THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MUD SEALINGS AND FOURTH DYNASTY
ADMINISTRATION AT GIZA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JUNE 2010
To my wife, Nina
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to thank everyone who helped over the years with the research that has led to this manuscript. First, I must thank the members of my committee, and particularly Dr. Robert Ritner, the chairman, for his patient insistence that no corners be cut. As a result, the Pottery Mound corpus is more coherent and the publication at last comprehensive. In addition, I doubt that this work could have been completed without the tireless attention of Dr. Janet Johnson. I am deeply grateful not only for her consistently insightful comments and thoughtful questions, but for all of her assistance over the years. Very early in my research for this study, Dr. Peter Dorman took much of his valuable time to guide me down productive paths (and away from some dead ends). I am also indebted to Dr. McGuire Gibson who early on helped direct me toward more useful sources for broader Near Eastern studies of sealings.

I would particularly like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mark Lehner, director of the Giza Plateau Mapping Project, for access to the Giza sealings and his unflagging interest in the progress of this manuscript. I am also grateful for the support provided by Ancient Egypt Research Associates, Inc., over the duration of this project.

I am also deeply indebted to Alexandra Witsell who has assisted me in working with the Giza sealings and first identified the significance of the Pottery Mound corpus. Her constant reassurance helped make this result possible. I would also like to thank Dr.
Jason Ur for all of his assistance in helping me continue my research while in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

However, most of all I wish to thank my wife Nina without whose love and determination, this work would not have been possible. I also want to remember my children, Rosie, Alejandro and Emily Jane, who have had to share their Daddy with his "book" over the last five years. I am coming home.
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACER</td>
<td>The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVDAIK</td>
<td><em>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</em>, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRIPEL</td>
<td>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille, Lille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of American Oriental Studies, New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JARCE</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDOG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menes</td>
<td><em>Menes: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches</em>, Wiesbaden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIFAO</td>
<td>Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLA</td>
<td>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMRO</td>
<td>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACE</td>
<td>The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAK</td>
<td>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAKB</td>
<td>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur: Beiheft, Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAOC</td>
<td>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago</td>
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<td>ZÄS</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, Berlin</td>
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ABSTRACT

In the Spring of 2005 while working at a site previously identified as "Area A" at Giza, the Giza Plateau Mapping Project directed by Mark Lehner recovered and registered 1,199 pieces of sealing clay from just one small excavation area called Pottery Mound. 1,039 of these pieces proved to be sealings with seal impressions. The complete database and catalog of these objects is presented in the accompanying "Supplementary DVD." The density of the sealing deposit as well as the high degree of replication among the seal impressions singled out Pottery Mound as one of the most significant discoveries of Old Kingdom sealings in recent years. Upon closer examination, 424 of the impressed sealings from Pottery Mound were found to have been made by a restricted group of just twelve "core" seals, all of which belonged to officials claiming the title "Scribe of Royal Documents." These men were important scribal officials who recorded and implemented the will of the king. In addition, the appearance of the names of just two Fourth Dynasty kings (Khafre and Menkaure) strongly suggests that the Pottery Mound sealings had been deposited by a scribal community active in the Fourth Dynasty during a formative period in the development of the Egyptian state.

While the seals reconstructed from the replicate impressions identify the administrative actors, the sealings they left behind indicate how these seals had been used. In addition, the archaeological provenance of the excavated sealings helps determine the relative dating of the sealings whereas the other objects and artifacts
found along with the sealing suggest where the sealings might have been made. Analysis of this evidence suggests that the Scribes of Royal Documents named in the seal impressions worked close by. Animal bone from two of the most important Pottery Mound deposits shows that they were not disturbed after they had been laid down. In essence these two features represent two discrete episodes in the development of this scribal community. By examining the seals in use in these two features it appears that a few, generic Scribes of Royal Documents who had received their seals under Khafre are active early in the Pottery Mound stratigraphic sequence. Later these scribes are supplemented by at least nine other Scribes of Royal Documents whose seals date to the reign of Menkaure. In addition some of these scribes were specialized in an apparently new development. Furthermore, at least four of these scribes seem to have focused on "Royal Instructions" perhaps related to the educational infrastructure related to the royal household.

The Pottery Mound sealings seem to date to a transformative period during which the existing family-centered administration evident early in the Fourth Dynasty is giving way to a highly structured, professionally managed bureaucracy typical of the early part of the Fifth Dynasty. Scholars still debate the drastic, sudden nature of this change. The Pottery Mound sealings apparently give a rare, contemporary glimpse into the ramping up of the palace educational system during the reign of Menkaure, suggesting that the seeds of the bureaucracy of the Fifth Dynasty may have been planted by Menkaure at the end of the Fourth Dynasty.

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Chapter 1: The Sealings

1.1 Introduction

During the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2500-2350 BC), Egyptian society underwent a clear metamorphosis from an administrative system based on family relationships and bonds of personal loyalty into a bureaucratic state staffed by highly trained professionals in the early Fifth Dynasty. While royal family members continued to hold important ceremonial and religious positions in the succeeding dynasty, they no longer controlled the highest economic and administrative posts. The processes that led to this relatively sudden overhaul of the government apparatus were concurrent with a series of massive state-sponsored building projects that produced not only the imposing pyramids built for the rulers on the Giza Plateau but also the ornate tombs for the royal family members and trusted officials clustered at their feet.

The story of this administrative change is derived almost exclusively from the inscriptions in the tombs of these Fourth and Fifth Dynasty officials. Although biographical inscriptions are attested soon after the start of the Fifth Dynasty and the earliest known Egyptian administrative documents from the mortuary temples at Abusir date to the late Fifth Dynasty, the administration of the Fourth Dynasty by contrast is almost entirely reconstructed from the strings of titles and social ranks that covered the walls of contemporary tombs. The results drawn from these title sequences are based fundamentally on the relative dates of the tombs in which they are found. Given the
small number of these tombs and their often incomplete state of preservation, scholars are constantly revising and refining their dates and, at the same time, their understanding of Fourth Dynasty government.

The Pottery Mound sealings that were discovered at Giza in the Spring of 2005 offer an opportunity to test these new interpretations from the perspective of a new class of evidence. Many of the titles they bear appear to belong to some of the highest scribes in the land, "Scribes of Royal Documents." Although these same titles are common in the title strings of many of the key administrators of the late Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, they appear to be held by young men just starting their official careers. If the later careers of similar scribes as reconstructed from their tomb inscriptions are typical, then the scribes who left the sealings found at Pottery Mound were destined for great things after their tenure at Giza.¹

Located at Giza southeast of the Great Sphinx, on the low desert, Pottery Mound appears to be the richest intact deposit of sealing material from Old Kingdom Egypt. Pottery Mound - just three five-meter-by-five-meter excavation squares² - is one of the most concentrated sealing deposits ever discovered for the Old Kingdom. In addition, many of the seal impressions it produced seem to come from a restricted number of ________________

¹ The nature and history of the titles on the "core" seals presented in Chapter 2 will be examined in detail in Chapter 4.
² Features 27159, 27183, 27185, and 27187 were dug in Spring 2007 as a part of the excavation area "SFWH1" (also called House Unit 1). However, these features are really extensions of Pottery Mound features dug in 2005.
originating seals. Preliminary analysis of corresponding pottery fragments and faunal samples soon after excavation implied that the deposits containing the sealings had lain undisturbed since they were first put down in the Fourth Dynasty. From the very beginning, Pottery Mound had the potential to offer a unique insight into the day-to-day operation and organization of a clearly defined institution (or set of institutions) from Egypt's Old Kingdom.

Soon after their discovery, then, the Pottery Mound sealings appeared to represent a uniquely rich corpus of sealings and seal impressions. Only two kings of the Fourth Dynasty were named on the frequently shattered seal impressions, implying a Fourth Dynasty date for the entire corpus as well as the site that produced it. During this period, Giza was the central focus of the activities of the royal house and therefore the national economy. The special qualities of the Pottery Mound sealings as well as their provenance at Giza during the Fourth Dynasty might offer a unique insight into the central administration of the royal house during the period of transition away from the established family-run order toward the specialized, hierarchical bureaucracy typical of the early Fifth Dynasty.

The ultimate goal of this study is to reconstruct as completely as possible the administrative system that produced the Pottery Mound sealings and then analyze that system in light of current theories regarding central administration during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The steps to achieve this goal require identification and reconstruction of the seals that produced the Pottery Mound seal impressions (Chapter 2); analysis of
the inscriptions, use profiles and archaeological context of the sealings in order to describe the nature and development of the institution (or institutions) that discarded them (Chapter 3); and comparison of the results of this analysis with existing descriptions of the nature of Fourth Dynasty administration and the transition to the Fifth Dynasty (Chapter 4).

But first, the Pottery Mound corpus must be seen in the broader context of other discoveries of sealings from the Old Kingdom. Overall, many of Pottery Mound's special characteristics seem to be related to its proximity to the center of economic and social power in the Fourth Dynasty. Dating the Pottery Mound sealings specifically to the Fourth Dynasty however rests primarily on the royal names preserved in the inscriptions from the originating seals. Previously, scholars have assumed that the royal names on seal impressions accurately dated the seal that made the impressions. Some scholars even advanced the idea that all official seals were systematically collected and re-issued upon the transition from one king to another. If true, the Horus names found on impressed sealings would not only reveal when the originating seal was manufactured, but the reign in which the seal impression itself was made. However, the evidence supporting these assumptions is scant and is even undermined by recent archaeological examination of sealings deposits.

Understanding the intricacies of using royal names on seal impressions to date archaeological sites reliably as well as the changing role of specific royal names from the Early Dynastic Period into the Old Kingdom is crucial to assigning a preliminary date...
of the Pottery Mound sealings. The types of cylinder seals used during the Fourth Dynasty as well as the types of sealings known from elsewhere in Old Kingdom Egypt can help characterize the Pottery Mound deposit. The relative number of impressions most likely made by Official Seals versus those most likely made by "personal" seals is a rough indication of the connection of Pottery Mound to the functions of the central government. Examining the kinds of sealings discarded at Pottery Mound constructs the profile of how a specific seal was used over time and can help identify the specific activities of the seal owner. Finally, these aspects of the Pottery Mound corpus - the number of sealings, their date, preliminary assessment of the originating seals and the profile of use over time - can be compared with other collections of sealings.

1.2 Pottery Mound, Area A and Giza in the Old Kingdom

Pottery Mound did not exist in isolation. It was in fact created by the dynamic forces at work within a confined, urban settlement located near the base of Giza pyramids. In order to understand these forces clearly, Pottery Mound must be seen within the broader context of Giza during the Old Kingdom.

1.2.1 Area A at Giza

In 1985, after the initial surveys done by the Giza Plateau Mapping Project (GPMP), director Mark Lehner published a hypothetical description of the development
of the Giza Plateau through the reign of Khufu. Based on the results of this hypothetical reconstruction, Lehner proposed three specific locations, called Area A, B and C, on the Giza Plateau where the settlement and infrastructure required to build the Giza pyramids might be found.

Area A is the area immediately to the south of an unfinished, monumental, limestone wall, called the "Wall of the Crow," or Heit el-Ghurab in Arabic. This east-west running wall is approximately 200 meters long and is located about 400 meters southeast of the Great Sphinx (see Figure 1.1). Although the entire concession for Area A is more than 16 hectares in area, only about 200 meters east-to-west and roughly 350 meters from north-to-south, or just under 7 hectares, had been exposed and mapped by the end of the 2007 field season (see Figure 1.2).

Area B is a broad, sandy depression in the Maadi geological formation approximate 600 meters south-southwest of the Khentkaues monument in the Central

5 For this reason, Area A is also occasionally referred to as "the Heit el-Ghurab site" or abbreviated as "HeG" in recent site reports and project literature.
Figure 1.1: Map of the Giza Plateau showing Areas A, B and C. North is to the right.
Field and is separated from Area A to the east by a high north-south ridge. From 1971 to 1973, Karl Kromer excavated debris apparently from the demolition of standing structures sometime in the reign of Khafre along the western slope of this ridge.

Area C is high up on the plateau west of Khafre's pyramid and includes a series of gallery structures designated the "Workers' Barracks" by Sir Flinders Petrie. Selected portions of Area C were excavated by the GPMP in 1988-1989.

1.2.2 The Settlement Site of Area A

Through the end of the 2007 season, very little of Area A had been intensively excavated. Most of the ancient site has instead been cleared and mapped. The resulting map (see Figure 1.2) shows a settlement with a high degree of internal modularity.

7 The "Workers' Cemetery" currently being excavated by Zahi Hawass is located on this ridge, between Area A and Area B. See Zahi Hawass, "The Workmen's Community at Giza," in Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten, ed. Manfred Bietak, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 14 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996).


Figure 1.2: Map of Area A after excavation in 2007.
Broadly speaking, Area A can be divided into six component parts: the Gallery Complex, the Western Extension,\textsuperscript{12} East of the Galleries (called "EOG"), the Eastern Town, the Royal Administrative Building and, finally, the Western Town.

Located at the center of the northern part of the site (as it is currently exposed), the Gallery Complex is oriented just slightly west of north and appears to have been designed and executed by a central - probably royal - authority.\textsuperscript{13} It is composed of the remains of four sets of long, relatively narrow rooms, called "galleries" by the excavators, that are numbered I to IV from north to south. When complete, each gallery set was wide enough to contain eleven individual galleries. However, Gallery Sets II and III apparently contain special purpose structures at their eastern end that were each the width of three galleries. These gallery sets were divided by three separate east-west

\textsuperscript{12} The identification of the excavation areas south of the Wall of the Crow and west of the Gallery Complex appears to have shifted with time. Mark Lehner, "The Pyramid Age Settlement of the Southern Mount at Giza," *JARCE* 39 (2002): 53 defines the Western Extension as "the area south of the Wall of the Crow between the Gallery Complex and the enclosure wall." Later, the same area is split by Main Street into the Eastern Compound to the north and the Western Extension to the south as seen in the fold out map entitled "Giza Plateau Mapping Project: June 2005" in Mark Lehner and Wilma Wetterstrom, eds., *Giza Reports, the Giza Plateau Mapping Project, Volume 1: Project History, Survey, Ceramics, and Main Street and Gallery III.4 Operations* (Boston: Ancient Egypt Research Associates, 2007). Here, the Western Extension includes all of the structures west of the Gallery Complex and south of the Wall of the Crow on both sides of the Enclosure Wall.

streets, dubbed North Street, Main Street and South Street. Lehner hypothesizes that these galleries functioned as temporary housing for workers or guards\textsuperscript{14} and that their architectural organization might actually reflect Old Kingdom patterns of labor organization.\textsuperscript{15}

The Western Extension comprises all of the structures west of the Gallery Complex and south of the Wall of the Crow.\textsuperscript{16} While much of the rest of Area A is built from mud brick, the Western Extension seems to contain the broken limestone foundations for mud brick walls.\textsuperscript{17} These structures often exhibit two or more phases of rebuilding\textsuperscript{18} and might have functioned as makeshift working and living spaces, based on a comparison with similar Fourth Dynasty sites.\textsuperscript{19} The Western Extension also includes three formal houses each located at the western entrances to the Gallery Complex along each of the three streets. According to Lehner, "the purpose of these


\textsuperscript{15} Lehner, "7. Introduction to Gallery III.4 Excavations," 190-192.

\textsuperscript{16} Lehner, "The Pyramid Age Settlement of the Southern Mount at Giza," 53-57.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.: 54, "[t]he upper parts of the walls must have been built of mud brick and have fallen first."

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.: 56.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.: 57.
buildings may have been to control and monitor the movement of material and people through the streets into and out of the gallery system.\textsuperscript{20}

The East of Galleries (EOG) excavation area is a hodge-podge collection of structures between the eastern edge of the Gallery Complex and the Eastern Town. To the north of this area, the lower phases contain indications of the possible existence of an "elite" Northeastern Town. However, much of the evidence for this area has been flooded and disturbed.\textsuperscript{21} To the south there is evidence of food production on an industrial scale that seems to expand to the north in the latest phases, partially replacing the Northeastern Town.\textsuperscript{22} Even further south, in an area close to the eastern limits of Gallery Sets III and IV, early evidence of faience production\textsuperscript{23} was apparently supplanted in later phases by bread production on a massive scale.\textsuperscript{24} Overall, the area between the Gallery Complex and the Eastern Town tells the story of artistic production and possibly upper class residences crowded out and eventually replaced by industrial food production in later phases.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.: 56.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 40, including the line of pedestals discovered in the Main Street East (MSE) area in his conclusions.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 50-51.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 59.
South of the EOG area is a complex of structures sequestered inside two sharply angled limestone walls and clustered around a series of large sunken silos. The existence of such large grain storage facilities (absent elsewhere at Area A) and the discovery of a large concentration of sealings and sealing related objects in the northwest corner of the complex led Lehner to name it the Royal Administrative Building (RAB).\textsuperscript{25} Like other parts of Area A, the RAB also exhibits two clear architectural phases. Currently much of the RAB is covered by a modern soccer club to the south and remains unexcavated.\textsuperscript{26}

The latest phase of the RAB apparently postdates earlier structures to the east. These buildings appear to be a continuation of a large expanse of dense, organic settlement called the Eastern Town that runs north (until it is covered by later alluvial deposits) as well as east under the modern village. In general the walls of the houses in the Eastern Town tend to be oriented a little east of north but can also display a great deal of variability. In addition, the structures in the Eastern Town are generally smaller

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 62-63, reports that a geophysical survey conducted on the grounds of the soccer club indicates that the complex might have been 100 meters long north-south. Today, as much as two-thirds of the RAB might be covered by the grounds of the club.
Figure 1.3: Map of the Western Town showing the location of Pottery Mound.
and more compact than those elsewhere at Area A.\textsuperscript{27} Lehner speculates that this town that abuts the other orthogonal, planned buildings of Area A was likely "home to long-term residents."\textsuperscript{28}

1.2.3 The Western Town and Pottery Mound

The area just west of the Royal Administrative Building and south of the Enclosure Wall surrounding the Gallery Complex is called the Western Town (see Figure 1.3).\textsuperscript{29} Although the southern limits of the Western Town seems to be home to smaller and more organic buildings,\textsuperscript{30} the northern part appears to contain large, possibly residential, units, surrounded by thick walls and oriented just west of north the same as the Gallery Complex.\textsuperscript{31}

Abutting the residential district to the northwest, but separated from it by a thick mud brick wall, is a set of interconnected industrial structures called Area AA (see Figure 1.4). Area AA includes an enigmatic building that originally contained two rows of eight pedestals that may have supported a series of bins, which might have been

\textsuperscript{27} Lehner, "The Pyramid Age Settlement of the Southern Mount at Giza," 64-65, who describes the Eastern Town as a "warren of small rooms and courtyards."

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.: 65.

\textsuperscript{29} On occasion, this area is also called Soccer Field West, or SFW.


used for malting grain.\textsuperscript{32} Immediately to the north and east of the Pedestal Building is a complex of rooms made from mud brick. Each of the rooms in this structure appears to have had an industrial purpose. The Oven Room, for instance, is a small, 3-meter-by-3-meter room that contains two large oval ovens. To the north of this chamber is the so-called Long Room where malted grain may have been dried, or "kilned."\textsuperscript{33} To the east of the Oven Room, originally communicating with it through a door that was later blocked, is a single room containing four large, plastered bins, called the Bin Room.\textsuperscript{34} The purpose of these bins remains unclear. These chambers along with the Pedestal Building appeared to the excavators to be an "ensemble, a complex perhaps governed by a special department or institution" based on the architectural organization.\textsuperscript{35} To the east of the Pedestal Building lay a baking complex with several specialized rooms, access to which was apparently "highly restricted."\textsuperscript{36}

To the southeast of Area AA, three large architectural units - later called "House Units" - were identified by the thickness and length of the walls that encircled them.\textsuperscript{37} House Unit 1 covers approximately 400 square meters in area.\textsuperscript{38} Its outer, public rooms

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[{33}] Lehner, Kamel, and Tavares, \textit{Seasons 2006-2007}, 73.
\item[{34}] Ibid., 72.
\item[{35}] Ibid., 73.
\item[{36}] Ibid., 73.
\item[{37}] Lehner, Kamel, and Tavares, \textit{Season 2004}, 34-36.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
surrounded a cluster of inner, more private rooms that featured three different sleeping platforms and a low, L-shaped bench. This house is distinguished by the series of low, plastered bins, possibly also related to malting,\textsuperscript{39} in the southwestern corner of the complex and the five rooms in the extreme east known as the "baking area."\textsuperscript{40}

House Unit 2 covers almost 300 square meters and is dominated by four parallel "magazines" apparently for storage.\textsuperscript{41} The walls of this unit have been partially robbed and most of the area remains unexcavated.

Covering just 196 square meters, House Unit 3 is the smallest of the three residential units so far identified in the Western Town.\textsuperscript{42} Although it was badly damaged and especially in the southeast corner almost entirely lost, enough survives to suggest its domestic nature. In the southwest part of the complex evidence of hearths (Room J) and bread baking (Room F) indicates the presence of kitchens. In Room P in the northeastern corner of House Unit 3, an alcove with what might be the remains of an


\textsuperscript{39} Kawae, "House Unit 1 (SFW.H1): Interim Report," 90.
\textsuperscript{40} Lehner, Kamel, and Tavares, Season 2004, 34.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 35.
Figure 1.4: Area AA and its component structures.
arched entrance could be a bedroom. Finally, in the very center of the complex, the excavators discovered a pit in which a tree had been planted in a central courtyard.

1.2.4 The Archaeology of Pottery Mound

Pottery Mound - a raised mound of ashy debris rich in pot sherds, animal bones and clay sealing fragments - is located between House Unit 1 and House Unit 2 (see Figure 1.3). Pottery Mound is an area of "repeated dumping" that was originally contained by mud brick walls which subsequently either eroded or were robbed away. Since much of Pottery Mound remains unexcavated the final story of its development has yet to be told. However, the dumping phases identified by the excavator (Phases III through VIII) rest directly upon a "compact layer of mud brick tumble." Underneath the tumble the excavators found a "loose sandy soil" consistent with the foundation layers beneath other structures nearby. It seems therefore that the dumping events that filled up the structure containing Pottery Mound happened after it had fallen out of use and that it had fallen out of use soon after it had been constructed directly on top of a sandy layer with few artifacts.

