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Author(s): Henry George Fischer

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The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat

HENRY GEORGE FISCHER

PLATES I-III and FIGURES 1-6 (pages 19-23)

Although the fetish that served as the emblem of Upper Egyptian nome 7 is one of the most familiar motifs in Egyptian art and architecture, remarkably little is known about the local divinity it originally embodied — the goddess Bat, whose human face with bovine ears and horns may derive from Mesopotamia,¹ and whose Egyptian name is apparently a feminine form of the word *bt* “soul.” The Sixth Dynasty tombs of the nomarchs at Qasr es-Sayyad make no mention of either the nome capital or its local goddess, nor do the very meager inscriptions of the same period that have been recovered at Abadiya.² But the chief reason for our lack of information is the fact that the *bst*-fetish was associated at a relatively early date — although by no means so early as is generally supposed — with the goddess Hathor, who supplanted an older crocodile god in the neighboring 6th nome³ and by the end of the Fourth Dynasty had made her Denderite cult one of the most influential in Upper Egypt.⁴ By the New Kingdom Bat was completely eclipsed by her powerful neighbor, and Hathor ruled in her place as mistress of Hu, or *Hw.t-šm* “Mansion of the Sistrum,” as the capital of the 7th nome was then called.⁵ Were it not for the shrine of Sesostris I at Karnak, on which Bat is explicitly named as the local divinity of nome 7 (Fig. 1),⁶ one would scarcely suppose that her local cult still bore her own name rather than Hathor’s as late as the Twelfth Dynasty.

Unassuming as it is, the funerary stela presented in Fig. 2 and Pl. I is therefore of considerable interest, since it brings us into more immediate contact with the goddess in question, referring to a woman who, at the end of the Old Kingdom, actually belonged to her temple’s personnel. This stela is now in the museum

¹ This possibility (and it is no more than that) was suggested to me by a similar representation in copper which was found by Sir Leonard Wooley at Ur (*Royal Tombs at Ur* pp. 301, 573 and pl. 121 [U. 11798]). Professor Edith Porada informs me that a few other Mesopotamian examples are known, although none necessarily antedates the first Egyptian evidence. Among the additional examples is the alabaster vessel shown in D. von Bothmer’s *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* no. 22 pl. 6.

² For the lack of any mention of the nome capital cf. Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936) 81. Three Sixth Dynasty women have the title “priestess of Hathor,” two buried at Qasr es-Sayyad (Montet, *ibid.* 105; LD Text II, 181) and the other at Abadiya (Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* pl. 31; mirror from tomb N19). This title probably has no more bearing on the local cult than it does at Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi* I, pl. 18; II, pl. 18), where the lioness goddess Matit was worshipped along with the falcon god Anty (*ibid.* passim). The same is true of Assuan (De Morgan, *Cat. mons.* I, 144, 160, 172, 198), where the goddess Satis presided with Khnum, and had priestesses of her own, as attested by an Old Kingdom headrest from Elephantine (Cairo J. d’E. 43059); the existence of the cult of Satis at Elephantine during the Old Kingdom is also confirmed by Pyr. 1116 a-b and by the granite naos of Pepy I, Louvre E 12660 (Ricke, *Beiträge zur äg. Bauforsch.* 6 [1960] 54, n. 18). Two Twelfth Dynasty objects found at Hu — a pair of clappers and a scarab — bear another feminine title $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$ (Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. 27; Capart, *ASAE* 27 [1927] 46-47 and Fig. 1), but this title, which generally lacks the feminine *t* of *hkt.t*, is also known elsewhere during the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* I, 430, *Belegst.* 7) and has no specific reference to nome 7.

³ See Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris Ier*, pp. 224-225; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 56 (1957) 93; Kees, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959) 161-164.

⁴ This subject is dealt with extensively in my dissertation *Denderah in the Old Kingdom*, etc., University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, 1955) 43-50. For the end of the Intermediate Period further evidence is now available from Naga ed-Deir (*JAOIS* 76 [1956] 106) and Gebelein (Cerný, *JEA* 47 [1961] 7, line 16).

⁵ Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 33*; see further note 61 below.

⁶ Lacau and Chevrier, *op. cit.* (supra n. 3) 225; the drawing in Fig. 1 is made from the original, as are Figs. 2, 3, and 6a. Figs. 4 and 6b-d are drawn from photographs.

of University College, London, and I wish to express my thanks to Dr. A. J. Arkell for permitting me to publish it and for providing the photograph used here.

1. University College 14312.

The monument is made of limestone and is much taller than it is wide, measuring 36 x 64 cm. Although the surface is completely broken away at the top edge, I believe that the maximum height was originally no greater than it is at present, and that only a single line is to be restored. If so, the main inscription contains five lines of funerary formulae, as follows:

(1) [An offering which the king gives and Osiris] Khenti⁷ [-amentiu, that offerings go forth] (2) [to him as⁸: one revered with the Great God, Osiris, Lord of (3) Abydos and Busiris, and that he proceed upon the good ways (4) of the good west⁹ upon which the revered ones proceed (5) — the Royal Chamberlain of the Great House, the Inspector of the Estate(?),¹⁰ *Hsw*.¹¹

Below the main inscription, at the left, is the crudely-executed figure of the owner, standing with staff in one hand and *ʿbʿ*-scepter in the other, and wearing a shoulder-length wig and projecting kilt. He is further identified by two lines of slightly smaller hieroglyphs at the right: “(1) The Inspector of Priests of the Ka-House of Merenre, (2) the Royal Chamberlain of the Great House, *Hsw*.” This label is followed by two more lines identifying the owner’s wife, who is pictured at the lower right corner of the stela; she stands with one hand at her side, palm outward, the other hand holding a lotus blossom to her face; her close-fitting dress is only recognizable by the fact that the lower edge is indicated just above the ankles; she is wigless. The two lines above her read: “(1) His wife, his beloved, the Overseer of the Harem of Bat¹² (2) *Nfr-bʿ.t*.”¹³ Finally, behind the figure of the woman, there is a column of text referring to a son who is not depicted: “His eldest son, his beloved, *Kʿ(.i)-wḥm(.w)(?)*.”¹⁴

The style and tall format of the stela are characteristic of contemporary monuments from Abydos,¹⁵

⁷ This restoration assumes that $\overline{\text{𓂏}} = \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (cf. the end of line 4), and that these two signs are the phonetic complement of $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, of which some traces seem visible in the space above them. This writing is less usual than $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ in inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, but the longer writing occurs from time to time (e.g., Davies, *Sheikh Saïd* pl. 19; James, *B. M. Hiero. Texts* I², pl. 22 [2]; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae* nos. 38, 57, 67, etc.)

⁸ Cf. *n.f imšhw hr ntr ʿ* in Cairo Cat. 1615 (Fig. 3) and *n.f hr ntr ʿ* in Berlin 7765 (Fig. 4). Closer parallels are provided by BM 65955 (James, *loc. cit.*) which has *pri hrw n.f m nb imšh hr ntr ʿ*, and by Davies, *Sheikh Saïd* pl. 28, which has *pri hrw n.f m imšhw*.

⁹ Read $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$; the upper $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ has mistakenly become $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, influenced by the following word *nfr.t*.

¹⁰ The title *šhd-ḥw.t* is otherwise unknown; this may be an incomplete version of the title *šhd ḥm(.w)-ntr ḥw.t-kʿ Mrrrʿ*, which occurs in the following line.

¹¹ *PN* I, 255.10 gives examples from the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom only.

¹² For other references to the harem (*hnr*) of various local cults, including those of Hathor, Wepwawet, and Horus “Pillar of His Mother” (Har-Min), see *JAOs* 76 (1956) 108 and n. 52. A reference to the harem people (*hnr.wt*) of a local temple also occurs in Petrie, *Koptos* pl. 12 (1). Further evidence of this kind is provided by a female “overseer of the gynaeceum (*imʿ.t*)” who was connected with the temple of Nekhbet at El Kab (*Orientalia* 29 [1960] 187–190).

