-9, 291-3; Faulkner 1973, 62-3 CT 67) and in the main body of the spells (Faulkner 1977, 193-4 CT 599, 604; 1978, 65-6, 71-5 CT 923, 924 and 936). Production and provision of food stuffs for the deceased is paramount in the CT and reflected by the use of most types of models, not least the offering-tray.

One spell seems to refer directly to the provision of an offering slab or altar (Faulkner 1978, 81 CT 942, "offering slabs have been made.."), emphasising the importance of this class of object to the survival of the *k3* within the the tomb. "Soul-houses" may be referred to in the CT which deal with the establishing of a house in the Afterlife (cf. Niwinski 1975, 82 for a discussion of this).

## CHAPTER SIX: "CONCUBINE" FIGURES IN MORTUARY CONTEXTS.

### 6.1. INTRODUCTION.

The term "concubine" has long been applied to figures of naked women. Recently the term "fertility" figure has been used in an attempt to appreciate more fully their original functions. Such figures do not include amongst their numbers statuettes of women (or men) which are mounted on a base and clearly represent the tomb owner, whether a text names the deceased or not. "Concubine" figures are simply small statuettes of females who are on the whole, represented entirely naked, perhaps of subordinate rank, and whose characteristics are their exaggerated sex.

"Concubine" figures are made of wood, ivory, stone, faience and clay. Each material exhibits its own set of iconographic details. The aim of this study is to examine the different forms these figures take and the specific iconography of each form. *Identification of function* within the tomb assemblage may be determined through the morphology and iconography of each type. Four major types have been identified and are set out below. Variant figures and highly localised types are also discussed.

The practice of placing naked female figurines amongst mortuary equipment is attested as early as the predynastic period (Hornblower 1929, 29-48; Uko 1962, 38-54) in Egypt and Nubia, but is not limited to these cultures. By the 1 dyn. in Egypt this practice had died out (Breasted 1948, 94 n.1; 97 n.1). Figures of a very different form appear in the FIP and continued to be placed in tombs throughout the MK and SIP. Similar figures were also placed in shrines to Hathor in the NK, particularly those at Deir el-Bahri and the Gebel Zeit mines.

Various attempts have been made to explain the nature and purpose

of these figures. All naked female figures have been termed "concubine" figures or "dolls" irrespective of form or context. Some are assumed to be "mother goddesses" (Hornblower 1929, 40). As pointed out by Uko, in Egypt the earth deity is male not female therefore these cannot be thought of as the "Mother Earth" seen in other cultures (1962, 42-3). In considering the purpose of such figures it is not enough to look just at form; context and sex of ownership needs to be taken account of, as well as the subsequent development of the figures (Uko 1962, 38, 41, 45). Amongst the earliest investigators of Egyptian examples was Hornblower who saw the function of "concubine" figures in terms of a "mother goddess", a fertility charm and protector of children, as handmaidens, as wives and as a means of procuring a family (1929, 40-3). Bruyère was the first to attempt to classify the numbers of terra-cotta figures found in some tombs and in the rubbish heaps at Deir el-Medina (1939, 109). They were seen as descended from Nubian and predynastic figures and interpreted as harim women; the producers of "Race" and providers of nourishment (1939, 113-4, 118-9, 125). In his monograph, Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'égypte ancienne (1948), Keimer proposed that figures bearing tattoos represented dancing girls, who were at the same time prostitutes (1948, 100-5). Supporting this theory was evidence drawn only from modern Africa (Pinch 1983, 412). A particular type of figure, naked, carrying a child and bearing a text attracted the attention of Baumgartel (1950-1, 56-65), in which the content and context of the text was likened to the Letters to the Dead. The shape of the "paddle-doll" type of figure was likened to the *mnit*-collar counterpoise of Hathor by Barguet (1953, 103-111). Noblecourt produced the first typology of "concubine" figures (1953, 7-47), dividing the terra-cotta figures ("Edfu type") from the stone and faience figures ("Deir el-

Bahri type"). The hypothesis that all figures served the same purpose is drawn from the 2 known examples with texts, which request of the deceased, in whose tomb subsequent to his/her death they were placed, a birth for the living. However, Hayes noted that some figures, at least, were representations specifically of dancers (1953, 219-21).

More recently, Pinch has drawn together this information as a means of interpreting NK figures (1983, 405-14), which are related to ostraka from Deir el-Medina depicting naked women with babies attended by other figures in a setting called by Brunner-Traut "die Wochenlaube" (1955, 11-30). The particular setting of the ostraka is of an arbour in which a woman, dressed only in jewellery and wearing make-up is seen to hold a new born child. The nakedness, jewellery, baby and leafy context is reproduced in NK figures. However, the type of wig worn by these women appears only on MK figures (1955, 25-7; Pinch 1983, 413).

A reassessment of the material offers alternative interpretations for these figures and is set out below.

## 6.2. TYPE I FIGURES: "PADDLE-DOLLS".

### 6.2.1. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.

Type I figures (plates 85:1-4, 86:1-2, 87), otherwise known as "paddle-dolls" are made of thin pieces of wood, with the torso shaped roughly like a paddle. The figures have no legs and only show a portion of the upper thigh near the pelvis. The pelvic area is rounded at the base with wide hips and narrow waist. In this lower rounded portion the pubic triangle is usually indicated in paint of an exaggerated size. The trunk of the body has little or no modelling and the breasts are indicated in paint. At the top edge of the figure the head is formed from a tab of wood, sometimes with bead eyes set in

resin or clay. Attached to the top of the head is a full wig of clay beads. The arms are likewise indicated by short tabs of wood.

The surface detail painted onto the obverse and reverse sides of type I figures is many and varied. The obverse or front of the figures may be plain (plate 86), or decorated with representations of bead jewellery and transparent clothing (plates 84:1-4, 85:1-2. cf. Wilson 1986, fig.73). Table 16 outlines the types of decoration found on type I figures, with their relative frequencies on obverse and reverse. Only provenanced figures are referred to.

TABLE 16: "PADDLE-DOLL" DECORATION

| Decoration                    | Obverse | Reverse |
|-------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Nipples, pubis                | 9       |         |
| Chequers                      | 7       | 2       |
| Crossover beads               | 5       | 6       |
| Collars, necklaces            | 5       | 1       |
| Plain                         | 4       |         |
| Animal figures                | 3       | 5       |
| Horizontal stripes            | 3       | 1       |
| Lozenge tattoos               | 3       | 1       |
| Vertical herring-bone stripes | 3       |         |
| Diamonds                      | 2       |         |
| Diagonal chequers             | 1       | 1       |
| Dot tattoos                   | 1       |         |

It should be noted that the numbers presented in Table 16 are approximate since many figures are poorly published, and decorative details are always found in combination, not isolated (except plain). The commonest painted features on the obverse of type I figures are the pubis and nipples, appearing on most examples. The most frequent design on the dress or apron is chequers. This however, is found in combination with horizontal stripes and herring-bone stripes. The dress may have crossover bead strings and the figure may wear a collar. Tattoos in the form of lozenges are found on the upper thighs and shoulders of some figures, rarely are these simply dots.

Occasionally, painted animal figures may appear on the obverse, but this feature, like the crossover bead strings are more common on the reverse side. Rarely are figures decorated with designs of jewellery and clothing on the reverse side, that side usually having only the crossover strings.

The decoration of the 2 sides plays an important role in interpreting function. Barguet drew attention to the likeness between the "paddle-doll" form and the *mnit*-collar counterpoise (1953, 103ff). The *mnit* played an important role in the cult of Hathor and is often represented in NK tombs being offered to the deceased (Manniche 1987<sup>b</sup>, 45). In MK tombs the *ihwy*-dancers are associated with Hathor and are represented offering the *mnit* to the deceased in order that he may receive longevity (Wilkinson 1971, 68-9). During the NK Hathor was patron deity of the Theban necropolis or the West. Her functions as goddess of love, prosperity, beauty, childbirth, sexual love, dancing and of "Those who have gone to the West" were closely connected. Within the basic morphology of type I figures each element of the *mnit* is represented; the top edge or head is likened to the Hathor head on some counterpoises; the narrow central section is the torso and waist; the lower rounded section often depicting Isis suckling Horus the child, or the primeval lotus out of which sprang the sun god Re the creator, is reflected in the enlarged pubis of the figures. These elements imbue the figures with the power to protect and with the function of the goddess Hathor.

The designs on the obverse sides clearly indicate jewellery in the form of collars, necklaces and crossover bead strings. These latter may be attached to the upper edge of a short transparent garment of a type commonly worn by dancers, like those of the 3 wooden Nubian dancers from a tomb overlooking the Neb-hepet-Re complex. The



skirt is transparent and may be made of beads or beads sewn onto a thin fabric. The 3 Nubian dancers have beads painted in their hair (Winlock 1942, 129-130; Hayes 1953, 220, fig.136) which parallels the wig arrangements on type I figures. The limestone statuette of an acrobat from tomb D303 at Abydos (Peet, 1914, fig.12) wears crossover beads on her torso as well as other strings of beads. These crossover strings are found commonly on type I figures. The appearance of similar strings on the Abydos acrobat and in some tomb scenes of dancers would appear to indicate that the figures are more than simply fertility amulets and that they are in some way connected with the profession of dancing.

There is no archaeological or inscriptional evidence to suggest that type I figures necessarily represent prostitutes, or for that matter concubines. That some figures show dot or lozenge tattoos on the upper thighs and shoulders is indicative of the dancing profession rather than that of prostitution (Pinch 1983, 412). Very rarely type I figures may exhibit the cross tattoo found commonly on type IIIc-d figures (see below). One such example is Edin. 1911.284, which has 2 crosses on its rump. Keimer's only evidence that tattooed women were prostitutes was drawn from observations of modern African behaviour and should be viewed with caution.

Besides the lozenge tattoos type I figures also exhibit an array of animal figures of which the most frequent is  $\dot{I}p\dot{i}/T3-wrt$ . Pinch has suggested that women wishing to conceive or to protect a pregnancy may have had temporary paintings or tattoos of  $T3-wrt$  and  $Bs$  placed on their thighs (1983, 412; Manniche 1987<sup>b</sup>, 18, 46). In popular religion the guardian deities  $\dot{I}p\dot{i}/T3-wrt$  and  $ch3i/Bs$  were household gods and were relied on more than the state gods. Both  $T3-wrt$  and  $Bs$  were connected with fertility, sexuality and childbirth, as well as

marriage, dancing, music, prosperity and were guardians against evil. The representation of the hippopotamus on type I figures is therefore explainable by its relationship with *T3-wrt*, thence with fertility and by association with the morphology of type I figures with Hathor. The depictions of centipedes, dogs, lions and gazelles on some figures remain ambiguous, but one figure depicts a monkey with a lotus in its mouth, which is a rather more obviously sexual concept (Brunner-Traut 1981, 196, tf.17, 38).

The functions of these figures are several. By association with the *mnit* and the depictions of hippopotami they are bound up with the magic of fertility. However, their iconographic link with the acrobat or dancer suggests not entertainment, but ritualistic dancing, perhaps for the cult of Hathor. To the ancient Egyptians the concepts of sexuality and fertility were one and the same, the production of heirs was desired by all and the means to produce them were of paramount importance. It is likely that the Egyptians saw little distinction between the dancer and the means of procuring offspring.

#### 6.2.2. DISTRIBUTION.

Type I figures have a limited distribution.

1. Thebes. Many are known to have come from tombs near that of *D3r*, TT366 (Winlock 1942, 206; Hayes 1953, 219). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
2. Ramesseum tomb 5. Man. 1832. H.18.9 cms (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3, III:9).
3. Möller's tomb 35 at Qurneh. West Berlin 20201, 20203, JE 43088a-b (Anthes 1943, 9, 14, Abb.10; Keimer 1948, 29, figs.20-2). H.21 cms.

Many other examples have been purchased at Thebes:

4. Thebes. Edin. 1911.284. H.22.4 cms (Bourriau 1988, 126-7 no.121).
5. Thebes. BM 22612. H.18.3 cms (plate 85:1-2). The figure has an

unusual design of a radiating cross on the obverse side. Purchased 1887 by Budge.

6. Thebes. BM 22627. H.17.6 cms (plate 85:3). The reverse side has a chequered dress below which are 2 opposed *T3-wrt* figures. Purchased 1887 by Budge.

7. Thebes. BM 22628. H.20 cms (plate 85:4). The obverse side has a complex diamond design forming the dress, with striped braces. Purchased 1887 by Budge.

8. Thebes. BM 22631. H.24.5 cms (plate 86:1-2). The obverse side is dominated by the dress with a radiating cross design, stripes and diagonal chequers. The reverse has crossover beads (Wilson 1986, 24, fig.73 middle). Purchased 1887 by Budge.

All Theban figures have highly decorated bodies, rectangular tab heads and relatively short tapered arms.

9. Dendera. Whilst no examples were found in the tombs of Dendera, quantities of small mud beads of a type which may have come from the wigs worn by the figures, suggest that such figures may have existed (information supplied by Ray Slater). The lack of figures themselves may be put down to damp conditions.

10. Sheikh Farag. MSU 1981.1.13. Dimensions unknown. A type I figure in the Memphis State University museum is tentatively provenanced as Sheikh Farag (Crown 1983, 25).

11. Akhmim. According to Keimer 6 figures are said to have come from Akhmim and were in the possession of one Ph. J. Tano, a Cairo dealer, in 1939 (1948, 27-8, figs.18-9, XVII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

12. Rifeh. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. One figure was found in tomb 98 at Rifeh (Petrie 1927, 59).

13. Beni Hasan. Apart from Thebes the densest concentration of type I

figures is at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 211ff; Breasted 1948, 95). SAOS E7187. H.17.6 cms (plate 87). The figure has a relatively large head and one remaining arm which is long. The body is decorated with a red and black collar and nipples. Areas of the edges are heavily incised where the sculptor has roughly rounded the head, shoulders and lower area.

14. Tomb BH09. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. An apparently plain figure with heavy string wig came from this tomb (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 211, fig.150).

15. Tomb BH511. LM 55.82.15. H.18.8 cms. Plain body with a string wig (Bienkowski 1986, 36).

Other examples or parts of figures were found in tombs BH23 (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 221), BH01 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 211), BH556 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 229), BH546 (1907<sup>a</sup>, 229), BH424 (3 figures. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 225) and BH177 (JE 43311. 1907<sup>a</sup>, 218). All examples are relatively plain which distinguishes them from the Theban examples which tend to be highly decorated. They also tend to have longer arms.

The distribution of type I figures is concentrated in Upper Egypt and may reflect a Theban influence in mortuary assemblages, although the type is found as far north as Beni Hasan. This origin trend is supported by the Theban cults of Hathor and *Ḥp̄i* during the MK. The cult of Hathor at Thebes grew in popularity during the 11 dyn. as protectoress of the king (Ward 1986, 111). The concentration of the earliest examples of type I figures is at Thebes and parallels the rise of the cult of Hathor with which they are intimately connected.

### 6.2.3. DATING.

The earliest known example of a type I figure is from the tomb of *Wn̄is-cnh*, TT413 at el-Khokha (Saleh 1970, LXXVIIc). The tomb is one of

a group dating to the early FIP (p. 13). Figures from the vicinity of TT366, by location, may be dated to the 11 dyn. The examples from Möller's tomb 35 were in an intact context along with pottery and coffins of the 11 to early 12 dyn. (Anthes 1943, 6ff, Abb.6, 10) and type II figures (see below).

The figures from the Beni Hasan tombs can be dated by pottery 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (BH23. p. 48) and generally MK (BH09, BH01, BH546 and BH566).

The only known example from a late 12 dyn. context is from Ramesseum tomb 5, in a mixed deposit of late 12 and 13 dyn. type objects, including type III figures and the reused Semna dispatches (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3f). This deposit is much disturbed and probably does not represent objects from a single burial.

### 6.3. TYPE II FIGURES.

#### 6.3.1. DESCRIPTION.

Type II figures are a group of unrecognised "concubines". Two such figures were found in Möller's tomb 35 at Thebes, an intact and well dated deposit, also containing type I figures. Morphologically type II figures share details in common with both types I and III, forming a transitional phase. All examples of type II figures come from or are stated as coming from the Theban necropolis.

1. Möller tomb 35. West Berlin 20260. H.21.5 cms (plate 88). Female figure, naked, carefully worked from one piece of wood except the arms, which are dowelled at the shoulders. The legs, represented full length, are held tightly together. The hair, painted black, is long, parted and falls over the shoulders and to the back. Although naked, the figure wears a pair of black painted sandals. Diagonally across the body from both shoulders are 2 strings of beads in red and black,

having a small counterpoise at the back. The complete right arm wears a red and black bracelet. The pubis is stippled black. Small areas of stippling are visible on the upper thighs only, which may represent tattooing. Delicacy of work is best seen in the navel and facial areas, the latter now damaged. The profile of the figure is very flattened, reminiscent of type I figures.