43 Ibid., 69-71.
44 See Chapter 3.
45 Lehner, Kamel, and Tavares, Season 2005, 70.
1.3 Characteristics of the Pottery Mound Corpus

Soon after they were registered, the sealings from Pottery Mound were recognized to be clearly special. Accepting an Old Kingdom date for the corpus based on the associated pottery and the prevalent royal names on the sealing fragments, the sealings produced by just three excavation squares outnumbered other published Old Kingdom sealing collections. In addition, the seal impressions on these sealings appear to have been made by a limited number of cylinder seals for the most part. Finally, the Pottery Mound sealings appeared to have lain undisturbed since they were originally discarded. Altogether these three features distinguished the Pottery Mound corpus.

1.3.1 Quantity

The primary indication of the significance of the Pottery Mound sealings was the sheer quantity of the sealings produced by just 75 square meters of excavations. While the pyramid complexes and solar temple at Abusir might have once contained even more sealings than Pottery Mound, those monuments were so haphazardly excavated and the records so thoroughly destroyed in the Second World War that the true value of their sealing evidence can never be known. Outside of Abusir, however, no Old Kingdom site approaches the sheer number of recovered impressed sealing fragments from Pottery Mound, to say nothing of the remainder of Area A. When completely processed, Pottery Mound alone produced 1,128 registered sealings, of which 1,036 show traces of at least one cylinder seal impression whereas 92 others had been
incised by some sort of stylus. In comparison, Elephantine yielded fewer than 1,000 impressed sealings for all Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom levels and, as of 2001, the Sixth Dynasty Governor's Palace at Balat had produced a total of 919 impressed sealings. Other Old Kingdom sites, such as Buhen and El Kab, do not even approach these numbers.

1.3.2 Degree of Replication in Seal Impressions from Pottery Mound

The Pottery Mound sealings also exhibited a high number of identifiable replicate seal impressions on different sealings. "Replicate" impressions are seal impressions made by the same seal. Although replicate impressions commonly appear on the same sealing, replicate impressions from the same seal on different sealings is rarely documented in the Area A sealing corpus outside of Pottery Mound. In fact, prior to the 2005 season, only six sealings with possible replicate impressions had been identified, all from Area AA in the Western Town.46

The use of the same seal on multiple sealings is particularly prevalent in the Pottery Mound sealings. After processing the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound, 433 fragments47 - almost 42% of the total - were found to have replicate

46 Sealings 137, 770, 775, 778, 802, and 1486.
47 These sealings are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 below. 424 sealings contributed to the reconstructions of the 12 "core" seals. The three provisional seals "A," "B" and "C" are represented by a total of 7 sealings. There are also two "informal"
impressions. By piecing together the replicate impressions on 424 different sealings, twelve nearly complete "core" seal designs have been reconstructed below in Chapter 2. These twelve "core" seals are each represented by as many as 91 sealings or as few as nine.

Following a preliminary assessment, the Pottery Mound sealings seemed to present several tantalizing clues about the administrative organization that generated them. Not only were box and papyrus document sealings highly represented compared to the rest of Area A, a striking percentage of the sealings bore replicate impressions from a restricted group of seals, many with scribal titles. The high concentration of box and document sealings might reflect concentrated scribal activity at or near Pottery Mound. The high degree of replication among the sealings presented an opportunity to reconstruct the designs on the seals and potentially assign the activities of the seal owners to particular archaeological features and contexts. Taken together, Pottery Mound seemed to have all of the necessary components for a careful study of an Old Kingdom scribal institution.

1.3.3 Archaeological Provenance

Sealings by themselves can often present an incomplete and potentially misleading picture of the officials and practices that produced them. After all, the sealings - Sealings 2811 and 2941 - that appear to have been sealed by the same seal (see Section 2.4.3.1 below).
administrative system used near Pottery Mound was made up of administrative actors who wielded seals in a variety of administrative contexts. In order to describe that system, identify the actors and understand the contexts, the original seals must be identified as clearly as possible from the impressions they left behind on the clay sealings. This is often a tricky and time-consuming process, but it is necessary in the end. Broken sealings often only preserve a portion of the original seal impressions. Even when these seal impressions happen to remain intact, they often preserve just a part of the overall design on the originating seal. The vast number of sealings and highly repetitive seal impressions from Pottery Mound offer not only an opportunity to reconstruct the designs of the individual seals but also, given their meticulously recorded archaeological provenance, the potential to describe the relationships among the owners of these seals as they developed over time. Such a detailed administrative study of a Fourth Dynasty institution had not been possible prior to the excavation of Pottery Mound.

1.4 Date of the Pottery Mound Corpus: The Horus Name

Superficially, the date of the seals used on the sealings from Pottery Mound is clear. Of the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound, 359 bear either complete or restorable Horus names. Of these, 120 belong to Khafre and 239 belong to Menkaure; no other kings are attested. This suggests a preliminary date for the overall deposit sometime in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure. In addition, 18 sealings seem to show only the cartouche of Khafre and 14 bear that of Menkaure, but since cartouches can
often be components of institutional or geographical names their use as a dating criterion is limited. However, raw counts of recovered sealing fragments may actually be misleading since these numbers do not take into account the number of seals that created the impressions and how frequently they were used.

The presence of a serekh or cartouche on a sealing strongly indicates that the originating seal was an Official Seal, or Amtssiegel. 48 Therefore, determining the date of the sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus ultimately relies on the royal names, especially the Horus names inside serekhs, that are regularly carved on Official Seals of the Old Kingdom.

1.4.1 Royal Names in the Old Kingdom

In the Fourth Dynasty, kings of Egypt may be identified by three names other than the Horus name. The so-called "Nomen" of a king is written inside a cartouche from the reign of Sneferu on49 and seems to have been the king's personal name from


49 Jürgen von Beckerath, Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 28. Other attestations of the cartouche used with the names of earlier kings may not be from contemporary sources. See Stephan Seidlmayer, "Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom: A View from Elephantine," in Aspects of Early Egypt, ed. Jeffrey Spencer (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 121, who claims that Huni regularly wrote his Nomen inside a cartouche. However, the attestation of Huni's name on a granite cone from Elephantine
birth. Later, starting in the Fifth Dynasty, the king adopted a second name upon his accession called the "Prenomen," or ny-św.t-bi.ty name, which is also written inside a cartouche. Before this, the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," ny-św.t-bi.ty, commonly introduced the so-called "Two-Ladies" name, which incorporated the element nb.ty, ("He of the Two Ladies") frequently written with representations of the vulture-goddess of El Kab, Nekhbet, and the cobra-goddess of Buto, Wadjet, seated in basket hieroglyphs. The fourth royal name used in the Fourth Dynasty is the so-called "Golden Falcon" name almost always written in a rubric with a Horus falcon seated on a standard over the hieroglyph for "gold."

1.4.2 The Role of the Horus Name in the Early Dynastic Period

The nature of these royal names appears to have changed drastically by the start of the Fourth Dynasty. In a selection of texts from the Early Dynastic Period, Ann Macy Roth sees clear evidence that the Horus name of the king in the Early Dynastic Period "reflected the divine, eternal aspect of the king, while the nswt-bity name his historical,

was as a component of the name of a "palace" and might have been inscribed after Huni's reign. The same might also be said of the attestations of Zanakht's cartouche on seal impressions.

50 von Beckerath, Handbuch, 26. From the reign of Unas, after the development of the Prenomen, ś3-Ř is regularly placed directly before the cartouche enclosing the Nomen, or, occasionally, inside it. Prior to this, it might follow the cartouche or even the serekh, as an epithet.

51 Ibid., 21-22. Neferirkare Kakaï was the first king to adopt a second cartouche with a separate name at his accession.

52 Ibid., 10-16.
individual aspect. Later in the Old Kingdom, the roles of the two royal names come to be reversed and the living king is identified by his Horus name possibly, Roth suggests, in order to contrast him with his dead predecessor, who became equated with Osiris.

The rise of the Osiris cult and its origins have been discussed in detail by J. Gwyn Griffiths, who traces its roots back before the end of the Fifth Dynasty. It seems clear however that Osiris and his cult existed well before his earliest attestations in the reign of Djedkare Izezi. Griffiths notes the controversial theories of Herbert Ricke, who maintained that the changes in the layout and design of the Fourth Dynasty pyramid complexes reflect "die Verquickung der älteren Königssage von Horus und Seth mit der Osirismythe unter Snofru." Although Griffiths himself finds Ricke's thesis "attractive," he is forced to acknowledge the dissenting voices of other scholars such as Bonnet.

56 Herbert Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 5 (Zürich: Borchartd-Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, 1944), 24. Even Ricke, *Bemerkungen, Heft 5*, 230 n. 38, admits that this idea is merely "eine Arbeitshypothese" with little direct support. However, it does help to explain the architectural evolution of the valley temples during the Fourth Dynasty.
who objects to the lack of direct evidence for Ricke's theory as well as his constant explanation of architectural change only in terms of cult change.

Although lacking direct support, Ricke's working hypothesis helps to explain the apparent reversal in the role of the Horus name inside a *serekh* from the Early Dynastic Period to the Fourth Dynasty. Roth first identified that, during the Early Dynastic Period, the Horus name inside a *serekh* was most commonly associated with the king's burial monument (the dead king) whereas the *cartouche* name seemed to be used in association with the king's residence (the living king). By the Fourth Dynasty however there is clear evidence the combination of the Horus name and the *serekh* device was reserved exclusively for the living king. If Roth is correct in ascribing this role reversal to the rise of the Osiris cult, then the evidence from the contemporary royal names of the Fourth Dynasty offers indirect support to Ricke's working hypothesis.

Other Early Dynastic texts show the different meaning of the Horus name in that period. A few seals from the First Dynasty preserve Horus names for several different kings on the same seal. In 1985 Günter Dreyer excavated three sealings, at least one of which had apparently sealed the door to the tomb of Den at Umm el-Qaab.\(^{59}\) Using the impressions preserved on these fragments, Dreyer reconstructs the originating seal's design, in which the Horus names of Narmer, Aha, Djer, Wadi, Den, and the "King's

Mother" Merneith are arranged in columns, with each Horus name introduced by a Horus falcon. A column repeating the name of the god Khentiamentiu is inserted before each of the columns containing the names of Narmer, Aha, and Djer. In later seasons, Dreyer excavated about 15 bag sealings in the tomb complex of Qa'a from which he was able to reconstruct the pattern of a second, similar seal. The Qa'a seal begins with a column that repeats the name of Khentiamentiu and then lists the Horus names of Qa'a, Semerkhet, Adjib, Den, Wadji, Djer, Aha, and, lastly, Narmer, each written twice and surmounted by a Horus falcon. According to the excavators, these two seals represent different versions of "das Siegel der Friedhofsverwaltung" of Umm el-Qaab.

![Figure 1.5: Inscription on the Back of Cairo CG 1.](image)

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A similar sequence of kings from the Second Dynasty has been carved on a
statue in the Cairo Museum. Cairo CG 1 is a small, red granite statue of a kneeling man
with outstretched arms.\textsuperscript{63} This statue likely dates to either the Second\textsuperscript{64} or Third
Dynasty.\textsuperscript{65} It bears two separate inscriptions, one on the upper surface of the base and
the other on the back of the figure's right shoulder (see \textbf{Figure 1.5}). Kaplony claims that
the text on the base gives the titles\textsuperscript{66} and name of the statue's subject (Hetepdjief)\textsuperscript{67} as
well as his father (Mery-Djehuty).\textsuperscript{68} Helck, however, contends that the enigmatic text on
the base contains only titles and epithets, not names, and that the subject of the statue
remains anonymous.\textsuperscript{69}

The text on the back of the statue's right shoulder shows a figure of a bird
perched on some sort of stand followed by the Horus names (written inside \textit{serekhs}) of
kings Hetepsekhemwy, Raneb and Nynetjer respectively (see \textbf{Figure 1.5}). The
sequence of these kings from right to left appears to be in historical order and has

\textsuperscript{63} Ludwig Borchardt, \textit{Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im
Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1-1294, Teil I: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 1-380}, Catalogue Général
des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 9 (Berlin: Reichsdrukkerei, 1911), 1-2
and pl. 1.
\textsuperscript{64} So W. Stevenson Smith, \textit{A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the
\textsuperscript{65} So Borchardt, \textit{Statuen und Statuetten}, 1.
\textsuperscript{66} "He of the 'Red House'," \textit{pr(y)-dšr}, and "Great one of Incense," \textit{wr id.t}.
\textsuperscript{67} Peter Kaplony, \textit{Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit}, Ägyptologische
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., 506.
\textsuperscript{69} Wolfgang Helck, \textit{Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit}, Ägyptologische
helped scholars reconstruct the early history of the Second Dynasty.\textsuperscript{70} However, the reason behind the text and its awkward location on the statue's shoulder remain unclear. Raymond Weill\textsuperscript{71} suggests that the sequence of royal names represents the mortuary cults of these three kings, all probably located at Saqqara\textsuperscript{72} near where the statue was found,\textsuperscript{73} and that the man represented in the statue served in all three cults. Most scholars continue to follow Weill's explanation.\textsuperscript{74}

Kaplony, however, had difficulties with this interpretation. First, Weill did not take into account the perched bird figure that precedes the \textit{serekhs}. Second, even accepting Helck's reading of the text on the statue's base, the subject does not bear any titles common for a mortuary priest. Third, Weill does not address why the text was carved on the back of the statue's right shoulder. Kaplony instead suggests that the carving

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{71} Raymond Weill, \textit{Des monuments et de l'histoire des IIe et IIIe dynasties Egyptiennes} (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908), 143.
\footnotetext{72} Fischer, "An Egyptian Royal Stela of the Second Dynasty," 46-48, discusses the possible locations at Saqqara of the tombs of two of the three kings.
\footnotetext{73} The statue was discovered at Mit Rahinah in 1888. See Borchardt, \textit{Statuen und Statuetten}, 1.
\end{footnotes}
represents a "stamp" marking the official as a follower of three successive kings who all three were followers of the god of Buto, Djebaty (as Kaplony reads the perched-bird hieroglyph). While such "stamping" is common on statues and reliefs from the New Kingdom, Kaplony notes that a motif from some First Dynasty labels may actually show an official being stamped.

According to Kaplony's interpretation, the text on the shoulder of CG 1 represents a statue that was stamped by three rulers in succession. If so, then the *serekhs* on Hetepdjief's statue stress the time spans of service with each *serekh* following another as one reign follows another. Each *serekh* in a sense refers to a living king and not the mortuary cult of a dead one.

Kaplony's alternate interpretation notwithstanding, Horus names inside *serekhs* are used differently in the First and Second Dynasties than in the Old Kingdom. This difference is most clearly seen in the royal annals of the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. The annals consist primarily of sequential year-compartments, each of which relates the most significant event or events for a given civil year. These compartments are grouped into sections according to reign and each section is surmounted by a title which gives the Horus name of the king and the name of his mother. From the surviving annals fragments, it is clear that the Horus names of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties are always written inside of a *serekh* in the
section titles, whereas, in the later annals of the Sixth Dynasty, no *serekhs* are used.

None of the section titles for the intervening reigns survive.

**1.4.3 The Horus Name inside a Serekh in the Old Kingdom**

The evidence from the annals suggests that the meaning of the Horus name written inside of a *serekh* had changed by the Old Kingdom. From contemporary sources, it is clear that the Horus name inside a *serekh* exclusively referred to the living, reigning king from the Fourth Dynasty on. During the Old Kingdom, each of the king's names - including the Horus name - became the focus of a cult located in the pyramid temple after the king's death. Horus name cults are known for Sneferu (*nb-m3")

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75 Djer: above Cairo Fragment 1, recto, register 2, see Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 186-187 and figs. 4 and 5. Den: above the Lower Register in Cairo Fragment 5, see Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 240-241 and fig. 10. Semerkhet: above Cairo Fragment 1, recto, register 3, see Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 193 and figs. 4 and 5. Nynetjer: above Palermo Stone, recto, register 4, see Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 119 and fig. 1. Peribsen (?): above Cairo Fragment 1, recto, register 4, see Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 202-203 and figs. 4 and 5. Note the reading of this last king is problematic. However, the use of a *serekh* topped by a standing Seth-animal seems clear. Netjerykhet (?): above Cairo Fragment 1, recto, register 5, see Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 208-209 and fig. 4. The identification of this king is highly problematic, but Edwards was clear that he saw a *serekh* on the left side of the stone. If indeed this last example is Netjerykhet, it would show that the practice of including *serekhs* in the identifications of the kings extended into the Third Dynasty.

76 Michel Baud and Vassil Dobrev, "De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une <<Pierre de Palerme>> pour la Vle dynastie," *BIFAO* 95 (1995): fig. 3, a-d.

77 Zahi Hawass, "The Programs of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Fourth Dynasty," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O'Connor and David P. Silverman,
Khufu (mḏdw), Khafre (wšr-ib), Menkaure (k3-h.t), Shepseskaf (špš-h.t), Userkaf (îr-m3-š.t), Neferirkare (wšr-h.f.w), Niuserre (š.t-ib-t3.wy) and Djedkare (dd-h.f.w). In each case, whenever the appropriate Horus name is written as a component of one of the titles of these cults, it lacks a serekh.

Vassil Dobrev has demonstrated that occasionally in the Fourth Dynasty the Horus name of a ruler may be written without an accompanying serekh when written horizontally. As he explains, the serekh was a direct representation of the palace or tomb façade that only made sense to the Egyptians as a vertical structure. Depicting the serekh on its side would have made it appear as if the palace or tomb had been knocked over and destroyed. For this reason, whenever the king's Horus name was to be written out horizontally, the serekh was not used.

Probleme der Ägyptologie, 9 (New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 243, for the cults of four names for Khufu and three names for Khafre at Giza.

78 Dilwyn Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, BAR International Series 866 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 557 [2061]. See also Jones, Index of Titles, 559 [2070], where Sneferu's cartouche is written after ḫm-nṯr Hr indicating that the Horus name cult is intended.

79 Jones, Index of Titles, 556 [2060].
80 Ibid., 554 [2053].
81 Ibid., 561 [2076], partly restored.
82 Ibid., 560 [2074], also identifies the Horus with a following cartouche, the name inside which must be restored.
83 Ibid., 554 [2051].
84 Ibid., 554 [2054].
85 Ibid., 559 [2071], partly restored.
86 Ibid., 563 [2079], written inside of a box, not a serekh.
However, this consideration has no bearing on the Horus name cults mentioned above. In many instances these titles incorporating the Horus names of past rulers are written in vertical columns, *not* horizontally, so the graphical considerations identified by Dobrev do not apply. For example, in the Giza mastaba of Kadua from the late Fifth Dynasty (at the earliest), the tomb owner is identified as: ḫm-nṯr ḫr ḡsr-ib ḫm-nṯr ḡsr-m- nb.ty šḥḏ wʾb(w) k3-dw3, "prophet of the Horus name 'ḡsr-ib,' prophet of (the "Two-Ladies" name) 'ḡsr-m-nb.ty,' inspector of purification priests, Kadua." 88 The text is written in a single, vertical column on the thickness of the left jamb on the entrance to the tomb, and the Horus name lacks a *serekh*. Other, similar examples of Horus names written vertically as components of cult titles without *serekhs* appear throughout the Old Kingdom. 89 In these examples it is clear that space and orientation do not preclude the use of a *serekh* with the Horus name.

88 Selim Hassan, *The Mastabas of the Sixth Season and Their Description*, Excavations at Giza (1934-1935) 6/3 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1950), 96 fig. 78.

The same might also be said with regard to the Horus names incorporated into the names of funerary estates. Although the names of funerary domains typically use the king's Nomen, Helen Jacquet-Gordon lists four instances in which the Horus name of a ruler appears in a domain name. The Horus name of Khufu appears three times in the designations of estates in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of Kanefer at Giza and the Horus name of Pepi II appears in the processions of estates in his pyramid complex at South Saqqara. In each case, the name of the domain is written vertically with a Horus falcon introducing the name, but no serekh is ever used.

All of these Horus names, whether the objects of veneration in later cults or components in the names of funerary domains, have one common attribute. They refer to kings who were dead when the texts in question were composed. For compositional reasons the Horus name of a living ruler might lack an enclosing serekh when written

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horizontally, but, during the Old Kingdom, the use of a serekh indicates that the designated king was indeed alive when the text was written. In the New Kingdom the Horus name together with a serekh formed the k3-name of the ruling king and was adopted at his coronation. There are similar writings of a ruler's Horus name (and serekh) above or even between the upraised arms of a k3-standard from the Early Dynastic Period. Several seated statues of Old Kingdom rulers combine the image of a protective Horus falcon with various implementations of the king's Horus name. Occasionally a serekh carved on the back incorporates the three dimensional falcon into its design. Taken together this evidence seems to suggest that the Horus name was connected with a cult of the royal k3 that existed during the Old Kingdom and that the

93 As acknowledged above, these conclusions do not necessarily hold in the Early Dynastic Period.
96 Mamdouh Mohamed Eldamaty, "Horus als Ka des Königs," GM 169 (1999): passim, and esp. p. 40. For Sixth Dynasty depictions of personifications of the k3 nyšwt, see Gustave Jéquier, Le monument funéraire de Pepi II, Tome II: Le temple, Fouilles à Saqqarah (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1938), pl. 65. and Cecil Mallaby Firth and Battiscombe G. Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, Volume II: Plates, Excavations at Saqqara (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), pl. 56. Also, for a procession of personified pr.w-šn of the royal k3 from the Pepi II pyramid, see Jéquier, Pepi II, t. 3, pl. 22.
Horus name and *serekh* insignia were adopted by the king at his coronation during the Old Kingdom as in the New Kingdom.