¹³ Not attested previously. For a feminine theophoric name of similar pattern cf. *Nfr-ḥthr* (*PN* I, 198.22; II, 369). A name *Bst-ityt* (*PN* I, 418.11) occurs in the Graeco-Roman Period, but this certainly refers to Hathor and at best has only a very indirect connection with the original goddess Bat.

¹⁴ Cf. *PN* I, 339.3. It is possible that the hieratic sign followed by *m* is *ndm* rather than *wḥm* (see Möller, *Paläogr.* I, no. 296), but another occurrence of hieratic *ndm* in a hieroglyphic inscription (Mar. *Mast.* 106) is rather dissimilar, and a name *Kʿ(.i)-ndm(.w)* does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

¹⁵ In identifying these as stelae, I assume that their tall format derives from the false door, and it is possible that a series of vertical lines representing a vestigial cavetto cornice was originally to be seen at the top of the University College stela. These lines occur on two very similar examples of unrecorded provenance (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.SS.76, and BM 128, James, *Hiero. Texts* I², pl. 34 [2]). But this vestige of the cornice does not seem to be present in Cairo Cat. 1615 or Berlin 7765 (Figs. 3 and 4). Two other interesting examples of atrophied false doors at Abydos are Cairo Cat. 1575 and 1578 (Mariette,

in U.E. nome 8, about 25 miles northwest of Hu and Qasr es-Sayyad. One of the most similar examples, now in the Cairo Museum, is illustrated in Fig. 3 and Pl. II. This in turn may be compared with a stela in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 4, Pl. III), which belongs to an overlord of nome 7 and accordingly might be thought to derive from that nome. Both of the comparable stelae will be described in greater detail at the conclusion of this paper. For the present it is only necessary to point out that they suggest two possible alternatives for the provenance of the stela in University College. If the Berlin stela is to be attributed to Qasr es-Sayyad on the basis of the owner's title "overlord of nome 7," the mention of the goddess Bat in the title and name of *Nfr-b.t* would point in the same direction. On the other hand, the Cairo stela, which was excavated at Abydos and bears a title referring to nome 8, also displays the title "inspector of the ka-house of merenre," as in the case of the London stela. Although Pepy I is known to have established a number of "ka-houses" as adjuncts to the local cults throughout Egypt, there is reason to think that his successors continued this tradition much less actively.¹⁶ It is understandable that Merenre would have founded a ka-house in a city with the religious and political importance of Abydos, even if he had not provided one at any of the other cult centers in the southern nomes. But it is more difficult to suppose that he would have singled out the local temple of Bat for this attention. I therefore believe that the same institution is involved in both instances, and that it was located at Abydos. In this case, it is tempting to conclude that both inspectors of priests resided there, and that their stelae came from the same place. With the stylistic similarity explained on this basis, it might also be considered whether the Berlin stela of the overlord of nome 7 likewise comes from Abydos. Like their contemporaries throughout the region south of Abydos, the Sixth Dynasty governors of nome 7 who were buried within their own province, at Qasr es-Sayyad, called themselves *hry-tp ꜥꜣ n šp.t* "great overlord of the nome," without naming the province by its emblem.¹⁷ In the case of the Berlin stela, the presence of the emblem may reflect a slightly later usage, but it would also be explained if the nomarch had been buried at Abydos rather than within his own territory.¹⁸

The last possibility must be taken with caution, for no other nomarchs are known to have left funerary monuments at Abydos until the Middle Kingdom; in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period the governors of the nome to which it belonged were buried either in the vicinity of Memphis or in Thinis, the provincial capital, and in the one case known to me where a governor of another nome (U.E. 10) made his tomb in the nome of Abydos, he likewise preferred one of the Thinite cemeteries.¹⁹ On the other hand, it seems doubtful that the Berlin stela is later than the Sixth Dynasty tradition which led the southern nomarchs to refer to their domain as *špt* rather than identifying it by the nome emblem. The choice between these alternatives of date and provenance has little effect on the possibility that the University College stela comes from Abydos, but here again a problem arises, for it is difficult to explain the presence of a female "overseer of the harem of Bat" in that city. There is no reason to assume that a secondary cult of this goddess was established

Cat. mons. d'Abydos, nos. 526 and 525). It does not seem likely that the University College example, Cairo Cat. 1615, or Berlin 7765 are to be explained as reveals of false doors or entrances, although their composition may be compared with late Old Kingdom elements of this kind (e.g., Michalowski, *Tell Edfou 1939* fig. 34, p. 51 and more particularly Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* pl. 77). If they are reveals, it seems a coincidence that all should be oriented rightward and none leftward, and one might expect to find some trace of a column of hieroglyphs on the thickness of the right edge.

¹⁶ The two stelae under consideration provide the only references to a *hw.t-kꜣ* of Merenre that are known to me, and I have found no certain examples whatever referring to Pepy II. Details are given in *AJA* 62 (1958) 331 f.; to the list of various sites at which a *hw.t-kꜣ* of Pepy is mentioned one may now add Naqada, the cemetery of Qus (see note 25 below).

¹⁷ Montet, *Kémi* 6 (1936) 100, 105, 111. The other evidence is discussed in *Denderah in the Old Kingdom*, etc., 128.

¹⁸ It may be considered whether the small lintel in Mariette, *Cat. mons. d'Abydos* 93, no. 537 (Cairo Cat. 1591) belongs to the same individual. The writing of the name is identical and the one title "overseer of Upper Egypt" would not be unusual for a nomarch. The style of the inscription is, on the whole, rather similar, but the form of the aleph-sign (and perhaps *tyw*) is sufficiently different to put the question in doubt.

¹⁹ See *JAOS* 74 (1954) 32 f. The governor (*hry-tp ꜥꜣ*) of U.E. nome 10 is known from a stela of Intermediate Period style (Cairo Cat. 1646) which the J. d'E. (28807 bis) attributes to Mesheikh.

in the Thinite nome, and the theophoric name *Nfr-bst* strongly suggests that the woman was a native of the place where Bat's temple was located. If she is assumed to have left the 7th nome to marry a man of Abydos, one wonders when and how she obtained her title.

In view of these difficulties, it must be conceded that the nomarch represented on the Berlin stela may, after all, have been buried in his own nome, and that the owner of the University College stela was, like his wife, a native of the same province. Inasmuch as other high-ranking provincial administrators in the southern-most nomes were occasionally inspectors of the priesthood belonging to the Memphite pyramid temples,²⁰ it is conceivable that a resident of the 7th nome should hold a similar title in connection with a lesser royal funerary cult at Abydos, the nearby capital of Upper Egypt.²¹ And, in the absence of comparable material from nome 7, it is by no means impossible that stelae of the Abydos type were in use there. One might compare the close resemblance between late Sixth Dynasty stelae from Dendera (nome 6) and Naqada (nome 5), or the similarity of the Intermediate Period inscriptions from Rizaqat and Gebelein (in nome 4) and Moalla (in nome 3), although it is true that a somewhat lesser distance is involved in these other cases.²²