This statuette was found in 1911 by Moller in a family tomb in the Sheikh abd el-Qurneh cemetery (Anthes 1943, 6). The tomb was apparently undisturbed by robbers but had suffered damage as a result of the introduction of some 5 coffins into a confined space (1943, Abb.3). In front of coffin C were placed 15 type I figures, some pottery and the type II figure (1943, 14).

2. Möller tomb 35. CG 68185 (Unpublished) or JE 43087. H.15 cms (plate 89). Female figure, naked, mediocre work, in one piece except the arms which are dowelled to the body at shoulders and wrists. The legs are full length and held tightly together. The hair, only summarily rendered and painted black falls over the shoulders and to the back. The body is decorated with red and black bracelets, anklets, collar and girdle. Across the torso from left to right is a 4-string sash of beads in red and black. The execution of the face is poor and the breasts angular. The profile of the figure is flattened.

The entry CG 68185 in the unpublished volume of the Catalogue General supplies only the dimensions and the provenance as Qurneh. However, the entry JE 43087 is more enlightening. The figure is said to come from Möller's work at Qurneh in 1911 and was entered into the JE at the same time as 3 type I figures from the same excavation. It is evident from this that at least 2 type II figures were found in the same tomb accompanied by type I figures.

3. Thebes. Ash. 1888.533. H.34 cms (plate 90). Female figure, semi-

clad, poor work, in one piece except the arms dowelled to the body at the shoulders. The arms terminate with spade-like hands. The legs are full length, undifferentiated from each other and end in block-like feet. The hair is painted black, summarily rendered, falling over the shoulders and to the back. Traces of red at ear level is all that remains of a band holding the hair in the vogue of the 12 dyn. The body is adorned with green/black armllets, bracelets, anklets and collar. The torso has red crossover bead strings with horizontal strings at chest and hip levels. Below this to the knees is a skirt of wavy red lines, probably imitating beadwork through which the pubic triangle can clearly be seen. The profile of the figure is very flattened.

The only documentation to accompany this figure is the entry in the Ashmolean museum registers. It is stated that the figure was purchased at Thebes in 1888 by G. J. Chester. Its obvious similarities to the previous figures would seem to indicate that a Theban provenance is correct and that it probably came from an 11 or 12 dyn. tomb. 4. Luxor. Fitz. E.239.1932. H.17.5 cms (plate 91). Female figure, naked, poor work, in one piece, arms missing but which had been dowelled to the body at the shoulders. The legs are full length, held tightly together and delineated from each other by a black line. The feet are peg-like. The hair is modelled at the back, painted black and falling over the shoulders. The face is extremely crude, the eyes no more than slits. The figure wears black anklets, a red and black collar and girdle. The torso is crossed from left to right by a red and black bead string. The nipples and navel are rendered by black dots only. The pubis is stippled black. The profile of the figure is a little fuller than the previous figures, but remains nonetheless flattened.

This figure is said to have been bought at Luxor and may have come from Thebes itself. It was in the Rustafjaell sale in 1917 and was left to the Fitzwilliam museum by Towry-Whyte. Like the Ashmolean figure, the similarities with the Theban figures is clear, most closely resembling CG 68185/JE 43087.

5. Thebes. BM 22623. H.21.5 cms (plate 92). Female figure, naked, poor work, in one piece, with dowel holes at the shoulders for the attachment of the arms, now missing. The legs are full length, undifferentiated and ending in peg feet. The hair is modelled at the back only. Due to the poor preservation and rough surface of the figure no paint remains on any part of it. However, it is adorned with a full wig of mud beads and a few blue and white faience beads. The wig was attached to the head by 3 dowels, now missing and replaced in modern times by a nail. The face is very small and without features. A small hole represents the navel, whilst the pubis consists of a large incised triangle.

The figure was purchased by Budge on behalf of the British Museum at Thebes in 1887. Of the 5 figures, this is the most reminiscent of type I figures. The profile is flattened but the fullness of the thighs and hips verges on steatopygia. The addition of a bead wig is paralleled in type I figures. It is tempting to see this figure as the earliest of the transitional phase as it most closely resembles type I.

### 6.3.2. INTERPRETATION.

Type II figures may be entirely naked or dressed in a skirt which is transparent. Crossover bead strings are also worn. The Berlin figure has black stippling on the upper thighs which can be interpreted as tattooing. Some type I figures also have dot or lozenge tattoos



on the upper thighs (Keimer 1948, 27-8, fig.18, XV, XVII), which may denote a dancer or acrobat. Unlike types I and III, type II have full length legs with feet. Other than their evident nakedness there is nothing to suggest in the form or decoration of these figures that they are anything more than performers for the benefit of the deceased.

### 6.3.3. DISTRIBUTION.

Of the 5 known examples, 2 are firmly provenanced (Theban), whilst the remaining 3 were purchased at Thebes or Luxor. Close resemblances between the figures suggest that they did in fact all originate from the Theban necropolis.

One figure from Sedment tomb 1525 is also made from one piece of wood with separate arms. The hair is cut short, the legs held tightly together, the breasts modelled and the pubis painted black (Petrie 1924<sup>a</sup>, 7, XVII:5, XXXVII). The figure has a small tang under the feet, probably for attachment to a base. Other than its nakedness, this figure does not resemble the Theban group. Its purpose and position within the tomb is uncertain, leaving the distribution of type II figures as entirely Theban. It should be noted however, that the Egyptian Museum, Cairo possesses other similar figures which have short hair and no body details, but which are without details of provenance or date.

### 6.3.4. DATING.

The context of the first 2 figures is an 11 or early 12 dyn. tomb, reused and reopened for at least 5 burials. In association with coffin A were 5 type I figures, with coffin C 15 type I figures, with coffin D 2 type I figures and with coffin E 1 type I figure (Anthes

1943, 9, 14). The head-rests, cosmetic containers and "paddle-dolls" were dated by the excavator to the 11 dyn. (1943, 7, Abb.10). Coffin A was the last introduced into the tomb and covered coffin C with which the Berlin example was found (1943, Abb.3).

The pottery from the tomb was drawn in an artistic style rather than accurately archaeological (Anthes 1943, Abb.6). However, jar forms tend to be globular, one with incised decoration on the shoulder (Berlin 20281. Abb.6 row 5 middle) which has 11 dyn. parallels at Thebes (Arnold 1972<sup>b</sup>, 42, Abb.5 K3102, Asasif group 10; Downes 1974, 42, type 99b). The carinated bowl (Berlin 20258. Abb.6 row 2 left) is found at Thebes during the reign of Neb-hepet-Re (Arnold 1972<sup>b</sup>, 37, Abb.2 K3157, Asasif group 2). However, the squat high shouldered jar with scabble decoration to the shoulders and holes in the neck for suspension is known in the 12 dyn. (Berlin 20278. Abb.6 row 3 right; Downes 1974, 45, type 125a).

Coffin C was also accompanied by the pottery forms Berlin 20281, 20278, 20294 and 20208 (Anthes 1943, Abb.6). The latter 2, a deep open bowl and a broken jar stand are of later than 11 dyn. date (Downes 1974, 47, type 160).

Whilst type II figures overlap with type I in the 11 dyn. a 12 dyn. date is posited for them.

#### 6.4. TYPE III FIGURES: "DEIR EL-BAHRI" TYPE.

##### 6.4.1. DESCRIPTION.

The morphology of type III figures consists of a well modelled and proportioned body with the legs cut off at the knees. The arms are held close to the body. The face is usually of indifferent modelling and the hair style varies. The body may be decorated with jewellery of various sorts, including the crossover bead strings. The legs and

occasionally the torso can have lozenge tattoos of groups of dots or lines. A transparent skirt may also be represented.

In her classification of "concubine" figures, Noblecourt named this type "Deir el-Bahri" (1953, 7) which is a misnomer, since the majority of type III figures have come from Lisht (Hayes 1953, 221).

Type III figures are made of faience, wood, ivory and stone. Each material has its own set of features within the basic morphology. Table 17 presents the type III figures in their material subgroups, along with decorative details and relative frequencies. Unprovenanced figures are included where they are of use for interpretation. It should be noted that figures usually have more than one decorative element.

TABLE 17: TYPE III FIGURE DECORATION

| Material   | Decoration   | Frequency  |
|--|--|------------|
| Faience  | Bracelets/armlets                                  | 9          |
|  | Simple bead necklaces                              | 8          |
|  | Lozenge tattoos                                    | 7          |
|  | Cowry bead girdles                                 | 7          |
|  | Long straight hair                                 | 4          |
|  | Patterned skirts                                   | 3          |
|  | Cropped hair                                       | 2          |
|  | Crossover bead strings                             | 1          |
|  | "Pearl shell" pendants                             | 1          |
|  | Hawk pendant                                       | 1          |
|  | "Hathor" wigs                                      | 1          |
|  | Bobbed hair  | 1          |
|  | Wood   | Plain body |
| Medium/short length straight hair                  |  | 2          |
| Bald headed, pierced to receive tufts of real hair |  | 2          |
| Cowry bead girdle                                  |  | 1          |
| "Pearl shell" pendant                              |  | 1          |
| "Tripartite" wig                                   |  | 1          |
| Ivory  | Plain body   | 3          |
|  | Copper/silver bracelets                            | 1          |
|  | Copper/silver earrings                             | 1          |
|  | Bald headed, pierced to receive tufts of real hair | 1          |

|       |                           |   |
|-------|---------------------------|---|
| Stone | "Tripartite" wigs         | 6 |
|       | Bracelets/armlets/girdles | 4 |
|       | Baby held on left hip     | 4 |
|       | Cross tattoos             | 3 |
|       | Simple bead necklaces     | 2 |
|       | Collar                    | 1 |
|       | Bobbed hair               | 1 |

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Several major points may be highlighted; that stone figures tend to have "tripartite" wigs, that their bodily decoration consists of bracelets, armlets and girdles. Most figures also have cross tattoos; that faience figures tend to have highly decorated bodies, most frequently in the form of the lozenge tattoo accompanied by the girdle, a common alternative being the patterned dress, most figures also have long hair; that wood/ivory figures share some of these details whilst not warranting inclusion with either group, due their tendency to have plain bodies without tattoos or jewellery, and an assortment of hair styles. It is possible therefore, to subdivide type III figures into 3 subgroups along with a further subdivision IIIId as a variant of type IIIc, represented in Table 17 by the entry for figures carrying babies. This type is rare.

#### 6.4.2. TYPE IIIa FIGURES.

##### 6.4.2.1. DESCRIPTION.

Faience "concubines" or parts thereof are by far the most commonly found type III figures. Within the basic morphology they are characterised by their colour (blue/green) and body decoration. A typical example may wear the "Hathor" wig, be naked except for items of jewellery and be tattooed on the thighs with lozenge shapes. Direct evidence to support the idea that tattooed women were dancers are the bodies of 2 tattooed women from pit tomb 26 at Deir el-Bahri (Winlock 1926, 7-8; 1942, 78), parts of a single tattooed female from pit tomb

23 (Winlock 1923, 28, fig.20; 1942, 74) and the intact and well preserved burial of the *hkrt-nsw-wett*, *hm-ntr Hwt-hr*, *Imnt* from pit tomb 25 (Daressy 1893, 166; Lacau 1904, 61ff, V; Hayes 1935, 39 n.29) who had lived during the reign of Neb-hepet-Re. These bodies were tattooed with lines, groups of dots and with lozenge shapes like those on some type I and IIIa figures (Keimer 1948, 8-17, I-X).

#### 6.4.2.2. INTERPRETATION.

Type IIIa figures appear to be of adolescent females. Indeed, figures have been found wearing the "side-lock of youth", such as that described by Hayes with its head, "shaven except for the single braided lock betokening the extreme youth of its wearer." (1953, 220-1). A variety of hair styles are worn by IIIa figures indicating that little ritual significance should be attached to them, although some figures may have their hair divided into 3 sections at the back (cf. Louvre E10942).

The apparel of type IIIa figures is far more significant. Relief and painted representations of dancers in the late OK to FIP show a variety of garb. Those from the tomb of *Dcw* at Deir el-Gebrawi are clothed in short kilts, with collars, bracelets and anklets, whilst others wear only jewellery (Vandier 1964, 406-410, fig.213). One dancer from the tomb of *Isi* at Deir el-Gebrawi wears crossover sashes and a short blue striped kilt (Vandier 1964, 410, fig.214). Dancers in the tombs of *cnh-ty.fy* at Mo'alla and of *Ihy* at el-Khokha wear long and short skirts and have in some cases plaited hair (Vandier 1964, 418-22, figs.221-3:2).

Representations of dancers during the MK are more varied, where they may also be seen taking part in acrobatic displays. Again, short kilts or long dresses may be worn and the hair long and free or plait-

ed and weighted (Vandier 1964, 422-436, figs. 227-231, tombs of *Snbi* I and *Wh-htp* at Meir, and of *Snt* at Sheikh abd el-Qurneh). A particularly lively and informative scene comes from the tomb of *W3h-k3* II at Qau el-Kebir (Vandier 1964, 436-8, fig.232). It depicts on the left an acrobat in mid somersault. A necklace is worn and round the waist is a girdle of round and cowry shell shaped beads. She wears a short kilt which is decorated with lozenge shapes. On the ankles are wide anklets. To the right is another dancer, similarly clad, wearing a long *mnit*-like collar and many beads in an elaborate wig, bringing together the relationship between dancing, the *mnit* and Hathor.

Ostraka from Deir el-Medina of NK date also depict dancers. The Turin 7052 ostrakon shows an acrobat wearing a short brightly coloured kilt. The more informative Cairo IFAO 3779 ostrakon depicts an acrobat wearing a flecked short kilt, crossover beads on the torso, a collar, bracelets, armbands and what may be tattooing on the forearms and thighs (Manniche 1987<sup>b</sup>, figs.8, 66). That the latter piece is of 19 dyn. date does not invalidate it for the iconography of the MK dancer.

Amongst the grave goods of the tattooed woman *Imnt* were items of jewellery characteristic of a dancer; girdles of beads made to imitate cowry shells, long strings of beads to cross the torso, collars, bracelets and so on. Girdles of cowry beads became fashionable as female attire during the 12 dyn. (Wilkinson 1971, 81-2), especially for the younger woman (eg. *Hpy* from Lisht. Lansing 1934, 39, who also owned 4 type IIIa figures). It has been suggested that the cowry shell represents the vulva and that for this reason it was a fertility amulet (Wilkinson 1971, 81).

These representations of dancers and objects from dancers' tombs indicate the nature of type IIIa figures, with varied wigs, nakedness and tattoos, or with short kilts with embroidered designs or aprons

of beads.

Dancers are depicted in association with the entertainment of the deceased or involved in religious activities (Brunner-Traut 1938, 22ff; 1985, 215-231). Titles which are applied to dancers are, *ḥsīt*, singer; *ḥnīt/ḥnwt*, musician; *ḥbw*, dancer (Brunner-Traut 1938, 44-5). Titles associated with the royal harim are, *ḥnrwt*, *ḥkrwt* and *nfrwt* (Brunner-Traut 1938, 45). The title *ḥkrwt/ḥkrt-nsw* has been translated by Troy to mean "a woman of the royal court", but not a woman obliged to fulfil concubine duties (1986, 73, 76-9). These women are frequently married and their association with the court is through their devotion to the cult of Hathor (1986, 78). Indeed, Ward translates *ḥkrt-nsw* as "Lady-in-waiting" (1982<sup>a</sup>, 143 no.1233; 1986, 14, 22, 25-30, 72-3, 108, 110-111, 114), who appear to have been employed in the entourage of the queen (Ward 1986, 22). The higher title *ḥkrt-nsw-wc̄tt* was held in conjunction with the title *ḥm-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr* (Ward 1986, 25f). The woman *Ḥmnt* held both these titles thereby serving both the king (as priestess of Hathor) and the queen (as "Chief Lady-in-waiting"). Her tattoos would seem to indicate that her involvement with the cult of Hathor was, partly at least, as a ritual dancer.

The title *ḥkrt-nsw(-wc̄tt)* was common during the OK to FIP and was prominent during the 11 dyn. (Ward 1986, 26). The prevalence of the title at Thebes parallels the introduction of the "paddle-doll" during the FIP to 11 dyn. and the increasing popularity of the Hathor cult at that site. In addition, it has been noted that the *ḥkrt* determinative in the title *ḥkrt-nsw* may be represented by a mirror (Fischer 1968, n.591), and that young women dancing with mirrors are associated with Hathor (Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 97-8, figs.106, 107, 111). If this interpretation of *ḥkrt-nsw* is correct, the woman *Ḥmnt* cannot be seen as being of low standing, her apparel and tattoos should not be seen as

indicative of common prostitution, although the division between eroticism and sexual activity is very fine. Therefore, it is necessary to redefine the purpose of "concubine" figures, which appear to represent naked or semi-clad females with tattoos.

Nord has very plausibly suggested that *hnrwt* women were dancers associated with the court who took part in religious rituals (1981, 137-145). Ward has translated the term as a "troupe of dancers and singers" (1986, 69, 77). The *hnrwt* are most closely associated with cultic rites of Hathor and are seen in tomb paintings of the OK to MK participating in the funerary rites (Nord 1981, 141). The *hnrwt* may be male or female thus ruling out any idea of sexual functions (Ward 1986, 76-7). They are a group of professional dancers attached to an institution,

"Such troupes were found in palaces, temples and large private households, performing in both religious and secular contexts" (Ward 1986, 77).