This conclusion also seems to apply to the royal statuary of the Old Kingdom. Almost all of the examples of Horus names carved on the statues of kings from the Old Kingdom are written inside a *serekh*, indicating that the statues must have been made during that king's reign. This assertion is supported by the Old Kingdom annals, which record the creation of several different royal statues and the reigns in which they were created.\(^97\) One of the earliest certain attestations of the "birth" (*ms*) of a royal statue, named "High is Khasekhemwy," appears to be in the reign of Khasekhemwy himself, last king of the Second Dynasty.\(^98\) There appear to be three instances in the various annals fragments of the creation of statues in the reign of Sneferu, but only one is completely preserved.\(^99\) Here, a golden statue identified by Sneferu's Horus name, *Nb-


\(^{99}\) The "complete" example is from Cairo Fragment 4; see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), 237 line 12. See also Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 235. While Sethe's transcription is clear, Wilkinson's handcopy in figure 9 by contrast seems to indicate that much restoration is required. Cairo Fragment 4 appears to have a second example; see Sethe, *Urk. I*, 236 line 3. The third example is from Cairo Fragment 1; see Sethe, *Urk. I*, 237 line 17.
m3ˁ.t, written inside a serekh is created (ms) apparently late in the reign of Sneferu.

Finally, six statues of Sahure (using his Nomen and not his Horus name) are created (ms) and activated (wp-r3) in the annals of that ruler.\textsuperscript{100} The annals of the Sixth Dynasty as preserved on the so-called South Saqqara Stone, also show a similar pattern. The annals of Pepi I note the creation (ms) of two statues of "Pepi."\textsuperscript{101} If all of these royal statues were indeed carved during the reign of the king they represent, this explains the ubiquitous use of the Horus name inside a serekh on surviving royal statues.

The same may be said of the examples of the Horus name within the serekh that survive from monumental architecture\textsuperscript{102} as well as on the royal decrees carved in stone and written on papyrus. In these legal documents, the king is introduced with his Horus name inscribed inside of a serekh, and it is often noted that the decree was "sealed in the presence of the king himself" at the close of the text.

All told, it seems clear that the serekh, complete with the Horus name of the king, was only written during the lifetime of that king in the Fourth Dynasty. After his death,

\textsuperscript{100} Sethe, \textit{Urk. I}, 243 lines 1-2. This is on the verso of Cairo Fragment 1, which, according to Wilkinson, \textit{Royal Annals}, 24-28, is likely from the same monument as the Palermo Stone and Cairo Fragment 3. The attribution of this section of the text to Sahure is primarily based on the spatial relationship of Cairo Fragment 1 and the verso of the Palermo Stone, and \textit{not} on the cartouche in this passage.

\textsuperscript{101} Baud and Dobrev, "De nouvelles annales," 32, Zone A3, col. x+10.

\textsuperscript{102} For example the serekhs with the Horus name of Khafre carved into the front of the Khafre Valley Temple. See Uvo Hölscher, Ludwig Borchardt, and Georg Steindorff, \textit{Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren} (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1912), 15 Abb. 5, where serekhs with the Horus name of Khafre frame the two entrances to the temple.
whenever his Horus name was written (as in the titles pertaining to the cult of his Horus name) it would appear without the serekh, perhaps in keeping with the identification of the serekh with the palace. Upon the accession of a new king, a new Horus would then reside in the palace. None of these objects inscribed with the king's Horus name inside a serekh was intended to be replaced upon the death of the king. On the contrary, royal statues, commemorative inscriptions and mortuary temple reliefs were monuments intended to survive for eternity. Likewise, the official cylinder seals produced during a king's reign - even though intended to function as an instrument of the king's authority through the officials to whom they were given - did not necessarily lose their legitimacy when the king who made them died.

Of all the royal names, the Horus name is most common on the seals and seal impressions of the Old Kingdom and the least ambiguous. Not only is the name typically written inside of an easily identifiable serekh, this serekh is not incorporated into larger, compound names for estates or institutions such as royal domains and sun temples, as cartouches frequently are.\(^{103}\) This means that one can reasonably assume that a Horus

\(^{103}\) The Horus name might be rarely used in the names of estates, but not inside of a serekh.
name written inside a *serekh* identifies the king who reigned when the inscription on the originating seal was carved. This conclusion is supported by Jean-Pierre Pätznick.\(^{104}\)

Wolfgang Boochs and Peter Kaplony, however, go further and claim that Official and Administrative Seals were systematically collected upon the death of one king and re-issued with new royal names upon the accession of a new one. Kaplony speculates that, "Aufgrund der Aussage der Amtssiegel ist die Beamenschaft nicht auf eine abstrakte Königsidée, sondern auf den regierenden König verpflichtet. Bei Regierungswechsel müssen die Amtssiegel erneuert werden."\(^{105}\) He goes on to note that such a wholesale re-issuance of Official Seals would allow for a systematic opportunity for promoting junior officials *en masse* upon the accession of a new king. For Boochs, however, the reason for replacing old seals was rooted in symbolism. Since the king himself would receive a seal with his new names and titles as part of his coronation ritual, so must all of the administrative seals bearing the names of the old


\(^{105}\) Peter Kaplony, "Zur Definition der Beschriftungs- und Bebilderungstypen von Rollsiegeln, Skarabäen und anderen Stempelsiegeln (mit 67 Abbildungen)," *GM* 29 (1978): 48. Kaplony also suggests that this is why Official Seals do not bear the owner's personal name.
king be replaced, since they were signs of "seiner königlichen Macht und Herrschaftsgewalt."\textsuperscript{106}

Both Kaplony\textsuperscript{107} and Boochs\textsuperscript{108} find support for their views in the Hatshepsut Coronation Inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari.\textsuperscript{109} However, that text merely claims that lector priests were charged with (among other duties) "putting" (\textit{wdi.t}) the proper royal names on monuments and all seals. This need not be meant retroactively but instead might be from that point forward. Despite repetition in the literature, there is very little evidence that old seals were ever collected and re-issued at the installation of a new king. The presumption on the part of modern scholars seems to be that it was somehow integral to the everyday function of Official Seals that the Horus name which they bore be that of the currently reigning king.

Recently, Michel Baud has challenged the assumption that Official Seals were re-issued with every change in reign. By using excavated sealings as evidence for contemporary seal use, he cites several instances in which sealings from the Khentkaues II Complex at Abusir seem to show that seals carved in the reigns of two

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{106} Wolfgang Boochs, \textit{Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten}, Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum 4 (Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz, 1982), 60.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{107} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 51.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{108} Boochs, \textit{Siegel und Siegeln}, 60 n. 2.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Urk. IV}, p. 261, l. 5.}
different kings were in use at the same time.\textsuperscript{110} In particular, he notes that four sealings apparently bearing the Horus names of Userkaf, Sahure and Neferirkare were all discovered in the Khentkaues II Complex even though its cult had only just begun to function late in the reign of Neferirkare.\textsuperscript{111} The first is a so-called "model seal" that served not as a functional seal but as an amulet and survived well beyond the reign in which it was made.\textsuperscript{112} Two of the three remaining sealings Baud uses to support his argument do seem to bear the Horus name of Neferirkare, but, since Neferirkare began construction of the Khentkaues pyramid late in his reign,\textsuperscript{113} the presence of his Horus name on sealings is not surprising. The remaining sealing, however, does indeed bear the Horus name of Userkaf and may show that seals with Userkaf's Horus name were still in use as late as the reign of Neferirkare.

\begin{footnotesize}\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{110} Michel Baud, \textit{Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien}, Bibliothèque d'Étude 126 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999), 8-9. Baud constantly uses the word "sceau" (seal) when referring to "scellements" (sealings), which can lead to some confusion in understanding his argument.
\item\textsuperscript{112} Khentkaues 53/A/80: Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, \textit{Abusir III}, 115. The fact that the incised cylinder, made of fine, dark clay, was then covered in white paste shows that it was not meant to function as a seal to make impressions.
\item\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 150.
\end{enumerate}\end{footnotesize}
Baud also argues that the same temple complex produced two examples of countersealing.\textsuperscript{114} "Countersealing" is the administrative practice in which two (or more) seals make impressions on the same sealing. Although the practice is well-documented for the Early Dynastic Period and is common in administrative contexts during the Middle Kingdom, Old Kingdom examples of countersealing are exceedingly rare.\textsuperscript{115} The first example, Khentkaues sealing 146/A/80-c, shows both the Horus name of Niuserre (\textit{Hr št-ib-t3.wy}) and Menkauhor (\textit{Hr mn-ḫ.t⁻w}) according to Baud.\textsuperscript{116} Baud reads the Horus names of Niuserre and Djedkare inside \textit{serekhs} on a second sealing, Khentkaues 15/A/85-a.\textsuperscript{117} If Baud's interpretation is true, both of these sealings demonstrate that seals with the Horus names of past rulers might continue to be used in certain contexts after that ruler had died.

\textsuperscript{114} Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 9. In his discussion of Khentkaues II sealings 15/A/85-a and 146/A/80-c, Baud argues that two different Horus names appear "sur le même sceau." He probably means that they appear on the same sealing and that two different seals were used. His main point is that seals may remain in service long after the king who issued them has died.

\textsuperscript{115} The only convincing example of an Old Kingdom sealing clearly impressed by two different cylinder seals is sealing A6-18 from Buhen. See Walter B. Emery, "Egypt Exploration Society: Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Buhen, 1962," \textit{Kush} 11 (1963): 119 fig. 2. See also the discussion in Peter Kaplony, \textit{Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs: IIA, Katalog der Rollsiegel, Text}, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 3A (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1981), 52-53. Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 372, takes this sealing as evidence of an otherwise unattested co-regency of Khafre and Menkaure. He is forced to this conclusion since he maintains that Official Seals were collected when the ruler who issued them died.

\textsuperscript{116} Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 9 and n. 23.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 9 and n. 24.
However, there are basic problems with Baud's interpretation of these "countersealed" sealings from the Khentkaues II temple. Regarding Khentkaues sealing 146/A/80-c Baud's reading of Niuserre's Horus name (Ḥr śt-ib-t3.wy) inside a serekh on this sealing is problematic. From the published drawings it is not certain that the palace façade pattern actually belongs to the same seal impression as the purported writing of the Horus name. Even Baud's reading of this Horus name remains uncertain, since the term ś.t-ib, "favorite," a common modifier of titles, might also be restored.

On Baud's second instance of "countersealing," Khentkaues sealing 15/A/85-a, his reading of the Horus names of Niuserre and Djedkare inside serekhs is at odds with the original editors, who read the same traces not as the Horus name of Niuserre (Ḥr śt-ib-t3.wy), but rather as part of the divine epithet specifying the cult of Re in Niuserre's sun temple, ś.t-ib-r. Although Baud is correct in that the traces in the published drawing better fit his interpretation, the editors had access to the original sealing and their reading should be challenged only with caution.

In addition, Baud regularly confuses different aspects of seals and sealing practices in his interpretations. It is important to bear in mind several terms and their interrelationships when interpreting sealing evidence from archaeological contexts. In

118 Rainer Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 1038 no. 25561.
119 Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, Abusir III, 129.
the Old Kingdom, cylinder seals made seal impressions on sealings made of levigated clay. Each of these classes of evidence - seals, seal impressions and sealings - has its own implications for interpreting the archaeological record. For instance, seals are carved at a definite moment in time. They are then used to make seal impressions on many sealings for some time thereafter. Later, when these sealings are broken and discarded, they are treated like garbage and moved from place to place around the site, each time becoming increasingly dissociated from their original context. Therefore, four points in time are crucial in the interpretation of sealing evidence: 1) when the originating seal is carved; 2) when the seal impressions are made on the wet sealing; 3) when the sealing is broken and discarded; and 4) when the sealing is excavated and the context of its discovery. This final point is meant to stress that the post-depositional history of sealings can be complicated and the precise implications of a sealing’s provenance are seldom straightforward.

Sealings with Horus names can only serve as a terminus ante quem non for archaeological interpretation. In other words, any archaeological feature that contains a sealing with the Horus name of a king could not have been deposited before the reign of that king, but it might have been deposited at any time during that reign or afterwards. Seals might continue to be used in the reigns of successive kings, and the sealings they impressed can also remain unbroken for years thereafter. Even after it has been broken and discarded, a sealing might be incorporated intentionally into mud brick as aggregate, or used to fill in spaces between bricks in a wall. Given these considerations,
only broad patterns of distribution should be considered when using sealings to date archaeological phases. Although sealings bearing the name of a certain king can start appearing only as early as the reign of that king and they should become more numerous as the reign goes on, they should become less and less common later as the seals carved under that king fall out of use.

So, even the lone Userkaf sealing that was discovered in the Khentkaues II Complex does not necessarily mean that some old Userkaf seals remain in use as late as the reign of Neferirkare, as suggested by Baud. The Turin Canon claims that Sahure reigned for twelve years between Userkaf and Neferirkare, a reasonable length of time for a stray mud sealing to survive and be incorporated into the matrix of a mud brick wall. Also, Userkaf constructed his sun temple, "the Enclosure-of-Re," (Nḫn-rˁ), out of mud brick just north of the pyramid field at Abusir. This monument was periodically maintained and restored throughout the Fifth Dynasty\textsuperscript{120} and mud brick was also used extensively in the later phases of construction in the complex of Khentkaues II during the same period.\textsuperscript{121} It is quite possible that the Userkaf sealing had been incorporated

\textsuperscript{120} See Herbert Ricke, \textit{Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf, Band I}, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 7 (Cairo: Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 1965), 27-28, for instance, for the dating of the so-called third "Bauperiode."

\textsuperscript{121} Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, \textit{Abusir III}, 38-41.
into the new bricks either as temper swept into the brick inadvertently\textsuperscript{122} or included in bricks recycled from the older monument.

While Baud's major point that official seals might be used for several reigns during the Old Kingdom remains plausible, the evidence he cites is more equivocal than he allows. Baud consistently interprets isolated sealings as if they were direct, contemporary evidence of seal use when they are not. Although he acknowledges that, "[i]l est donc délicat d'utiliser les sceaux pour dater un niveau d'occupation …,"\textsuperscript{123} even here he muddles evidence from seals ("sceaux") with the inferences to be drawn from sealings ("scellements"). Sealings - or more accurately, the seal impressions they bear - can give testimony as to how seals are used, but this testimony is itself subject to the distortions inherent in how sealings are used, broken and discarded.

The Pottery Mound sealings, however, might allow Baud's hypothesis to be tested. Many of his epigraphic arguments are debatable and his stratigraphic observations are too general. By contrast, the Horus names on the Pottery Mound "core" seals and the seal impressions they produced are clear and the detailed provenance of the constituent sealings of these "core" seals is documented. While the question of whether Official Seals were systematically retired at the end of a ruler's reign


\textsuperscript{123} Baud, Famille royale, 9 n. 27.
must remain open for the time being, it will be addressed in the course of the archaeological discussion in Chapter 3.

1.4.4 Exceptional Old Kingdom Uses of the Horus Name inside a Serekh

A few Old Kingdom cylinder seals seem to pose a challenge to the conclusion that Horus names written inside serekhs must refer to the reigning king when they were made. One example is Brooklyn 44.123.30, an unfinished limestone cylinder, oval in cross-section, that apparently celebrates the fictitious co-regency of two Fifth Dynasty kings: Neferirkare and Niuserre. Not only does the inscription contain the serekhs - complete with Horus name - for both Neferirkare and Niuserre, it shows two, more complicated serekh designs containing both the Horus name of Niuserre (št-ib-t3.wy) and his Prenomen (ny-wšr-r'). Both of these serekhs are surmounted not only by the usual Horus-falcon motif, but add a striding king (wearing the White Crown) in front of the falcon (wearing the Red Crown) in one case and, in the other case, two striding kings (with White Crowns), holding hands behind the falcon (with no crown). Taken together, the presence of the serekhs of two different rulers as well as the apparently amicable posture of the two kings surmounting the second, elaborate serekh, suggest that this seal celebrates a co-regency of Neferirkare and Niuserre.

However, as demonstrated by Speidel, there are serious problems with interpreting this seal as evidence for an actual co-regency of Neferirkare and Niuserre. First, except for this single seal, all of the other available evidence appears to confirm the sequence of Neferirkare - Raneferef - Shepseskare - Niuserre as rulers in the Fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{125} An inscription found in the village of Abusir but probably originally from the pyramid complex of Neferirkare\textsuperscript{126} shows the eldest son of the king, named Ranefer, above the king's wife, presumably Khentkaues (only the label survives), and both are behind a large \textit{serekh} containing both Neferirkare's Horus name and Prenomen. This seems to show that the prince Ranefer was Neferirkare's eldest son and heir. In fact, as Verner notes,\textsuperscript{127} sealings discovered in the Raneferef pyramid complex show that this king was actually known as Ranefer early in his reign. Not only does this evidence strengthen the case for Raneferef (or Ranefer) directly following Neferirkare on the throne, but it also demonstrates that Raneferef was \textit{not} Niuserre's son, as Kaplony would wish.

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{125} M. Alexander Speidel, \textit{Die Friseure des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Eine historisch-prosopographische Untersuchung zu Amt und Titel} (Constance, Switzerland: Hartung-Gorre, 1990), 164. See also Miroslav Verner, "Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology," \textit{Archiv Orientální} 69 (2001): 395-400, who concludes that Raneferef directly followed his father as king, then was succeeded by the ephemeral Shepseskare, son of Sahure. He acknowledges, though, that it remains possible that Shepseskare reigned immediately upon the death of his uncle Neferirkare (p. 399).
\textsuperscript{126} Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, \textit{Abusir III}, 170 and pl. 32 fig. 82.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 170 n. 37.
\end{quote}
Second, another cylinder seal, probably from the early Borchardt excavations at the Userkaf sun temple at North Abusir, now in the Cairo Museum (JdE 44200),\textsuperscript{128} bears three \textit{serekhs} all containing Niuserre's Horus name. The seal owner is identified as a "\textit{ḥm-ntr}-priest of Re in 'Seizes-the-Heart(-of-Re)' (the sun temple of Niuserre), and in 'Offering-(of-Re)' (the sun temple of Raneferef) and 'Enclosure-of-Re' (the sun temple of Userkaf)." Although there are many problems with the publication of this seal, it is at least clear that the \textit{serekhs} date to the reign of Niuserre and the titles mention the name of Raneferef's sun temple, apparently ruling out the possibility that Niuserre might have reigned \textit{before} Raneferef.

An additional complication is that both these seals - Brooklyn 44.123.30 (which seems to support a co-regency between Neferirkare and Niuserre) and Cairo JdE 44200 (which seems to demonstrate that Raneferef reigned before Niuserre) - were apparently carved for the same man.\textsuperscript{129} The owner of the Brooklyn seal is identified as a priest of Re at Userkaf's sun temple (\textit{Nḥn-r}) as well as a priest of the Horus name of Userkaf.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{129} Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIA}, 236.
\textsuperscript{130} For the evidence surrounding the cults of the various royal names in the Old Kingdom, see Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 307-308. For the localization of the royal cult in the Fourth Dynasty, see Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 293-294, n. 546. One should note in passing that cults of the king's Horus name are rarely attested, and the Horus names which form part of these titles are never written within an accompanying \textit{serekh}. So, even though these names may refer to kings other than the one who reigned when the seal was carved, in practice they cannot be mistaken for the reigning king's Horus name since they lack a \textit{serekh}. 
On the Cairo seal, the owner's titles have expanded. While he retained his previous positions as a priest in Userkaf's sun temple and a priest of the Horus name of Userkaf, he also serves as a priest in the sun temples of Raneferef and Niuserre, as well as in the priesthoods of the Horus name of Khafre and the Horus name of Menkaure.

Kaplony, who sees the Brooklyn seal as evidence of an actual co-regency between Neferirkare and Niuserre, overcomes the apparent contradiction posed by the Cairo seal by asserting that Raneferef had constructed his sun temple - "Offering-of-Re" (Ḥtp-rˁ) - while his predecessor, Niuserre, was still alive.\footnote{Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 288.} In support of this contention, Kaplony cites a third seal inscription, reconstructed from fragments excavated at the pyramid of Neferirkare at Abusir,\footnote{Ibid., 358-359, no. 14.} which apparently bears the serekh and Horus name of Djedkare, but also mentions the name of the pyramid of Unas, Djedkare's successor and last king of the Fifth Dynasty. Here, Kaplony argues, is another clear example in which a future king built a substantial monument - in this case, his own pyramid - while his predecessor still reigned.

However, the "serekh" on the reconstructed Djedkare seal is unlike any other Old Kingdom serekh.\footnote{Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIA}, 327-328: ḏḏ-k3-rˁ 23. Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIB}, pl. 88 no. 23.} First, it is surmounted not by a falcon, but by a striding griffin\footnote{Eva Eggebrecht, "Greif," \textit{Lexikon der Ägyptologie} 2 (1977). Hans Bonnet, \textit{Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte} (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1952), 262-263. Ingeborg Flagge, \textit{Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen} (Sankt}
sphinx) wearing an atef-crown. The appearance of a striding sphinx on top of a *serekh* is only known on two other seals, and in both cases the figure is damaged and may indeed not be a sphinx at all. Second, the niched façade panel in the lower part of the *serekh* has been replace by a depiction of a king wearing the red crown, smiting two captives with an upraised mace. This motif is just one of a few, limited scenes that are known to have been incorporated into the *serekh* design, most of which also appear as royal epithets below *serekhs* with the typical palace façade. Kaplony proposes in this case to read the epithet represented by this smiting scene as *ny-św.t ti ḫ3š.*wt, "King who tramples the foreign lands."  

This seal seems to represent an unusual use of a *serekh*-like device to refer to a previous ruler and was probably carved in (or after) the reign of Unas. It may be significant that all three attributes that make up this unprecedented *serekh* - the griffin, the *serekh* itself, and the smiting-scene replacing the niched panel - are all also used in

Augustin: Hans Richarz, 1975), 12-20. According to Bonnet, the attributes of the griffin (lion's body, falcon's wings and head) and the sphinx (lion's body and human head) can overlap and become interchangeable. Flagge, however, sees the griffin particularly as an expression of the king's "monstrous" power and zeal for battle (p. 12). For Flagge, the griffin performs an apotropaic function for the dead king at his valley temple (p. 13).


136 Kaplony, *RAR IIB*, pl. 135 no. 155, of which only traces remain.

137 Kaplony, *RAR I*, 245-247, where Kaplony explains his reasons for preferring the verb ti.
this period in other scenes where the king (or his representative) destroys the enemies of Egypt. Striding griffins like the one on top of the serekh are depicted trampling enemies in the valley temple of Sahure, and in the causeways of the pyramid complexes of Niuserre and Pepi II. Even Horus names inside serekhs are sometimes graphically depicted smiting enemies. The incorporation of the smiting scene into the lower panel of the serekh itself seems to reinforce the impression that this composition, intended to resemble a normal serekh, is an apotropaic use of the Horus name of an earlier ruler, who was dead at the time it was carved.