The date of the stelae can be defined with even less precision than the provenance, and it has been seen that, in the case of the Berlin monument at least, these two questions are closely interrelated. Klaus Baer has concluded, on the basis of his system of title sequences, that the Berlin stela is no later than the 85th year of Pepy II, and I am inclined to think that this is possible.²³ But the other two stelae can hardly be any earlier than the last years of the Sixth Dynasty, and may very well belong to the end of the Eighth. Their relatively later date is suggested by the lopsidedness of the inscriptions, which show a progressive tendency to slope downhill, and by at least three other features of the Cairo stela's inscriptions and reliefs: the rightward orientation of the captions above the two offering bearers, the pattern of the owner's wig, and the presence of the title *imy-r šnt*.²⁴ The earliest examples of this title, which may well have originated in the Thinite nome, derive from the cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir; of the five occurrences known to me, one is possibly as early as the Eighth Dynasty, while the others belong towards the end of the Intermediate Period. It is hardly necessary to add that the titles referring to the funerary cults of Pepy I and Merenre do not preclude a date considerably later than the reigns of those kings. This is particularly true of the *hw.t-k* of Merenre, which was probably connected with the local temple,²⁵ but it may also be noted that an Abydos stela of even later appearance belongs to an inspector of priests of Merenre's funerary cult at Saqqara. Here, as in the case of the Berlin stela, there is reason to think that the local scribes had begun to confuse the names of the early Sixth Dynasty pyramids, which had received their royal occupants at least a century earlier.²⁶

²⁰ Qasr es-Sayyad: Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936) 87, 106, 108, 111, 113. Abydos: Cairo Cat. 1579 (Mariette, *Abydos* II, 43b). Deir el Gebrawi: Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 7, II, pls. 5, etc. Assuan: Tomb of *Št-k*, to be published by Labib Habachi.

²¹ Note that *šhd* "inspector" is the highest rank of the priesthood attached to these funerary cults, whether they concern the Memphite pyramid temples (cf. Junker, *Giza* VI, 12-13) or the royal ka-houses in the provinces (*AJA* 62 [1958] 331).

²² The stelae of Nagada and Dendera are compared in section I of a forthcoming monograph entitled *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome: Dynasties VI-XI*. For the inscriptions of Rizaqat, Gebelein and Moalla, see *Kush* 9 (1961) 44-45, 79-80.

²³ *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* 156, 242 (no. 590A). It must be added that, granting the accuracy of the system, the order of titles on the Berlin stela does not correspond very closely to the patterns of any of the three periods considered possible (VI B-C,F), although the pattern for VI G (last years of Pepy II to end of Dyn. VIII) is still more dissimilar.

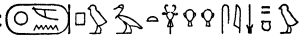
²⁴ These features are noted in part 4: for the orientation of the captions, see note 79; for the pattern of the wig, see note 80; for the title *imy-r šnt*, see note 84.

²⁵ A "ka-house of Pepy" is in fact mentioned on a Naqada stela that clearly belongs to the Heracleopolitan Period, Turin suppl. no. 1278, which will be published in *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* no. 39.

²⁶ Cairo Cat. 1619 (Mariette, *Cat. mons. d'Abydos* no. 533); I believe the date may well be later than Dyn. VIII. For the confusion of the names of the pyramids belonging to Pepy I and Merenre, see note 71.

To sum up, the provenance of the Berlin and University College stelae is probably Abydos, but it remains possible that one or both of them come from the next nome south of that city, in the region of Qasr es-Sayyad. The Berlin stela may very well antedate the end of the Sixth Dynasty, but this early a date seems unlikely in the case of the University College stela, and is still more unlikely in the case of the Cairo stela, which is definitely known to come from Abydos.


2. The Goddess Bat



Even before the Karnak shrine of Sesostris I provided the first explicit evidence for Bat as the local goddess of the nome that bears her emblem (Fig. 1), her name had long been known from a passage in the Sixth Dynasty pyramid texts (Pyr. 1096 b), most clearly preserved in the version of Merenre:  "Merenre is Bat, (with) her two faces." An even earlier occurrence of her name is perhaps to be found on a First Dynasty diorite vessel from Hieraconpolis which has recently been restored and republished in *JEA* 44 (1958) 5–11. The emblem, carved in relief on the flat upper surface of the rim, shows the characteristic human face with cow's ears and horns, and is accompanied by a bird which Arkell (*ibid.*) identifies as the jabiru stork. Since the relative position of the fragments containing the bird and emblem remains uncertain, I suggest that the two may constitute a hieroglyphic group, and that the jabiru possesses its customary phonetic value *bj*,²⁷ in which case the group (probably lacking the feminine *t*) would be precisely the same as the writing of *Bj.t* on the shrine of Sesostris I.

The *bj.t*-fetish is only very rarely accompanied by its phonetic complement, however, and most scholars refer to it invariably as "the Hathor emblem" on the basis of the later and abundant evidence for its identification with that goddess. This procedure might seem to be justified by the oldest representations of Bat and Hathor, which show that they had much in common at a relatively early date; but before concluding that the two goddesses were already identified at that time, it is necessary to consider how and when the similarities developed. The most persuasive parallel is the configuration of five stars which touch the ears, horns and the crown of Bat's head in two early representations, the first a slate palette from Gerza,²⁸ and the second (perhaps not much later) the First Dynasty bowl that has just been mentioned. This recalls the epithet *nb.t sbj.w* "mistress of the stars," which is subsequently applied to Hathor in the tale of Sinuhe.²⁹ And Anthes has associated it with a much earlier reference in Pyr. 705a; referring to the eye of Re "which is upon the horns (or head) of Hathor" *tp.t wp.t Hthr*; he demonstrates that the eye of Re is to be interpreted as a star and not, as has been previously thought, the sun-disk.³⁰ Some such meaning as this may indeed be involved in the two representations of Bat, although her configuration of five stars might well have expressed something altogether different, such as a constellation.³¹ Even if we assume, however, that essentially the same idea is in-

²⁷ L. Keimer, *ASAE* 30 (1930) 3–20. The jabiru hieroglyph is possibly to be recognized in one of the earliest seal impressions of the First Dynasty: Emery, *Hor-Aha* fig. 21.

²⁸ Cairo J. d'E. 43103, Petrie, *Labyrinth, Gerzeh, Mazghunah* 22 and pl. 6 (7); *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pl. B (5). Murray, *JEA* 42 (1956) 95–96, is inclined to equate the design with a woman holding her hands over her head, and Baumgartel, *Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* II, 90, n. 4, regards it as a cow's head, apparently assuming that the lower part represents a wide muzzle. Neither of these views seems at all likely, however, particularly if, with Baumgartel, we suppose that the Gerza palette may be contemporary with the Hieraconpolis bowl. The unfinished outline of the bat-fetish is essentially the same as its human-faced counterpart on the Hieraconpolis bowl and on the Narmer palette, with the face resting low upon a frustrum-shaped neck.

²⁹ Line 271. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* 104, equates this with  on an Eleventh Dynasty stela, Louvre C15. (Cf. *Rev. d'ég.* 1 [1933] pl. 9, although the latter is written as though it means "Mistress of doors.")

³⁰ *ÄZ* 86 (1961) 8–9. Since, as Anthes has also shown, the star in question is to be identified as Sirius, the "opener of the year," a closer First Dynasty parallel for his interpretation of the passage might be afforded by an ivory tablet of Djer (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pl. 5 [1], 6A [2]), which has been alleged to show the hieroglyphic equivalent of "opener of the year" () upon the head of a recumbent cow (Parker, *Calendars* 34, with previous bibliography in n. 32). More recently, however, Godron (*BIFAO* 57 [1958] 143–149) has rightly pointed out that the object between the horns is a feather () , not the year-sign, and that the cow represents *Šhst-Hr*.