The conclusion of Nord is that the *hnr* should be translated as "musical performers" and that there is no evidence that they served any sexual function, as the word "harim" is apt to imply (1981, 145). Type IIIa figures are clearly intended as representations of the *hnr*, and by their association with Hathor, as a means of effective fertility, but not as sexual surrogates.

#### 6.4.2.3. DISTRIBUTION.

The distribution of type IIIa figures is limited.

1. Asasif tomb TT316 of *Nfr-htp*. JE 47710. H.13 cms (Winlock 1923, 20, fig.15; Hayes 1953, 220, fig.137).
2. Ramesseum tomb 5. Man. 1787. H.11.3 cms. The hair is dressed in 5 ringlets (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3, III:11).

By far the greatest concentration of IIIa figures came from Lisht



where over 40 are known to have been found in 12 dyn. tomb contexts.

3. Lisht south, tomb 34 of *Hpy*. MMA, JE 63861-3 (plate 86:3).

Dimensions unknown. Four figures were found, each different in body details and hair style, from total nakedness to scale design dresses, long straight hair to short curly hair (Lansing 1934, 30ff, fig.29; Aldred 1950, n.31; Hayes 1953, 221).

4. Matariya (Heliopolis). Fitz. E.191.1939. H.12 cms. The figure has tattoos, a "Hathor" wig and a hawk pendant (Hornblower 1929, 40, IX:4; Keimer 1948, 23-4, XIV:1, fig.15; Kemp 1980, 164; Bourriau 1988, 125-6 no.119).

5. Kahun. UCL 16726. H.7.7 cms, UCL 16725. H.9.6 cms, UCL 16723. H.6.7 cms, UCL 16724. H.7.1 cms. Two figures and fragments of a further 2 are said to have come from the Kahun/Lahun area, but their context is not stated (Petrie 1890, 31). Each has tattooing.

#### 6.4.2.4. DATING.

Type IIIa figures are never found in tombs or graves of the 11 dyn. or with "concubine" figures of that date (ie. types I and II). An exception is that found in Ramesseum tomb 5 (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3, III: 11). It was noted earlier, that this deposit was disturbed and does not represent funerary material from a single burial, but was collected together in a box, probably in the 13 dyn. or sometime after the reign of Amenemhat III (cf. Bourriau 1988, 110ff; Quirke in Bourriau 1988, 78-9).

In basic morphology type IIIa figures most closely resemble type II, and iconographically type I although their distribution centres are widely separated. As their distribution shows most examples came from the Lisht 12 dyn. cemeteries of Senwosret I and Amenemhat I, indicating a northern influence on the funerary assemblage and

suggesting a date for their genesis. Despite their appearance in potentially early 12 dyn. contexts (it should be remembered that the Lisht cemeteries continued to be used into the 13 dyn.) Williams has stated that faience figures of humans and animals are a feature of SIP burials, particularly of the 17 dyn. (1975, 114; 1977, 51). The basis of this argument is the occurrence of faience hippopotami in the Dra abu el-Naga region of the Theban necropolis, in the 17 dyn. royal tombs. It is also stated that type IIIa figures are found with hippopotami figures (Vandier 1958, 238), hence the tendency to date both human and animal figures in faience to the same late period. This last detail is inaccurate since only very occasionally are animal figures present. Kemp has pointed out that the hippopotamus from Beni Hasan tomb BH51 is no later than 13 dyn. (1980, 168; Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 213), whilst the faience hedgehog from tomb BH655 (Fitz. E.345.1954. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 141, fig.140; Bourriau 1988, 118 no.110) is early 12 dyn. in date.

At Lisht south, mastaba 34 contained the intact burial shaft and a "construction pit" covered by the superstructure used for burial of *Hpy* (Lansing 1934, 28-9). The burial shaft was intact but the chamber was below the water table. In the "construction pit" was a sealed chamber at 12m which, when entered was found to contain the usurped coffin of *Sn-wsrt*. Damp conditions had caused the decay of the model statuettes and wooden boat (1934, 36, fig.34). Outside the door were 4 type IIIa figures, a faience cucumber, ring stand and figure of *T3-wrt*, along with an ivory flail handle and group of dancing dwarfs (1934, 30-3, figs.29-33). Inconsistencies of the pit fill, the usurpation of the coffin and the scattered beads outside the door and in the main shaft caused the excavators to doubt the date of this burial. However, the deposit was sealed under the superstructure,

indicating its contemporaneity with the main phase of burial at Lisht south.

The above evidence would suggest that human figures cannot be restricted to the late SIP, that their genesis is in the 12 dyn. and that they continued to be popular for some time afterwards. Thus type IIIa figures may be dated partly contemporary with type II at Thebes, type IIIa found most commonly at Lisht.

#### 6.4.3. TYPE IIIb FIGURES.

Figures included in this subsection are of wood and ivory. Their basic morphology is the same as that for type IIIa, but their specific decoration is different.

##### 6.4.3.1. DESCRIPTION.

Within the basic morphology of type III figures, type IIIb come with a variety of detail and paradoxically a dearth of it too. As with type IIIa the hair styles vary from long, straight hair, short full bottomed hair to bald heads with holes for the insertion of real hair tufts. It is not clear if any significance can be attached to the types of wigs worn by type IIIb figures. Provenanced examples are all naked and without body decoration or elaboration (with the exception of that from Hawara tomb 58 which is said to have been supplied with a mud bead wig. Petrie 1912, 36, XXX, missing). The example from Hu grave W72 (Fitz. E.16.1899) has small V shaped markings on the scalp suggesting that the inserted hair did not cover the entire head, but was gathered in bunches or plaited (Petrie 1901, 44, XXVI; Manniche 1987<sup>b</sup>, 51, fig.42; Bourriau 1988, 124 no.117). This figure also had silver wire earrings and copper wire bracelets, and its eyes, like those of the figure from Bershad tomb 19b (BMFA 20.1121. Terrace

1968<sup>b</sup>, 20, fig.19; Lacovara 1988, 124 no.52) had been inlaid.

#### 6.4.3.2. INTERPRETATION.

The figure from Hawara tomb 58 (UCL 16148) belonged to a young woman called *S3t-rnwt*. It was found with not only an extra bead wig (it already had a full bottomed short wig carved on it), but a model bed as well (UCL 16139). The occupant of tomb 58 is described as a girl, although no evidence of age is presented (Petrie 1912, 36). This figure, has therefore been interpreted as being a toy doll. The original purpose of such a figure is perhaps not so simple.

The figure from Hu grave W72 was found with a small "stand" for it to stand upright in, which appears to be unique (Fitz. E.16.1899). Also with it was a silver disc and faience ball beads. Pegs at the shoulders and wrists held the arms tight to the body. These have now come loose allowing the arms to swing freely. The silver disc has been interpreted as one of a pair of cymbals for the figure to play (Manniche 1987<sup>b</sup>, 51). In view of the fact that the arms were originally pegged to the body the disc cannot be a cymbal; one would have expected there to have been a pair. Pendant discs, predominantly of silver were not uncommon in 12 dyn. graves as part of a necklace (Sheikh Farag/ Naga ed-Deir N453b. Eaton 1941, 96; Qau el-Kebir 734. Brunton 1930, 1; Badari 4977. Brunton 1930, 1-2; Gurob E<sub>1</sub>395. Brunton 1927, 8; Abydos D104. Peet 1913, 24, VIII:8; D161. 24, VIII:7; D167. 25; S25. Peet 1914, 41; S12. 44-45; D81. Randall-McIver 1902, 87), gold examples are also known (Gurob E<sub>1</sub>307. Brunton 1927, 8; Abydos E45. Garstang 1901, 5, 25).

An unprovenanced type IIIb figure (plate 93:2), Brus. E7211, H.18 cms (ex Scheurleer collection), may provide an indication of the purpose of these otherwise plain figures. The body is naked, the legs

truncated at the knees, the arms missing. Across the hips are carved cowry and ball beads forming a girdle. Round the neck is a necklace with a meleagrina shell pendant at its centre, a type popular during the 12 dyn. (Wilkinson 1971, 60). Although the head is badly damaged, enough of it remains to show that the hair had been arranged into 3 plaited sections, that on the left side only surviving. The end of the plait is wound round an oval bobbin or weight.

Figures of dancers may wear a variety of clothes and wigs. Acrobats, particularly wore plaited hair, weighted for swinging during a dance (Müller 1960, 33). An instance of this may be seen in tomb XV at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893<sup>b</sup>, VIIIA) and TT60 of *Snt* at Sheikh abd el-Qurneh (Davies 1920, XXIII). The *hnr* also have shaven heads or plaited hair (Nord 1981, 137).

Depictions, especially during the NK, of servant women show them wearing a variety of wigs, some divided into 3 plaited sections. They may be naked or clad with only a bead girdle and other items of jewellery. Tomb TT22 of *W3h* (temp. Tuthmosis III?) at Thebes shows an attendant and flute player with 3 sectioned hair (Davies 1936, XXVI). Similar features are to be seen in the tombs TT38 of *Dsr-k3-Rc-snb* (temp. Tuthmosis IV. Davies 1936, XXXVI-VII) and TT69 of *Mnni*<sup>?</sup> (temp. Tuthmosis IV? Davies 1936, LIV), whilst that of *Rk-mi*<sup>?</sup>-*Rc*, TT100 (temp. Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II) has no less than 14 attendants, a tambourine player and 8 offerers bringing sistra and *mnit*-collars (north wall of inner hall). It is exceptionally rare that a major figure is seen to wear such a wig (Macramallah 1935, XX depicting the tomb owner *Idwt* with plaited hair).

From the 13 dyn. reigns of Sobek-hetep II-IV comes an Abydene stela dedicated to *Hnms*, amongst others, which depicts 3 daughters of his sister *Ibi*<sup>?</sup> (BM 238. Budge 1912, pl.15.; Simpson 1974, 21, pl.76.

ANOC 54.1; Franke 1984<sup>a</sup>, 268 dossier 460). These 3 women, plus an unrelated fourth woman all with the hair plaited in 3 sections are designated *nbt-pr*, which would seem to imply a married status. That major figures do not have plaited hair would imply that figures which do are either of a particular profession, minors or servants.

From the tomb of *Ny-cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir came a wooden statuette of a girl, standing feet together on her own base (Cairo CG 248, H.19 cms. Borchardt 1925, 160, bl.53). The body is naked, arms missing. The head is painted a blue/black colour to indicate closely cropped hair. The back of the head is pierced with 3 holes forming a triangle. Two of these holes retain plaited hair, one strand of which has a weight at the end. It was found amongst a group of models depicting the usual domestic activities. The carefulness with which this figure was made may indicate that it was thought of as more than just another model.

A similar but much later figure is of the young girl *Nfirt-m3w* (Turin 3107, H.20.5 cms. Scamuzzi 1963, XL). This figure has the owner's name inscribed on the base indicating that it is of a once living person. The braided hair and nakedness, apart from the cowry bead girdle and broad collar suggests that *Nfirt-m3w* was a servant, entertainer or person of modest standing, such as a minor (another example is RMO 355. Hornemann 1966, 937).

If as is suggested by the unprovenanced Brussels figure, the hair and apparel could be likened to that worn by dancers or general attendants attached to an institution or household this may indicate the purpose of type IIIb figures.

#### 6.4.3.3. DISTRIBUTION.

Type IIIb figures enjoyed a wider distribution than IIIa.

1. Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 30/30. JE 92961. Dimensions unknown. Wood, head

missing.

2. Asasif TT506. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Ivory (Winlock 1945, 4).
3. Asasif Carter tomb 24. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Wood (Carter 1912, 52, XLIV:3).
4. Purchased at Thebes by Wilkinson in 1834. BM 6465. H.21 cms (plate 94:1). Wood.
5. Hu W72. Fitz. E.16.1899. H.12.5 cms (plate 94:2). Wood (Petrie 1901, 44, XXVI; Bourriau 1988, 124 no.117).
6. Bershad tomb 19b. BMFA 20.1121. H.18.6 cms (Terrace 1968<sup>b</sup>, 20, fig. 19; Lacovara 1988, 124 no.52). Wood.
7. Balansourah tomb 34.W.2a. JE 88892. Dimensions unknown. Found in 1948. Wood.
8. Hawara tomb 58. UCL 16148. H.19 cms (plate 93:1). Wood (Petrie 1912, 36, XXX).

#### 6.4.3.4. DATING.

Type IIIb figures are generally not found with other types. However, grave W72 at Hu also yielded the lower half of a type IV figure (Fitz. E.17.1899. Petrie 1901, 44), supporting a late MK date. The Hawara figure is dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, on the grounds that the cemetery was not begun before that time (Bourriau 1988, 96 no.77; 102 no.88a). Williams places the figure after the 12 dyn. (1975, 129) on the basis of the presence in the same intact burial of a faience model bird.

An examination of the modelling of the face of the Hawara figure reveals that it shares details of the brow bone, cheek bone, eye socket, heavy upper lids, bags under the eyes and modelled eyeballs in common with the court style of the late 12 dyn. The pottery and scarab

types (UCL 16137, UCL 16142) are likewise of a late 12 dyn. date.

Types IIIa and b are undoubtedly contemporary, with both falling within the 12 dyn., IIIb being perhaps a little later, and continuing into the 13 dyn. The Hawara example is late 12 dyn., whilst the Hu example may be as late as the 13 dyn./SIP. The figure BMFA 20.1121 from tomb 19b at Bershah (also numbered 4 of *Nḥrī s3 Kmī*), may be dated by association with the owner of tomb 19, *Nḥrī* to the late 11 or early 12 dyn. (cf. Willems 1985, 101-2), thereby providing a date range of late 11 dyn. to 13 dyn. for type IIIb figures.

#### 6.4.4. TYPE IIIc FIGURES.

These figures are distinguished from types IIIa-b by being made of stone, usually limestone.

##### 6.4.4.1. DESCRIPTION.

Type IIIc figures vary very little from one example to another, whilst remaining within the basic morphology of type III figures. One exception to the rule is Ash. 1891.91, a short steatite figure (H.4.8 cms), with crude face and short full bottomed wig which was purchased at Thebes by G. J. Chester in 1891. All other examples are of limestone.

The iconography of type IIIc figures consists of a naked body, never covered by skirts or bead kilts. Body details are in the form of broad collars, necklaces, bracelets and occasionally a dot bead girdle across the hips. The head is covered by an elaborate "tripartite" wig which when seen from the front is full and shoulder length. A long strand or plait falls from the crown of the head to each shoulder. To the rear the head is shaven, except for a single plait down the middle thus forming 3 distinct parts (cf. Müller 1960, 30, I:9, II:9, where



the style is termed "unregelmässige", whilst the type seen in type IVa figures is termed "Wochenbettfrisur", with no apparent reason for this distinction).

The similarities between this form of wig and "die Wochenlaube" scenes have been drawn. It is thought that the leafy arbour and regalia are part of the ceremony involved with the safe delivery of new born children (cf. Bourriau 1988, 124-5 no.118 where it is suggested that the wigs denoted a girl of pre-marital age. Examples with babies would seem directly to contradict this). This form of "tripartite" wig is quite distinct from the other plaited forms of wig found on type IIIb figures and in tomb scenes of dancers and women of low rank.

A further detail which appears on type IIIc figures is a number of cross-shaped tattoos, usually found across the hips (eg. BM 37925, H.13 cms. Purchased 1881 in Thebes. plate 95:1). In some NK scenes of the funeral female relatives of the deceased, dress in long skirts, are bare breasted and wear the *cfnt* headcloth. These women play an important role in the ceremony of Opening of the Mouth. The iconography of these officiants indicates that they are playing the parts of Isis and Nephthys in the burial of Osiris (the *drty*. Noblecourt 1953, 25-33, figs.11-12). Tomb 218 at Deir el-Medina depicts a row of 6 female officiants, 4 have a cross tattoo on each shoulder whilst carrying a dish and knife, and the rear couple with their hands crossed on their chests have cross tattoos on their shoulders and clavicles (Noblecourt 1953, 25-7, II-III). Each of these women is named as a relative of the deceased, the last couple being representatives of the Two Kites.

#### 6.4.4.2. INTERPRETATION.

The similarity between these figures and "die Wochenlaube" ostraka is inescapable. It would appear that the special wig of type IIIc figures is part of a fertility ritual. Therefore, their function within the tomb was to ensure the continued virility of their owners, be they male or female. The cross tattoos, although in a different place on the figures relates them to funeral scenes in the roles of Isis and Nephthys and by association, with the resurrected Osiris, with whom the deceased was identified during the 12 dyn. These figures therefore, embody revivification and rebirth. The type of wig had by the NK become part of the regalia associated with birth. Thus, type IIIc figures can be seen to encompass at least 3 ideas; the hnr, the drty and the birth of new life.