It is difficult to accept Kaplony's explanation that an heir apparent was allowed to build and staff his own pyramid during the lifetime of his predecessor, especially since Unas's Nomen is written inside a cartouche as a component of the name of his pyramid.

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139 Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907), 47-49 and pls. 8-11.
141 For Early Dynastic examples of serekhs holding and beating captives, see O'Brien, "The Serekh as an Aspect of the Iconography of Early Kingship," 133.
142 In the upper register of this seal, the Nomens of Neferirkare and Niuserre preceded by the title *ny-šw.t-bit.y*, are inscribed inside cartouches. The appearance of these two kings' Nomens is tied to the seal owner's positions in the two solar temples founded by them. For a similar use of a deceased king's Nomen in conjunction with a position at his sun temple, see *Dd-k3-r*22: Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 325-327. Kaplony, *RAR IIB*, pl. 88 no. 22. In that case, the Cartouche Name is to be taken as a component, in a kind of honorific transposition, of the pyramid name *b3-nfr-ir-k3-r*. The figures of Re and Hathor that frame the cartouche of Neferirkare, serve as the objects of veneration for the priestly titles that follow.
on the same seal. Indeed, a carved block bearing the *serekh* and Horus name of Djedkare Izezi from his uncompleted pyramid were discovered in the casing of Unas's pyramid.\textsuperscript{143} This argues strongly that Unas's own pyramid was completed after - perhaps long after - the death of Djedkare and against a co-regency of Djedkare and Unas. Therefore, it appears most likely that this seal was carved in the reign of Unas since his pyramid had apparently been built and staffed when this seal was made.

So, lacking further evidence that royal heirs were allowed to build their own mortuary complexes or sun temples during the reign of their predecessors, it seems that the seal Cairo JdE 44200 confirms the other historical sources that Raneferef ruled between Neferirkare (Raneferef's father) and Niuserre (probably Raneferef's brother), and that no *actual* co-regency of Neferirkare and Niuserre was possible.

In light of this, Speidel suggests that the Brooklyn seal reflects a conflict between Niuserre and his two predecessors, Ranferef and Shepseskare.\textsuperscript{144} By reaching back to his father, Neferirkare, and creating a fictitious co-regency with the long dead king, Niuserre (according to Speidel) was denying that his two predecessors had ever existed. Yet, this explanation does not fit with the Cairo seal cited above. On that cylinder, which bears three *serekhs* of Niuserre, the owner claims the title (among others) of "prophet of Re in … *Htp(-ib)* (i.e., the sun temple of Raneferef)." As discussed

\textsuperscript{144} Speidel, *Die Friseure*, 164-165.
above, this seal apparently was issued to the same official for whom the Brooklyn seal was intended but after he had received further appointments in additional cults later in the reign of Niuserre. So, if the cult of Raneferef’s sun temple was still functioning later in the reign of Niuserre, this would seem to argue against a campaign by Niuserre to obliterate the memory of his brother, Raneferef.

Miroslav Verner, however, offers a more convincing explanation for the succession of the kings in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. According to Verner, Shepseskare represented the line of the royal family descended from Sahure, Neferirkare’s elder brother. Raneferef succeeded his father Neferirkare but ruled for less than three years. This is suggested not only by the Turin Canon but also by the unfinished state of his pyramid at Abusir. Taking advantage of this moment of uncertainty, Shepseskare attempted to reassert the primacy of Sahure’s line, Verner argues, by pre-empting the accession of Raneferef’s brother Niuserre. Soon after taking power, Shepseskare began preparing the site for his pyramid, north of that of Sahure at Abusir, but was not even able to begin construction. After less than a year according to the Turin Canon, Shepseskare was succeeded by Niuserre as king. Unfortunately, there is no information on the circumstances of this transition.

Assuming the sequence of events as outlined by Verner, the Brooklyn seal might not represent an effort to obliterate the memories of two despised usurpers but rather an attempt to reclaim the legitimacy of the sons of Neferirkare by summoning a fictive co-regency between the father, Neferirkare, and the junior son - now king - Niuserre. The
culs of the older son, Raneferef, were permitted to continue and may have even been fostered by the new ruler, but it was more important for the new king to identify himself with his long-lived father.

It is significant that both seals bearing serekhs containing dead kings' Horus names date to periods of instability in the royal succession. The Brooklyn seal (Brooklyn 44.123.30) was apparently carved soon after Niuserre had assumed the throne following two ephemeral (and, perhaps, contentious) reigns. The date of the reconstructed seal design from Abusir that bears the griffin-topped "serekht" containing the Horus name of Djedkare Izezi is not so straightforward. According to Kaplony, the titles on this seal indicate that it belonged to one of two officials whose tombs are known and both of whom were buried in the reign of Djedkare Izezi or later. The period after the reign of Unas, including Teti (who may have been assassinated), the ephemeral Userkare, and the early part of Pepi I's reign is very unsettled. It is conceivable - but far

145 Kaplony, RAR IIA, 327-328. The two officials in question are Duahep and Ptahma'akheru. Kaplony prefers Ptahma'akheru as the owner of the seal Dd-k3-r23.
146 Klaus Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 240, dates the tomb of Duahep to late in the reign of Pepi II through Dynasty 8. Yvonne Harpur and Paolo J Scremin, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content, Studies in Egyptology (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 87 n. 61, notes that Smith's description seems to give a date earlier in the Sixth Dynasty. Baer, Rank and Title, 73, suggests a date in the reign of Djedkare Izezi or after based on the provenance of Ptahma'akheru's tomb.
from certain - that this seal, carved after the establishment of a cult at Unas's pyramid, but hearkening back to the rule of Djedkare Izezi, may date to these uncertain times.

However, another cylinder seal from Tell el-Maskhuta\textsuperscript{147} shows the Horus names of two different kings and bears an unusual \textit{serekh}. The bottom part of the \textit{serekh}, usually reserved for the palace façade motif, contains an image of a striding figure (presumably the king) about to strike a kneeling enemy. This directly parallels the Djedkare Izezi "serekh" described above. In the Tell el-Maskhuta seal, the upper half of the \textit{serekh} has been divided into two compartments, each topped by a Horus falcon wearing the red crown. One compartment contains the Horus name of Merenre and the other holds that of Pepi II. These Horus names - as well as the Horus falcons surmounting them - face each other. Kaplony takes this seal as evidence for a co-regency between Merenre and his brother, Pepi II. However, as noted by Murnane,\textsuperscript{148} the representations on this seal are ambiguous and capable of supporting many possible interpretations. Murnane suggests that the seal owner wished to commemorate his military service under both rulers, perhaps in a manner similar to the statue of Hetepdjief (CGC 1) discussed above. However, it is also possible that this seal is using the Horus name of Merenre apotropaically like the Djedkare Izezi seal design.

\textsuperscript{148} William J. Murnane, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Coregencies}, SAOC 40 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1977), 113-114.
1.4.5 Preliminary Date for the Pottery Mound Corpus

Outside of a few special exceptions, only the Horus name of the reigning king was inscribed inside a *serekh* during the Old Kingdom. Whenever the king's Horus name was written after his death - in the names of agricultural estates or as the object of a cult - it was intentionally written without a *serekh*. An Official Seal essentially resembles as a royal monument in miniature. It bears the Horus name of the king who issued the seal, his epithets as well as the titles of the official to whom it was given. The Horus names inside *serekhs* that appear on the sealings from Pottery Mound therefore offer an opportunity to date the deposit within certain limits.

All told 391 Pottery Mound sealings bore an identifiable royal name of some sort and 359 of them contained traces of a Horus name inside a *serekh*. 102 of these were certainly those of Khafre and 171 clearly belonged to Menkaure. Although the traces on the remaining 86 sealings are not conclusive, it would be possible to restore Khafre's Horus name on 18 and Menkaure's Horus name on the remaining 68. The evidence from the Horus names strongly suggests that all of the Official Seals used on the Pottery Mound sealings were manufactured in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure.

This conclusion is further supported by the more equivocal *Cartouche* names preserved on the sealings from Pottery Mound. In contrast to the vast number of sealings with *serekhs*, only 32 sealings contained a *cartouche* not accompanied by a
serekh. Of these, 18 either certainly or apparently belonged to Khafre and 14 to Menkaure. Again, no other rulers' cartouches have been discovered at Pottery Mound.

While the Horus names on the sealings give the reign in which the originating seal was carved, there was a natural lag between when the seal is made and when the sealings are discarded. Once an official receives his seal, it may take some time before he begins to use it. Indeed, it seems reasonable that an official might seal more sealings later in his career as he gains seniority, especially if he works in a branch of the government with little internal hierarchy. Then, those sealings might remain intact for varying lengths of time after they were made. It is difficult to generalize on the basis of the type of sealing, but archival documents, storage jars and special doors, for instance, might have remained sealed for long periods of time before their sealings are broken and discarded. The sealings on letters, rations jars or the doors to living quarters on the other hand might have been broken soon after they were made, perhaps even within days. Depending on an official's duties and how he used his seal, the length of time

149 For the purposes of this analysis, if a sealing contained both a serekh with a Horus name and a cartouche, the Horus name takes precedence.

150 Area AA, for instance, has to date produced 15 provisional and unpublished reconstructions of Official Seals belonging to purification priests (w/b.w ny-św.t) that bear the Horus name of Menkaure. Only one of these seals dates to the reign of Khafre. The titles on these seals include "inspectors" (śḥḏ.w) and "assistants" (bry.w-) of these priests. Such internal hierarchy implies that these priests received more frequent promotions and presumably updated their seals more often than the Scribes of Royal Documents at Pottery Mound, just 35 meters to the southeast, who showed no such stratification. This may help explain why only one Khafre seal is preserved in Area AA.
between making and breaking a sealing could be considerable. Finally, even after sealings were discarded they were often moved around the site along with other garbage. Frequently, sealings are found in secondary contexts far from where the seals were used.\footnote{See the discussion of Middle Kingdom sealings at Elephantine in Cornelius von Pilgrim, \textit{Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit}, AVDAIK 91 (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, 1996), 254-261.}

All of these points must be considered before any conclusive date can be proposed for the Pottery Mound sealings.\footnote{They will all be examined in detail in Chapter 3.} However, the exclusive use of Khafre's and Menkaure's royal names - and the complete absence of any others - strongly implies that whatever happened to the sealings at Pottery Mound, it happened during the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure. Although it is possible that the seals bearing Khafre's and Menkaure's Horus names might continue to be used in succeeding reigns, it is the complete absence of any other Horus names on the Pottery Mound sealings that limits their likely date to just these two kings' reigns.

\textbf{1.5 Old Kingdom Seal Typology}

At the end of the Fourth Dynasty when the sealings from Pottery Mound were produced the seals in use were exclusively cylinder seals. In the Old Kingdom the number of distinct seal types was limited, ranging from the highly structured, finely...
crafted Official Seal down to the highly idiosyncratic, frequently crude Figurensiegel. The following typology of Old Kingdom Seals will form the basis for the reconstruction of the seal designs in Chapter 2.

1.5.1 Amtssiegel (Official Seals)

According to Kaplony, the only seals bearing the king's Horus name inside of a serekh used to make sealings during the Old Kingdom were what he called Amtssiegel, or "Official Seals." A different kind of seal - called the "sekundäre Königssiegel" - also showed the king's Horus name written inside a serekh but it only contained other royal names and epithets of the king and did not contain any reference to the seal bearer or his titles. It also appears to have been an amulet lacking an administrative function since no seal impressions made by a "sekundäre Königssiegel" survive on Old Kingdom sealings. For this reason, any sealing bearing a serekh containing a king's Horus name found in an Old Kingdom context must have been made by an Official Seal.

As defined by Kaplony, Official Seals use the serekh device to divide the seal's circumference vertically. The columns between the serekhs are usually filled with text - titles of the seal bearer, epithets of the king or royal names other than the Horus name -

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153 Kaplony, RAR I, 10.
154 Ibid., 11 and n. 20.
155 Ibid., 11 and n. 21.
156 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 63, also identifies any sealing with a Horus name inside a serekh as having been made by an Official Seal.
157 Kaplony, RAR I, 10-12.
that Kaplony termed *Zwischengliedern*, or "dividing columns." Occasionally, one or two horizontal lines of text might run below this framework of *serekhs* and dividing columns. Most commonly, Official Seals had a total of six columns of text but might have as many as twelve. In rare instances, the arrangement of the *serekhs* may be irregular but usually they were regularly spaced and faced to the right. All of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed in Chapter 2 are Official Seals.

In the Early Dynastic Period, there are two different categories of "state seals" that Kaplony had combined under the term *Horusnamenssiegel* ("Horus name seals"). One of these Kaplony called the *Königssiegel*, or "king's seal," which simply bears the king's name and makes no reference to the seal bearer. The other was the *Amtssiegel*, or Official Seal, which appears as early as the reign of Den in the First Dynasty, apparently replacing the older *Königssiegel* as the administration grew more and more specialized.

Kaplony claims that early examples of Official Seals usually bear a single rank or title and were transferable, passing from the current holder of an office to his successor.

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158 Ibid., 59-61.
159 But, once as many as three; cf. Ibid., 79.
161 So with Seal 3 in Chapter 2.
162 The inscriptions on the cylinder seal mirror those on the seal impressions it makes. Almost always *serekhs* will face to the left on seal impressions.
(as long as the reigning king remained the same).\textsuperscript{165} As such, according to Kaplony, the seal belonged to the \textit{office} not the \textit{official} and therefore the office represented a bureaucratic position conceptually independent from the person who filled it. In addition, the legitimacy of the seal was tied directly to the king whose name alone was carved on the seal\textsuperscript{166} and was not dependent on the seal owner, whose name did not appear on it. This presumes a consciousness of an existing bureaucratic structure and administrative hierarchy based on the authority of the king.

In the Old Kingdom, however, Kaplony notes that the varied combinations of ranks and titles carved on the Official Seal became individualized and specific to a particular official.\textsuperscript{167} Kaplony ascribes the disappearance of another type of seal called the "Officials' Seal" (or \textit{Beamtensiegel}) to a direct act of royal authority in which the king explicitly forbade the use or production of these "private" seals. The resulting absence of seals for personal use led to three developments. First, Official Seals became more personalized incorporating an increasing number of titles and ranks. Second, a new kind of seal - the \textit{Ringnamenssiegel}, or "\textit{Cartouche} name seal," a kind of secondary \textit{Königssiegel} - appeared and was used chiefly as an amulet.\textsuperscript{168} Third, another type of

\textsuperscript{165} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 11. Kaplony, "Zur Definition," 48, for Kaplony's view that seals were replaced on a change in reign.
\textsuperscript{166} Boochs, \textit{Siegel und Siegeln}, 59-62, for the seal as a sign of authority and legitimacy.
\textsuperscript{168} Kaplony, "Zur Definition," 48-49.
seal called *Figurensiegel* carved with animal figures and geometric patterns continued to be used in domestic contexts\(^{169}\) as they had been since the Predynastic Period.

In contrast to Kaplony's position that the disappearance of the *Beamtsiegel* was the product of royal initiative and evidence of the absolute power of the king, the disappearance of these "personal" seals was also accompanied by an increasing personalization of the Official Seals, seals that were handed out by the king himself. In other words, the personal influence of individual officials seems to be recognized in the royal production and distribution of Official Seals at the very same time that Kaplony maintains their personal *Beamtsiegel* were being confiscated. In one sense, *Beamtsiegel* had become redundant since the identity and authority of the bearer of a Official Seal had become plain even if the only name that appeared on its surface was that of the ruling king. Even so, Kaplony notes that *Beamtsiegel* might continue to be used into the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure at Buhen.\(^{170}\) In the final analysis, Kaplony's tale of the disappearance of the *Beamtsiegel* during the Fourth Dynasty might simply be the result of a lack of properly excavated and recorded Fourth Dynasty settlement contexts.

\(^{170}\) Kaplony, *RAR I*, 371-372. Kaplony explains that the use of *Beamtsiegel* at Buhen might have persisted into the Old Kingdom perhaps due to the remoteness of Buhen from the center of administration.
This evolution points out that Official Seals bearing multiple titles sometimes within different institutions in the Old Kingdom could only belong to a given official whose identity would be readily known to those familiar with the institutions involved. These seals could not be transferred and imply a bond of personal loyalty to the king, whereby the official exercised his authority, wherever directed by the reigning king. The seal design represents a frozen moment in the career of its owner, unlike the title strings in his tomb, which might be carved late in his career and combine the titles he accumulated over his lifetime, or even after his death. This "constellation" of titles, all held simultaneously by the seal owner, not only help identify that owner without a personal name, they also seem to indicate that all the functions implied by these titles could be and were filled by a single person. This implied administrative link between these titles may help to reconstruct how the "institution" or "institutions" the seal owner belonged to were structured and actually functioned.

1.5.2 Beamtensiegel (Officials' Seals)

In contrast to the Official Seals, Kaplony identifies another type of seal called Beamtensiegel, or Officials' Seal, which bears only the titles and sometimes the personal name of the seal-bearer. These seals were common in the Early Dynastic

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171 Baer, Rank and Title, 40-41.
172 See the case of Mekhu, father of Sabni, in Sethe, Urk. I, 137, 15-138, 1.
Period and regularly countersealed *Amtssiegel* on jar sealings at both the major cemeteries of Abydos and Saqqara. Kaplony documented only two certain examples of this kind of seal from the Old Kingdom, and the latest they are attested on seal impressions is in the reign of Khafre at Buhen. Although he concedes that there was not always a clear division between "public" and "private" spheres of interest, Kaplony maintains that *Beamtensiegel* were primarily reserved for sealing private property.

As discussed above, Kaplony attributed the disappearance of the *Beamtensiegel* and with it the appearance of personal names on cylinder seals to a deliberate expansion of royal prerogative in the Fourth Dynasty. A more likely explanation might lie in the contexts from which Fourth Dynasty sealings have been recovered and the

174 The clearest examples are the *Beamtensiegel* and the (apparently) corresponding *Amtssiegel* of Hemaka. Kaplony documents the existence of many Type II storage jar sealings sealed with both an Official Seal and an Officials' Seal (bearing Hemaka's name). Examples with the same seals are often found at both Abydos and Saqqara. This indicates that, in the First Dynasty, *Amtssiegel* and *Beamtensiegel* were viewed as complementary at least in what Kaplony terms the "domain administration" of the time; that officials might bear each kind of seal; and that, over the course of their career, they might have several of each kind. It is interesting that, in the case of the countersealed examples, both seals must have been present at the same time to seal these storage jars, which then were delivered to Abydos and Saqqara. Does this mean that Hemaka himself was present at this location, or did he delegate the seals? Was this a central location, or did Hemaka travel regularly between these cemeteries? Cf. Kaplony, *IAF*, 99-101.


176 Ibid., 371-372.


178 Kaplony, *RAR I*, 5, who describes the time frame as "[m]itten im Alten Reich." However, later, on pages 371-72, he notes that the last *Beamtensiegel* in the Old Kingdom is dated to the reign of Khafre.
changing nature of contemporary funerary practices. For instance, no sealings from the Fourth Dynasty have been recovered at Elephantine, until relatively recently. Over the course of the Fourth Dynasty provincial cemeteries shrank and decorated tomb chapels were limited primarily to the cemeteries in and around Memphis. So, lacking sealings from funerary and settlement contexts outside the capital, the disappearance of Beamtdensiegel and personal names from surviving seals and seal impressions may simply be a reflection of the available evidence. For instance, Buhen, one of the few excavated Fourth Dynasty settlements far removed from the Residence near Memphis, not only produced sealings impressed by Official Seals from the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure, it also apparently yielded examples of Beamtdensiegel. The lack of Beamtdensiegel in the available Fourth Dynasty corpora of sealings may simply be due to the lack of comparable excavated settlements for that period away from the center of political and economic power.

Pätzrick, in his treatment of Beamtdensiegel from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom excavations at Elephantine, makes a somewhat different distinction between Amtsiegel and Beamtdensiegel than Kaplony. Whereas Kaplony sees the difference as public versus private use of the two types of seals, Pätzrick views the Amtsiegel as

expressions of central authority - extended directly by the king through his designated seal-bearer - and the Beamensiegel as locally created seals for use in the local administration.\textsuperscript{180} This would help explain the imbalance of Official Seals at Giza and other Memphite cemeteries as compared to the provincial outposts of the period. In the end, the lack of Beamensiegel for the Fourth Dynasty might be due to a geographical imbalance in the available evidence, not a sign of royal fiat.