³¹ Cf. Arkell, *JEA* 41 (1955) 126. Note in particular that the stars are not actually "upon" the horns, but merely touch the ends of them from the side, as they do the tips of the ears.

volved, the connection with Hathor need not be a direct one; there is, after all, no contemporary mention of her before the Fourth Dynasty, and we do not know when and from what quarter she obtained her bovine form. I suspect that we have to do with a common substratum of ideas which lent the two goddesses a somewhat similar character,³² but do not believe that the similarity necessarily brought them together until many centuries had elapsed. These reservations seem justified by the very feature which Bat and Hathor most conspicuously share — the combination of cow's horns and human face. If Hathor had borrowed the horns of Bat in or before the First Dynasty, we should then expect them to show the more archaic form that is typical of the latter, which are heavy and ribbed, with the tips turned inward.³³ And if, on the other hand, Bat had been influenced by Hathor, we might expect her horns to have evolved into something like the elegant outward-curving pair that Hathor wears. Instead, they lose their bovine form entirely, and become a stylized pair of long ropelike antennae terminating in graceful spirals.³⁴ By the Fourth Dynasty, when the horns and sun-disk of Hathor are first attested,³⁵ this evolution had progressed so far that the horns of Bat were scarcely recognizable as such, and their original form became, as a rule, still less recognizable during the succeeding dynasties.

An archaic limestone representation of the goddess Triphis (*Rpy.t*) in the form of a carrying-chair shows a cloaked ram-headed figure on each side, while the bat-emblem, an *ḥnḥ*-knot below the face, is recessed within the front end.³⁶ Here it is tempting to draw an analogy, already suggested by Kurt Sethe, between the divine carrying-chair, that bears the royal children, and Hathor, whose name indicates that she houses Horus, the king.³⁷ The force of this analogy depends, however, on a rather doubtfully figurative interpretation of the name Hathor,³⁸ and the link is in any case an indirect one; none of the other relatively early representations of Triphis shows any features which could be regarded as either bovine or Hathorian,³⁹ and Triphis is not known to be associated with Hathor until the Roman Period, in the temple of Dendera.⁴⁰

The *b.t*-fetish and *ḥnḥ*-knot reappear as a pendant at the neck of a bull in an archaic gold amulet from Naga ed-Deir, while the *ḥnḥ*-knot occurs by itself at the neck of a companion-piece representing an oryx.⁴¹ In the Old Kingdom these two elements are regularly combined in the regalia of officials called *ḥrp-ḥ* "direc-

³² Cf. the clay bull's head in Scharff, *Altentümer* II, no. 61, pp. 39 f., and pl. 13. It is roughly contemporary with the representations of Bat that have been discussed, and it has a painted five-pointed star upon the forehead. Perhaps this derives from a starlike formation of hair that may frequently be observed on the foreheads of living cattle, and the other associations of stars and cows might have a similar basis.

³³ The most detailed archaic examples are Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 27 (71) and II, pl. 6 (22).

³⁴ This evolution is clearly seen in an early Fourth Dynasty example dating to the reign of Cheops (*Hwfw-ḥf*: G 7140) as illustrated in W. S. Smith, *OKSP* fig. 191, p. 320, but is much less evident in the Third Dynasty reliefs shown in Firth-Quibell, *Step Pyramid* pl. 59. Further examples, dating to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, respectively, may be found in Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 44; Borchardt, *Grabd. Šasḥu-reḥ* II, pl. 20, and Petrie, *Koptos* pl. 5 (7), the last dating to the reign of Pepy II.

³⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus* pls. 36–45. It seems quite possible that the combination of disk and horns was established no earlier than the beginning of the Old Kingdom (cf. *Denderah in the Old Kingdom* 56 f. and n. 118). At least one Fourth Dynasty seal shows Hathor as a cow-headed goddess, without the disk (MMA 10.130.1613; Newberry, *Scarabs* pl. 5[4]; *temp.* Mycerinus).

³⁶ Exhibition catalogue, Kunsthaus Zürich, 11. Februar–16. April 1961, *5000 Jahre Aegyptische Kunst* no. 55, fig. 18 and p. 54. Comparable representations of Triphis in faience lack the *b.t*-emblem: Petrie, *Abydos* II, pls. 7 (131–3), 11 (243). The goddess is discussed by Scharff, *AZ* 62 (1927) 91 f.; Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 41*, 46*; and Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943) 112.

³⁷ Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramiden Texten* IV, 72–73.

³⁸ See Anthes' remarks in *JNES* 18 (1959) 193.

³⁹ For the Old Kingdom references, see Grdseloff, *loc. cit.* (supra n. 36); for the Middle Kingdom, see Louvre C15, where the name is followed by the "image-hieroglyph" (𓆎) and a generic determinative representing a seated divinity. In *CT* I, 63, where *rpyt* is mentioned purely in the sense of "image" (cf. *Wb.* II, 415, Belegst. 11–13), and in this case an "image of wax that repels evil," the determinative is again the "image hieroglyph," but also takes the form of a standing woman or the carrying-chair.

⁴⁰ Gauthier, *BIFAO* 3 (1903) 175; *Wb.* II, 415, Belegst. 2–4. The Graeco-Roman temple of Hathor at Dendera gives her cult-place the name *Pr-rpi.t* (*Wb.* II, 415, Belegst. 10).

⁴¹ Reisner, *Naga-ed-Deir* I, pl. 6 (N 1532) and W. S. Smith, *AAAE* pl. 11 B.

itself the label $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ “human-faced,”⁴⁹ and the use of this much less distinctive designation, which is later applied to the human-headed *bꜣ*-bird, and so on,⁵⁰ advises caution in regarding every appearance of the *bꜣ*-fetish as a specific reference to the goddess Bāt.

The evolved form of the janus-faced fetish, with its bovine horns transformed into a pair of long antennae, lent itself admirably to the sistrum; the combination $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ was in fact so successful and so prevalent in later times, that it is difficult to believe it developed no earlier than the Middle Kingdom. This conclusion appears almost inescapable, however, and by the same token there is good reason to think that the assimilation of the *bꜣ*-emblem to the cult of Hathor is of no greater antiquity.

The first explicit evidence of its assimilation, dating to the first two reigns of Dynasty XII,⁵¹ occurs in the reliefs of two rock-cut tombs at Meir, where the *bꜣ*-sistrum and menit are carried by female votaries of the local Hathor of Cusae.⁵² A later tomb at the same site, dating to the reign of Sesostri III, represents the bat-motif not only in combination with the sistrum, but also as a separate fetish and as the capital of what may now be properly called a Hathor column.⁵³ The association of the two goddesses is even more clearly attested in the following reign; a jewel box from Lahun, bearing the name of Amenemhet III, is decorated with a series of inlaid bat-fetishes, each of which bears the Hathorian outward-curving horns surmounted by the sun disk.⁵⁴

It is particularly significant that the earliest evidence is provided by the sistrum, since earlier sistrums of the same structural type (called *šhm*, and bearing a close resemblance to the sign 𓆎)⁵⁵ are available for comparison, and the *bꜣ*-fetish is incorporated in none of these. A clear example is available from a Sixth Dynasty tomb at Meir, where the determinative of “musician (*hꜣw.t*) of Hathor” shows a woman holding a sistrum of this type (Fig. 5).⁵⁶ The fetish is similarly lacking not only in the alabaster model which Teti dedicated to Hathor of Dendera,⁵⁷ but also in later representations on Dendera stelae dating to the end of the Old Kingdom and to the Intermediate Period. In all four of the examples shown at the top of Fig. 6 the sistrum is held by the owner of the stela, a priestess of Hathor.⁵⁸ They may be compared with an earlier example from Giza (Fig. 6 e), where the sistrum is held by one of a group of dancers, all of whom wield the

⁴⁹ Jéquier, *Frises d'objets* 79; two cases are cited, the second being simply 𓆑 , which is probably *pꜣ.t*, as Jéquier suggests (and not, for example, a writing of “Isis”). The four representations illustrated are all termed “le sistre,” but only one of them is actually a sistrum; the other three (including both of those that bear a label) simply represent the fetish.

⁵⁰ *Wb.* III, 126, Belegst. 4. In one case (Mariette, *Dendera* I, pl. 7b) this term is applied to columns with *bꜣ*-capitals.