A wooden figure of a woman (plate 96), in the University of Liverpool collection, probably came from the excavations at Thebes by Mond in 1917 (SAOS E7173, H.19.4 cms. Tooley 1987, 17, fig.1). The figure wears a long dress with gilded straps and bears on the head the type IIIc wig, augmented at the front by bands of gilding in the popular fashion of the 12 dyn. Clearly this figure cannot be regarded as a "concubine"; the fact that it has full length legs, originally stood on its own base, is fully clothed and the expense of the gilding, supports this conclusion. It evidently represents a once living person.

Similar figures include a limestone statuette of a woman garbed in the same manner as the Theban figure, and also coming from Thebes (Northampton 1908, 17, XV:2, 5; Fischer 1977<sup>b</sup>, 121-2, figs.10-11). A limestone group in the Petrie museum depicts 3 women standing in a row, each wearing a long sheath dress with broad straps (UCL 16660, H.21 cms. Page 1976, 51 no.56). Only the head of the middle figure

survives, but remains on the back pillar indicate that the right hand figure was identical with the middle in wearing the distinct "die Wochenlaube" wig. A limestone head, also in the Petrie museum is from a female statuette wearing this same wig (UCL 16879, H.4.8 cms. Page 1976, 52 no.57). The rather crude cutting of the faces, with incised eyes, heavy upper lids, triangular noses and small mouths are the same as those on type IIIc figures. Finally, there is a painted limestone figure of a woman playing a harp, clothed and wearing the "tripartite" wig (H.6 cms. Wallis 1895, viii, no.189, pl.23; cf. also Brus. E262. Hornemann 1966, 996. Abydos tomb D94 for a similar harpist; Randall-McIver 1902, XLIII). There can be little doubt of the purpose of this figure.

The significance of the wig on statuettes of once living persons must point to women of married status (see stela p. 330-1) who may be involved with the funeral, in a similar fashion to the *hnr*, but representing instead the *drty*. Indeed, the complete statuette (Northampton 1908, 17) was inscribed with a *hṭp-di<sup>3</sup>-nsw* formula on the back, with the name and title, *hkrt-nsw, Nfr-hṭp* on the base (1908, XVI:1-2), indicating clearly the association between this type of wig and the cult of Hathor (see p. 321-2, 323).

#### 6.4.4.3. DISTRIBUTION.

The distribution of type IIIc figures is fairly restricted.

1. Esna tomb 188E. SAOS E1314. H.10 cms (Downes 1974, 86, 124, fig. 52).
2. Esna tomb 237E (Downes 1974, 86, 126, fig.49). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
3. Esna tomb 126E. LM 1905. H.11.5 cms (Downes 1974, 86, 120, fig.51).
4. Esna unnumbered example. LM 16.11.06 (Downes 1974, 86, fig.52;

Bienkowski 1986, 48).

5. Ramesseum tomb 5. Man. 1788. H.6.5 cms. Part of figure (Quibell 1898<sup>a</sup>, 3; Kemp 1980, 166).
6. Ramesseum tomb 5. Man. 1789. H.10.3 cms. The hair is parted at the front with 4 curls down the back (1989<sup>a</sup>, 3, III:10; Kemp 1980, 166).
7. Ramesseum tomb 5. Man. 1794. H.7.4 cms. A similar figure to the above (1898<sup>a</sup>, 3, III:13; Kemp 1980, 166).
8. el-Tarif tomb B30. UCL 14215. H.11.7 cms. A headless figure (Petrie 1909, 3, XXXI:6 where it is wrongly identified as being of terracotta).
9. el-Arabah tomb E5 (Garstang 1901, 13, 44, XVII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
10. el-Amrah tomb D92 (Randall-McIver 1902, 87, XLIII). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
11. Abydos tomb 475 A'08. H.5 cms. Head only (Snape 1986, 255, 493).
12. Asyut, purchased by G. J. Chester in 1892. Ash. 1892.1013.

The distribution of type IIIc is mostly in the south, in contrast with type IIIa in the north. Large numbers of these figures are purchased and have no known provenance (cf. Bourriau 1988, 124-5 no.118).

#### 6.4.4.4. DATING.

Type IIIc figures are a developed form of types II and IIIb, these being of the 11 to 12 dyns. The fragments found in tomb 5 at the Ramesseum were in a box with types I and IIIa, 4 ivory magic wands, a bronze uraeus tangled with hair, a faience cat and ape, some beads, an ivory female statuette with lion mask face holding 2 metal snakes, several magico-medical papyri, literary papyri and the Semna dispatches papyri reused (Gardiner 1955, 1). The presence of the dispatches

indicates that the figures were in use after years 6 and 9 in the reign of Amenemhat III (Smither 1945, 4-5; Quirke in Bourriau 1988, 79-80 no.62). This collection of magico-medical items suggests that the type I, IIIa and IIIc were for magical purposes. The only example known to have been with other types of figures in one tomb is that from tomb 188E at Esna (a male terra-cotta figure, similar to type IV). Pottery from 188E is of late 12/13 dyn. to SIP in date (pottery type 16. cf. Bourriau 1981, 58 nos.101-2). A similar date is indicated for the 237E figure (pottery type 149. cf. Bourriau 1981, 56 no.95). The figure from tomb B30 at el-Tarif was accompanied by a stone statue base with feet inscribed for *Ḳt///-Ḳb(?)* (Petrie 1909, XXX:6) and pottery dating from 11 dyn./ Senwosret II onwards (1909, 3, XIV:326, XVII:416. cf. Bourriau 1981, 61 no.108; 66 no.119). From the fortress of Kumma in Nubia came the lower part of a IIIc figure. It was in a deposit with a blue faience monkey, a rough red ware jar stand, a blue speckled serpentine bead, 12 anepigraphic jar sealings, half a serpentine kohl pot and a glazed steatite scarab with geometric *sm3*-signs on the base (Dunham 1960, 125-6, fig.65, pl.126:c). The deposit, which was from room IV is of late 12 dyn. date. Another figure was found in tomb 110:46 at Kubban. With it was part of a terra-cotta "soul-house", an ivory clapper, a bronze mirror wrapped in linen and a dish with scalloped rim (Firth 1927, 59, pl.27.e.2, 27.d.2). Like the Kumma example, this has a late 12 dyn. date.

#### 6.4.5. TYPE IIIId FIGURES.

##### 6.4.5.1. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.

The category IIIId shares with all the other type III figures the basic morphology, differing only from type IIIc in that each figure holds on the left hip a small baby. None of the type IIIId figures has

a provenance (eg. H.12 cms. Fechheimer 1922, 20-1, pl.30). Two such figures have dedicatory texts written on them. The first (plate 95:3) is Berlin 14517 (Baumgartel 1950-1, 59; Noblecourt 1953, 35-6, fig. 14). The text is simply,

*dī.tw mst n s3t.k, Sh.*  
 "May a birth be given to your daughter, *Sh*".

The second is Louvre E8000 (plate 95:2. Noblecourt 1953, 37-9, fig. 17, V). This time the text is a little longer,

*ḥtp-dī<sup>2</sup>-nsw n k3 n Ḥnsw, mst n Titw.*  
 "A boon which the king gives to the *k3* of *Ḥnsw*  
 (for) a birth to *Titw*".

In neither case is the sex of the desired child referred to. That the latter figure has the *ḥtp-dī<sup>2</sup>-nsw* formula on it strongly suggests that it had been placed in the tomb of *Ḥnsw* by a member of the family (as opposed to a shrine) in the belief that the dead had influence over the fertility of the living; that is, the figure was not taken to the tomb as a necessary part of the assemblage, but put there later for somebody else's benefit.

The texts placed on these figures are secondary to their original function, as the unscribed examples of type IIIc prove, type III d being a rare sub-category. However, they were chosen as the vehicle for requests for children and not without reason, since type IIIc and d figures undoubtedly served a fertility function. Bourriau has suggested that type IIIc figures may represent women of pre-marital age (1988, 125). Type III d share the morphology and iconography of type IIIc, except for the addition of the child. The Abydos stela, depicting 3 women wearing hair plaited in 3 sections like the type III "tripartite" wig are termed *nbt-pr*, thus indicating their status within the household as wives, are therefore not of pre-marital age (p. 330-1). The combination of the "tripartite" wig and babies in these figures, shows that already by the end of the MK there was an

association of these 2 features, which is continued and elaborated in the 18 dyn. The placing of votive figures in tombs indicates a degree of ancestor worship in the private sphere at the end of the MK.

#### 6.4.5.2. DATING.

The mutilated hieroglyphs on the Berlin figure indicates that a date somewhere between the late 12 and 13 dyns. is most probable.

#### 6.5. TYPE IV FIGURES: "EDFU" TYPE.

Type IV figures are made of terra-cotta.

##### 6.5.1. DESCRIPTION.

This group of figures was called by Noblecourt "Edfu type" (1953, 8-11) because of the large number coming from the Edfu necropolis. Type IV figures are made of terra-cotta and are hand formed, tending to have a somewhat grotesque appearance. They depict naked females with very summary facial features consisting of incised slit eyes, a pinched nose, incised and punctate body decorations such as necklaces, which may also be applied, bead girdles, bracelets and tattooing on the rump and round the navel. The pubis is indicated by an incised triangle, whilst the fingers of the hands which rest against the thighs are represented as slashes. The figures have their arms close to the body and full length legs which may or may not have feet. In profile, the figures are steatopygous. Over 85 type IV figures were found in the tombs at Edfu by the Franco-Polish expedition. The excavators produced a lengthy and over elaborate typology, dividing them into 15 groups (Michalowski 1938, 106-115, XIV-VI; 1950, 198-207, XXIII-V). There are in fact 2 main types of terra-cotta figures, which have small variations within these groups. They are called here type

IVa and b, both of which have the same body morphology as described above, but which differ in head form.

#### 6.5.2. TYPE IVa FIGURES.

##### 6.5.2.1. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.

One group of terra-cotta figures has as its distinguishing feature the "tripartite" wig, much the same as those on type IIIc and d figures. The hair is depicted falling in large flaring sections on either side of the head, with a single thin section to the rear. The hair may be depicted as smooth or may be given texture by incised wavy lines imitating real hair. The part that falls to the back of the head may also be smooth or applied as separate balls of clay suggesting plaiting. Most figures also have a fillet running across the front of the head (Müller 1960, 30, I:8, II:8 "Wochenbettfrisur"). The details of the bodies are as set out above.

The figures resemble so much the types IIIc-d that there can be little doubt that their function was of a similar if not the same nature as their limestone counterparts. However, the introduction of terra-cotta as a medium in which to make these figures may originally have been a Nubian influence in Egyptian society (Bruyère 1939, 124-5, 129, 134-5; Noblecourt 1953, 18; Hayes 1953, 219-221; 1959, 17).

##### 6.5.2.2. DISTRIBUTION.

Type IVa figures have been found at,  
1. Edfu tomb TV (Michalowski 1950, 206 no.335, XXIV:14, XXV:2; no.336, XXIV:11, XXV:3; 204 no.333, XXIV:13, XXV:4; 204 no.332, XXIV:10; 205 no.334, XXIV:12). Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A figure that warrants mention here is no.331, also from tomb TV, which had a wig of 3 stands at the back of the head and one on each shoulder (Michalowski



1950, 203, XXIV:9, XXV:1. A similar figure is Louvre E27276 from Gebel Zeit).

2. Elkab tomb 150. Ash. E3795 (plate 97:1. Sayce 1905<sup>a</sup>, 251).

3. Esna tomb 27E. H.13.2 cms (Downes 1974, 116, fig.50 left). Location unknown.

4. Esna tomb 180E. SAOS E1316. H.9 cms (Downes 1974, 123, fig.56).

Location unknown.

A rather more elaborate figure which should be mentioned here is from tomb 81E (Fitz. E.430.1982. H.17.5 cms. Downes 1974, 86, 119, fig.50; Bourriau 1982, 132 no.278, XX:2). This figure has a full wig to below the shoulders all round, but may be later than MK in date (A similar figure was found at Abydos by Garstang. cf. Snape 1986, 267, 507. Birmingham. H.16.2 cms; Another is Louvre E27277 from Gebel Zeit).

5. Gebelein. JE 41792 (Bruyère 1939, fig.47). Dimensions unknown.

6. Gebelein. JE 41793 (Bruyère 1939, fig.47). Dimensions unknown.

7. Gebelein. JE 41791. Dimensions unknown.

8. Gebelein. Ash. 1890.33. Dimensions unknown.

9. Dra abu el-Naga, Thebes (Hayes 1959, 17, fig.6). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

10. Hu graves Y216 and YS320 (Petrie 1901, XXVI). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

11. Abydos tomb Z1 (Peet 1914, XIV:1 right). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

12. Abydos tomb W19 (Peet 1914, 63). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

13. Garstang Abydos tombs 356 A'07, SAOS E6894, H.15 cms (Snape 1986, 220, 445); 571 A'08, Kendal, H.14.4 cms (1986, 282, 524); 587 A'08, BM 54671, H.18.9 cms (1986, 286, 529); 504 A'08, SAOS E6895, H.12.4 cms

(1986, 264, 502); 505 A'08, SAOS E6381, H.3.8 cms (1986, 264, 503, head only).

Thus the concentration of type IVa figures is in upper Egypt.

### 6.5.3. TYPE IVb FIGURES.

#### 6.5.3.1. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION.

Type IVb figures are distinguished by having a flat discoid head which projects behind and may be set at an angle so that it is visible from the front. The disc is pierced for the introduction of plaited hair, although nearly all figures are found without such hair (with the exception of many from Gebel Zeit; cf. Hornemann 1966, 841 for an example with wig from Thebes). Bruyère and Hayes were of the opinion that these figures represented Nubian dancing girls (Bruyère 1939, 124ff; Hayes 1953, 219ff; 1959, 17) because of their large wigs, nakedness and tattoos. One figure from Esna tomb 87E, SAOS E1320 (plate 97:2) preserves traces of a white skirt with a black band round the waist and falling at the front, suggesting that the figure, like types I to III which also wear skirts, is of a dancer (Downes 1974, 119, fig.55). Like type IVa, body details are as set out above.

#### 6.5.3.2. DISTRIBUTION.

Type IVb enjoyed much the same distribution as IVa figures.

1. Edfu tomb TVI/XXVI (Michalowski 1938, 106-7, 186 no.507; no.509, XXXV:6, 9). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
2. Edfu tomb TXXVI (Michalowski 1938, 107-110, 185 nos.511, 512, 519, 523, XXXV:12, 13, 15 19, XXXIV:4). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
3. Edfu tomb TXLV (Michalowski 1938, 107-8, 192 no.515, XXXV:2). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

4. Edfu tomb TV. JE 71829-31 (Michalowski 1950, 65 nos.293, 295, 296, 303-5, 317-19, 321, XXIII:3, 5, 6, 13-15, 27; 198-201, XXIII-IV).  
Dimensions unknown.
5. Esna tomb 24E. SAOS E1318a. H.4.2 cms (Downes 1974, 89, 116, fig. 58 head only).
6. Esna tomb 73iE. H.19 cms (Downes 1974, 118, fig.50). Location unknown.
7. Esna tomb 216E (two figures. Downes 1974, 124, fig.49). Location unknown.
8. Esna tomb 245E (Downes 1974, 89, 126, fig.49). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
9. Esna tomb 334E (Downes 1974, 89, 131, fig.49). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
10. Gebelein. Cairo 28/12/26/3 (cf. Hayes 1953, 220-1, fig.137).  
Dimensions unknown.
11. Asasif Carter tomb 47. Ash. 1952.203. Dimensions unknown.
12. Dra abu el-Naga, Thebes (Hayes 1959, 17, fig.6). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
13. el-Tarif tomb N2 (Petrie 1909, 4, XX:607). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
14. Dendera tomb pit XII. Ash. E1920 (Petrie 1900, XXI). Dimensions unknown.
15. Abydos surface area W (Peet 1914, XIV:2-3). Location unknown, dimensions unknown.
16. Garstang Abydos tombs 428 A'07, JE 45367, H.16.2 cms (Snape 1986, 247, 488); 568 A'08, SAOS E6890, H.3.4 cms (1986, 281, 523 head only); 588 A'08, SAOS E6893, H.15 cms (1986, 286-7, 530).
17. Balabish B154 (Wainwright 1920, 56, XIX; Bourriau 1981a, 41 n.14).  
Location unknown, dimensions unknown.

Type IV figures are found predominantly in upper Egypt, despite Noblecourt's distribution, which counts in figures of much later date from further north (1953, 9-11). Many figures are badly preserved, consisting only of the torso or legs. In these cases it is not possible to predict accurately whether the complete figure had been of type IVa or b.

#### 6.5.3.3. DATING.

There is little doubt that of the 4 main types of "concubine" figure type IV is the latest. There are only 2 cases where a type IV figure was found with a type III. Unfortunately, neither of them are sufficiently preserved or documented to provide any certain date. The first is from tomb W72 at Hu which also contained the type IIIb ivory figure, dated to the 12 to 13 dyns. The terra-cotta figure lacks its head and so cannot be assigned to group a or b with confidence (Fitz. E.17.1899. Petrie 1900, 44, XXVI). The second is from tomb 188E at Esna (SAOS E1315. H.12.8 cms. Downes 1974, 87, 124, fig.53). This figure, of a naked male (discussed below) was found with a type IIIc figure dated to the late 12 to 13 dyns. on the basis of pottery. Pottery from the Edfu tombs is of mid to late 12 dyn. and SIP types.