1.5.3 Verwaltungssiegel (Administrative Seals)

Kaplony identifies this type of seal as containing "Namen von Gebäuden und Oertlichkeiten und Titel."\textsuperscript{181} He later admits that the "Trennung zwischen Amts- und Verwaltungssiegel ist eine terminologische Konvention" and that certain Official Seals might also be considered to be Verwaltungssiegel.\textsuperscript{182} Administrative seals are subdivided by Kaplony into several subgroups, including those that start with the title \textit{ḥtm(.w)}, "sealer," and those that designate the seal-bearer as ṣpš, "august," which Kaplony also calls Totensiegel, or Seals of the Dead.\textsuperscript{183}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{180} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 88.
\textsuperscript{181} Kaplony, \textit{iAF}, 9.
\textsuperscript{182} Kaplony, "Zur Definition," 50.
\textsuperscript{183} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 16-19.
\end{flushright}
1.5.4 **Berufssiegel (Professional Seals)**

Pätznick identifies another class of cylinder seal attested at Elephantine that is based on the kind of title on the seal. For him, *Berufssiegel* represent seals belonging to professionals involved in various arts and crafts in service to the king. These people include (but are not limited to) cooks, bakers, potters, butchers, oarsmen, singers, dancers and musicians.\(^{184}\)

1.5.5 **Namenssiegel (Private Name Seals)**

Pätznick classifies Early Dynastic seals that bear the name of the seal-bearer - and only the name of the seal-bearer - as "Namenssiegel." These correspond to Kaplony's "Privatsiegel"\(^ {185}\) and were found on Early Dynastic seal impressions.\(^ {186}\) This indicates, despite earlier contentions to the contrary, that this class of seals was not merely reserved for use as amulets in burials but actually served a domestic function, most likely in a private context. Pätznick identified two actual wooden seals and 13 sealings with impressions from this class of sealing in the Elephantine material.\(^ {187}\)

Based primarily on Hassan's excavations in the Khentkaues complex at Giza, Kaplony claims that the primary classes of seal designs used in apparently "domestic" contexts

\(^{184}\) Pätznick, *Siegelabrollungen*, 114.
\(^{185}\) Kaplony, *RAR I*, 15.
\(^{186}\) Pätznick, *Siegelabrollungen*, 118 and n. 1207.
\(^{187}\) Ibid., 119-120.
in the Old Kingdom were simple *Amtssiegel*, administrative seals (with elements from *Figurensiegel*), and *Figurensiegel* themselves.\textsuperscript{188}

**1.5.6 Frauensiegel (Women's Seals)**

Pätznick's so-called *Frauensiegel* do not really form a separate, distinct class of seals; rather they simply designate seals that verifiably belonged to women. As such they can include *Beamtensiegel*, *Zivilsiegel*, and even *Namensiegel* (when the name can be shown to have belonged to a woman).\textsuperscript{189}

**1.5.7 Zivilsiegel**

Pätznick designates this class of seals as those that include an indicator of the seal owner's social status, such as *mitr/mr.t*\textsuperscript{90} or *rn.w, rnw.ti or iry niw.t*,\textsuperscript{191} along with his or her other epithets.\textsuperscript{192} This category of seals replaces Kaplony's *"Kollektivsiegel"* which Kaplony had interpreted as containing sometimes three different personal names.\textsuperscript{193} However, as Pätznick has pointed out, some of these names were really titles and epithets, such as *iry niw.t*, which Kaplony had misread.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{188} Kaplony, *RAR I*, 14.
\textsuperscript{189} Pätznick, *Siegelabrollungen*, 121.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 137-141.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 124-128.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 123.
\textsuperscript{193} Kaplony, *lÄF*, 25-27.
\textsuperscript{194} Pätznick, *Siegelabrollungen*, 124.
1.5.8 Figurensiegel

These seals show predominantly graphical arrangements of hieroglyphs or other kinds of figures on the field of the cylinder. They may consist of a central, antithetical group of signs, or a head-to-back (tête-bêche) configuration of two animals. These signs may be purely graphical depictions of animals or humans; hieroglyphic signs which may or may not have had some textual function; or clear words, meant to be read but

![Figure 1.6: Field drawing of Sealing 197 showing three impressions of a crossing line pattern.](image)

\[195\] Kaplony, *RAR I*, 21-23, panthers, crocodiles and apes dominate Kaplony's list of represented motifs. Note, also the standing men in F26 and F67, and dwarves in F29.

\[196\] Ibid., 21-23, which lists the motifs of various Figurenzylindern. These include quail chicks (F19, F54 and F96), a \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textemdash}\text{\textemdash}\text{\textemdash}
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\]-sign (F45), and a \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textemdash}\text{\textemdash}\text{\textemdash}
\end{array}
\]-scepter (F137). In all these cases, the hieroglyphs appear to be used graphically, but an ambiguous textual reading cannot be ruled out, or may have even been intended.
arranged graphically as well.\footnote{Ibid., 21. See F10, where the title $ḥ\overline{ḥty}$, "nomarch," is arranged antithetically.} Henry Fischer published five examples of Figurensiegel that also bear crudely executed royal names in the form of cartouches and Horus names inside serekhs.\footnote{Henry G. Fischer, "Old Kingdom Cylinder Seals for the Lower Classes," Metropolitan Museum Journal 6 (1972): 5-10. These seals bear the names of Djedkare Izezi, Pepi I and Pepi II.} This class of Old Kingdom seals may be related to Kaplony's earlier, so-called "Morphemklasse," which is typified by loose arrangements of signs that repeat at least one element.\footnote{Kaplony, IÄF, 32-33.}

Not discussed by Kaplony or Pätznick but clearly attested at Area A\footnote{As of 2007, 23 sealings and two cylinder seals with a cross-hatched pattern have been registered.} are cylinder seals with cross-hatched patterns carved in their surface.\footnote{Ulrich Hartung, ed., Umm el-Qaab II: Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr., AVDAIK 92 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), 237-238, on the rarity of geometric patterns in Egyptian glyptic, especially when compared with the rest of the Near East.} These apparently simple crisscrossing lines can show slight variations in their internal arrangement that give them an identifiable character. One example, Sealing 197 (from Feature 1250 in the Gallery Complex), bears three separate seal impressions from the same seal, each of which clearly show one line in the crossing pattern splitting into two lines that then continue the pattern (see Figure 1.6).
1.6 Formal Sealings and Informal Sealings

Given the fragmentary condition of many excavated sealings it is often impossible to determine precisely the type of seal that made the sealing's impression since frequently only a sign or two can be read. Generally speaking, it is typically possible to sort impressed sealings into those which were likely impressed by an Official Seal and those which likely could not have been impressed by an Official Seal. The first group typically includes well-executed seal designs that exhibit serekhs or certain common epithets and conform to a predictable structure or form. By contrast those in the second group are for the most part graphical or show a free-form composition that lacks a predictable structure. For this reason, the sealings in the former group are called "formal sealings" and those in the latter group are called "informal sealings."

These two groups are to a certain extent subjective. Formal sealings include all sealings that bear a serekh since only Official Seals left behind seal impressions bearing serekhs. Even though Kaplony's "sekundäre Königssiegel" also exhibited the king's Horus name inside of a serekh, this type of seal - as noted above - is not known to have sealed any sealings and was used almost exclusively as an amulet in burials.

Formal sealings also include sealings showing a cartouche. Although cartouches were important elements on Official Seals, they might also be present on other kinds of seals, such as Officials' Seals (as a component of a personal name) and Administrative
Seals (as a component of the name of a pyramid or estate). The overlap among the various seal types demonstrates that, while the designation "formal sealings" is intended to include all sealings that were likely made by Official Seals, it will almost inevitably include some sealings impressed by other types of seals as well. However, Official Seals, Officials' Seals and Administrative Seals all have a more or less structured layout, especially when compared to *Figurensiegel*. In a sense all of these types are "formal."

Formal sealings also include sealings which preserve traces of epithets common on Official Seal inscriptions, such as *ḥnty* and *mry*. However, great caution must be used since both the  -sign and the  -sign might be incorporated into *Figurensiegel* as graphical components. Often in these cases the determination between "formal" and "informal" must rely on a subjective assessment of the quality of the seal's carving.

In contrast to "formal" sealings, "informal" sealings typically display graphical designs such as a simple criss-cross pattern or intermingled animal forms in *tête-bèche* (or "head-to-back") arrangements. Text might occasionally be incorporated into "informal" designs. For instance, several examples of seal designs combine titles such as "seal(er) of the storehouse" with intermingled animal patterns on the remainder of the surface. Kaplony classifies this type of seal as an "administrative seal," or

203 For example, see F33 in Kaplony, *RAR IIb*, pl. 156.
Any sealings from Area A that had been sealed by this type of seal will most likely be classified as "informal" since much of the seal's layout consists of graphical depictions of animals despite the existence of a title.

It is important to bear in mind that the terms "formal" and "informal" do not relate to the context in which the seal was used. "Formal" sealings were not necessarily created by "formal," official actions nor were "informal" sealings used for "informal," personal purposes. These terms are only meant to try to capture the kinds of seals used to impress the sealings. "Formal" sealings were most likely sealed by Official Seals or, more rarely, Officials' Seals (Beamtsiegel) or Administrative Seals (Verwaltungssiegel). The impressions on "informal" sealings on the other hand were most likely made by Kaplony's Figurensiegel or possibly Administrative Seals (Verwaltungssiegel). The nature of the administrative context in which a seal was used requires a much more involved argument.

The ratio of "formal" sealings to "informal" sealings can serve as an indicator for the use of Official Seals within a given sealing corpus. Of the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound, 981 are classified as "formal" and just 49 were "informal." Six other sealings could not be determined. This gives a ratio of over 20 "formal" impressed sealings for each "informal" sealing. This ratio is striking when compared with the rest of

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204 Kaplony, RAR I, 16.
205 For the evidence for the administrative context of the Pottery Mound sealings, see Chapter 3.
Area A. Excluding all sealings from Pottery Mound, the remaining 1,400 impressed sealings from the rest of Area A consist of 691 "formal" and 418 "informal" sealings with nine others bearing stamp seal impressions and 282 were "undetermined." This yields a "formal"-to-"informal" ratio of slightly less than 1.7-to-one. This strongly suggests that Official Seals are much more frequently associated with Pottery Mound than other parts of Area A.

Compared to Area A and Pottery Mound, "formal" sealings are rare in the German excavations at Elephantine. Among the 958 catalogued sealings from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom levels at Elephantine, Pätznick identified just 27 that had been impressed by Official Seals.206 By comparison, a total of 494 sealing fragments from Pottery Mound preserved some trace of a serekh and were therefore impressed by Official Seals. Pottery Mound alone produced more than 18 times the number of sealings with Official Seal impressions from the entire site of Elephantine for the Old Kingdom and Early Dynastic Period.

206 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 86.
1.6.1 Giza and Elephantine: Center and Periphery

The high frequency of Official Seal use at Giza compared to Elephantine highlights the relative political status of these two settlements during the Old Kingdom. From early in the Fourth Dynasty throughout the Sixth Dynasty, Giza was one of the preferred burial grounds for the nobility and members of the royal family. Especially in the Fourth Dynasty the Giza Plateau was the site of vast royal construction projects, raising colossal pyramids and erecting their associated temples, harbors and causeways. Giza was at the center of Egypt's centralized economy during the Fourth Dynasty.

For much of the Fourth Dynasty, Giza was likely more than the site of large royal construction projects. Giza apparently was also the heart of Egypt's political and economic systems. Although far from conclusive, two texts seem to imply that the king may have occasionally resided near Giza and supervised the work there. In the opening lines of the Biography of Debeheni, the king is seen reviewing the progress on his pyramid at Giza.\footnote{Sethe, \textit{Urk. I}, 18, lines 10-12. See also Selim Hassan, \textit{Excavations at Gîza, Vol. IV, 1932-1933} (Cairo: Government Press, 1943), 168. For a discussion of the date of the inscription and bibliography, see Nicole Kloth, \textit{Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung}, SAKB 8 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2002), 38-39.}
"As for this tomb, it was the King of Upper and ’Lower’ Egypt Menkaure, [may he live forever, who] gave to (me) its place, when [his Majesty] ’happened to be’ [upon] the road next to the pyramid site in order to look over the work done (on the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure.'"

While this passage says nothing about Menkaure's principal residence, it is clear that Menkaure himself was present at Giza - at least occasionally - to inspect the progress building his pyramid.

Conversely, a biographical inscription whose owner's name has been lost hints that the king's residence may have been close to an area of heavy construction activity without specifying the nature of that activity. In particular, lines 2-5 read:


209 Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 878 [21592]. Hanig translates hr as "Totentempelanlage mit Pyramide."

"As for the time when he (i.e., the official) was suffering, his Majesty caused a carrying chair to be brought forth from the Residence in order to cross over the work site by means of it under his authority. His Majesty caused that youths of the Residence be made up for him in order to enter into the Residence together with him."

Like the passage from the Biography of Debeheni cited above, the "work site" (k3.t) the unnamed official crosses over seems to be located near "the Residence." In fact, the construction appears to be so close to the Residence that the king is able to summon a carrying chair and "youths of the Residence" can carry the official back into the Residence. So, in both this text as well as in the Debeheni inscription it appears that construction work (k3.t) is taking place in close proximity to the Royal Residence. While the Biography of Debeheni itself may have been set up in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, the events cited above are clearly dated to Menkaure's reign. The second text discussed above contains no clue as to its date, but Goedicke suggests a date in the mid-Fifth Dynasty since it is so similar to other biographies of that period. When taken together, these two texts suggest that during the Fourth Dynasty while construction was...
progressing on the pyramid of Menkaure at Giza, the Royal Residence might have been located close by.

Ogden Goelet has provided an extensive analysis of the Royal Residence from the Old Kingdom sources. According to him, the *hnh* (or "Residence") was a single physical structure or complex of structures in which the king resided, either permanently or occasionally for long periods of time. It also housed offices, workshops, treasuries, and granaries and was the location from which expeditions were sent out, and to which they returned. Skilled workers were said to be "from the Residence," implying that at any given time soldiers, stone masons, carpenters and quarrymen might actually be housed within the *hnh*. Importantly, it is also the most commonly attested source of offerings for both the cults of favored officials in the cemeteries as well as one of the two originating producers of divine offerings which sustained the sun temples and mortuary temples of the king and his ancestors.

In contrast to the *hnh*, the *h*, also commonly translated as "palace," was more closely associated with gods and special ceremonies, such as the jubilee festival. The *h* also apparently had a close association with the administration of pyramid cities. As opposed to Helck, Goelet concludes that the *h* "certainly does not seem (primarily) to
be the king's residence, but was more of a ceremonial establishment built near the king's mortuary complex, perhaps in the Western Desert.

According to Goelet, *pr-(n-)ny-sw.t*, or "House of the King," bears the most similarity to the *ḥnw*. In fact, in some of the later Sixth Dynasty royal edicts, the *šwt nb.t n.t ḫnw* and the *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* are actually treated as parallel institutions. The *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* appears in Archaic Period sealings and dockets as the source of certain commodities. It is mentioned, albeit once, in an offering formula as the source of invocation offerings and in the Abusir Papyri as an intermediary handling divine offerings that originated at the *ḥnw*. In addition, while the term *ḥnw* is incorporated for the most part into civil titles the term *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* is almost always a part of ritual and religious positions. So, although there appears to be much overlap between the two terms, the *ḥnw* appears to have been concerned with the civil affairs of the king and the *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* with his religious and cultic duties. In short, it appears the the *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* stood more for the king's administration, both around the capital, perhaps incorporating the civil functions of the *ḥnw*, as well as in the countryside. Goelet even suggests translating the term as the "central government."

Although superficially similar to *pr-(n-)ny-św.t*, the term *pr-ˁ3*, literally meaning "Great House," is much more restricted in usage. As summarized by Goelet, during the

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213 Goelet, "Two Aspects", 404.
214 Ibid., 71.
215 Ibid., 485.
Old Kingdom the term *pr-ˁ*3 is never used as an economic, legal or administrative entity as are *ḥnw* and *pr-(n-)nyśwt*. It does not appear in the Abusir Papyri nor is it mentioned in the royal edicts except as a part of the titles of people named in those documents. When it is used as a component in titles, *pr-ˁ*3 is almost always tied to personal service to the living king, or daily service in his household.

Of all these terms, only the *ḥnw* refers to the actual physical seat of administration. The Residence and the House of the King bear similarities in the texts. Both *ḥnw* and *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* are used in offering formulas to indicate the source of the goods to be offered. From later decrees, both the *ḥnw* (or, more accurately, *św t nbt nt ḥnw*, or "all the places of the Residence") and the *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* apparently operated in the provinces, collected and disbursed both goods and labor, and were both under the control of the king. In addition, both these institutions were made up of several departments. At least four "chambers" of the "houses" related to the *pr-(n-)ny-św.t* are consistently listed by name in the royal edicts of the Sixth Dynasty. Not only are various "houses" claimed to be the source of specific offerings in the offering formulas - all of which together are said to be "from the *ḥnw*" - but also the *ḥnw* is referred to by the phrase *ś.wt nb(.t) n(.t) ḥnw*, "all the places of the Residence." The language is striking not only in that it implies that both organizations (the *ḥnw* and the *pr-(n-)nyśwt*) were

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216 Ibid., 646.
217 Ibid., 81-82.
administratively modular, but also that they may have been architecturally modular as well, being made up of "places," "chambers," and "houses." Wolfgang Helck believed that these terms, which came to mean "office," "department" or "bureau," had their early origins in the layout of the royal house itself.\(^{218}\)

While the term *hnw* for Royal Residence is only attested from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, Goelet himself is hesitant to exclude its existence even earlier.\(^{219}\) Prior to the start of the Fifth Dynasty, only the terms \('h,\(^{220}\) \(pr-\text{"\text{"3}}\)\(^{221}\) and \(pr-\text{ny-\text{"\text{"sw.\text{"\text{"t}}\(^{222}\) were used in reference to the palace. In fact, Ptahshepses' biography appears to use a conflation of \(pr-\text{"\text{"3}\) and \(pr-\text{ny-\text{"\text{"sw.t\) for the "palace" (\(pr-\text{"\text{"3 ni ny-\text{"\text{"sw.t\) of both Menkaure and Shepseskaf, the two Fourth Dynasty rulers he lived under.\(^{223}\)

In contrast to Giza, Elephantine appears to have been much more reliant on local production and less subject to direct central control during the Old Kingdom. In the Third Dynasty, Elephantine was the site of a provincial step pyramid and associated royal administrative facility. 20 or so jar and bag sealings were found inside this building, all sealed by low-ranking, local officials. Only a single papyrus document sealing was

\(^{219}\) Goelet, “Two Aspects”, 6-7.
\(^{220}\) Ibid., 230, on First Dynasty ivory tags.
\(^{221}\) Ibid., 536-537, from Dynasty Four.
\(^{222}\) Ibid., 478-482, from the Archaic Period.
\(^{223}\) See Peter F. Dorman, "The Biographical Inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara: a Newly Identified Fragment," *JEA* 88 (2002): 100 fig. 3, lines 1 and 2, for this writing.
discovered that had been sealed by a "Seal Bearer of Lower Egypt" explicitly affiliated with the royal administration (pr-ny-św.t) of a king whose Horus name was Zanakht (Z3-nḥ.t). For Seidlmayer, the combined sealing evidence "indicates that the complex at Elephantine did not receive goods from central magazines" 224 but was "directed by the royal domain." 225 This complex was to fall out of use early in the Fourth Dynasty when evidence from Elephantine as a whole becomes sparse.

It is only reasonable that the stark difference between the direct royal administration of Giza and the provincial isolation of Elephantine should be expressed in the sealings discovered at these sites. However, Pottery Mound is clearly different from the rest of Area A as well. The common occurrence of Official Seal impressions at Giza, the center of the royal administration of the Fourth Dynasty, and their comparative rarity in far-flung outposts of the kingdom such as Elephantine during the same period seems to reinforce the conclusion that official seals were integral to the king's administration of the country. If so, the high counts of formal sealings at Pottery Mound may signify proximity to the center of that administration.

224 Seidlmayer, "Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom: A View from Elephantine," 121.
225 Ibid.
1.7 Pottery Mound Sealing Types

A striking functional distinction can be seen in the types of sealings from Pottery Mound compared to those from elsewhere in Area A (see Table 1.1). "Sealing type" refers to the original, intended use of the sealing when it was applied and intact. To a great extent this "intended use" must be inferred from the preserved impression on the back of the sealing fragment. However, the "back impression" is really only part of the evidence for a sealing's type. Other factors, such as the overall shape of the sealing, quality of the clay and the preserved arrangement of the seal impressions on the front, all inform the determination of the sealing's original purpose. Table 1.1 shows all of the sealing types represented by the 1,199 registered sealings and sealing-related objects\(^{226}\) of Pottery Mound, compared to the sealing types of the remaining sealings from the rest of Area A. The identifying characteristics of each of these sealing types as well as previous discussions by other scholars are described at length in "Section 1.8: Sealing Typology."

Three aspects of the statistics for the sealing types in Pottery Mound stand out. First, sealings from boxes make up over 22% of all sealings from Pottery Mound in contrast to just under 3% for the rest of Area A. Second, although papyrus sealings represent under 3% of all sealings from Pottery Mound, these 35 sealings still

\(^{226}\) Sealing-related Objects are included in these numbers since Stoppers, Test Strips and Toppers are not classified as Sealings.
Table 1.1: Counts of Sealing Types and percentages, comparing Pottery Mound with the rest of Area A, combining Sealings and Sealing-Related Objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sealing Type</th>
<th>Pottery Mound</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Area A (without Pottery Mound)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bag</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>22.44</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peg-and-String</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible Container</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>27.44</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>11.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Strip</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undetermined</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>40.20</td>
<td>2,243</td>
<td>66.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,199</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,366</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 23 papyrus sealings excavated from all other excavation areas outnumber the number just 27 - a little more than 2% of sealings - in Pottery Mound. Although it is likely that many jar sealings have been subsumed under "Possible Containers" (which seem overrepresented for Pottery Mound at over 27% of the total) the scarcity of clearly identifiable jar sealings is noteworthy at Pottery Mound.

227 "Jar Sealings" combines counts of "direct" jar sealings and "indirect" jar sealings. "Direct" jar sealings are sealings that are applied directly onto the ceramic surface of the jar. "Indirect" jar sealings are applied on top of textile or leather which in turn lies over the jar's surface.
1.8 Sealing Typology

Sealings as artifacts also have their own typology independent from the seal impressions (or incisions) on their fronts. Sealings are daubs of specially prepared clay used to protect portals, documents and containers from unauthorized access. As long as the items to be secured remain relatively consistent and the process of sealing is practiced with some expertise and experience, the resulting sealings will conform to a predictable typology reflecting the intentions of the sealer.

Other characteristics also indicate a sealing's type, such as the overall shape of the sealing and the direction and frequency of the seal impressions. However the degree of preservation will necessarily limit the number of identifiable sealings. The more shattered the recovered sealing fragments are, the more difficult it is to determine the shape, number of impressions and even the shape and size of the original intact sealing. As a result, the sealing type for a large percentage of recovered sealings often can not be determined.

In the earlier discussion of the differences between the sealings from Pottery Mound and those from the rest of Area A, Pottery Mound showed a relatively high concentration of Box and Papyrus sealings whereas it has low counts of Jar sealings compared to elsewhere at Area A (see Table 1.1). Pottery Mound also had a lower
percentage of Undetermined sealings than the rest of the site perhaps indicating a better state of preservation.  

This section describes the sealing typology used to generate those numbers. The characteristics of the different types of sealings found at Giza are outlined with respect to other published typologies currently used for Egyptian sealings from the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. The most important of these studies are those of Kaplony, Engel and Müller, and, most recently, Pätznick. Where relevant the relationships between the Giza types and other Near Eastern typologies will be given.