⁵¹ Somewhat earlier evidence might be seen in the presence of a *bꜣ*-fetish beneath the chair of the Eleventh Dynasty official *Dꜣri* and his wife, who is a priestess of Hathor (Petrie, *Qurneh* pl. 2). But the fetish can hardly be a sistrum, and its position suggests that it is a pendant, belonging to the man rather than his wife. Cf. Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 199, who errs, however, in giving *Dꜣri* the non-existent title *hꜣkꜣ-ꜣh* (apparently regarded as a variant of the older *hꜣp ꜣh*); the title in question is actually *hꜣkꜣ-hꜣw.t*.

⁵² Blackman *Meir* I, pl. 2; II, pl. 15. Another relatively early example (reign of Sesostri I) is to be seen in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 12.

⁵³ Blackman, *Meir* VI, pls. 12 (sistrum), 19 (fetish), 11 (capital of column). In the same reign granite “Hathor capitals” were apparently used in the temple of Bubastis (Navelle, *Bubastis* 10–13 and pls. 9, 23, 24; Habachi, *Tell Basta* 61–67 and pls. 18–20; cf. W. S. Smith, *AAAE* 94).

⁵⁴ Brunton, *Lahun* I, pl. 8; Winlock, *Treasure of El Lahun* fig. 3, p. 15. This combination recalls a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text (*CT* IV, 181), which, in a series of parallel but obscure phrases, associates $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ “the sun disk on the two horns” and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ “the face of Bat.” In this passage, however, the face of Bat is not explicitly combined with the Hathorian headdress.

⁵⁵ *Wb.* IV, 251.

⁵⁶ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 7.

⁵⁷ MMA. 26.7.1450; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 125 and fig. 76, p. 126; Norman Davies, *JEA* 6 (1920) 69–72 and pl. 8. The goddess is named on the handle, and Davies and Hayes plausibly suggest that the name of Hathor is also conveyed by the falcon (*Hꜣr*) upon the naiform extremity of the sistrum (*hꜣw.t*); cf. Navelle, *Deir el Bahari Dyn. XI*, III, pls. 14 (8), 32 (1), where a Dyn. XIX example shows the falcon within the naos, as in the usual writing of Hathor’s name.



same instrument.⁵⁹ In view of the fact that the nome of the Denderite Hathor was contiguous with that of Bat, it seems almost inconceivable that the sistra of her priestesses would not betray the association between the two goddesses if such an association had already become well established.⁶⁰





The fact that the capital of Bat's nome was eventually, in the New Kingdom, interpreted as "Mansion of the Sistrum" (*Hwt.t-šm*) has no bearing on the question under consideration. In the first place, the original form of the name was *Hwt.t-šm-Hprkr̄t-mš'hrw*, and thus is no older than Sesostri I, to whom it refers.⁶¹ And in the second place, the complete version of the name is not to be understood as "The Mansion of the Sistrum of Kheperkarē, deceased," as Gardiner renders it,⁶² but more probably means "the Mansion *Kheperkarē* (*justified*)-is-Powerful," as in the name of a Twelfth Dynasty fortress which similarly mentions Sesostri III. *Mnw-šm-H'kr̄t-mš'hrw*.⁶³

The evidence assembled here is admittedly of a somewhat negative character, but it is sufficient, I believe, to show that the *b.t*-fetish did not become firmly identified with either Hathor or the sistrum until the Middle Kingdom. I suspect that the combination of *b.t*-fetish and sistrum, once established, did more to promote Hathor's assimilation of the older cow-goddess than any prior factor that may have led up to it. This combination in itself suggests, to be sure, that the two goddesses had already become associated to some extent, but little more than their similar bovine character would be necessary to explain what is, after all, simply an extension of the many ornamental uses to which the *b.t*-fetish was adapted in the Old Kingdom. The significant point is that none of the previous adaptations involved a cult object of Hathor, and none of them fostered their association. After the sistrum had played its part in assimilating Bat to Hathor, so that the latter was ultimately acknowledged as mistress of *Hwt-šm* in Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, this in turn led to the reinterpretation of *Hwt-šm* as "mansion of the sistrum" in Nineteenth Dynasty writings of the name.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ (a) MMA. 98.4.6; Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 10, right, second from bottom; (b) Univ. Mus., Philadelphia, E 17880; Petrie, *ibid.*, pl. 8 B, bottom right; (c) Univ. Mus. 29-66-616; (d) Univ. Mus. 29-66-797.

⁵⁹ Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 46, p. 134.

⁶⁰ Note that Jéquier's alleged evidence for the *b.t*-sistrum in the Old Kingdom (*Frisés d'objets* 80, referring to Pyr. 712b) is not valid. The word in question (*stš*) is determined by  (a dragonfly) in the earlier versions and is only replaced by  in the pyramid of Pepy II; even in this last case, the sign is clearly no sistrum, but is merely the *b.t*-fetish. The substitution can hardly be regarded as anything more than a purely graphic variant.

⁶¹ As preserved in the late Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Onomasticon (209), Gardiner, *Onomastica* pl. 2. The abbreviated form *Hwt-šm* is attested equally early (Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom* 31-32; see further Gardiner, *ibid.* II, 33*), but its connection with Sesostri I persisted into the New Kingdom; Gardiner (*ibid.* 34*) mentions an Eighteenth Dynasty statue in Stockholm which refers to "Amun, lord of [Pr?]-*Hprkr̄t* and Hathor Mistress of *Hwt-šm*." Another statue of comparable date, now in the possession of Mrs. Theodore Bachman of Scarborough, N. Y., invokes funerary offerings in the name of Hathor Mistress of *Hwt-šm* and Kheperkare in (*hry-ib*) *Hwt-šm*. In both cases the orthography is  as in the tomb of Rehmire (*Urk.* IV, 1137 f.). The Dyn. XVIII  quoted by Gauthier (*Dict. géog.* V, 64) and misquoted by Montet (*Géographie* II, 93) can hardly have anything to do with these writings; it occurs in an unusual (if not unique) epithet that is twice repeated in the titulary of the same official:  (*Urk.* IV, 945, 957). I have not been able to confirm the Middle Kingdom occurrence of  recorded by Borchardt, *Stat. u. Stat.* II, 19 (Cairo Cat. 407), but, in view of the Eighteenth Dynasty writings that have just been quoted, it seems doubtful that this form of *šm* is anything more than a mere graphic variant (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List Y8).

⁶² *Onomastica* I, 13.

⁶³ On. Ramesseum 172, Gardiner, *ibid.* pl. 2, and cf. *JEA* 3 (1916) 185-186; Smither, *JEA* 31 (1945) 6, n. 7; Gunn, *ibid.* 106-107. In the parallel name of Hu the consistent reinterpretation of *šm* as "sistrum" is first evidenced in Dyn. XIX (see Gardiner, *Onomastica* pl. 25).

⁶⁴ It seems highly doubtful that Bat was ever again regarded as a goddess in her own right after the beginning of the New Kingdom, as Montet has maintained in pointing out (probably rightly) that her fetish is the object which is worshipped at the top of the Dakhla stela (*Géographie* II, 94, referring to Gardiner, *JEA* 19 [1933] 19 ff.). At most, this Dyn. XXII representation might suggest that the fetish was given particular prominence at Hu, where the chief personage mentioned on the stela was overseer of priests. But it must be kept in mind that his priestly title refers to Hathor, and that the Hathorian character of the fetish is specifically indicated by the figures of Hathor that stand on either side of it.