From the late MK to 17 dyn. cemetery at Dra abu el-Naga have come both types of figure, IVa tending to predominate. A type IVb figure was found in the late 12 to 13 dyn. tomb N2 at el-Tarif. A type IVb figure came from an intrusive burial in the mastaba of <sup>2</sup>Idw II at Dendera. The Balabish type IVb figure was found with 17 dyn. pottery (Bourriau 1981<sup>a</sup>, 41 ns.14, 16-7, fig.4 group 3). Tomb S2 at Aniba, Nubia contained an Egyptian type IVb figure (as distinct from native Nubian figures. Steindorff 1937, 154, tf.46.1) which can be dated MK to SIP. The examples of IVa figures from Esna were found with pottery

of a late 12 to 13 dyn. date, with some items of SIP date. Type IVb figures from Esna were found with the same array of pottery types, but tending towards SIP types. Unfortunately, the Esna tombs were not only robbed, but had been used as family graves over long periods of time. The deposits appear to have been somewhat mixed (due to the action of robbers) so that it is now impossible to ascertain exactly which items of pottery any particular figure was associated with.

Bruyère considered type IVb figures to be of MK to 18 dyn. in date (1939, 147) and this would seem to be supported by the fact that predominantly type IVb figures were used as votive offerings in the shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Bahri (Hornblower 1929, 40) and at the sanctuary site of Gebel Zeit, where type IVa figures are dated MK to SIP and type IVb SIP to 18 dyn. (Castel 1984-5, 104). Petrie thought that type IVa figures were earlier than type IVb by some 6 dynasties, suggesting that type IVa were 12 to 17 dyn. and type IVb exclusively of the 18 dyn. (1927, 60). There is little evidence to vindicate this latter view, although type IVa figures do appear to be slightly earlier and probably overlap to some degree with type IIIc at the end of the 12 dyn. (Bourriau 1981, 119; 1988, 126 no.120). Type IVb figures often have their ears pierced, a feature more commonly associated with the SIP to NK.

Examples of figures without heads such as that from Abydos tomb E312 (Garstang 1901, 13, XXIX) was found with a stela dedicated to *Snbw* which is of the characteristically cramped style of the 13 dyn. (1901, 9, 35, 46, XII). Pottery found in tomb B19 at el-Tarif along with a headless type IV figure ranges in date from 11 to mid 12 dyn. (Petrie 1909, XXX:7. Pottery type 141. Bourriau 1981, 61 no.106a).

Some type IV figures are depicted carrying a baby incongruously of the same morphology and iconography as the "mother" figure. None of

these, however, have been found in MK contexts.

#### 6.5.4. SUMMARY.

These then are the 4 main types of "concubine" figures, each of which can be said to have at least 2 functions; as fertility talisman by virtue of associations with Hathor, *T3-wrt*, *Bs*, Isis and Horus the child; as religious acrobat, dancer, musician, which may perhaps be better called the *hnr*. A clear development from type I through to IV is discernible, which is clarified by the addition of type II. Such a development is not illustrated by figures in the NK. The distribution centres of the figures illustrate different traditions or workshop influences on the mortuary assemblage. Table 18 illustrates these trends on a site by site basis, with their relative frequencies.

TABLE 18: "CONCUBINE" FIGURE MORPHOLOGICAL TRENDS

| Provenance   | I   | II | IIIa | IIIb | IIIc | IVa | IVb |
|--------------|-----|----|------|------|------|-----|-----|
| Aniba        |     |    |      |      |      |     | 1   |
| Kubban       |     |    |      |      | 1    |     |     |
| Aswan        |     |    |      | 1    |      |     |     |
| Edfu         |     |    |      |      |      | 4   | 18  |
| Elkab        |     |    |      |      |      | 1   |     |
| Esna         |     |    |      |      | 4    | 2   | 7   |
| Gebelein     |     |    |      |      |      | 6   | 2   |
| Thebes       | 66+ | 4  | 3    | 4    | 6    | 1   | 3   |
| Dendera      |     |    |      |      |      |     | 1   |
| Hu           |     |    |      | 1    |      | 2   |     |
| Balabish     |     |    |      |      |      |     | 1   |
| Abydos       |     |    |      |      | 3    | 7   | 4   |
| Sheikh Farag | 1   |    |      |      |      |     |     |

|             |     |
|-------------|-----|
| Akhmim      | 6   |
| Rifeh       | 1   |
| Asyut       | 1   |
| Bershah     | 1   |
| Balansourah | 1   |
| Beni Hasan  | 10  |
| Kahun       | 4   |
| Hawara      | 1   |
| Lisht       | 44+ |
| Matariya    | 1   |

NB. + indicates an uncertain number

Table 18 shows that in southern upper Egypt the predominant figure type is type IV, more specifically type IVb, except at Gebelein and Abydos where type IVa is dominant. The type does not occur north of Abydos in MK mortuary contexts. Type IIIc is found from the fortress site of Kubban in the south to Asyut in the north, although the latter example is purchased and may not come from that site. The densest concentration of type IIIc figures is at Thebes. At this site all figure types are present, but type I far outnumbers the others. In middle Egypt figures follow no fixed pattern, being types I, IIIb and IIIc. Type IIIa, whilst appearing sporadically at Thebes, is found in greater numbers between Kahun and Matariya, especially at the pyramid site of Lisht, where over 40 figures are known.

The re-introduction of "concubine" figures was seen first at Thebes. The development into finer representations was entirely Theban. Type IIIa faience figures, which are partially concurrent with type II were the produce of the workshops of *Īt-t3wy*. Type IIIc figures appear to be Theban, but have been found elsewhere in upper

Egypt. The use of terra-cotta as a cheap medium in which to produce "concubine" figures is a feature of provincial upper Egyptian sites.

#### 6.6. REGIONAL VARIANTS.

Standing entirely outside the 4 main groups of figures are those which exhibit a high degree of localisation whilst serving the functions of those 4 groups. The range of material is wide as are the forms they take. Local forms fall loosely into 3 sections; figures of women carrying babies (in form dissimilar to type IIIc); local forms of naked female figures; male figures.

##### 6.6.1. LOCALISED "CONCUBINE" FIGURES WITH BABIES.

###### 6.6.1.1. Dendera.

1. Tomb 521. Ash. E1803. H.3.9 cms. Although not a figure in its own right, the small ivory statuette shares features exhibited in other figures of the same nature (Petrie 1900, XXIIIa). The figure is of a standing naked female carrying a baby on the left hip. It wears a cap which appears to have animal horns(?). The whole group forms the top of an ivory pin(?). Possibly of FIP date.

###### 6.6.1.2. Abydos.

1. Tomb 352 A'07. SAOS E7081. H.18.4 cms (plate 98). The wooden figure was found in 1907 by Garstang at Abydos (Daily Graphic 17 July 1907; Snape 1986, 219, pl.22; Bourriau 1988,122-3 no.115). It depicts a naked female dwarf, body slightly twisted left, the left foot a little forward of the right. The figure holds a baby on the left hip. The right hand is clenched and pierced, and held in front of the body. The figure had been coated in gesso and painted. The proportions of the limbs and the plumpness of the body indicate that the figure is a true



dwarf. It wears an unusual hair style similar to the "tripartite" wigs of other figure types; the front of the head and the crown is shaven or closely cropped, but at the back are 2 of the original 3 thickly plaited strands. Originally the figure stood on a base, having been provided with tangs under the feet. The small naked child straddling the left hip does not appear to be a dwarf.

The face of the woman is very carefully modelled, broad with large eyes, lightly rimmed, the brow indicated by paint, the eyeballs slightly rounded. The nose is broad, with deep nostrils, the mouth is as wide as the nose, with the philtrum and upper lip notch modelled.

A similar wooden dwarf figure, less well preserved, and without a baby was found in room W367, Semna fortress (Dunham 1960, 70, pl.126: d-e 28-2-318 deposit). The figure lacks its arms but has the hair in a similar style to the Abydos figure. The deposit in which it was found in the west wing is of 12 dyn. date. Other analogous dwarf figures include those from tomb 22, chamber I of *Šmsi* at Bershad which contained 2 wooden figures of female dwarfs. One is said to be potbellied and to have curly hair falling in 2 sections (H.11 cms. Kamal 1901<sup>a</sup>, 34). The other figure has its arms missing (JE 34298. H.9.2 cms. 1901<sup>a</sup>, 34). Three faience female dwarfs, naked and carrying babies, with a hair style similar to the Abydos figure were found in a shrine context connected with subsidiary pyramid 5 at Lisht south (information supplied by Do. Arnold). An assortment of 9 faience and wooden dwarf figures were found at Lisht north by the MMA (Hayes 1953, 222).

An ivory statuette, East Berlin 14441, H.7.5 cms (plate 97:3-4), said to be of early dynastic date, is virtually the same in composition as the Abydos figure. It is shown carrying a baby on the left hip, whilst having the shaven crown and 5 plaited strands falling to the back. Despite its early dating, the modelling of the eyes is

similar to the Abydos figure suggesting a much later date (Scharff 1929, 50-1 no.79, tf.16; also no.78; cf. Wenig 1969, 45 no.4; Stevenson-Smith 1949, 1-2, pl.27a-b, fig.4 Giza tomb D37 for a stone example).

The Abydos figure was found with an ivory lion and nothing else. On the merits of the carving of the features it is likely that it was manufactured towards the end of the 12 dyn. or 13 dyn. but does not have any of the characteristics of the Abydos 13 dyn. or SIP atelier (cf. Bourriau 1988, 122 for an agreement with this dating).

#### 6.6.1.3. Asyut.

1. Hogarth tomb XI. BM 45201. H.16 cms (plate 99). The wooden figure is very denuded. It depicts a woman with short full bottomed hair, wearing a skirt to the shins leaving the pendulous breasts naked. On her back is a baby which she clasps by the ankles. The figure is in a walking pose and originally stood on a base. The register at the British Museum suggests that the figure is 6 dyn. but, it comes from a group of tombs which are of later date.

#### 6.6.1.4. Beni Hasan.

1. Tomb BH181. Edin. 1911.260. H.15.3 cms. A figure of wood in many respects similar to the Asyut figure was discovered by Garstang (1907<sup>a</sup>, 140, fig.138; Aldred 1950 no.30; Stevenson-Smith 1981, 202, fig.199; Bourriau 1988, no.97). The figure depicts a foreign woman (Breasted considered it to depict a Syrian, 1948, 97; Bourriau suggests it is a woman from the eastern desert, 1988, 108), in a walking pose, wearing a long red cloak with traces of a lozenge(?) design and a baby cocooned on her back. The face is carved with some care. The eyes are irregular below a prominent brow. The face is

rather long and is filled by the curved nose and thick lipped mouth. Deep creases run from the nose to the corners of the mouth, the jaw being somewhat square. The hair is piled on the top and back of the head, on top of which is a hole as if to take some load. The arms are suggested below the cloak and the right hand holding it closed. All that is visible of the baby is its round head pegged to the back of the mother figure.

Bourriau does not consider this figure to be of the "concubine" class, but rather of the offering-bearer class because of the load carried on the head. It is likely that the figure carried out more than one function. The modelling is quite unlike that of the other Beni Hasan offering-bearers, which are crudely cut and usually naked (Chapter Four). Dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 48).

#### 6.6.1.5. Lisht.

1. JE 32024? Dimensions unknown. A group of 3 faience figures were found in the west mastaba in the pyramid field of Senwosret I at Lisht (Lansing 1924, 38, fig.2; Kemp 1980, 167), which had been dropped in the corridor by robbers. Each figure is a female dwarf, 2 standing, one crouched, wearing long cloaks, short full bottomed hair and with a baby on the left hip. The figures come from a 12 dyn. tomb.

There is a direct relationship between dwarfs and fertility. The male dwarf *ḥ3i* was patron god of mothers and children, of music and dancing (Seyfried 1986, 1433), who later became assimilated with *Bs*. The female counterparts of these apotropaic gods are the hippopotamus goddesses *Ḳpī* and *T3-wrt*. Dwarfs in society were personal servants and often performed ritual dances in religious ceremonies (Seyfried 1986, 1433; el-Aguizy 1987, 54-5; cf. 59-60 for ritual dances before the sun god). The connection between the form or stature of the dwarf

(achondroplastic) with the cults of fertility gods made that form acceptable as a vehicle for fertility figures. It is probable that the female dwarf, tending towards plumpness was seen as a personification of the erect hippopotamus goddesses, and thus an embodiment of all that those deities stood for. Dwarfs as ritual dancers correspond with the *hnr* of other figure types.

#### 6.6.2. LOCALISED "CONCUBINE" FIGURES.

The following are local forms of naked female figurines.

##### 6.6.2.1. Abydos.

1. Tomb D303. Brooklyn MFA 13.1024. H.9.5 cms. A limestone figure of an acrobat is depicted in the pose of a backward arch, with feet, hands and hair touching the base (Peet 1913, 27, fig. 12, IX:2; Breasted 1948, 89, pl.84, 85b; Klebs 1922, 147; Vandier 1958, 98, XL:10). Across the body at knee level, under the buttocks, across the hips, upper thigh, waist and torso are a series of red lines. Those on the torso are reminiscent of the crossover bead strings on types I to III figures. The other lines may represent bead strings and tattooing. The figure came from a large and well equipped tomb which the excavators dated to the 12 dyn.

The purpose this figure was intended for was as a dancer. But bearing in mind that the functions of the ritual dance of the *hnr* go hand-in-hand with birth and rebirth, it is possible that it was also intended as a form of "concubine" figure. Other similar figures are Berlin 14202, L.11.2 cms (Hornemann 1966, 973), Berlin 14570, L.9.7 cms (Hornemann 1966, 974), both unprovenanced.

#### 6.6.2.2. Rifeh.

1. Grave 156. H.3 cms. The grave was of the shallow trench type cut into the shoal. In it was found a crude clay figure (Petrie 1907, XIII A). It was hand modelled with a squared head, punctate eyes and pinched nose. The breasts and navel are indicated by dots. The pubis is outlined in punctate markings and the vulva by an incised line. The figure has no arms or legs. From the same tomb came a cup of 11 to 12 dyn. date (1907, XIII A. cf. Bourriau 1981, 61 no.160).

#### 6.6.2.3. Harageh.

1. Tomb A112. Brus. E5678, UCL 6359-6361, 6363. H.3.4-4cms (plate 100: 1). The figures appear to have been cut from a flat slab of faience (Engelbach 1923, XIV:1). They are of roughly human shape with vaguely feminine bodies. Some were indeed cut from slabs and roughly shaped, whilst others were modelled more carefully on the back and front. They were found with other flat figures of animals. Pottery from tomb A112 is of mid to late 12 dyn. types (41m, 67s. cf. Bourriau 1981, 70 no.133; Arnold 1982<sup>b</sup>, Abb.2:1).

2. Tomb C236. Man. 6138a-b. H.4 cms. Figures resembling the above (1923, XIV). Pottery (type 7j<sub>2</sub>. Bourriau 1981, 69 no.128b) and the scarab are of Senwosret II date.

#### 6.6.2.4. Riqqeh.

1. Tomb A36 contained 3 clay hand modelled female figures (H.3 cms. Engelbach 1915, XXII:7, XL). Location unknown. The bodies have minimal arms and legs, small applied breasts, dot navel and the heads of small balls of clay made separately from the bodies. Pottery from tomb A36 is consistent with 12 dyn. types (1915, XL. types 2f, 7j<sub>2</sub>, 56h, 59x. Arnold 1988, table 9).

### 6.6.3. THE BENI HASAN OFFERING STANDS.

From Beni Hasan is a class of object resembling offering stands, which were probably set up in the shafts or chapel areas in the necropolis. The objects consist of coarse Nile silt ware cylinders often heavily tempered with straw, rendering the surface of the pottery rather rough. Thirteen of the pottery cylinders or parts thereof are directly relevant to this chapter. The 7 female examples are detailed below.

1. Fitz. E.180.1902. H.35.9 x diam.13.8 cms (plate 101). The tall cylinder has a small part of the rim remaining. Part way up its side is a naked female figure standing on a small plinth. The legs are held tightly together, the arms at the sides. The head and face are crudely modelled with incised detail, the hair long. The small breasts are applied. The navel is punctate, whilst the pubis is incised (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, fig.205 centre; Bourriau 1981, 62-3 no.112).

2. Beni Hasan tomb BH87. SAOS E4886. Max.H.29.9 x diam.12.4 cms (plate 102). The cylinder is of coarse clay and with straw temper which now has a friable surface, although the section is quite thick. Inside the surface is grooved and shows signs of having been joined from 2 parts at manufacture. There are traces of red wash on the exterior. The female figure (H.14.4 cms) stands on a small plinth. The legs are together, the arms tight to the sides. Small breasts are applied. Despite damage to the head, it can be seen that the figure had had long hair and punctate eyes. The navel is also punctate, whilst the pubis and toes are incised. This figure like the last, has an elongated torso and short legs.