1.8.1 Bag Sealings

Bag sealings are distinguished by a bunched textile impression on the back, often accompanied by one or more parallel string or cord impressions. Similar impressions may be produced by so-called "indirect jar" back impressions. Often, mud sealings were applied to the textile coverings on ceramic jars that were tied over the jar's rim by

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228 This conclusion is also supported by the good condition of the animal bone in the same strata as the sealings, as discussed in Chapter 3.
229 Kaplony's own typology is mostly given in Kaplony, *IÄF*, 52-55. However, he occasionally adjusts and clarifies his types in later works, such as in Karl Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches und verwandte Denkmäler, Teil 3, mit Beiträgen von Peter Kaplony*, Corpus Antiquitatum Aegytiacarum, lose-Blatt-Katalog, Ägyptischer Altertümer Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 8 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1980).
231 Pätznick, *Siegelabrollungen.*
several passes of cords or strings. Because these sealings are not pressed directly onto the ceramic surface of the jar, but onto a textile or leather covering that may still conform to the shape of the underlying jar, they have been called "indirect" jar sealings. The prime distinction between bag and (indirect) jar sealings lies in the

Figure 1.7: Types of bag sealings. A = Engel and Müller, Type B1. B = Pätznick, Type Tb. 5b from Elephantine. C = Ferioli and Fiandra, Type B1 from Arslantepe.
restored diameter of the parallel string impressions preserved on the back.\textsuperscript{232} If the restored diameter is greater than about 10 centimeters, and the textile (or leather) impression shows a reasonably discernible form of a jar, the sealing has been classified as a jar sealing. Only if the diameter of the strings is clearly less than about 10 centimeters, and the underlying textile (or leather) impression shows bunching consistent with the closure on a bag, it has been designated a bag sealing. If neither of these conditions applies, and only ambiguous traces of textile, leather and string are preserved on the back, then the sealing has been classified as a "possible container."\textsuperscript{233} Similarly, Pätznick has created a separate type for sealings with back impressions of cords and knots, but the function of which is otherwise undetermined.\textsuperscript{234}

Bag sealings as such have been identified in earlier typologies. Kaplony included bag sealings in both his Type V (large, oval sealings of crude yellow clay)\textsuperscript{235} and Type VI (small sealings of fine, gray clay).\textsuperscript{236} Kaplony's types were not linked directly to their perceived functions but rather based on physical attributes of the given sealing. His Type VI-1, for instance, was described as a round, cap-shaped sealing with traces of string impressions on its back. He makes no suggestion as to its function. However, in a

\textsuperscript{232} On the distinction between bag and indirect jar sealings, see Ibid., 34 n. 347. Pätznick defines indirect jar sealings as his type Gv. Vb.
\textsuperscript{233} On the difficulty of distinguishing between jar sealings and bag sealings in the Old Kingdom, see Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 369-370 n. 679.
\textsuperscript{234} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 48-52: Type Tb. 2b.
\textsuperscript{235} Kaplony, \textit{IÅF}, 52-53.
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., 53-54, 713-714 n. 169.
later publication, Kaplony explicitly identifies a sealing of his Type VI.1 as a "Beutelverschlußfragment." Engel and Müller distinguished between two different types of bag sealings: one that is long and oval (B1) (see Figure 1.7) and the other that is hemispherical (B2).

Pätznick, however, has no clear bag sealings in his typology. His Type Tb. 5b (a flat, triangular sealing with string back impressions) could be either a bundle or sack sealing and must be distinguished from indirect jar sealings (see Figure 1.7).

Pätznick equates his Type Tb. 2a, which is clearly a box sealing from his description, with Kaplony's Type VI-1, explicitly a bag sealing. In a later publication, Kaplony identifies box sealings similar to Pätznick's Type Tb. 2a as a new type - Type VI-4.

Fiandra and Ferioli have identified three different kinds of bag or sack sealings at Arslantepe. Type "B1" fits sealings that were pressed inside the opening of a tied sack (see Figure 1.7). Type "C" represent sealings that were pressed onto the cord that wrapped around the neck of the sack or bag. A special kind of bag sealing - Type "B2" -

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237 Martin, Reliefs des Alten Reiches, 42-43 [2502].
238 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 54.
239 Martin, Reliefs des Alten Reiches, 34-35 [2431], for instance. Other sealings identified as box sealings in this catalog are [2500] and [2501].
were pressed around a peg that was tied into the closed opening of the bag. Such sealings would closely resemble peg-and-string sealings were it not for the lateral impressions of bunched fabric.²⁴¹

1.8.2 Basket sealings

![Basket sealings diagram]

**Figure 1.8:** Types of basket sealings. A = Type N from Arslantepe. B = Type P from Arslantepe.

²⁴¹ See, for instance, the drawing of sealing c591 in ibid., 75 fig. II.7.
Basket sealings are so designated in the Area A corpus only if the back clearly shows the regular weaving of a basket fiber. As with bag sealings discussed above, if the traces are indistinct or ambiguous, the sealing is classified as a "possible container." Kaplony had no classification for basket sealings in his original typology. Engel and Müller noted the possibility that a triangular or rectangular cord-sealing - their type S2 - might have been applied to baskets.²⁴² However, they do not give direct evidence of basketry impressions on the backs. Pätznick, however, citing numerous previous examples in the literature, notes that this "type" is not based on the shape or form of the sealing but rather on the traces of basket impressions on the back of a cord sealing, such as his Types Tb. 2a or Tb. 2b.²⁴³ As such, then, he classifies these basket sealings as Type Tb. 4.

At Arslantepe, Ferioli and Fiandra identified four distinct types of sealings that had been pressed against woven fibers. Their Types "N" (see Figure 1.8) and "O" showed impressions of woven straw lids presumably for baskets of the same material.²⁴⁴ One sub group - Type "O1" - was identified as belonging to a kind of basket that might have contained sealings archived for administrative purposes.²⁴⁵ Type "P" shows an even coarser basketry which likely served as a lid for a large ceramic vessel (see

²⁴² Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 41.
²⁴³ Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 53.
²⁴⁴ Ferioli and Fiandra, "Sealed Objects," 85-86.
²⁴⁵ Ibid., 87.
Finally, Type "R" appeared to have been pressed against plaited cane or broad-leaf grasses.  

1.8.3 Box Sealings

Figure 1.9: Types of box sealings. A = Engel and Müller Type K1. B = Engel and Müller Type K2. C = Pätznick's Type Tb. 2a.

Box sealings from Area A show a flat surface impression on the back often exhibiting wood grain. Commonly, only a quarter of the original sealing is preserved, and the sides of these fragments bear the lateral impressions of cords or strings, usually in sets of two or four. Interestingly, there is no trace of a knot or peg or other connecting

\[\text{246} \quad \text{Ibid., 87-90.}\]
\[\text{247} \quad \text{Ibid., 90.}\]
device at the point where these two sets of cords meet. Pätznick has discussed the use of a peg and string for securing chests and boxes in the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom and collected many representations of boxes sealed this way.

A second method of securing flat-topped, wooden boxes appears to come into use during the Middle Kingdom. Boxes may be sealed using a double peg-and-string device as shown clearly in the carpenters' shop model from the tomb of Meketre. This is a known sealing type from Josef Wegner's excavations at Abydos South and elsewhere. Pätznick remarks that this kind of box sealing is currently not known for the Old Kingdom. However, this may only be the result of poor preservation and field identification. In the Meketre carpenters' workshop model cited above, the sealing on the chest makes contact only with the cords that are wound around the two pegs. Once discarded, the back of this sealing would show traces only of the ropes and there would be nothing to identify it specifically as a box sealing. According to the system used here,


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248 On the difference between Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom box sealings, see Kaplony, IÄF, 713-714, n. 169.
249 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 42-43 n. 421.
251 Josef Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos: An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence," CRIPEL 22 (2001): 82 Fig. 2. Presumably, the sealings preserved an impression of the pegs on their backs.
252 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 43 n. 422.
253 Ibid., 43.
such a sealing would be classified as a "possible container" or it might be called a "peg-and-string" sealing if some portion of the peg were shown in the back impression.

Although clear examples of flat-topped, wooden box sealings have long been recognized, Kaplony included them in his original typology only as "additional" type 3 almost as an after-thought. Only later did he formally add Type VI-4 to cover box sealings. Pätznick assigns his Type Tb. 2a to this same type of sealing (see Figure 1.9). These flat-topped, wooden box sealings must be distinguished from peg-and-string sealings. Box sealings show multiple strings, often in sets of two or, sometimes, four. Peg-and-string sealings typically show a single cord or string wrapped around a single peg. So, while both methods were used to secure boxes, there is a clear distinction between the two.

Engel and Müller identify two different box sealing types in the Early Dynastic Period. The first, K1, is hemispherical and was pressed down over a string on top of the flat wooden lid of the box (see Figure 1.9). From Engel and Müller's drawing, this sealing did not cover a peg to which the string might be attached. However, from the

254 See Ibid., 42 n. 418, for previous discussions of this type of sealing.
255 Kaplony, IÄF, 55.
256 Martin, Reliefs des Alten Reiches, 34-35, 39-41 [2431], [2500], and [2501].
257 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 42-47.
258 Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 39-40, Abb. 3.
comments of W. S. Smith²⁵⁹ and Kaplony's photographs of the backs of various Old
Kingdom sealings in the Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim, it is clear that many of these
box sealings are not as simple as depicted by Engel and Müller. Originally, they were
often pressed over and around two or more sets of strings consisting of two or four
strings each that intersected each other on the flat wooden lid of a box. In addition,
examples of actual boxes from Abusir²⁶⁰ and Gebelein²⁶¹ as well as tomb
representations²⁶² show that these boxes were often secured by strings attached to the
sides of the box that were pulled up and around a knob in the center of the lid. The
same tomb scenes also show that sealings were applied over this knob after the strings
were in place. Once broken, the sealing would produce some fragments from the top of
the original sealing that show a knob wrapped by strings (the "peg-and-string" type) and
crossing strings over a flat, wooden surface near the base (the "box" type) on their

²⁵⁹ George A. Reisner and W. Stevenson Smith, A History of the Giza Necropolis,
²⁶¹ Paule Posener-Kriéger, "Le coffret de Gebelein," in Hommages à Jean
Leclant, Volume 1: Études pharaoniques, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and
Nicolas Grimal, Bibliothèque d'Étude 106/1 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie
²⁶² Edward Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes
and Chests in the Old Kingdom," in Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of
Edward F. Wente, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson (Chicago: the Oriental Institute
of the University of Chicago, 1999), 37. See also Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 43 n.
421.
backs. Because the strings surround the central peg, this peg is shielded for the most part from contact with the sealing except at the very top of the peg.

Engel and Müller admit that their second type of box sealing - K2 - is questionable (see Figure 1.9). However, from their description as well as their drawing, this type of sealing would appear to be identical with the "peg-and-string" sealing type below.

Ferioli and Fiandra have not identified any box sealing types at Arslantepe. They have catalogued sealings that bear a wood grain and string impressions. This type - Type "I" - is represented by only two sealings and they speculate that they might have been applied to "wooden lids or drawers.

1.8.4 Door Sealings

Door sealings are both difficult to identify and at the same time important indicators of local sealing activity. Doors could actually be sealed in many different ways. One common method of sealing a door enclosure was by passing a string from behind the door leaf to the other side that was then wound around a peg embedded in the door jamb or in the wall outside. The sealing was then usually applied over the wound cord, the surface of the door jamb and the peg. Seldom will any given fragment of the broken door sealing preserve all three of these surfaces. This peg-and-string

\[\text{\underline{\text{\textsuperscript{263}}}}\] Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 41 n. 34.
\[\text{\underline{\text{\textsuperscript{264}}}}\] Ferioli and Fiandra, "Sealed Objects," 84.
sealing method might also be used on boxes. Sealings are only classified as a "door (peg-and-string)" sealing if the diameter of the wound string impressions is greater than about 3 centimeters or if the sealing fragment happens to preserve both the parallel impressions of a wound string and the rough mud brick or plaster surface of the door jamb. If these conditions are not met, the sealing has been classified as a generic "peg-and-string" sealing.

Figure 1.10: Types of door and lock sealings. A = Type S peg-and-string sealing from Arslantepe. B = Pätznick Type Tv. 1b from Elephantine. C = Type T lock sealing from Arslantepe.
Neither Kaplony nor Engel and Müller identified the large peg-and-string sealing (with a preserved masonry or door jamb impression on its base) as a door sealing. Pätznick, however, included these sealings, widely known from throughout the Near East, as his Type Tv. 2, "Kordelverschluß".\textsuperscript{265}

Sealings might also be applied directly to door bolts on either single or double leaved doors. Once dried, the sealings would have to be removed in order to open the door. These broken sealings usually show the irregular wooden surface of a rough door bolt and occasionally a perpendicular wooden surface from the bracket that holds the bolt to a double-leaved door. Pätznick divided his Type Tv. 1 into three subtypes. Tv. 1a was placed directly on the juncture between the door bolt and the bracket holding the bolt onto a two-leaf door. Type Tv. 1b (see \textbf{Figure 1.10}) shows the juncture between the door bolt and the jamb in a single-leaf door. Both of these door-bolt sealing types are combined by Engel and Müller into their Type T1.\textsuperscript{266} Pätznick's final subtype, Tv. 1c, bears the back impression of an L-shaped door bolt.\textsuperscript{267} Clear examples of these sealings are rare at Area A and are classified as "door (bolt)" sealings.

Similar "peg-and-string" door sealings have been found at Arslantepe (see \textbf{Figure 1.10}). Ferioli and Fiandra have even been able to identify three specific pegs

\textsuperscript{265} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 57-59.
\textsuperscript{266} Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 43.
\textsuperscript{267} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 56-57.
1. From 128 door sealings. In addition, sealings at Arslantepe were also applied over the keyhole of ancient examples of "spin-tumbler" locking devices that have ethnographic equivalents in present-day eastern Turkey.

At Giza, great care has been taken when classifying door sealings to err on the side of caution. If there is any doubt regarding a peg-and-string sealing, it has not been classified as a door sealing. This is due to the great importance of door sealings when determining which originating seals were used on site as opposed to those that impressed sealings later imported into the site on items such as containers and objects. Seals that impressed door sealings were obviously present and used nearby. Therefore, great care must be taken when identifying door sealings, and, should there be any doubt regarding a particular sealing, it has been classified it as either "peg-and-string" or "undetermined."

1.8.5 Jar Sealings

Jar sealings in the Old Kingdom can be divided into two broad categories: storage jar sealings and small jar sealings. Large storage jars can be sealed in several different ways and their large sealings can have one of four basic shapes. Pätznick has described several methods for closing and sealing large storage vessels based on the

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269 Ibid., 97-103.
back impressions on the mud sealings from Elephantine dating to the Early Dynastic

Figure 1.11: Types of indirect jar sealings. A = Type E jar sealings from Arslantepe with either cloth or leather coverings. B = Type D2 from Arslantepe with the sealing on top of the covering. C = Engel and Müller Types G5 and G6.
Period and Third Dynasty. Generally, the opening of the jar is plugged by a folded wad of textile or leather although it may be loosely covered by a potsherd or occasionally left uncovered. Then, the plugged - or unplugged - opening of the storage jar may be covered by an initial coating of prepared sealing mud. (This initial application of mud would be described as a "topper" if left at this stage.)

There is evidence, however, in the Area A sealings that at least some storage jars were sealed by adding a second, more substantial layer of sealing mud to the initial mud covering. Sealings 2604 and 2646, both recovered from Feature 1661 in the Soccer Field West (SFW) excavation area in 2004, are good examples of unimpressed sealing fragments that nonetheless clearly preserve the form and fabric impressions of a ceramic vessel from its rim along the neck and down to the shoulder. Both sealings have regularly shaped fronts with rough surface treatments. Although the upper edges (where the intact sealing would have met the opening of the vessel) are broken on both of these examples, a third sealing, Sealing 2624 is mostly intact. This sealing appears not to have extended over the mouth of the vessel as a "topper" would have. Instead, Sealing 2624 appears to have simply filled and regularized the space between the rim of the jar and the shoulder of the vessel. Since there are no impressions of strings tied around the neck of the jar, it was not meant to secure the opening of the vessel. The

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270 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 13-14.
271 Ibid., 13 n. 94.
front of this sealing was also rough and had not been prepared to receive any seal impressions. These three sealings seem to have been applied to the gap below the jar's rim to transform the vessel's outer profile into a regular shape and the outer surface was left rough - or perhaps intentionally roughened - to receive a second application of sealing mud.

The sparse evidence for the two-stage construction process so far recovered from Area A at Giza suggests that the two layers of mud were structural and not intended as an elaborate means of ensuring the validity of any seal impression. None of the three sealings cited as evidence above shows any traces of seal impressions. However, direct evidence for these large storage jar sealings elsewhere at Area A is scarce. Given the size of these sealings as depicted in tomb scenes and from actual Early Dynastic examples, the overall portion of the outer surface of these sealings actually covered by seal impressions would have been small. However, generally the fabric of these sealings is too rough to have ever received a seal impression, or the surfaces are too poorly preserved to discern if a seal impression was ever present. Also, given the mass of the original sealing, the vast majority of the recovered pieces would likely be treated as "unimpressed" and would not be registered at all. This situation is further complicated in the case of sealings constructed from two parts, as discussed above. Once broken, the inner portion (with the impression of the underlying pottery vessel) would have become separated from the outer portion (with any seal impressions) making it difficult to identify the sealing type for any given fragment. In any
case, no impressed storage jar sealings have so far been discovered in the Pottery Mound sealings. They are known however from the Fourth Dynasty at Buhen.\textsuperscript{272}

These large storage sealings were identified by Kaplony as Type I (hemispherical),\textsuperscript{273} Type II (conical)\textsuperscript{274} or Type III (angled, flat)\textsuperscript{275} sealings. All were large, yellow, crude sealings, except for subtype III.B,\textsuperscript{276} which was composed of grey clay. Kaplony’s types correspond with Engel and Müller’s Types G1, G2, and G3 (see \textbf{Figure 1.12}).\textsuperscript{277}

Pätznick, however, has subdivided the types of storage jar sealings in his corpus from Elephantine to reflect a continuum from stoppers to conical storage jar sealings. Pätznick’s Type Gv. Ia, and its variant form Gv. Ia1,\textsuperscript{278} correspond to Kaplony’s stoppers and will be discussed below in the section on "stoppers." Type Gv. Ib is a more convex form than Gv. Ia but not quite as round as the hemispherical jar sealing called Type Ic by Pätznick and Type I by Kaplony.\textsuperscript{279} Type Gv. Ic and Type Gv. Id from Pätznick

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{272} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{273} Kaplony, \textit{IÄF}, 50.
\item \textsuperscript{274} Ibid., 50-51.
\item \textsuperscript{275} Ibid., 51.
\item \textsuperscript{276} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{277} Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 35, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{278} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 14-16.
\item \textsuperscript{279} Ibid., 16.
\end{itemize}
correspond to Kaplony’s Type I and Type II, respectively.\textsuperscript{280} Although Pätznick identifies his Type Gv. Ie as a "special" form,\textsuperscript{281} he does not further specify its characteristics.\textsuperscript{282}

Beyond the larger, storage jar sealings, there are smaller jar sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus. These sealings typically consist of a small piece of sealing mud placed strategically over a knot or the crossing point of strings that secure the opening of a ceramic vessel in some way. Occasionally, these strings seem to tie down some sort of lid or other device, without the use of any intervening textile or leather. The resulting impression on the back of the sealing shows the shape and surface of the ceramic vessel as well as the strings and knot. This type of jar sealing subtype has been called a "direct jar sealing" in the GPMP corpus. Although not included in earlier typologies, "direct jar sealings" correspond to Pätznick’s Type Gv. Va.\textsuperscript{283}

More frequently, however, the mouth and rim of the vessel were covered by textile or leather that was then tied in place with string or cordage. Sealings might then be placed strategically over the textile, leather and strings. Sealings that preserve back impressions of string with a diameter consistent with the neck of a ceramic vessel and textile or leather conforming to the profile of a jar are classified here as "indirect jar

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{280} Ibid., 17, 20.
\item \textsuperscript{281} Ibid., 14.
\item \textsuperscript{282} Ibid., 20.
\item \textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 33-34.
\end{itemize}
sealings." The back impressions of these sealings can be easily confused with those of bag sealings, unless the diameter of the loops of string are large or a clear profile of the jar is preserved. In cases where neither the string diameter nor the jar profile are clearly preserved, the sealing is classified as "possible container." The term "jar" as a sealing type in Table 1.1 and in following chapters includes both storage jar sealings (should any be identified in the Pottery Mound corpus in future seasons) as well as smaller jar sealings consisting of both direct and indirect jar sealings.

Figure 1.12: Types of storage jar sealings. Types G1, G2 and G3 from Engel and Müller.
"Indirect jar sealings" are common in existing typologies. Kaplony included them in his Type VI\textsuperscript{284} and, more explicitly, his "additional" type 2.\textsuperscript{285} Engel and Müller incorporated "indirect" jar sealings into their Type G6\textsuperscript{286} (see Figure 1.11) but do not have a type for the small, direct jar sealings. Pätznick reserves his Type Gv. Vb for "indirect" jar sealings.\textsuperscript{287}

At Arslantepe, several different types of indirect jar sealings have been identified. The primary distinction among these various type is their location on the cloth or leather covering the ceramic vessel's opening (see Figure 1.11). Types "E" and "F" were applied on the vessel's neck on top of the strings that tied down the covering.\textsuperscript{288} Type "D1" however was actually applied on top of the vessel's covering but lapped slightly over onto the rim.\textsuperscript{289} Types "H" and "L" bear impressions of taut cloth and leather, respectively, but were also likely applied to the tight cloth or leather coverings of

\textsuperscript{284}Kaplony, \textit{IÄF}, 53-54, where he subdivides Type VI according to form, and does not specific "indirect jar sealings." However, in Kaplony, \textit{IÄF}, 710 n. 151, he acknowledges that his Type VI can include "Verschlüsse auf Oelkrügen, Urkunden oder Kästen...."

\textsuperscript{285}Kaplony, \textit{IÄF}, 54-55.

\textsuperscript{286}Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 38.

\textsuperscript{287}Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 34-37.