3. Berlin 7765

In discussing the provenance of the University College stela (pp. 8 ff.), much emphasis has been placed on two comparable monuments, both of which call for a more complete description. Berlin 7765⁶⁵ has the same tall format, measuring 88 cm. in height, and similarly shows the standing figure of the owner at the lower left, with the offering formulae presented in five lines above him and with his titles continued in the upper part of the space before him, followed by his name. In this case, the carving of the figure is more detailed, however, including a broad collar, and the proportions are more or less normal rather than attenuated. The wig is again shoulder-length, but shows the rows of overlapping locks that were confined to the short wig before the Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁶ The lines of pleating across the projecting kilt are a later Sixth Dynasty detail.⁶⁷ A less specifically late feature is the scepter which is passed behind the kilt; this device properly belongs to figures facing left, but cases like the present one are not particularly rare in the earlier Old Kingdom.⁶⁸ The text contains the following:

(1) An offering which the king gives, and Osiris Khentiamentiu, (2) Lord of Abydos, that funerary offerings⁶⁹ go forth to him, <one revered> with the Great God, (3) the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Estate Manager, the Lector Priest, (4) the Sole Companion, the Overseer of Tenant Farmers of the Great House: (5) a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of geese(?), a thousand of gazelles. (Before figure) The Overlord of the Bat (Nome) and Overseer of the Department of Stores⁷⁰ of the Pyramid “Meryre Shines and is Beautiful” [sic],⁷¹ *Dstl*.⁷²

The chief point of interest lies in the title *hry-tp n Bst*, which definitely refers to the governorship of nome 7, although it exhibits several peculiarities.⁷³ To begin with, the *bst*-sign seems to lack the stand \neg that it normally has when it appears as a nome emblem.⁷⁴ Secondly, the formal designation of the late Old Kingdom nomarchs, when followed by the nomarch's name, normally begins with *hry-tp* ϵ_3 *n* rather than *hry-tp n*.⁷⁵ Finally, the *špt*-sign 𓆎 might have been expected in place of the nome emblem. It has already been pointed

⁶⁵ A description appears in *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* (1899) 62, and a handcopy of the text in *Hier. Inschr.* I, 52.

⁶⁶ First attested in the reign of Teti; see below, note 80.

⁶⁷ Cf. Junker, *Giza VIII*, 158. A presumably Sixth Dynasty example from Abydos may be seen in Borchardt, *Denkmäler des A.R.*, Cairo Cat. 1404. A later Abydos example occurs in Cairo Cat. 1619 (Mariette, *Cat. mons. d'Abydos*, no. 533).

⁶⁸ Discussed in *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, no. 2 (Oct., 1958) 37, n. 21.

⁶⁹ The arrangement of the determinatives in *pri hrw* is typical of late Old Kingdom inscriptions further upstream, although these other examples are slightly different: details are given in *Denderah in the Old Kingdom* 140, and *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* nos. (7) and (8), the latter to be published in the near future.

⁷⁰ Cf. the title *imy-r šnt* (𓆎) in connection with the pyramid of Pepy I (Jéquier, *Tomb. part.* 112) and *šhd pr-šnt* in connection with the pyramids of Pepy II and Merenre (Bissing, *Bull. Antiecke Beschaving* 9, 1 [June 1934] 5, fig. 4).


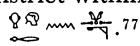
⁷¹ Probably the pyramid of Pepy I is intended, as the cartouche indicates although the remainder of the name should, of course, be *mn-nfr* and not *h'ri-nfr*, which belongs to the pyramid of Merenre. The same combination possibly occurs in BM 65954 (James, *Hiero. Texts* I², pl. 40; provenance unknown), where the name of Pepy I is followed by the group 𓆎 . In another Abydos stela, Cairo Cat. 1619, it seems likely that the sculptor initially committed the same error in reverse, but subsequently corrected it by changing 𓆎 to 𓆏 .

⁷² *PN* I, 405.17 (including a reference to the present case).

⁷³ *Wb.* presents the same conclusion (I, 416, Belegst. 15), but the copy given in *Hier. Inschr.* I, 52, is rather misleading and the index of the same publication, IV, 612, still more misleadingly renders the *bst*-emblem as 𓆎 and does not interpret it as a reference to the nome (*ibid.* 655).

⁷⁴ Reisner, *Mycerinus* pl. 44; Borchardt, *Grabd. Šašur-er* II, pl. 20; Kees, *ÄZ* 81 (1956) 36; Coptos decrees, Sethe, *Urk.* I, 29.7, 300.18, 301.8; etc.

⁷⁵ *JAOS* 76 (1956) 103–104.

out, however, that the last difficulty is eliminated if the stela derives from Abydos, or if it is slightly later than the rather restricted period when *špt* was in use. The absence of the stand is perhaps the most unusual feature; the surface of the stone is too damaged beneath the emblem, however, to be certain that it is actually missing. The use of *hry-tp*, without the normal addition of *ꜥ*, is also highly exceptional, but a second occurrence can be quoted from another late Old Kingdom monument, a fragment which appears to be the left end of an architrave.⁷⁶ The owner, whose name is lost, has the titles “overseer of Upper Egypt,” “overseer of priests,” and  “overlord of the nome of Akhmim.” This province (U.E. 9) lies outside the district within which the emblem is replaced by the word *špt*, and the title of its nomarchs is usually written .

The fact that *Diti* claims no higher rank than “chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt” might seem to present a further difficulty, since the late Old Kingdom overlords of the southern provinces usually have the more exalted title *hꜥty-ꜥ* “count.” It is by no means certain, however, that this title was universally attached to the office of nomarch; there is no mention of it, for example, in the tombs of the two Sixth Dynasty nomarchs of Thebes, *Ihy* and *Hnti*.⁷⁸

4. Cairo Cat. 1615

The Abydos stela which is most clearly comparable to the other two, Cairo Cat. 1615, was excavated by Mariette at Kom es-Sultan and is briefly described in his *Catalogue des monuments*, no. 539. It measures 90 cm. in height by 47 cm. in breadth. The overall composition resembles that of the other stelae; but in this case the owner’s wife stands beside him at the lower left, and two sons approach them from the right, one bearing a foreleg of beef, the other a goose.⁷⁹ Above this group there are five lines of inscription containing the offering formula, with the last line consisting of a list of offerings, as in the Berlin stela; unlike the other stelae, however, the owner’s titles are presented immediately below the main inscription, as an extra line of smaller hieroglyphs, and only his name appears before his face. The figure of the owner very closely resembles its counterpart on the Berlin stela except for the presence of a bracelet, the unavoidable absence of a collar, which has been eliminated by the wife’s outstretched arm, and a shoulder-length wig which reflects a later development in the arrangement of its overlapping locks.⁸⁰ The owner’s wife has short hair, and her dress is almost as simply indicated as in the case of the University College stela. The treatment of her arm, which is apparently supposed to rest on her husband’s shoulder is highly unusual, although not unique.⁸¹ The two

⁷⁶ Florence 7584; Sergio Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane I*, 15 and pl. 4.

⁷⁷ Newberry, *LAAA* 4 (1911) 108 (12), and 115–119 (25–27). Also Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* fig. 30, p. 41.

⁷⁸ For the tomb of *Ihy*, see Newberry, *ASAE* 4 (1903) 97–100. The inscriptions in the adjacent tomb of *Hnti* were copied by me in 1956. It is, of course, possible that *Diti*’s tomb contained other inscriptions, and that these listed further titles, including the one in question.

⁷⁹ Neither the offerings nor the attitudes of the offering bearers are particularly unusual, but it may be noted that they occur on another stela from Abydos which also appears to be as late as Dyn. VIII, or even later: Cairo Cat. 1645 (Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 14 [1893] 20, no. 15). This stela is also similar in that the names of the offering bearers are oriented towards the right.













⁸⁰ The shoulder-length wig originally consists of long locks that show an overlapping pattern at the bottom only. In the Sixth Dynasty the overlapping pattern is sometimes extended to the entire surface of this type of wig; the reliefs of *Isti* at Edfu provide examples dating to the reign of Teti: Michalowski, *Tell Edfou 1939* fig. 35, p. 52; Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1935) pl. 14 (1, 2). This treatment is borrowed from the short wig, to which it is more appropriate, and eventually, probably not until the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, the confusion of the two patterns occasionally produces some peculiar hybrids in which the lower part, or the lower and rear parts of the wig are covered with the overlapping pattern, leaving the straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head or on the forehead only. Cf. *JNES* 18 (1959) 239 and n. 16.