3. SAOS E6307. Max.H.16.9 x diam.c.16.4 cms (plate 103). This cylinder is of coarse buff coloured pottery with light straw temper. The interior is marked by deep horizontal grooves and extra clay left

rough from joining the 2 parts. The pottery is particularly thick in section, with some traces of red wash on the exterior. The figure (H. 13.4 cms) is poorly preserved and naked. The upper body is missing and the legs broken. A curious feature of this figure is that its arms are indicated only from the hips down, but not at the waist or sides.

Left of the figure is a vertical band of incised text, broken at both top and bottom, illegible, which appears to name the deceased or donor of the cylinder, possibly indicating that it is votive in function. The figure had, like some other examples, been standing in a frame, which remains in this case as a 2.6 cms scar on the pottery surface at 3.4 cms distance all round the figure.

4. Beni Hasan tomb BH545. SAOS E6343. Max.H.15.7 x W.14.1 cms (plate 104:1). This figure survives as a large fragment from the front of a cylinder of buff coloured pottery of finer quality than the other examples. The surface is hard and smooth, with much of the red wash remaining. The interior preserves deep horizontal grooves at the foot of the figure and below it. The lower part of a rectangular frame has inside it, the lower body of a naked female (H.11.3 cms). The body is well proportioned, legs and feet together. No arms are indicated. The navel is punctate and the pubis incised. Left of the female is a smaller figure (H.10.2 cms) rendered in profile and genderless. It is shown in the act of raising its arms so that the hands rest on the left hip of the female, but these now remain as scars on the pottery surface.

This arrangement of figures is reminiscent of the NK "concubine" figure types which show a naked female with a child by its side, and call to mind the "die Wochenlaube" context. The fragment is listed in the tomb register as, "fragments of pottery object decorated with figures modelled in relief" (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 229; SAOS neg. B392

centre).

5. LM 1973.1.375. Max.H.27.9 cms (plate 100:3). Coarse orange ware stand with friable surface and traces of white wash on the lower part. The cylinder curves inwards toward the top with residual clay at the base almost closing it off in a sort of base. The naked female figure (H.10.3 cms) has long hair, no arms or face indicated. The legs are divided by an incised line. The figure stands on a small plinth and is sheltered by an arched kiosk (Bienkowski 1986, 36).

6. Beni Hasan tomb BH440. Ash. E2526. Marked 440. Max.H.27.5 cms (plate 100:4). Coarse orange ware cylinder with a pinkish wash. The crude, angular, naked female figure has long hair, deeply impressed eyes, pinched nose and incised mouth. The small breasts are applied. The pubis is incised and the navel punctate. The arms are short and without hands.

7. Beni Hasan tomb BH61. SAOS E6444. H.43.2 x diam.12.6 cms. Well preserved cylinder of orange ware with traces of red wash. At the top is a rolled rim, whilst unlike the other examples, a rolled rim forms the base. A deep depression and scars mark the position of a female(?) figure (H.14.6 cms) standing on a plinth within a large arched kiosk. Joined from 2 parts, both wheel thrown, with residual clay marking the join (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 213).

The cylinders appear to be homogeneous and may be 11 dyn. to Senwosret I in date (cf. Bourriau 1981, 60, 62), although tomb BH545 has a date range of FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22).

#### 6.7. MALE FIGURES.

Conspicuous by their absence from discussions of "concubine" figures are those which represent naked or semi-clad males. Unlike their female counterparts male figures are relatively rare. They do



not have any distinctive clothing or markings. However, some are posed with their right hands crossing their chests in a manner which is common of supplication, prayer and respect. All figures are of terracotta.

1. Edfu tomb TXIV. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. A terracotta figure, of similar morphology to type IV female figures was found (Michalowski 1950, 74, XXIV:18). The figure is full length, but lacking its head. The left arm is pendant, the right held slightly to the front. A short triangular cloth covers the genitalia.

2. Esna tomb 188E. SAOS E1315. H.12.8 cms. The terracotta figure is similar to the above (Downes 1974, 87, 124, fig.53). The feet and right leg are missing, but the genitalia are clearly visible. The left arm is pendant while the right crosses the chest. The hair of this figure is composed of small applied pieces of clay giving the effect of curls.

3. Esna tomb 231E?. LM 16.11.06.263. H.11.2 cms (plate 100:2). The terracotta figure lacks its head. The body is twisted to the left so that the right leg is foremost when seen from the front. The genitalia are indicated, as are punctate markings around the hips, thighs and buttocks. It is tempting to view these markings as tattoos like the female figures. The right arm crosses the chest and holds what appears to be a hoe over to the left shoulder (Bienkowski 1986, 48).

4. Esna tomb 55E. Man. 1726. H.16.5 cms (Downes 1974, 86, 117, fig. 50). Male figure(?) with elaborate hair. The arms are to the sides.

The detail of the hoe may indicate the function of these male figures; as labourers. However, they are not simply to be viewed as labourers. Of great significance is the fertility of the land as well as of the individual, and it is in this context that these figures should be seen.

The pottery in tombs 188E and 55E and the presence in 55E of a terra-cotta model coffin points towards a 12/13 dyn. to SIP date (pottery type 16. cf. Bourriau 1981, 58 nos. 101-2). Tomb 231E has predominantly 18 dyn. pottery.

5. Beni Hasan tomb BH76. Ash. E2529. Dimensions unknown. Male pottery figure carrying a torch (Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, figs.203-4).

6. Beni Hasan tomb BH533. Ash. E4271. Dimensions unknown. Figure similar to the above.

7. SAOS E4158. Dimensions unknown. Figure similar to the above.

8. Riqqeh tomb A36. Location unknown, dimensions unknown. Terra-cotta figure of a naked male (Engelbach 1915, 19, XXII:7). Like the female figures with which it was found, the body is hand modelled with minimal arms and legs. The head is made from a separate ball of clay. To distinguish it from the female figures it is depicted ithiphallic. Probably of 12 dyn. date.

#### 6.8. MALE FIGURES ON OFFERING STANDS.

Figures found on pottery cylinders identical to those discussed above may also be male. Six such cylinders have been identified.

1. SAOS E6341-2. H.18.7 x W.10.4 cms (plate 104:2). Two fragments of friable brown pottery are all that survive from the front of this cylinder. It carries the upper part of an oval frame and most of a naked male figure. The pottery is very thin in comparison with the other cylinders. This may account for its poor state of preservation. The upper fragment, carrying the head and shoulders is very worn, so that no details of the face remain. The lower part is better preserved giving the full width of the body and arms. The arms fall to each side but are not held close, the hands having crude incised and splayed fingers. The genitalia are clearly defined, whilst the navel and

nipples are indicated by deep puncture marks.

2. Beni Hasan tomb BH720. SAOS E6339. Max.H.36.7 x diam.16 cms (plate 105). The greater part of a heavily made coarse buff coloured cylinder with straw temper preserves on its side a naked male torso (H.18 cms). The head and legs are missing, but the genitalia are indicated. The arms are short and crude which fall to the sides and curve out. The navel is punctate. On the left hip is the hand of a smaller figure (H.9 cms) standing to his right, which is shown in the act of embracing the male, but survives now only as a scar on the pottery surface. To the left of both figures and the large rectangular scar in which they stand, are the remains of a vertical band of incised text, now illegible.

This arrangement of figures, like the female example cited above, is identical with the birth arbour scenario. It is significant that here the main protagonist is male, emphasising that fertility is not just the domain of females and that evidence as it survives can give a distorted and biased impression of how the Egyptians thought.

3. Beni Hasan tomb BH868. Ash. E734. Max.H.32.5 cms (plate 106:1). The cylinder is funnel shaped with a rolled rim of dense orange ware with a thick red wash. A large oval frame (H.22.5 cms) covers most of the height of the stand. The figure within however, is ill-defined with a pinched face but without details, and short hair. The arms are to the side and the legs represented as one. No definite indication of sex is made. It may be assumed that the figure was regarded by Garstang as male, hence its inclusion with a group of male figured cylinders in SAOS negative B391.

4. Beni Hasan tomb BH772. Ash. E736. H.11 x W.10.5 cms (plate 106:2). A large fragment from the front of a stand shows the lower part of a large rectangular kiosk containing the lower body of a naked male

figure with genitalia. The swelling hips and narrow waist closely resemble those of the female stand SAOS E6343.

Two further cylinders with naked male figures are seen in the SAOS negative B391. To the left is a straight sided cylinder with a slight shoulder and rolled rim decorated by an oval frame inside which a naked male stands, legs together, arms close to the sides. Small breasts appear to be applied to his chest, but there is little doubt of the gender for the male genitalia are also applied. Little other detail is discernible from the picture. In the centre is a cylinder similar to the last with a wide flaring rim. The naked male figure with genitalia stands on a small plinth. His legs are together, the left arm to his side, whilst the right crosses the chest in a pose of veneration, prayer and respect.

Like the female examples, the cylinders may be dated 11 dyn. to Senwosret I (cf. Bourriau 1981, 62), whilst that from tomb BH720 has a date range of FIP to Amenemhat III (p. 22), and those from tombs BH868 and BH772 are 11 dyn. to Senwosret II (p. 45, 48).

#### 6.9. SUMMARY.

Like female "concubine" figures, males were intended to carry out more than one function. The nakedness, particularly of the Riqqeh example, is a blatant indication of some sexual or reproductive purpose. The hoe held by one of the Esna figures indicates a working role, and the pose of respect would suggest that the figures represented persons of low rank. In each case a reproductive role can be found for these figures, which appears to be somewhat less complicated than their female counterparts.

Their distribution is very limited. They are found in the cemeteries of Edfu and Esna in southern upper Egypt with the types

IVa-b, their female counterparts. It is likely that other male figures have come from sites yielding type IV figures but that these have not been recognised. The Beni Hasan male figures are different in form, but probably served a similar purpose.

#### 6.10. SEX OF OWNERSHIP.

If figures of naked females were indeed, to be called "concubines" it would be reasonable to expect to find them predominantly in male graves. Publications in some instances provide some evidence of the sex of the deceased, but most do not attempt to assign a sex to any given body, particularly if it is not accompanied by an inscription from which to verify it. This is particularly true of large cemeteries of anepigraphic burials such as Edfu, Esna or Abydos. There is also the problem of preservation of material or lack of it which hampers any attempt to quantify the material. Statistics drawn from the archaeological record are therefore, very tentative.

Of the 322 provenanced figures studied 7 (2.2%) were found in sexed male graves, 5 (1.6%) were from sexed female graves, 23 (7.1%) were in multiple burials of mixed sex, 115 (35.7%) were in graves of single burials described simply as adult, 2 (0.6%) were found in the graves of children and 170 (52.8%) were in graves of unknown or unstated sex. How far these statistics reflect reality remains unproven, since over half of them were in unsexed contexts. However, the numerical similarity between male and female owners is significant, as is the very small number of figures associated with children. It can be inferred that figures are not to be viewed as sexual partners for the deceased nor as surrogate mothers, a conclusion which adds weight to the interpretations given above. "Concubine" figures were provided equally for men and women using the same morphological features with-

out distinction.


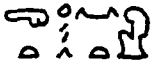
#### 6.11. DISPOSITION.

The following results using the 22 provenanced figures are tentative. 112 (34.79%) figures were found in a tomb context which is not specified, 59 (18.33%) were found in the tomb shaft or doorway, 33 (10.24%) were found inside the burial chamber generally, 23 (7.14%) were found in close association with the coffin, 12 (3.72%) were found inside the coffin itself, whilst 83 (25.78%) come from unknown or unstated contexts. Nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the figures with a specified context were placed in the tomb with the majority of other tomb goods such as pottery, food and models. This would seem to indicate that the function of the figures was viewed as a personal and non-specific to the deceased, functioning in the same manner as other tomb models and not in specific terms like amulets placed on the body.

#### 6.12. RELATED COFFIN TEXTS.

The Object Friezes on coffins do not include amongst their repertoire figures of females or males. However, frequent reference is made to reproduction in the CT spells 67, 74, 75, 84, 94, 96, 180, 184, 227, 285, 422, 424, 464, 466, 468, 503, 682, 748, 766, 874, 967, and 991. To the ancient Egyptians fertility and sexuality were synonymous. Great care was taken to ensure that the dead had access to all their faculties. Therefore, the protection of one's virility was of prime importance. To this end figures were placed in tombs and in shrines to Hathor, illustrating that "concubine" figures had validity for the living as well as the dead. CT 503 also refers to heirs existing forever. CT 81 claims that the placing of the *ḥpꜣt* bread on a man's body allows him to become sexually active, as does a papyrus

amulet in CT 135 and an amulet of amethyst or carnelian in CT 576. Through recitation or possession of CT 131, 136, 137, 142, 146 and 753 a man may procure his family. Fertility was also ensured by a man's ability to magically turn into various gods or sacred animals such as Osiris (CT 94 and 227), a Heron (CT 67), as Sobek (CT 268), as Horus (CT 379 and 994) and as Min (CT 967).

Procreation is usually referred to as with one's wife, such as CT 619, which uses the term *hmt*  (de Buck 1956, 234). However, a man may impregnate "goddesses" (CT 73. Faulkner 1973, 73), the 4 women in the Field of *Htp* (CT 466. Faulkner 1977, 94), Sothis (CT 468. Faulkner 1977, 99) and the *smwt*-women (CT 991. Faulkner 1978, 100). Spell 766 refers vaguely to wombs in general, rather than specific persons, whilst CT 146 has been translated as referring to a concubine, *mt-hnt*  as a member of the family (Faulkner 1973, 123; de Buck 1938, 183). An alternative reading of this term is "female sexual partner" (Smith 1979, 161; cf. Varille 1956, 91) or "compagne, epouse" (Meeks 1979, 137 no.79.1417), implying the wife.

Two spells in the CT can be related in a more direct manner to "concubine" figures. The first is CT 317 which alludes to the frog goddesses of the creation myths who are said to be "braided haired women" (Faulkner 1973, 242), bringing to mind the types of wigs worn by types III and IV figures, and some of the localised forms. The other spell CT 771, also refers to the First Event of creation, in which the deceased says,

"I fly up as a swallow, I have cackled as a  
goose, I have trodden on the mound of the  
dancer" (Faulkner 1977, 301).

This latter reference is ambiguous, but draws together the concept of creation, vivification and ritual dancing which is seen in the iconography of the "concubine" figure.

It is possible to see in the CT the iconography of the fertility figures popularly produced at the same time as the texts. Whilst it is possible to argue for the presence of more than one factor for the morphological changes seen in the figures, it is imperative to keep in mind the underlying function of all mortuary objects; the continued existence of the tomb owner in a manner equitable with life in the realm of the Living through the protection of the popular as well as state gods.

### 6.13. CONCLUSIONS.

It is likely that the re-introduction of the fertility figure into the mortuary assemblage saw its genesis in the region of Thebes during a period of intense Hathor worship during the FIP and early 11 dyn. The initial form "concubine" figures take are "paddle-dolls" shaped like the *mnit*-counterpoise used during Hathoric ceremonies. This type of figure is here termed type I. Type I figures are flat wooden objects with painted decoration consisting of the crossover strings seen on dancers' torsos and short patterned skirts. There may also be tattoos. Despite the lack of legs these figures clearly represent dancers. The earliest datable type I figures are from Thebes during the FIP and 11 dyn. Type I figures are concentrated at Thebes, although others have been found in middle Egypt between Akhmim and Beni Hasan.

At Thebes another figure, type II appears in the 11 to 12 dyns. and is found only at this site. The figures are wooden, naked or with painted skirts, crossover strings, tattoos but unlike type I figures have full length legs. The similarity between the 2 figure types is inescapable, both representing the dancer.

At various sites 3 other figure types develop, all with



truncated legs, but with properly modelled bodies. These types are distinguished by their material and body decoration. Type IIIa are faience figures found most commonly at Lisht and other Fayoum sites. Their bodies may have lozenge tattoos, cowry bead girdles, necklaces and other items of jewellery. Alternatively, the body may be covered by a patterned skirt similar to those on type I and II figures. In terms of date, type IIIa figures may be early 12 dyn. when found at Lisht, although the cemeteries there were in use into the 13 dyn. indicating that the date range of type IIIa figures is 12 to 13 dyn. Type IIIa figures have been found in small numbers at Thebes. From sites mostly in upper Egypt come type IIIb figures, made of wood or ivory, the bodies being plain and the hair often comprising tufts of real hair inserted into holes in the head. All figures, except one from Bershah, are clearly datable to the late 12 to 13 dyn. The Bershah figure may be earlier.

At Thebes type IIIc figures appear. These are made of limestone and the body decoration consists of black painted dot jewellery, necklaces, collars, bracelets, girdles and so on. These figures are tattooed with cross shapes across the midriff and rump. The hair of these figures is distinctive in that it is divided into 3 sections; short and full bottomed at the front, with a plait from the shaven crown to each shoulder and another, centrally placed down the back. Type IIIc figures from Esna are datable to the late 12 dyn. and 13 dyn. These figures are concentrated in southern upper Egypt, although a purchased example was claimed to come from Asyut.