\textsuperscript{288}Ferioli and Fiandra, "Sealed Objects," 83. The main difference between "E" and "F" was the diameter of the sealed vessel's neck.

\textsuperscript{289}Ibid., 77-79.
ceramic vessels. In addition, Ferioli and Fiandra's Type "P" were likely applied to wicker lids for large pots called *pithoi*.

1.8.6 Papyrus Sealings

Papyrus sealings preserve impressions of papyrus - usually folded - on their backs. Almost always, these sealings show the impressions of strings tied around the surface of the papyrus and pulled into the body of the sealing itself (see Figure 1.13). It seems safe to conclude that almost all of these sealings were used to seal documents written on papyrus. They are therefore commonly called "document" or "Urkunden" sealings in the literature.

Figure 1.13: Sealed papyrus document. Sealing is Engel and Müller's Type P1.

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290 Ibid., 84-85.  
291 Ibid., 87-90.
Pätznick notes that papyrus sealings first appear at Elephantine in the second half of Dynasty 2, but hieroglyphs from Dynasty 1 clearly show folded, tied and sealed rolls of papyrus. In addition, a folded piece of papyrus was discovered inside a round, inlaid box from the First Dynasty tomb of Hemaka at Saqqara. Although Kaplony generally included papyrus sealings in his Type VI, and Engel and Müller designate papyrus sealings with a single type (P1), Pätznick made a distinction between half-barrel shaped (Type U1) and flat, dish shaped sealings (Type U2) with papyrus impressions on their backs.

1.8.7 Peg-and-string Sealings

Peg-and-string sealings typically show parallel, regularly wound loops of string or cordage and traces of a wooden peg. This peg may have a regular, finished surface but often is rough and unworked with an almost broken appearance. In some instances the side of a knob is preserved, similar to that excavated in the Czech excavations in the temple precinct of Khentkaues II at Abusir.

As noted above, the peg-and-string device was used to close many different objects, from doors and windows to boxes. However, it seems highly likely that the

292 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 62.
293 Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 43-44.
294 Ibid.: 44 n. 49.
295 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 61.
crude pegs with rough surfaces were used architecturally to secure doors and windows as opposed to finished furniture or boxes. It is also possible to identify door peg-and-string sealings when the base of the peg and the mud brick or plaster surface from which the peg protrudes are present in the back impression. In these special instances, the sealing is classified as a door sealing (with all of its implications). Otherwise, where there is any doubt, the sealing is classified as "peg-and-string."

Kaplony never included peg-and-string sealings in his typology, for doors or boxes.297 Engel and Müller only presented peg-and-string sealings as a subtype of box sealings (Type K2), not doors.298 Pätznick had included all his peg-and-string sealings, apparently, under door sealings as his Type Tv. 2, the "Kordelverschlüsse."

However, it is important to remember that the general "peg-and-string" category accommodates some doubt in the classification of sealings as they are preserved in the archaeological record. Accepting that the peg-and-string device can be used to secure not only doors and windows but boxes (from the Middle Kingdom on) and bundles and bags (from elsewhere in the Near East),299 the specific function of a peg-and-string

297 As mentioned above, there is a clear distinction between the flat-topped box sealings with multiple strings around a central knob, and the peg-and-string system, with a single cord wrapped around a peg.
298 Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 40-41 fig. 3.
sealing often cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Even when the sealing's back impression is clearly a peg-and-string, classifying it as a "door (peg-and-string)" as opposed to "box (peg-and-string)" (if there is no indication of the wall or door jamb) often comes down to an estimate of size and circumference and an arbitrary assignment of larger sealings as "doors" and smaller ones as "boxes." In such situations, the sealing has been classified as a "peg-and-string" only.

1.8.8 Possible Container

"Possible container" sealings include sealings with ambiguous traces of textile, leather and cord impressions on their back. These traces are consistent with "indirect jar" sealings, "bag" sealings or even bundles of textile or leather, but not enough is preserved for a clear interpretation of the sealing's intended use. However, practically speaking, all of these objects are movable and the sealings from these goods might have been imported into the site. So, although it may not be possible to determine precisely what kinds of goods were sealed, all sealings classified as "possible containers" might have been either made locally or imported onto the site.

300 In a similar fashion, Ferioli and Fiandra, "Sealed Objects," 105, create a separate type for sealing that show only "coiled cord." Their Type "U" appears to belong to some kind of object but too little is preserved to make a determination.
1.8.9 Stoppers

"Stoppers" are usually composed of the same rough, yellow mud as storage jar sealings, but they are actually set further down inside the opening of a pottery vessel, and they have a flat top. The hallmark of stoppers is their intended short-term use as a seal for the vessel. Typically, stoppers simply span the opening of a ceramic vessel and do not overlap onto the rim to a significant degree.

These objects seldom preserve traces of seal impressions, but often this may be a result of the coarse mud from which they are fashioned. Kaplony, in his catalog of selected sealings from the Pelizaeus-Museum, describes a stopper that did have traces of a seal impression, but another in the same catalog no longer bore a seal.

\[\text{Kaplony in Martin, } \textit{Reliefs des Alten Reiches, 27-28 [2426], a storage jar sealing of Type IV-1 with traces of a seal impression.}\]
impression that had been observed by Roeder years before.\textsuperscript{302} This indicates how friable the mud can be and that stoppers might be impressed.

Kaplony classifies stoppers as his Type IV-1,\textsuperscript{303} which Engel and Müller took over as Type G5\textsuperscript{304} (see \textbf{Figure 1.14}). Pätznick broadly divides the stoppers from Elephantine for the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom into two categories: Type Gv. Ia (with a special subtype Gv. Ia1) and Type Gv. II (with two subtypes). Gv. Ia corresponds to Kaplony's Type IV-1 and Engel and Müller's G5.\textsuperscript{305} The Gv. Ia1 subtype is a variant that simply sat much deeper in the vessel's opening.\textsuperscript{306} Gv. II, on the other hand, spanned the opening of the sealed vessel and sank down into its opening to varying depths. It was identified by its slightly convex top (as opposed to Gv. Ia's flat top).\textsuperscript{307} Pätznick further distinguished between the simple, domed stopper (Gv. IIa) and a deeper, oblong stopper with a more pronounced overhang around the lip of the vessel (Gv. IIb). One single sealing, furthermore, extended very deep into the vessel's mouth.

\textsuperscript{302} See Kaplony in Ibid., 32-33 [2430], where Roeder originally records traces of a seal impression, which no longer survived when Kaplony examined the same sealing later.
\textsuperscript{303} Kaplony, \textit{lÄF}, 51-52.
\textsuperscript{304} Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 38.
\textsuperscript{305} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 14.
\textsuperscript{306} Ibid., 15-16 and pl. IV.
\textsuperscript{307} Ibid., 22-24 and pl. V.
and alone made up a variant form (Gv. IIb1) (see Figure 1.14). Ferioli and Fiandra have classified "stoppers" or "bungs" at Arslantepe as their Type "D2."³⁰⁸

**Figure 1.15: Toppers from Elephantine. Pätznick's Type Gv. IV.**

### 1.8.10 Toppers (or Lids)

Toppers are pieces of sealing clay used to seal the opening of a vessel. They typically sat inside the neck or opening of the ceramic vessel and did not extend outside over the rim. As such, they usually bear the impression of the surface inside the vessel's neck.

Toppers were classified by Kaplony as his Type IV-2, without any further subdivision.³⁰⁹ Engel and Müller also simply grouped them under their Type G4.³¹⁰

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Pätznick collects the different varieties of toppers in his corpus under his Type Gv. IV\(^{311}\) (see Figure 1.15). The subdivision Type Gv. IVa is a thick disc of clay, with concave sides, formed by the interior of the vessel's neck. Type Gv. IVb has a slightly convex bottom that is actually wider than the top, meaning that it actually sat inside the vessel, below the point at which the interior of the neck flared out into the shoulder. It also means that this class of topper could not be removed without being broken. Type Gv. IVc is unusually thick and deep, with a highly convex bottom. In fact, it closely resembles the "plug" sealings that are Pätznick's Type Gv. III\(^{312}\) but do not appear at Area A. Type Gv IVd, on the other hand, is similar to Type Gv. IVc except that it is not as deep and has a flatter bottom. One special form - Type Gv. IVe - is a thinner lid that often has a concave bottom.

1.8.11 Other Sealing Types (not in Pottery Mound)

Several classes of sealings known from other Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom typologies are present in the broader Area A corpus but not in the sealings so far excavated from Pottery Mound. Bundles of cloth are known to have been sealed from

\[^{310}\] Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 38. From their drawings on p. 37, Engel and Müller seem to have a better example of Kaplony's Type IV-2 depicted as their Type G5. However, they are clear in the text that Type G4 is meant to be Kaplony's Type IV-2.

\[^{311}\] Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 28-32.

\[^{312}\] Ibid., 25-27.
other Near Eastern contexts\textsuperscript{313} and Pätznick included bundle sealings in his typology of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom sealings from Elephantine, as Type Tb. 5b.\textsuperscript{314} However, to date, only two clear examples of "bundle" sealings have been identified at Area A, both from the so-called "Royal Administrative Building," also called "Buttress Building."\textsuperscript{315} Since the only clear distinction of this type of sealing is the apparent curvature of the underlying textile impression, these sealings can easily be taken for "indirect jar" sealings and will often be simply classified as "possible container" sealings if there is any doubt.

"Cord" sealings are sealings that are formed around a central cord or string and often bear seal impressions on several faces. Kaplony incorporates them into his typology as Type VII, with three subtypes based on shape.\textsuperscript{316} Engel and Müller note that these sealings are known from as early as the Naqada IId Period and divide them into two basic types: tear-drop or cylinder shaped (S1) and triangular or rectangular (S2).\textsuperscript{317} They also suggest that these sealings may have been used on nets that enclosed other, other.

\textsuperscript{313} For instance, see Matthews, "2.2 Functional and Contextual Analysis," 40, called "bale/package" sealings.
\textsuperscript{314} Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 40.
\textsuperscript{315} Sealings 1792 and 2340.
\textsuperscript{316} Kaplony, \textit{IÄF}, 54.
\textsuperscript{317} Engel and Müller, "Verschlüsse der Frühzeit," 41.
hard-to-seal objects or even boxes but it is difficult to be certain since they do not
preserve back impressions.\footnote{Ibid.: 41 n. 35.}

Pätznick, however, divides this class of sealings slightly differently. He calls
sealings that show multiple string holes and are formed around a knot or intersection of
strings "Krawattenknotenverschlüsse\" in his Type Tb. 1.\footnote{Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 41-42.} Cylindrical cord sealings,
equivalent to Kaplony's Type VII-1, are Type Tb. 5a for Pätznick and half-moon shaped
sealings formed around a central cord are Type Tb. 3 in Pätznick's typology.\footnote{Ibid., 53-54.} So far,
one certain example of a cord sealing - formed around a single, central string with four
seal impressions, all from the same seal - has been found in Area A, again from the
"Royal Administrative Building."\footnote{Sealing 1671.}

Another kind of sealing, known from Abu Salabikh but previously not attested in
the Egyptian sealing typologies for the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, is the
"test strip."\footnote{Matthews, "2.2 Functional and Contextual Analysis," 40.} Although he provides no illustrations, Matthews describes these sealings
as "thin tongues of clay, from 6 to 10 mm thickness, with clear fingerprints on the flat
reverse face."\footnote{Ibid.} This description closely fits the physical characteristics of Sealing 786,
from Area AA, which is a flat, oblong piece of clay with a single, deep clear seal

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Ibid.: 41 n. 35.}
\item \footnote{Pätznick, \textit{Siegelabrollungen}, 41-42.}
\item \footnote{Ibid., 53-54.}
\item \footnote{Sealing 1671.}
\item \footnote{Matthews, "2.2 Functional and Contextual Analysis," 40.}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
impression running along its axis. Its back surface has been scraped and prepared. The seal impression, interestingly, is an "informal" design with tête-bêche representations of recumbent rabbits and a scorpion with wavy water-lines. This sealing, however, is the only example of such a "test strip" so far found at Giza.

1.9 Pottery Mound and Other Old Kingdom Sealing Deposits

Area A and the Western Town in particular were not part of a simple workers' settlement. This much is clear from their location near the Sphinx, Sphinx Temple, Khafre and Menkaure Valley Temples as well as the numerous, important tombs in the Central Field and the ongoing construction sites for the royal pyramids rising just to the west. All of these cult centers, both royal and non-royal, and the associated bustling construction sites were a central focus of the Old Kingdom economy and Area A was located just outside the southern entrance. The central role Giza and Area A must have played in the royal administration of the Fourth Dynasty is reflected in the Pottery Mound sealings especially when they are compared to the other known collections of Old Kingdom sealings excavated elsewhere in Egypt.

Soon after excavation, it was apparent that the sealings from Pottery Mound were exceptional. The number of impressed sealing fragments (1,036) from Pottery Mound was not only greater than any other excavation area within Area A at Giza, it was larger than any other excavated corpus of sealings from the Old Kingdom, with the possible exception of Abu Ghurab and Abusir. Due to the inexact documentation of the original German excavations and the destruction of the museum in Berlin during World
War II, it may well be impossible to establish, even in broad terms, how many sealings were actually found at the Neferirkare mortuary temple at Abusir. In a passing remark on the 1904 excavations at that temple, Borchardt notes that he had exposed "reiches Material an gestempelten Tonverschlüssen." Then, three years later, in further excavations at the same temple, Borchardt notes the discovery of "die zu Tausenden gefundenen Siegelabdrücke von Krug- und Kastenverschlüssen." Previously, Borchardt had mentioned that, "Einige unfertige und einige zerbrochene Siegelzylinder und sonstige weniger wichtige Kleinfunde wurden im Schutt aufgelesen." Surprisingly, given the apparent abundance of sealings claimed by Borchardt, Posener-Krière and de Cenival remark in their publication of the papyrus documents and fragments from the Niuserre mortuary temple that just "72 mud-seal impressions bearing royal names were found" in the Neferirkare mortuary temple. These might have been only a portion of the sealings excavated there since not all sealings necessarily bear royal names. In addition, Kaplony implies that this number includes only the sealings discovered during

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326 Ludwig Borchardt and Heinrich Schäffer, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei Abusir im Winter 1900/1901," *ZÄS* 39 (1901): 101, claims that these objects were unearthed in the Niuserre Sun Temple at Abu Ghurab. But, Kaplony, *RAR I*, 347, contends that they were actually discovered in the Neferirkare pyramid temple.
the 1907 season.\textsuperscript{328} Even so, given the discrepancies in the various accounts, it is difficult to compare Pottery Mound and the Neferirkare mortuary temple as sources for sealings.

Similar difficulties apply to assessing the number of sealings discovered at the Sun Temple of Userkaf, named "Enclosure of Re" (\textit{N\=
\=hn-\=r}), at the northern edge of the Abusir pyramid field. Ludwig Borchardt carried out two exploratory seasons at this site in 1907 and 1913. Twice, Borchardt stressed the vast quantities of sealings excavated in the 1907 campaign.\textsuperscript{329} However, there seems to be some confusion in the excavation records regarding the provenance of some of the finds from this season\textsuperscript{330} and the original sealings were later destroyed in World War II.\textsuperscript{331} In direct contrast to these initial reports of copious numbers of sealings, when Borchardt once again turned his attention to the Userkaf sun temple in 1913, he actually registered just 13 sealing fragments.\textsuperscript{332} A later, German-Swiss expedition to the Userkaf monument found and registered 50

\textsuperscript{328} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 349 n. 669.
\textsuperscript{330} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 347, a seal bearing the name of Sneferu was ascribed to the Userkaf solar temple by Borchardt, but re-assigned to the Neferirkare mortuary temple by Kaplony.
\textsuperscript{332} Ibid., 84 n. 5. Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 367.
The discrepancy between Borchardt's informal assessment of the density of sealings in the Userkaf sun temple and later object registers may be due to local differences in the distribution of sealings within the monument, but this can no longer be determined with any degree of certainty.

Much of this discrepancy is more likely due to the recovery methods employed. From the preserved papyrus archives at Abusir, there was clearly a central administrative role for the sun temples - especially the as yet unidentified sun temple of Neferirkare, called "Satisfier of the Heart of the Two Lands" (Śhtp-ib-t3.wy) - in the distribution of rations and wealth to the rest of the Abusir necropolis. Their economic and administrative importance would correspond well to the rich quantities of broken sealings in Borchardt's preliminary reports. It seems however that both Borchardt and Ricke retained only the best and clearest examples of impressed sealings, making comparison with other sites with more intensive recovery techniques difficult, even in broad strokes.334

The richness of the Pottery Mound deposit becomes clearer in light of the sealings from the German excavations in the Early Dynastic through Old Kingdom strata

333 Kaplony, "Die Siegelabdrücke," 83-84.
334 It may be possible to reconstruct the amount of sealing material in these older excavations by strategically sampling the discard heaps, if they can be reliably located.
at Elephantine. Recently, Jean-Pierre Pätznick has published a catalog of 958 impressed sealing fragments excavated over the course of 15 field seasons. These objects represent a subset of over 1,600 sealing-related objects discovered during the excavations. Pottery Mound, by contrast, produced 1,036 sealings with seal impressions from just three 5-meter-by-5-meter excavation squares.

Other Old Kingdom settlement sites lag far behind both Pottery Mound and Elephantine in quantities of documented sealings. Despite Emery's claim that "considerable numbers" of sealings were found in the Old Kingdom copper-working settlement at Buhen, Kaplony was able to account for only 339 fragments. Miroslav Verner has recently produced a catalog of objects excavated in the Raneferef mortuary temple at Abusir, including a total of 16 seals and 250 sealings. A total of 164 sealings has been documented at the governor's palace at Balat, while a further 92

335 Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 2. His numbers are hard to reconcile. It is unclear which objects from the "über 1600 umfassenden Siegelcorpus" he excluded to arrive at his "zugrundeliegende Corpus von 1040 Objekten," and, then, why his catalog only contains 958 entries.


337 Kaplony, RAR I, 369-372.

came from the potters' workshop.\textsuperscript{339} Van de Walle discovered over 40 sealing fragments at El Kab, and the Czech excavations at the pyramid of Queen Khentkaues II at Abusir produced about 180 registered sealings. Karl Kromer recovered 178 sealing fragments in excavations immediately to the west of Area A at Giza.\textsuperscript{340}

\textbf{1.9.1 Pottery Mound Recovery Rates}

The relatively high concentration of sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus may be related to the intensive recovery methods employed by the Giza Plateau Mapping Project. Not only is great emphasis placed on recovering sealings in the excavation squares, but all archaeological features below the overlying tumbled remains of the mud brick walls are screened, and the debris left behind in the screen - typically discarded in other excavations - is then rinsed with water, dried, and sorted once more. This procedure of washing and sorting soil from the sieve is called "wet sieving." Of the 496 registered sealings that were excavated in 2002 and 2004 (the most recent seasons for which recovery data is available), 319 sealings came directly from the excavators in the square,\textsuperscript{341} 65 registered fragments were sorted out of the debris remaining from

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{339} Georges Soukiassian, Michel Wuttmann, and Laure Pantalacci, \textit{Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II: les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances}, Balat 6 (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2002), 392.
\textsuperscript{340} Kromer, \textit{Siedlungsfunde}, 90-99 pls. 38-40.
\textsuperscript{341} 13 were in bags labelled as "objects" and 306 were identified as "sealings."
\end{flushright}
processing the paleobotanical flotation samples, termed "heavy fraction," and, a further 86 sealings were picked out of the wet sieve. Another 26 sealings came from other kinds of bags, such as ceramics, charcoal and bone as they were processed. If the statistics for these two years are representative of the Giza corpus as a whole, over 17% of the GPMP's registered sealings are discovered through the wet sieving process and would typically have been discarded under other circumstances.

Pottery Mound by contrast was a special case from the very beginning. Since both the topography and the surface finds indicated that Pottery Mound was rich with artifacts, the excavators were extremely sensitive to recovering all of the material culture as they removed the successive features. In addition, the sealings were also relatively well preserved compared with the rest of Area A, making field recovery more likely. As a result, 1,090 out of the 1,128 registered sealings and 68 of the 70 sealing-related objects from Pottery Mound were collected in the square as "sealings." On the other hand only 13 of the Pottery Mound sealings were captured from the "heavy fraction" in the flotation samples and only 3 came out in the "wet sieve." Similarly, only 2 sealing-related objects came from the "heavy fraction" and none from the "wet sieve."

342 60 were from flotation bags; 2 from bags labelled simply "sample;" and 3 from soil samples which were evidently floated later.
1.9.2 Comparison with Middle Kingdom Sealing Deposits

The size and quality of the various Old Kingdom deposits of sealing fragments pale in comparison with those recovered from Middle Kingdom contexts. At Mirgissa, nearly 20,000 impressed sealing fragments were discovered of which more than 7,700 were identifiable.\textsuperscript{343} Although only 488 sealings from the town site at Kahun and 489 sealings from the fortress of Uronarti were published, many more broken or obscure sealings, or those with duplicate impressions, were evidently excavated but not published.\textsuperscript{344} Geoffrey Martin (as of 2004) catalogued "more than 1340 seals and seal impressions" from the Metropolitan Museum excavations at both Lisht North and South.\textsuperscript{345} However, it is possible that some sealings were lost or overlooked during excavation.\textsuperscript{346} As of 2001 after 3 field seasons, Josef Wegner had collected about 2,500 sealing fragments from the settlement of Wah-sut and a further 7,000 from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at South Abydos.\textsuperscript{347}

\textsuperscript{346} Ibid., 106.
\textsuperscript{347} Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos: An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence," 78 n. 3.
1.9.3 Pottery Mound Sealings Compared with the Rest of Area A

As of 2007, 3,010 sealings had been registered for all 15 seasons and every excavation area within Area A. Of this grand total, 2,431 retained seal impressions, 576 had been incised by a stylus, and 3 showed both seal impressions and incisions. In addition, 524 objects related to sealing practices had also been registered. Pottery Mound alone, with 1,128 registered sealings, represents nearly 38% of this total. 1,036 sealings with seal impressions along with 92 bearing incisions and 71 sealing-related objects have been registered from Pottery Mound.