⁸¹ Cf. the man and woman who face each other on a false door in Boston, MFA 27.444; *JNES* 18 (1959) 248–249 and fig. 14. In this second case it is the man whose arm is placed in front of the woman in what appears to be a face-to-face embrace.

sons, each wearing a projecting kilt, are outlined in very summary fashion. Extensive traces of red, yellow and black paint are preserved in the figures and inscriptions.⁸² The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

- (1) An offering which the king gives, and Osiris Khentiamentiu, Lord of Abydos (2) An offering which the king gives, and Anubis, Who is Upon His Mountain, Who is in the Place of Embalming, Lord of the Sacred Land, (3) that offerings go forth to him, one revered with the Great God. (4) An offering which the king gives and Wepwawet, Lord of Shenhor:⁸³ (5) a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of ducks(?), a thousand of geese(?), a thousand of ointment, a thousand of clothing. (Above and before owner) The Inspector of Priests of the Ka-House of Merenre, the Estate Supervisor, the Sole Companion, the Royal Chamberlain of the Great House, the Overseer of Disputes of the Thinite Nome,⁸⁴ One Revered with the Great God, *Hnw*.⁸⁵
 (Above and before wife) The King's Noblewoman, the Priestess of Hathor *Htp.wt*,⁸⁶ whose good name is *Pst.f*.⁸⁷
 (Above first son) His eldest son, whom he loves, the Estate Supervisor, the Sole Companion, the Royal Chamberlain of the Great House, *Iwy*.⁸⁸
 (Above second son) His son, whom he loves, the Companion, the Royal Chamberlain of the Great House, *Iwy*.



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

⁸² The figure of the owner shows red pigment on the face, torso, arms and legs; the same color appears on the face, arms and legs of the offering bearers and on the leg of beef. The kilts of the offering bearers show traces of yellow, and this is possibly true of the owner's kilt as well. Yellow traces may be seen on the woman's legs. A black baseline is discernable beneath all of the figures. Red pigment is visible in many of the hieroglyphs; in line (1): , , feet of first , ; line (2): hand of ; line (3): ; line above owner:  in *hr*, feet of  in *imshw*; wife's inscription:  and all signs directly beneath this, beginning with *rn.f nfr*; older son's inscription  in *pr-f* and  in name; younger son's inscription: same two signs and  in *smr*.

⁸³ This mention of Wepwawet Lord of Shenhor is of considerable interest. It appears in a similar context in one of the very late Old Kingdom tombs at Hargarsa, some 25 miles to the northeast of Abydos (Petrie, *Athribis* pl. 13), but Abydos stelae of the Middle Kingdom frequently refer to Shenhor (together with Wepwawet) in connection with the local rites of Osiris (A. N. Dakin, *JEA* 24 [1938] 191, n. 6). The present occurrence does much to offset the evidence from Hargarsa, and greatly strengthens the probability that Shenhor lay within the Thinite nome.

⁸⁴ As pointed out toward the end of part 1, this title may have originated in the Thinite nome, where most of the earlier examples occur. The example quoted by Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae* 34, may be contemporary; it is related to a group of stelae which Dunham (p. 124) calls "Early Middle," and Dr. Caroline Peck, who has made a further study of these inscriptions, agrees that the group in question is later than the Dyn. VI material and cannot be earlier than Dyn. VIII. For the other examples from the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries, see Dunham, *ibid.* stela no. 55; Clère, *Rev. d'eg.* 7 (1950) 27, 31 and pl. 3; Wainwright, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 165 f.; (the last republished in *WZKM* 57 [1961] 73); unpublished coffin of *Hni* from tomb N 3751. By the Eleventh Dynasty, examples begin to occur at other places. The Middle Kingdom writings of this title have frequently been misunderstood: cf. *AJA* 65 (1961) 69.

⁸⁵ *PN* I, 270.4, II, 382.

⁸⁶ This occurrence is listed in *PN* I, 260.20. For a second example, written  , see Abubakr, *Giza* I, fig. 95 A, D.

⁸⁷ So read (from Mariette's transcription) in *PN* I, 121.2; a New Kingdom example is also given, but this apparently belongs to a man (cf. *PN* I, 260.20, n. 1).

⁸⁸ Cf. *PN* I, 390.8-9.