Southern upper Egypt produced its own tradition of "concubine" figures, termed here type IVa and IVb. These are terra-cotta handmade objects of crude appearance. Both types have full length legs unlike types I and III. The bodily details comprise punctate girdles and dots

around the navel and on the rump. Incision is used to indicate the pubis, fingers, bracelets and facial features. The figures are distinguished by their head type. Type IVa have a tripartite wig similar to that on type IIIc figures with the addition of an applied tiara across the front of the head. Type IVb have a discoid head pierced for the insertion of hair or mud beads forming a wig. Type IV figures are found between Edfu and Abydos in 12/13 dyn. to 17 dyn. contexts. Of the 2 types type IVa appears to be earlier, imitating to some extent type IIIc figures. However, type IVb are more common and continue to be produced in the 18 dyn.

There are clearly several traditions of "concubine" figures. Of these types I, II and IIIc are centred on Thebes. Theban influence in the 11 dyn. can be seen as far north as Beni Hasan, whilst in the late 12 dyn. Theban influence in the mortuary assemblage appears to be southward. Contemporary traditions, types IIIa, IIIb, IVa and IVb are centred on Lisht, middle Egypt and southern upper Egypt respectively.

The purpose the figures served is problematic and complex. The iconography of the dancer is clearly represented on figure types I, II and IIIa along with an unprovenanced type IIIb. It is possible that the dot tattoos of type IV figures also identifies them as dancers. The lozenge tattoos of type I and IIIa figures are found on the mummified bodies of dancers in the temple complex of Neb-hepet-Re, most notably the body of *Imnt*, who held the titles *hkrt-nsw-w<sup>c</sup>tt*, *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr*, indicating her connection with the royal court and the cult of Hathor. It is likely that women bearing such titles were concerned with the ritual dancing during Hathoric ceremonies. Thus the iconography of the "concubine" figure can be associated with ritual dancing. Type IIIc and IVa figures with the tripartite are also associated with the cult of Hathor, as an inscribed statuette of a

women wearing this distinctive wig illustrates (the title in this case is *hkrt-nsw*). Dancing and fertility are closely related in the cult of Hathor. It is in this capacity that "concubine" figures should be viewed. There is no evidence to suggest that these figures were intended to serve any sexual functions, it is rather what they represent, the ritual dancer which imbues them with sexuality and the power, as talismans, to provide vigour and virility for the owner.

As with more conventional models, "concubine" figures, by promoting the family and household, through the revitalised deceased, serve also as a means of ensuring a continued supply of sustenance for the deceased in the tomb.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: MIDDLE KINGDOM BURIAL CUSTOMS. CONCLUSIONS.

### 7.1. DAILY LIFE AND MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BURIAL GOODS.

Middle Kingdom burial customs are a complex combination of the utilitarian and magico-religious. It stands, not only chronologically between the Old and New Kingdoms, but as a developmental point quite distinct from the rigid formality of the OK and the urbane NK. During the OK, a well equipped burial was the prerogative of a very select few consisting of a limited range of goods, including the coffin, sarcophagus, food offerings, pottery, some cosmetic items, jewellery, occasionally clothing, and the statues of the deceased. During the NK, private burials particularly, seem to consist of all one's household chattels, clothes, personal items, games, furniture and so on, as well as highly magico-religious scenes painted on the anthropoid coffins, forming a mixture of worldly comfort and a secure position in the Afterlife. Many of the OK customs were adopted into MK practice and developed socially as the direct result of "democratisation" at the end of the 6 dyn. This is seen as a usurpation of royal prerogatives through the use of the Coffin Texts in non-royal burials, emblems of divinity and royalty, the assumption of a household and personal economy through the use of wooden models and the dissemination of the well equipped burial through a wider proportion of the population than was evident in the OK. By the NK this plethora of characteristically MK material was limited to actual belongings with the magico-religious emphasis retained for the coffin.

There are 2 main categories of objects; items of daily life; magico-religious items. It is not always clear into which category an item fits, since for instance a mirror, could serve at least 2 functions; as a toiletry item; as a cult object in the worship of

Hathor (Lilyquist 1979<sup>a</sup>, 97-9), particularly those bearing the titles of priestesses. They could also serve some function within the mortuary assemblage as a receptacle for the *k3*.

Items which may be termed objects of daily life or personal items include such things as pottery, baskets, containers, boxes, clothing, jewellery, cosmetics, palettes, kohl pots, mirrors, tweezers, razors and musical instruments. Not all items were actually used in life, particularly jewellery, which could be represented by substitute items placed on the body at burial, of imitation materials and often too small or incomplete to have been worn. However, there is ample evidence to suggest that prized personal possessions were taken into the tomb, as worn and battered examples of jewellery illustrates (eg. *Hpy*, Lisht south. Lansing 1934, 38; *Snb-ty.sy*, Lisht. Mace 1916, 57). Like mirrors, jewellery may have served more than one function. It is known that in the NK collars were given by the king as rewards, thus particular types of jewellery may have esteem attached to them. Jewellery was offered to the gods as divine beings and may have been presented to the dead in the same manner, but mostly jewellery was purely decorative (cf. Wilkinson 1971, 7-10).

Generally, pottery was included in a burial purely as containers for the food and liquid offerings, although certain types of pottery were evidently manufactured specifically for the tomb (eg. model pottery and unfinished vessels. cf. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, XV types 48-53). Baskets, containers and boxes are those in which valuables had been kept, like trinket boxes, or had been used to convey the burial goods to the tomb. Items of clothing as such are rarely found amongst the mortuary assemblage, but appear occasionally as part of the mummy bindings, or sometimes in the form of reed and leather sandals. Jewellery, worn across the whole spectrum of Egyptian society appears

most frequently as strings of beads of semiprecious stones, faience, shell and clay. Necklaces, bracelets, anklets and long crossover strings predominate. Cosmetics not only improved one's appearance whilst imparting medical benefits, but prepared the deceased for the state of purification and cleanliness in which all who pass into the Afterlife must be. Items such as razors could function in the same way.

All the objects of daily life could lend the qualities of well being and status. The exact choice of objects was entirely subjective and dependent on the wealth of the individual or family concerned.

Objects of a magico-religious nature include the coffin, funerary mask, anthropoid coffin, canopic jars, the employment of amulets, symbols of divinity and the possession of the Coffin Texts. The preparation of the body and its encasement implies a certain expectation of the Afterlife and the means with which to achieve it.

The use of amulets is not necessarily entirely funerary since large numbers of them were manufactured for use during life. The relatively poor cemeteries of Mostagedda, Matmar and the Qau region illustrate the use of leg amulets, hawk pendants, scarabs, shell pendants, *w3dt*-eyes, lions, serpent heads, arms, hands, *T3-wrt* figures, crocodiles, vultures, ibises, ureai, hippopotami heads, royal crowns, flies, "millions of years" signs, *cnh* and *dd*-signs (Brunton 1937, LV-II, LX, LXIX; 1948, XXXI-III, XXXIX, XL-I, XLIII), as well as royal name cylinders elsewhere. It is unlikely, given the poverty of these graves that the amulets were acquired specifically for the protection of the dead. Amulets are, particularly in the NK, found frequently on town sites and in rubbish dumps, attesting to their popular usage. However, the CT and Object Friezes make it clear that particular types of amulets were to be employed by the deceased to achieve certain

states and to impart certain qualities. The divine and royal symbols in the form of sets of sceptres, staves, flails and maces functioned in a similar fashion, imbuing the deceased with semi-divine and royal qualities through their depiction as emblems carried by gods and kings. These sets are best represented by those belonging to *Snb-ty.sy* (Mace 1916, 78-103, fig.35), *Snb.n.f* (Jéquier 1902, 79, fig.97), *Hr-3w-ib-R<sup>c</sup>* (de Morgan 1895, 96-7, figs.22-5), *Nbw-htpti<sup>2</sup>-hrd* (1895, 108-9, 114, figs.253-7), *It3* (de Morgan 1903, 46, fig.105), *Hnmt* (1903, 60), *S3t-Hwt-hr-mrt* (1903, 74, 76), *K3y-Hnnt* (Kamal 1911, 24) and *Sni* (1911, 28). Some of the sets in addition, include a bow (cf. Hassan 1976; Fischer 1978, 5-32). Weapons in the form of maces, bows, arrows, shields, wristguards, spears, daggers and knives which, although effective against real danger could guard against threatened danger in the Afterlife. Weapons could function on 2 levels; as a mark of profession; as magico-religious protection. Soldiers are likely to have taken their weapons to the tomb. The mace, whilst being a weapon, is also an archaic symbol of royalty. Although not depicted on the Object Frieze the throwstick, found in several tombs, could be used as a defence against enemies in the Afterlife, as the CT attest and as a marsh hunting tool, in order that the deceased could provide his own food, if necessary.

The decoration of the coffin with its full compliment of texts and Object Frieze effectively did away with the need to supply the illustrated and named objects. In practice of course, the illustrated and the real were placed side-by-side. Nevertheless, the Object Frieze gives an impression of the types of objects one might expect to find in an ideally equipped tomb, in both daily life and magico-religious items.

Fitting into the latter category are the vast array of model or

substitute items included in the mortuary assemblage. Items such as the specially manufactured funerary jewellery, model carpenters' tools, model agricultural tools, model symbols of divinity, model amuletic signs, model sandals, offering-trays, "concubine" figures, model servants preparing consumables and shabti figures. Last is the figure of the deceased himself.

It is against this background of model and substitute funerary goods that model scenes should be viewed. Burials containing models are found exclusively in rock-cut, shaft and chamber, mastaba and occasionally pit tombs. They are found with wooden coffins, usually inscribed and decorated, funerary masks, anthropoid coffins, canopics, large amounts of linen wrappings, jewellery predominantly of the funerary type, model sandals, staves, bows, *hs*-vases and pottery. In such burials objects of daily life are infrequent, as the intact burials at Beni Hasan, Rifeh, Bershah and Thebes illustrate. In these burials the bodies yielded little jewellery, usually of the "dummy" types and virtually no personal items.

## 7.2. SOCIAL RANK.

The rank or status of those owning model scenes is fairly well defined within the sphere of state, temple and local administration. This is not the place to discuss at length the intricacies of MK social organisation (cf. Berlev 1972; 1978; Ward 1982<sup>a</sup>; 1986; Franke 1984<sup>b</sup>; Quirke 1986). It is sufficient here to state that persons having access to or the need of, the model corpus ranged from the very highest rank of king (eg. *Shr-t3wy-<sup>3</sup>In<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>it.f* and *Neb-hepet-Re*), through the upper echelons of the bureaucracy holding titles such as *r-p<sup>c</sup>t*, *h3ty-c*, implying some association with the crown, to the upper stratum of working titles such as *hry-tp-c3-n-sp3t*, *t3ty*, *imy-r sd3wt*, *hkrt-*



*nsw-w<sup>c</sup>tt*, *hm-ntr Hwt-hr*, through the lower titles of the upper stratum like *sd3wty-bity*, *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty*. What appears to be a separate stratum are those holding positions of responsibility such as *imy-r w*, *hry-tp-<sup>i</sup>3wt-hntywt*, *swnw wr*, *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>*, *imy-r sš*, *s<sup>d</sup>m-s<sup>d</sup>mt-w<sup>c</sup>*, *imy-r mdhw*, *imy-r šnwty*, *hkrt-nsw* and *imy-r pr*. Below these are professional persons in the employ of or under the direction of the above, such as *hry-pdt*, *sš<sup>c</sup>n-nsw*, *hry-hbt*, *hm-ntr* and *ch3wty*. Lower still appear to be persons whose profession is involved with producing a product or supplying a service, such as household servants, brewers, cooks, etc. Ward's lower stratum C (1986, 28) as defined by feminine titles such as *b3kt-nt-hk3* is said to contain persons in the servicing trades, which appears too artificial. Can we really assume a miller was of the same standing as a *s3b-iry Nhn*? A solution would be to view lower titles like *b3kt-nt-hk3* as defining another layer of society represented once in the model owning group at Hu (Capart 1927, 43-8) and at Beni Hasan by the title *rsw-hwt* (Tomb BH585. Garstang 1907<sup>a</sup>, 98ff read there as *hk3-hwt*).

What is clear from the textual material is that a cross-section of secular and religious professionals owned models. Representative of state administration are those attached to the court at Thebes during the 11 dyn. Local administration is represented to a higher degree, from the level of mayor or nomarch, to overseers of various offices or stores, secretarial staff and so on. Apart from the high ranking title *hm-ntr Hwt-hr* (cf. Ward 1986), persons owning models holding entirely religious titles are rare (eg. *Nfri*<sup>1</sup>. Beni Hasan tomb BH81; *In-m-3ht*. Abusir tomb MR1; *Hri*<sup>1</sup>-š.f-h<sup>t</sup>p I and II. Abusir tombs MR6, MR8; *Ip*<sup>1</sup>-m-s3.f. Saqqara tomb 289), in comparison with administrative and professional titles.

A great number of model owners are designated *sd3wty-bity*, *smr-*

w<sup>c</sup>ty, with an even greater number entitled *imy-r pr*. This poses the problem of the exact significance of the title *imy-r pr* in the MK context. Certainly, holders were of some standing, but it would appear that their exact status relied upon the institution in which they held positions of authority. One title which cannot, without circumstantial or supporting evidence be categorised is *nbt-pr*, of which many owned models.

Many burials have been found disturbed to a greater or lesser extent. Often it is the coffin which has been destroyed in an attempt to remove the body for rifling. The coffin is therefore, often highly fragmented, leaving little or no evidence of the owner's name and status. Such is the case in the tombs at Asyut and Beni Hasan, particularly. However, where the coffin or other inscribed material survives, a better indication of status can be gained. Of approximately 220 burials throughout the Nile valley preserving models and coffin fragments c. 96 (c. 43.6%) are of uncertain status due to the poor preservation of the coffin or inadequate publication. A further 40 or so (c. 18.1%) were definitely not title bearers, whilst c. 84 (c. 38.1%) bore titles. During the 4 to 6 dyn. period all model owners were title bearers, as were the post 6 dyn. model owners. It is during the 9/10 dyn. that non-titled persons began to use models, the greatest concentration being the cemetery of Sedment. At other sites, at least one burial in family tombs tends to have a title (eg. *Hnwy* at Gebelein, *Nfr-smdt* at Saqqara). There are however, instances where the burial is in an anepigraphic coffin (eg. tomb 13 at Asyut) or the coffin is merely inscribed with the owner's name (eg. *Sbk-htp<sup>i</sup>* at Beni Hasan, *Tnt* at Riqqeh). Thus at least a third of burials are known to belong to the title bearing class.

From the social ranking evidence above, it can be inferred that

where models are found without direct evidence of rank or status (ie. textual), the owners may have belonged by marriage or familial relationship to a recognised social strata (status group) within the local or state administration institutions. For instance, at Gebelein the tomb of *Hnwy* contained his inscribed coffin and models. No titles are provided. The adjoining chambers contained the burials of a *h3ty-c*, *sd3wty-bity*, *hkrt-ns-wc*, *hm-ntr Hwt-hr* indicating that the family tomb was of the provincial nobility. Where a burial is placed in a usurped coffin, it need not be viewed as the action of vandalism, but the result of a donation on the unexpected death of a family member or favoured employee. Such appears to be the case in the burial of the woman *Dhwtj-nht* in tomb 22:III at Bershad in the coffin of the *sd3wty-bity K3y* or, *Hpy* in the mastaba of *Sn-wsrt* at Lisht south. A great number of burials without rank indicators (titles) but owning models may have been relatives of titled or professional persons. One can expect to find the designation *s3 h3ty-c*, but not *s3 imy-r pr*. Affiliation at this level in society goes unmarked. Similarly the term *nbt-pr*, "married woman" or "housekeeper" does not on its own indicate the true rank of the holder, for which indication one must look to the husband's titles for supporting evidence.

It should be borne in mind that many models have come from tombs which have been badly disturbed. The above discussion is based on those tombs which have some inscribed remains.

### 7.3. STANDARD-OF-LIVING INDICATORS.

Models other than those of wood, the terra-cotta offering-trays, "soul-houses" and "concubines" are not so restricted in their social distribution, but are found most frequently in non-status burials (ie. the population not within the ranking or professional strata, without

authority over others) or those with very few models. These burials are those in the tomb types which required less wealth to produce, the pit tomb, the trench grave and brick-vaulted tomb. Model carpenters' tools and agricultural tools are found most commonly in tombs or graves of simple design which contain mostly objects of daily life and personal items (pottery, beads, cosmetic palettes, etc.). This would seem to indicate that, contra Schneider (1977, 24 n.5) the models of the MK represent not the number of servants in one's household, but the *standard-of-living* expected by persons within the ranking and professional strata (cf. Kemp 1989, 155 for the *Mkt-Rc* models which depict a high official's residence). Burials of families, husbands and wives (eg. *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-smdt* at Saqqara or *Hnm-nhtj* and *Ntr-nhtj* at Beni Hasan) within a single tomb containing more than one set of models indicate that the figures within them do not represent the number of servants employed. Models of a more meagre nature, the offering-trays, tools and implements were the means by which the non-status population could procure sustenance through the fruits of their own labour.

Demographic evidence from cemetery sites, whilst being of limited use can give an indication of general trend where a population is of sufficient size and scope. The dynastic populations of Gebelein and Asyut excavated and collected by the Italian mission have allowed a study of its skeletal remains (Masali 1973, 162). The FIP and MK remains from these sites show that the population was in equilibrium with the provinces' resources (Masali 1973, 168). The studies of O'Connor on the Matmar-Etmanieh data shows that there was an increase in population in the FIP, dropping off in the 11 to 12 dyns. (1972, 83, table 4; 1974, 27). Both the Matmar-Etmanieh and Gebelein regions were of little economic or political importance during the MK suggest-

ing that the demographic evidence is likely to reflect the trend throughout the Nile valley (O'Connor 1972, 84). That a similar pattern is seen at the much more wealthy and fertile site of Asyut is significant. If, as Schneider suggests, the number of model servants reflects the number in one's household, with the expansion of the minor bureaucracy in the FIP to MK and the corresponding increase in the model repertoire, one would expect to find a marked increase in the MK population. The demographic evidence proves otherwise, therefore wooden models cannot, in the MK be taken as representative of once living servants, but as a mark of the standard-of-living expected by certain strata of Egyptian MK society and as rank indicators.

#### 7.4. EXPECTATIONS OF THE AFTERLIFE.

Provision for a comfortable Afterlife at least equitable with that experienced in life itself was procured by those within the ranking and professional strata. Wealth and status could procure coffins inscribed with the CT spells and Object Friezes, and symbols of royalty and divinity to be deposited in the tomb with the sole intention of achieving a semi-divine status in the Afterlife with Osiris and Re (similar conclusions have been reached recently by Kemp. 1989, 243). The material wealth and comfort of the tomb-bound body and *k3* was achieved through real or dummy objects and models. Nothing was left to chance. The CT themselves covered most eventualities, from providing rations of food, maps to the Underworld and the bringing together of an estate and family so that the deceased could function as he had in life.

Burials of a simpler nature accompanied by personal possessions in smaller more economic forms of tomb such as the pit tomb, vaulted

chambers, down to trench graves sought no less for an ideal Afterlife as means allowed. Personal dignity and standing within the peasant population was assured by the retainment in the grave of items of jewellery often in semiprecious stones, gold and silver, the provision where possible of a coffin and the inclusion of toiletries, pottery and a food supply. Amulets, particularly are found amongst the strings of beads. Models of working tools and agricultural implements imply that manual labour was expected by the labouring class in the After-life, a continuation of the *status quo* in life. Added status in terms of material wealth may have played a part in the provision of model tools in copper, a desired and valuable commodity (a similar case has been made for the exchange commodities of gold and silver in the jewellery of the Qau-Mostagedda cemeteries. Kemp 1989, 239-240, 259). Through the employment of the offering-tray, within the means of most of the population, continued sustenance was magically ensured. "Concubine" figures, themselves a complex mixture of functions could enhance the deceased's ability to receive sustenance. The CT which relate to the drawing together of one's family and household, as well as the shabti spell relate to this matter (Schneider 1977, 42-6). The larger one's family, the greater are the chances of continued sustenance. Thus "concubine" figures in their role as objects designed to provide vigour could contribute to the provision of food and drink (cf. Schneider 1977, 42, 44-5).

The implications of this are that status burials sought a comfortable standard-of-living, whilst those of non-status, apparently without aspirations for the Afterlife, expected to exist as in life, but sought comfort from the cheaper types of mortuary goods of standardised forms suggesting that they were acquired rather than home-made. A group of MK tombs, brick-vaulted with small mastaba

superstructures, contained within a walled enclosure about 40m north of the Amen temple at Ashmunein, contained only decayed coffins. What pottery there was, was placed outside the tombs. No other funerary goods were provided (information supplied by Dr. J. Spencer. Forthcoming in Excavations at El-Ashmunein III). In such cases it is difficult to interpret what the Afterlife expectations of such a community were.

#### 7.5. ACQUISITION OF THE MORTUARY ASSEMBLAGE.

How did the Egyptians go about obtaining their funerary goods and who provided it, the deceased or his family? Later texts, such those from Deir el-Medina make it clear that barter and exchange at an agreed level of value was practised and that some items such as the coffin were purchased well in advance of death. The models of *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* were observed to have suffered insect and rodent damage to at least 50% of them (Winlock 1955, 77, 79). Such damage as rodent gnawing, droppings, nests and spiders' webs could have occurred during or shortly after deposition in the tomb. The pertinent evidence which suggests otherwise are the fly spatterings on models A to C which cannot have occurred after the serdab was sealed, therefore the models were prepared in advance by *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* himself.

It has been stated above that the *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* models should be used for comparison purposes with extreme caution. The reason for this being simply the very high quality of the models. The same may be said for the "Bershah Procession" of *Dhwtj-nht* and the models of *Mshtj* from Asyut. That the *Mkt-R<sup>c</sup>* models were prepared before his death suggests strongly that he oversaw their production or selected them for himself. Possibly a similar situation produced the "Bershah Procession" and the Asyut model battalions. Support for this hypothesis is suppli-

ed by the tomb of *Dhwtj-nht*, 10A at Bershah. Side-by-side with the "Bershah Procession", the product of a master craftsman are some of the crudest models ever produced. This seeming paradox may be resolved by suggesting that the deceased, purchasing his own models prior to death could ensure quality and aestheticism. Models purchased by the heir after death would not necessarily be of high quality. Parallels for this are many. Quality of goods were obviously not a criteria to be considered. Particularly extreme parallels from OK royal mortuary complexes may be cited where the king dies leaving his monument unfinished. The heir then completes it in far cheaper materials. It is plausible that where poor quality models are found, these were supplied not by the recipient, but by the heir. Thus in the tomb of *Dhwtj-nht* there is the juxtaposition of a work of art with models of a purely utilitarian nature; the former provided by the deceased, the latter by the heir.

Quality does not appear to have had any bearing on the efficacy of the models. It may be argued that the fine quality models of *Mkt-Rc* were the result of donation from a royal workshop rather than individually motivated choice. But, the models belonging to Neb-hepet-Re, which one would expect to be of a certain standard are no better in quality than the run-of-the-mill models found in private tombs, and indeed much inferior to those of *Mkt-Rc*. It is evident therefore, that quality was not a prime factor in the choice of models, but where high quality is found it may indicate the deceased's individual choice according to his means, as far as the surviving evidence allows us to ascertain.

Where the mortuary assemblage was obtained is not recorded, except for the highly specialised society of workmen at Deir el-Medina, who largely procured coffins and so on from fellow workmen. It



is likely that the magico-religious items such as models, divine emblems and coffins were produced by temple related workshops. Indeed, excavations east of the Sacred Lake at Karnak, in the MK level have produced "soul-houses" and "concubine" figures in contexts which appear to be accommodation or workshop blocks associated with the MK temple (Lauffray 1980, 47-9; Debono 1982, 378, 380; Vergniew 1982, 389, 390-2). Both types of item, though often hand-fashioned, are highly standardised, suggesting a common source. Their magico-religious nature implies that that source was a temple workshop. There is no evidence to suggest that objects such as "soul-houses" were used *for the living*, but it is possible that "concubine" figures were employed by women wishing to conceive or deliver safely. Thus magico-religious items used in life and for the Afterlife were probably available from a single source.

#### 7.6. REGIONAL WEALTH.

The model corpus is concentrated in a stretch from Naga ed-Deir to Beni Hasan, with relatively few models occurring at other centres of population, apart from the Sedment necropolis. Additionally, the corpus is densest at the nome capitals or their serving cemeteries. Conditions of preservation in northern upper Egypt (middle Egypt) do not seem sufficient alone to explain the quantities of models within this well defined region.

Modern studies on population density in relation to agricultural productivity reveal interesting and pertinent results (Wilson 1955, 209-236). Caution must however, be exercised when applying modern evidence to ancient conditions. With this in mind it can be seen that the agricultural and administrative districts into which Egypt is now divided can aid the understanding of why models are concentrated in

the Naga ed-Deir to Beni Hasan region. From modern census reports (Wilson 1955, 215-8; Butzer 1976, 80ff) 3 regions or mudiriya stand out as the richest, Girgeh, Asyut and Minya. Within the Girgeh mudiriya are Naga ed-Deir and el-Hawawish, stretching from Balliana to Tima. It is highly productive and above average in most produce. The richest mudiriya is Asyut which contains Qau, Asyut, Rifeh, Meir, Bershah and Sheikh Ibada. Geographically the Asyut-Hermopolis stretch is the "nucleus of a rich area which runs from Abydos to el-Qeis" near Beni Mazar (Wilson 1955, 217). The Minya mudiriya contains Beni Hasan, running north to el-Fashn. Most of the land lies on the west bank and in productivity is on a par with Girgeh (Wilson 1955, 217-8). By contrast, the Qena mudiriya containing Gebelein, Mo'alla, Esna, Dendera, Abydos and the Theban area is lower than average in productivity (Wilson 1955, 214-5). Butzer has pointed out that modern irrigation basins are roughly the same size as those in ancient times (1976, 80). However, the movement of the Nile eastwards indicates that the west bank fertile strip was significantly thinner in dynastic times, and less densely populated (Butzer 1976, 80, 34-6). The scale of agricultural activity between Girgeh and el-Fashn in the MK would have been considerably less than at present. This does not however, appear to alter the degree of wealth within the 3 mudiriya.

The richest agricultural stretch in the Nile valley corresponds with the region in which models are most dense, indicating the high standard-of-living experienced in the nome capitals along that stretch. Asyut also had access to the rich mineral resources of the eastern desert, whilst Bershah controlled the route to the Hatnub quarries. The concentration of mineral wealth in the eastern desert was accessed via the wadis Gasus and Fawakir in the region of Dendera and Qift, running to the Red sea. Cemeteries in these areas not within

the highly productive agricultural nomes appear to have a higher incidence of semiprecious stones, gold and silver elements in their jewellery, in what are ostensibly impoverished burials of the non-status population (eg. Badari, Matmar, Mostagedda), elements which are substituted by dummies in status burials in the productive regions.

#### 7.7. REGIONAL CUSTOMS.

The model corpus shows strong regional trends in style, type and frequency. Conclusions regarding these are given in the relevant chapters (pp. 68-76, 111-114, 123-126, 141-2, 164-8, 225-242, 253, 293-8, 300-3, 311-4, 317-9, 322-8, 329-333, 335-8, 341-5, 347-9, 365-8). Clearly, wooden models, offering-trays and "concubine" figures, whilst for the most part portable, were in fact locally made.

Until more comprehensive study has been made of Delta burial customs as a whole, nothing of value can be stated regarding lower Egyptian burial customs. In general, the population appears to have been much the same as in the Nile valley, with a mixture of Levantine immigrants. In theory, the Delta should have been one of the richest agricultural regions of Egypt and should have supported a wealthy aristocracy with well equipped tombs. The archaeological record as it survives indicates otherwise. Delta archaeology has not yet matured enough to provide an accurate assessment of its burial customs during the MK.

The Nile valley material provides a one sided impression of Egyptian MK burial customs, but one which saw its zenith in the Asyut region. The demise of the corpus was a direct result of Senwosret III's restriction on the nomarch office, following the decline of the corpus during the reign of Senwosret II . The so-called "court" style burial without wooden models emanated from the royal cemeteries of the

12 dyn. where a few vestiges of what had been essentially a provincial characteristic persisted. The provincial nomarch-kings at Thebes in the early 11 dyn. bequeathed a heritage to the court and provincial nobility which included the use of wooden models. In the royal cemeteries of the 12 dyn. the grandeur of the OK was being emulated with no place for wooden models, which were replaced by an array of magico-religious divine emblems and the introduction of the shabti figure.



ABBREVIATIONS.

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Abb.           | Abbildung.   |
| Aberdeen       | Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen.                  |
| AEIN           | Ny Carlsberg Glyptotèk.  |
| Ash.           | Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.  |
| Berlin         | Pre World War II number. Lost or present location not known.     |
| bib.           | Bibliography.  |
| Birmingham     | Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.                              |
| bl.            | Blatt.   |
| BM             | British Museum, London.  |
| BMFA           | Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.                                     |
| Bolton         | Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton.                                  |
| Bournemouth    | Bournemouth Natural Science Society.                             |
| Bremen         | Übersee Museum, Bremen.  |
| Bristol        | Bristol City Museum.   |
| Brooklyn MFA   | Museum of Fine Arts, Brooklyn.                                   |
| Brus.          | Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.                      |
| c.             | <i>circa</i> . Approximately.                                    |
| Cairo          | Egyptian Museum, Cairo.  |
| Castle Norwich | Castle Museum, Norwich.  |
| cat.           | Catalogue number.  |
| cf.            | <i>confer</i> . Compare; see also.                               |
| CG             | Catalogue Général.   |
| Chicago        | Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.                       |
| Cleveland      | Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio.                                   |
| cms.           | Centimeters.   |
| Copenhagen     | Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.                                      |
| CUMAA          | Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. |
| diam.          | Diameter.  |
| Dublin         | National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.                              |
| East Berlin    | Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.                                     |
| ECMM           | Myers Museum, Eton College.                                      |
| Edin.          | Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.                             |
| EES            | Egypt Exploration Society.                                       |
| eg.            | <i>exempli gratia</i> . For example.                             |
| etc.           | <i>et cetera</i> .   |
| ex             | Previously.  |
| fig(s).        | Figure(s).   |
| FIP            | First Intermediate Period.                                       |
| Fitz.          | Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.                                   |
| Geneva         | Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.                               |
| Glasgow        | Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.                                 |
| H.             | Height.  |
| Hamburg        | Museum der Universität Hamburg.                                  |
| Heidelberg     | Ägyptischen Sammlung der Universität Heidelberg.                 |
| Hildesheim     | Pelizaesus-Museum, Hildesheim.                                   |
| Hull           | Hull City Museum.  |
| ie.            | <i>id est</i> . That is; meaning.                                |
| IFAO           | Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.              |
| JE             | Journal d'Entrée.  |
| Kendal         | Kendal Museum.   |

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| km.            | Kilometer(s).   |
| L.             | Length.   |
| Leicester      | Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester.   |
| Leipzig        | Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität<br>Leipzig.                |
| Limoges        | Musée de l'Evêché, Limoges.   |
| LM             | Liverpool Museum.   |
| Louvre         | Musée du Louvre, Paris.   |
| m.             | Meter(s).   |
| Macclesfield   | Macclesfield Museum.  |
| Man.           | The Museum, University of Manchester.                                   |
| max.           | Maximum.  |
| MK             | Middle Kingdom.   |
| MMA            | Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.                                   |
| MSU            | Memphis State University Museum.  |
| n.             | Note number.  |
| NB             | <i>nota bene</i> . Take note.   |
| neg.           | Negative (photographic).  |
| NK             | New Kingdom.  |
| NN             | No number.  |
| no.            | Number.   |
| OK             | Old Kingdom.  |
| p.             | Page number.  |
| Phil.          | University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.                          |
| pl(s).         | Plate number(s).  |
| RMO            | Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.                                       |
| ROM            | Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.  |
| Rostock        | Museum der Stadt, Rostock.  |
| SAOS           | School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies,<br>University of Liverpool. |
| Science Museum | Museum of Science and Technology, London.                               |
| SIP            | Second Intermediate Period.   |
| temp.          | <i>tempore</i> . In the time of.  |
| tf.            | Tafel.  |
| Tübingen       | Ägyptischen Sammlung, Universität Tübingen.                             |
| Turin (S.)     | Museo Egizio, Turin.  |
| UCL            | Petrie Museum, University College London.                               |
| UCLMA          | Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of<br>California.              |
| Varsovie       | Museum Narodowe, Warsaw.  |
| W.             | Width.  |
| West Berlin    | Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.   |
| YPM            | Yale Peabody Museum.  |

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|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
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| <u>Aegyptus</u>        | Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia, Milan.  |
| <u>Apollo</u>          | A Journal of the Arts.  |
| <u>BMFAB</u>           | Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.  |
| <u>BMMA NS</u>         | Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts. New Series, New York.                              |
| <u>JSSEA</u>           | Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.                          |
| <u>LAAA</u>            | Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.  |
| <u>Museum Journal</u>  | The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.   |
| <u>MMJ</u>             | Metropolitan Museum Journal, New York.  |
| <u>NARCE</u>           | Newsletter. American Research Centre in Egypt.  |
| <u>Oriens Antiquus</u> | Rivista de centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell' arte del Vicino Oriente, Rome.             |
| <u>RdT</u>             | Receuil de Travaux Rélatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et syriennes, Paris. |
| <u>SERAPIS</u>         | The American Journal of Egyptology, Chicago.  |
| <u>Sphinx</u>          | Review critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie, Uppsala.                         |
| <u>VA</u>              | Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio.  |

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