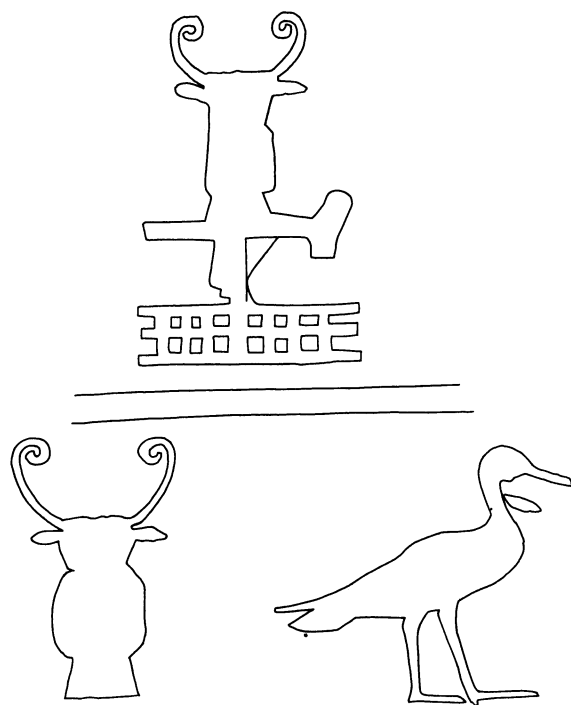


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

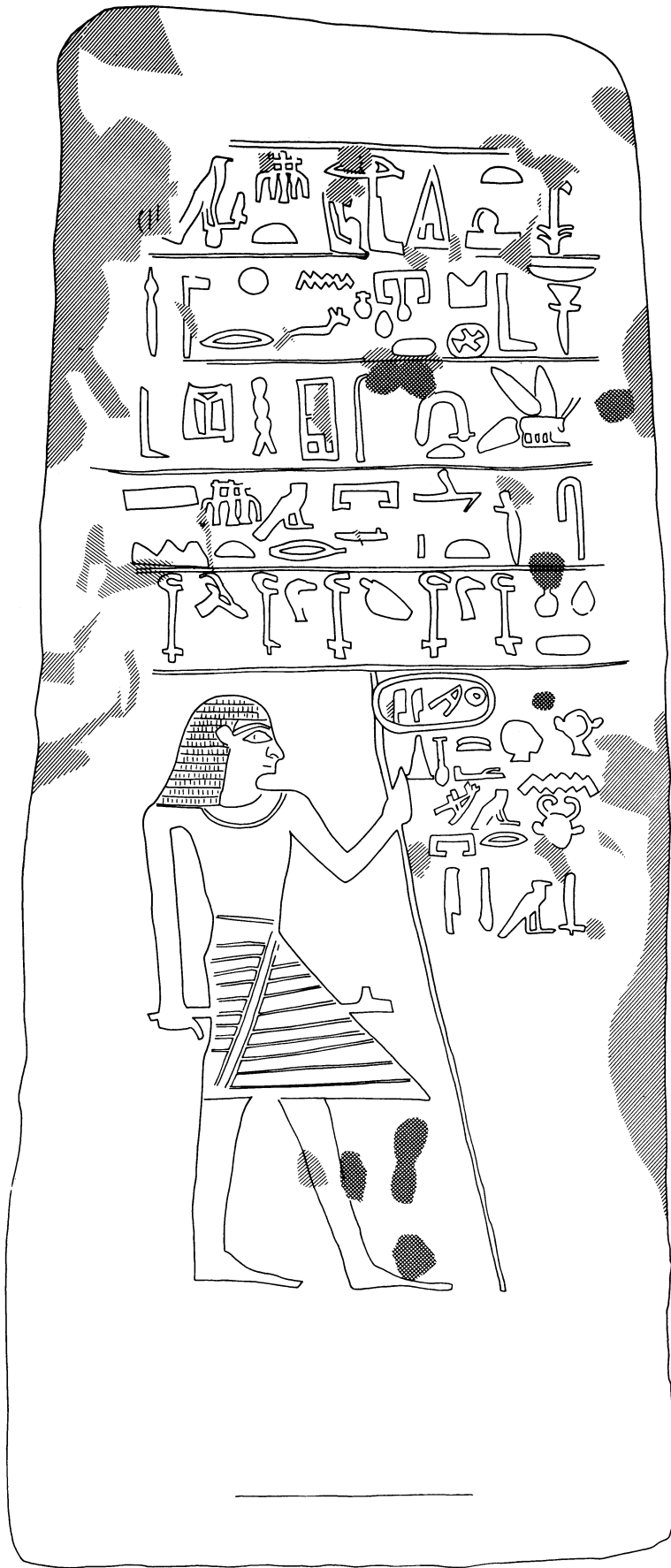


Figure 4

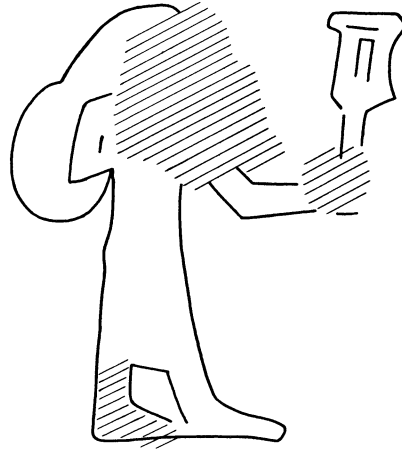


Figure 5

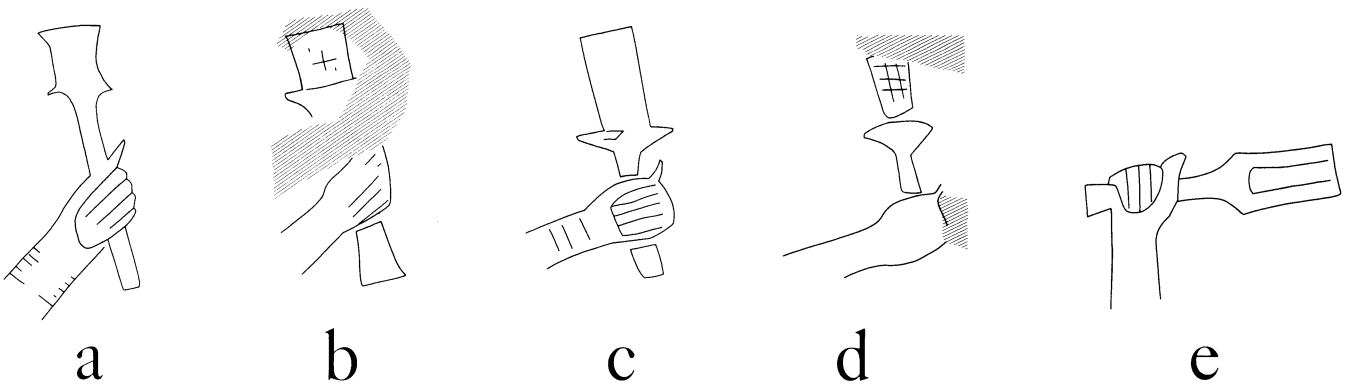


Figure 6

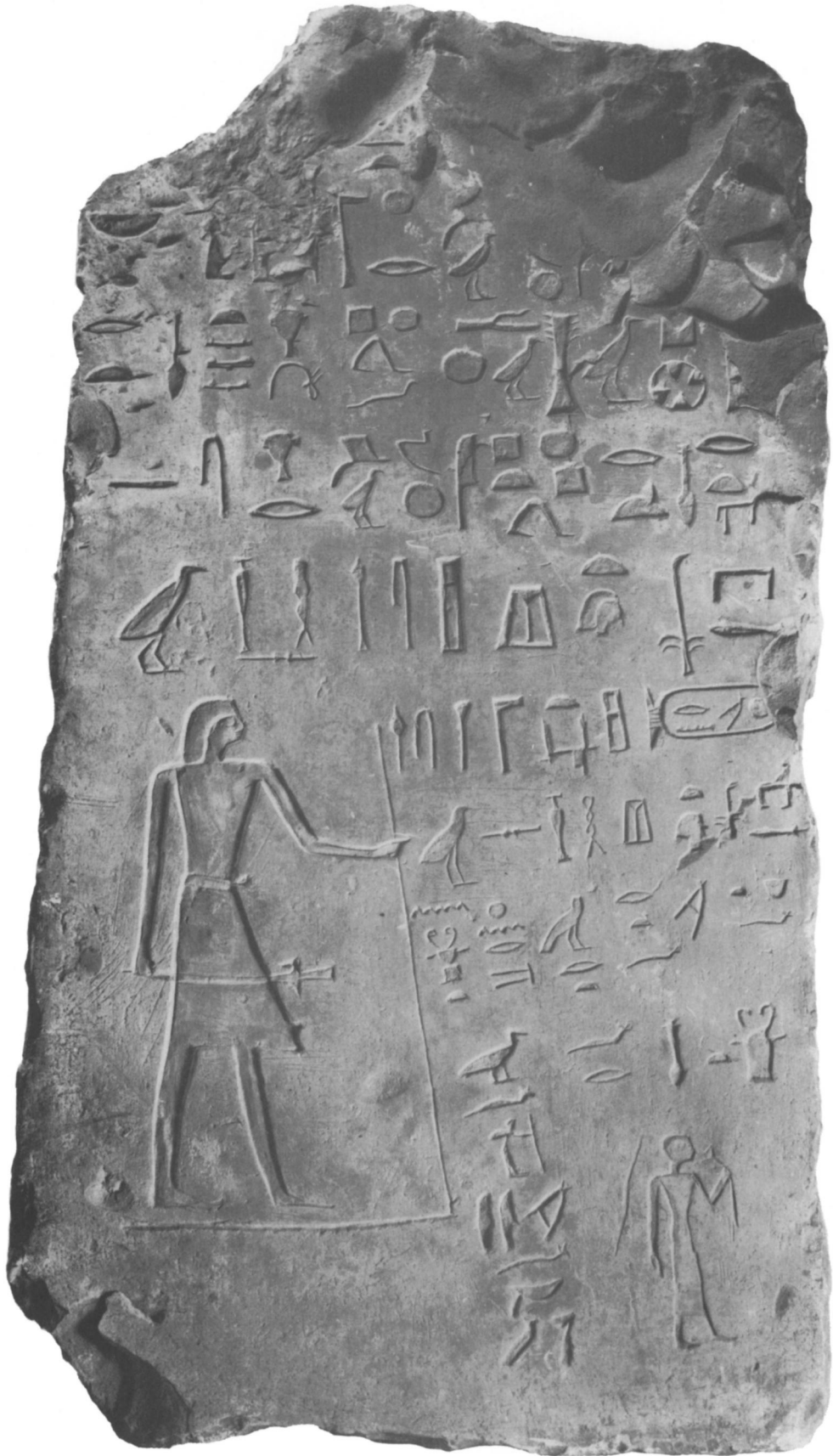


PLATE I



PLATE II



PLATE III