1.10 Conclusion

A preliminary overview of the Pottery Mound sealings hints at their unique character and the potential information they might provide about Fourth Dynasty administration. First, outside of the solar and mortuary temples of Abusir, the Pottery Mound is the richest source of excavated Old Kingdom sealings in Egypt. Indeed, all of the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound have come from an area of less than 100 square meters excavated almost exclusively during a single field season in 2005. Second, the types of sealings preserved in the Pottery Mound corpus suggest that the

348 1,030 sealings had been registered as "unimpressed," primarily from earlier seasons. "Unimpressed" sealings are currently retained but no longer registered. These "unimpressed" sealings are not included among the 3,010 registered sealings.

349 17 sealings were excavated during the 2007 season.
officials who left them behind were concerned with flat-topped wooden boxes and papyrus documents. Third, these same officials appear to belong to the central administration of the Fourth Dynasty. Except for 49 isolated fragments from "informal" seal designs (and six others that are "undetermined"), the remaining 981 sealings are all "formal," and many of these certainly made by Official Seals judging by the traces of *serekhs* in their seal impressions. Since these *serekhs* contain only the Horus names of Khafre and Menkaure, the entire Pottery Mound deposit likely dates to the period covered by these two reigns. Finally, compared with the rest of Area A (with the exception of Area AA), the Pottery Mound sealings show an extraordinary degree of replication in the seal impressions suggesting a high degree of sealing activity by a limited number of officials.

The replication within the Pottery Mound corpus offers an opportunity to identify the originating seals. By reconstructing the designs and texts on the seals, the titles held by a particular seal bearer at a certain point in his career can be listed. In a sense, all of these titles are associated with one another in the person of this single official at the moment he receives his Official Seal. In addition all of the sealings known to have been sealed by the seal as represented in the strata of Pottery Mound might tell the story of how that seal was used over time. The types of sealings sealed by a particular official describe their likely spheres of activity. The presence of certain kinds of sealings - door sealings in particular - show that the seal bearer was present and active on site and might have acquired a certain level of seniority within the hierarchy. The first step in
unraveling the deeper story of the Pottery Mound sealings is therefore to identify the number of individual seals that produced this unique deposit and, whenever possible, reconstruct their original texts and design.
Chapter 2: The Seals

2.1 Introduction

The Pottery Mound sealings represent possibly the richest excavated find of Old Kingdom sealings in Egypt. Yet, sealings alone can provide a distorted and potentially misleading picture of the administrative system that produced them. Even when intact, clay sealings often carry seal impressions that preserve only a portion of the complete inscription on the originating seal. In the Old Kingdom, "Official Seals" (Amtssiegel) never bore the personal name of the seal's owner but often recorded two or more of his official titles. Under the best of circumstances, a single rolling of any given seal might leave behind an impression of just one of these titles. This situation is further exacerbated when the sealings are later broken into smaller fragments and discarded. For instance, a particularly active official with three different titles on his cylinder seal might well appear to be three somewhat less active seal bearers in the archaeological record if no further attempt is made to identify and reconstruct the entire seal. After the seal is reconstructed, the sealings it once impressed provide a profile of how and when that seal was used in relation to other similar seals. In other words, any meaningful reconstruction of the administrative practices that produced a given collection of sealings must begin by identifying the seals used by the administrative actors. Then, it must return to consider the information from the individual sealings that describes the activities of these actors over time.
The purpose of this chapter is to identify and reconstruct (to the extent possible) the seals used to impress the Pottery Mound sealings. Chapter 3 will more closely examine the actors themselves by determining how, where and when these seals were used from the information gleaned from the constituent sealings and their archaeological context.

2.2 Description of the Corpus

Pottery Mound ultimately produced a total of 1,128 registered sealings\(^1\) and 72 other objects made of sealing clay, which demonstrate some aspect of the sealing process.\(^2\) Furthermore, not all of the 1,128 sealings from Pottery Mound bear traces of seal impressions. 92 of them are "incised" sealings, meaning that they had been inscribed by a stylus or reed when the clay was still wet and most likely were intended to have a short-term or temporary function. The improvisational nature of these inscriptions as well as the poor preservation of the sealings render any interpretation of their original composition and intended purpose difficult.

The remaining 1,036 sealings from Pottery Mound all bear traces of seal impressions. 49 of these "impressed" sealings bear impressions from seals that had 

\(^1\) A catalog of all of the registered sealings and sealing-related objects from Pottery Mound is contained on the Supplementary DVD. This catalog is structured according to the discussion in this chapter.

\(^2\) These sealing-related objects will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 in the context of determining where the Pottery Mound sealings might have been made and applied.
"informal" designs as discussed in Chapter 1. These designs include graphic, tête-bêche arrangements of animals, crudely carved hieroglyphs and criss-cross "fishnet" patterns. Similar designs have been characterized as "personal seals" elsewhere in the literature. The "informal" seal designs from all of Area A are currently being prepared for a separate study.

Many of the remaining 987 "impressed" sealings from Pottery Mound appear to have been impressed by Official Seals (Amtssiegel), characterized by the repeated use of serekh devices enclosing the Horus name of the king. 343 of these sealings preserve potentially identifiable traces of at least one serekh. In fact these serekhs are often the clearest component in the seal impressions. In addition the serekh designs on Official Seals are often (but not always) distinctly identifiable. All told the 987 formal sealings from Pottery Mound contain twelve clear types of serekh which serve as the starting point for restoring the overall designs for the originating seals (see Figure 2.1).

2.2.1 Methodology

Rebuilding the administrative system in use around Pottery Mound must start by identifying the individual cylinder seals that made the seal impressions. Each seal belonged to a distinct administrative actor whose sealings were finally discarded in
Later the sealing practices of these actors and how they related to one another over time will be pieced together by closely examining the individual sealings as archaeological objects. But, this later analysis relies entirely on accurate reconstructions of the designs of the originating seals from the 981 Pottery Mound sealing fragments with impressions from Official Seals.

Two basic assumptions form the foundation for these seal reconstructions. First, all seal impressions on any given sealing in the Pottery Mound corpus are assumed to have been made by a single originating seal. The nearly complete lack of "countersealing" for the Old Kingdom justifies this assumption.  

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3 Since each seal may contain more than one title, it is clear that seals belonged to designated actors and not an office or even a set of related offices. This contention will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

### Figure 2.1: Types of *serekhs* found on Pottery Mound sealings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sealings</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sealings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>130 (+34?)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17 (+8?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>56 (+31?)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 (+4?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7 (+3?)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8 (+6?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 (+3?)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 Sealing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 (+8?)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 (+1?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11 (+3?)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 Sealing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Second, any originating seal will contain just one type of serekh. Although several scholars have discussed the nature and composition of the serekh, none has concentrated specifically on the significance of the lower portion of the serekh and its compositional variation. Even Peter Kaplony in his otherwise detailed discussion of the heraldic importance of the serekh does not examine the range of possible differences in the lower portion of the serekh, which he calls the "śṛḥ-Mauer." However, Kaplony conscientiously documents the details in the lower portions of the serekhs in his sealing drawings. These drawings confirm that all of the serekhs on a single seal were of the same type. This apparently supports the assumption that all of the serekhs on a given seal are the same "serekh type."


7 For example, see Mn-k3w-R’ 31 (Type 1 serekh) and Wšr-k3-f 11 (Type 3 serekh) in Peter Kaplony, Die Rollseiegel des Alten Reichs: IIB, Katalog der Rollseigel, Tafeln, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 3B (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1981), pls. 42 and 52 respectively.
It is important to bear in mind that the Pottery Mound corpus is one of the richest finds of sealings from the Fourth Dynasty, if not for the entire Old Kingdom. The assumption that little or no countersealing was practiced on the Pottery Mound sealings is drawn from the evidence of less significant finds of sealings, often far away from the center of government. One might then conclude that if countersealing were practiced anywhere in Egypt during the Fourth Dynasty, it would be at Giza. However, this assumption will be put to the test during the reconstructing process. If this assumption is also true for the Giza sealings, then all of the impressions on a single Pottery Mound sealing must plausibly fit into the same reconstruction. Should it ever occur that two impressions on the same sealing could not possibly have been made by the same seal (for instance, if they contain serekhs of different types or can be assigning to two different reconstructions), then this assumption must be abandoned. Absent any such negative examples, it must be presumed that the Pottery Mound sealings will show no evidence of countersealing like all other known finds of Old Kingdom sealings.

Starting with these two assumptions, composite reconstruction drawings of the originating seals in the Pottery Mound corpus have been compiled by comparing the relative position, size and orientation of the hieroglyphs surrounding the preserved lower portions of the serekhs on the "impressed" sealings. These reconstructions as well as

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8 See discussion in Chapter 1.
diagrams showing the relative locations of the seal impressions from every contributing sealing are included in the catalog.  

981 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound appear to have been made by Amtssiegel, or "Official Seals," like the "core" seals reconstructed below. In the Old Kingdom, Official Seals conform to a predictable, virtually "grammatical" layout with specific rules. These rules provide a framework that helps in piecing together the overall design of the originating seal from the various sealing fragments. Typically, the surface of an Official Seal is divided into an even number of vertical columns of text. Alternate columns usually exhibit a serekh containing the Horus name of the reigning king, followed by a royal epithet underneath. All of the serekhs on the same seal have the same composition in their lower portion, but different seals can have different types of serekhs. Columns containing serekhs are almost always read from left to right on the seal impressions. The columns of text in between those with serekhs usually contain titles and epithets of the seal owner or names and epithets of the king other than the Horus name. As a rule these Zwischengliedern, or "spacing lines," are read from right to left on the impression. Occasionally one or two horizontal lines of text bearing the seal owner's titles and epithets might run below these vertical columns of text.

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9 The catalog is contained on the Supplementary DVD.
10 The carving on the originating seal will be a mirror image of the text left on a seal impression.
In building up the reconstructions that follow a certain amount of distortion in the seal impressions has been accommodated. As a cylinder seal is rolled through wet sealing clay, some lateral distortion, or "stretching," will occur depending on how quickly the seal is applied. Also, the pressure of successive applications of a seal on the same sealing will "bulge out" existing seal impressions somewhat. Occasionally, a sealing might be adjusted or moved while wet and pressure from the fingers will push and smear the impressions, especially those closest to the edge. Inevitably the sealing is also subjected to post-depositional changes, such as fluctuating pressure and moisture. All of these potential sources of distortion compel a certain reasonable flexibility in assigning sealings to a particular seal reconstruction.

2.3 The Core Seals (424 Sealings)

The twelve most highly represented seals in the Pottery Mound corpus are reconstructed in this section. Since the design in the reconstructions either repeats itself (Seals 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11) or contains more than 6 vertical lines (Seals 4, 8, 12), these seals appear to be either complete or mostly complete. Seal 9 is the lone exception among the "core" seals. Although it is represented by 22 different sealing fragments, so far traces of only four lines of text have been reconstructed. However, as discussed below, it is reasonably certain (from other evidence) that the reconstruction of Seal 9 is indeed nearly complete and that it originally contained an inscription with just four lines of text.
Using the resulting reconstructions it is possible to calculate the diameter of each of the original cylinder seals or at least to estimate the minimum diameter for those reconstructions that do not repeat themselves (see Figure 2.2). From these proposed diameters, the average diameter of the "core" Pottery Mound seals seems to be just under 1.94 cm., the smallest diameter belonging to Seal 11 (1.17 cm.), while Seal 8 (2.91 cm.) and Seal 12 (2.99 cm.) are by far the largest.

![Figure 2.2: Diameters of the twelve core seals from Pottery Mound.](image)

These numbers compare reasonably well with other preserved examples of Official Seals from the Old Kingdom. Kaplony catalogs 73 examples of Official Seals from the reigns of Khafre through Pepy II. The average diameter of all these cylinder seals is 2.2 cm. for the entire Old Kingdom, but the average diameter for just those from
Fourth Dynasty is 2.0 cm., just slightly larger than the average diameter for the "core" seals from Pottery Mound. The smallest diameter known for an Official Seal of the Old Kingdom is 0.75 cm. for a seal from the reign of Pepy II\textsuperscript{11} and the largest diameter is over 3.50 cm. for a seal from the reign of Merenre.\textsuperscript{12} Although the largest known diameter for an Official Seal of the Fourth Dynasty is 2.50 cm.,\textsuperscript{13} larger seals are preserved from the reigns of Userkaf (3.0 cm.),\textsuperscript{14} Sahure (2.8 cm.)\textsuperscript{15} and Niuserre (3.38 cm.),\textsuperscript{16} suggesting that the large diameters proposed for Seals 8 and 12 are not entirely inconsistent for the Old Kingdom.

The proposed diameters for the Pottery Mound seals - as well as the reconstructions from which they are derived - are supported by other evidence. Ten sealings among the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound actually bear impressions from the ends of cylinder seals (see Figure 2.3). In the Old Kingdom the practice of applying the end of a cylinder seal to a wet sealing is rare. Kaplony notes that the ends of a cylinder seal from the reign of Shepseskaf are decorated and goes on to suggest that this seal might have been used to stamp sealings on occasion.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{11} BM 24101.
\textsuperscript{12} Berlin 20391.
\textsuperscript{13} Cairo JdE 36262 carved in the reign of Menkaure.
\textsuperscript{14} Chicago 11307.
\textsuperscript{15} BM 48023.
\textsuperscript{16} Brooklyn 44.123.30.
\textsuperscript{17} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 33. The seal is BM 48987. See Špšš-k3-f2: Peter Kaplony, \textit{Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs: IIA, Katalog der Rollsiegel, Text}, Monumenta
Kaplony was aware of only four sealings bearing impressions of the hollowed-out ends of seals. Three of these were discovered at Buhen and show the ends of cylinder seals applied to the top of a large, flat-topped jar sealing at the point where two continuous seal impressions crossed. The fourth example of an end-impression cataloged by Kaplony is among the impressions of a seal from the reign of Khafre found at Giza by Karl Kromer. Kaplony presumed that these end-impressions had been made by the cylinder seal that also made the other seal impressions on the same sealing, but he did not venture an explanation for this rare practice.

![Figure 2.3: End-impressions on Pottery Mound sealings.](image)


18 Kaplony, *RAR I*, 9. The three sealings are UC 25823, UC 25828 and UC 25819. Of these, only UC 25823 is presented in Kaplony's catalog as *Mn-k3w-Rˁ* 33. However, later Kaplony suggests that these examples may be "aus der Zeit von *Mn-k3w-Rˁ*" (p. 33).


20 Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 70 claims that the end-impressions "zweifellos" belong to the seal which made the other impressions on the same sealing.
Although the Pottery Mound sealings provide ten new examples in which the ends of hollowed cylinders impressed sealings, they still offer no clear explanation for this practice. Six of these ten sealings are of an undetermined type. Sealings 2802, 2823 and 2851 are "possible containers" but cannot be defined any more precisely, whereas Sealing 2774 appears to be a "peg-and-string" sealing. Recalling that this practice is also seen on jar sealings from Buhen, it seems impossible to conclude that using the end of the cylinder seal was a typical process in sealing any particular item or opening.

Figure 2.4: Comparison of end-impressions with reconstructed seal diameters.

The comparison of the end-impression with the diameter of the seal that made the other conventional seal impressions on the same sealing supports the conclusion
drawn by Kaplony that the same seal made all of the impressions on a given sealing. Six of the ten sealings with seal-end impressions also bear impressions made by one of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed below. Sealings 2774, 2850 and 2891 were all impressed by Seal 7. Sealing 2747 was impressed by Seal 9. Sealing 2851 was impressed by Seal 10, and Sealing 2860 bears impressions from Seal 2 (see Figure 2.4). The diameters of the end-impressions are consistent with the proposed diameter of the seal that made the other impressions in every case. Thus it would appear that only a single cylinder seal was ever used to impress a given sealing in the corpus even if that impression was just of the end of the cylinder seal.  

However, it is conceivable that a single seal might have been used to make all of the end-impressions on many of these sealings, given the incomplete preservation of these end-impressions as well as the similar exterior diameters of Seal 2 (1.76 cm.), Seal 7 (1.73 cm.) and Seal 10 (1.80 cm.). This similarity only applies to the exterior diameter. By comparing the interior space of these end-impressions - that is the "negative" impression left by the hollowed-out interior of the cylinder seal - when enough is preserved it is clear that each of the sets of end-impressions associated with the reconstructed seals in Figure 2.4 above were indeed made by different cylinder seals. Focusing just on the end-impressions with complete interior dimensions, each has a

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21 Sealing 2691, for example, bears just an end-impresion and has been classified as an "impressed" but otherwise "ambiguous" sealing since the seal which made the impression can not be identified.
significantly different interior area. The end-impression on Sealing 2747 (impressed by Seal 9) has an interior area of 0.87 cm.\(^2\) whereas that on Sealing 2851 (impressed by Seal 10) has an interior area of 1.58 cm.\(^2\). The remaining end-impressions with complete interior dimensions - those on Sealing 2850 (Seal 7) and Sealing 2860 (Seal 2) - have interior areas of 1.23 cm.\(^2\) and 1.03 cm.\(^2\) respectively. While the remains of the exterior diameters are generally consistent with the diameters suggested by the reconstructions below, the interior spaces confirm that distinct seals made the end-impressions in each case, not simply the same seal over and over again. The strong correlation between the proposed exterior diameter of the seals that made the seal impressions and the exterior dimensions of the corresponding end-impressions suggests that the seals reconstructed later in this chapter also made the end-impressions on the same sealings.

Accepting that the end-impressions were indeed made by the same seal that made the seal impressions on these sealings, they provide a special insight into how these seals (or at least Seal 2, Seal 7, Seal 9 and Seal 10) might have been mounted and used. None of the 10 end-impressions pictured in Figure 2.3 give any indication that a cord or wire ran completely through the interior space of the seal when the seal was being used. In each of these end-impressions it appears that the seal was hollow (at least in part) but empty. This implies either that all four of these cylinder seals were suspended only from the top of the seal, or that the seals had been taken off their cords or mounting device before being used.
The end-impression on Sealing 2747 may help confirm that the reconstruction of Seal 9 is nearly complete. This end-impression, even though it is not completely preserved, indicates that the seal that made it could not have been much larger than the 1.33 cm. estimated for the minimum diameter of Seal 9. Sealing 2747 bears another seal impression that is certainly made by Seal 9. So, if Seal 9 also made the end-impression on Sealing 2747, then the reconstruction of Seal 9 below must be mostly complete.

In any case, the sealings from Pottery Mound reinforce the conclusion that the practice of applying the end of a cylinder seal to a sealing was limited to seals bearing the Horus names of either Khafre or, more commonly, Menkaure. Not only is this practice seen on the Giza sealings from Area A and those excavated by Karl Kromer, it is also seen on sealings from Buhen in Nubia. In every case the royal names associated with the seal impressions are either those of Khafre or of Menkaure.

This seems to confirm the conclusion reached in Chapter 1 that the Horus name carved inside a *serekh* on an Old Kingdom cylinder seal is that of the king who reigned when the seal was made. If a king's name could be carved inside a *serekh* during the reigns of succeeding kings of the Old Kingdom, would the practice of pressing the hollowed out end of a seal into a sealing be limited to just those seals bearing the names of Khafre and Menkaure? It seems much more likely that this practice was restricted to a discrete time in the Fourth Dynasty and that the seals most commonly in use during that period bore the names of Khafre and Menkaure.
The Apparatus

The entry for each seal below starts with two sections. The first displays the archaeological features and phases that produced the sealings impressed by the seal. The phase is bold-faced and is followed by the individual feature numbers with the count of sealings in parentheses after the feature number. As used by the excavators of Pottery Mound, "features" represent discrete stratigraphic events as interpreted by the archaeologist. These features are then grouped into broader, interpretive "phases." In the case of Pottery Mound, these phases are numbered continuously from Phase I (earliest) to Phase VIII (latest). Phase VI was further subdivided into three "sub-phases": VIa, VIb and VIc. Phase VIc is the latest phase (or sub-phase) in Pottery Mound to produce registered sealings. In the following section, all of the constituent sealings are categorized according to sealing type with the count of sealings in parentheses.

The reconstruction drawings are rendered at a scale of 1:1 with a representation of the diameter of the reconstructed seal, also to scale. Photographs of all of the sealings contributing to a given seal reconstruction as well as a diagram showing the relative position of the sealing's impressions with respect to the overall seal design are contained in the catalog on the Supplementary DVD. All of the columns in the seal's text are numbered from left to right (with the sole exception of the horizontal line of text Seal 3, line 5). Vertical lines on the reconstruction indicate the point at which the inscription begins to repeat. The text immediately adjacent to this line is grayed-out to give context, but is not repeated in the transliteration and translation. The transliteration and
translation for each seal are then followed by philological notes on the text. If applicable, a general commentary on the seal as a whole concludes the discussion.

**Seal 1 (91 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

- **Phase Not Assigned:** 21554 (1); **Phase III:** 24462 (5); **Phase VI-a:** 22826 (2), 22829 (2), 24451 (3), 24458 (2), 24459 (5), 24468 (2), 24469 (1); **Phase VI-b:** 24450 (1), 24457 (1); **Phase VI-c:** 21555 (2), 21557 (54), 21561 (2), 21596 (7), 21597 (1)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Bag** (1), **Box** (27), **Jar** (2), **Possible Container** (35), **Undetermined** (26)

**Reconstruction:**

Transliteration and Translation:

1) ḫrwś-ỉb nḥ-św.t bỉ.ty

"Horus: Strong-hearted, King of Upper and Lower Egypt,"
2) یرشب (w)t-[ny]-św.[t]ᵃ ژش (w)-[nw]-[ny-św.t]ᵇ

Keeper of [Royal Instructions],ᵃ Scribe of Royal 'Documents',ᵇ

3) Ḥr wšr-ib nṯr-[‘3]ᶜ

'Horus:' Strong-hearted, the [great] god,ᶜ

4) Ḥf=f-Rᵐ mryᵈ Ḥnmw-ḥnt.y-Ḥmnw […]

Khafre, beloved of Khnum-Foremost-of-Hermopolisᵉ […],

5) Ḥr wšr-ib nb.ty

Horus: Strong-hearted, (he of) the "Two Ladies,"ᶠ

6 ) […] ny-św.t bi.ty zš (w)-(nw)-[ny-św.t śm3].ᵗ(i)ᵍ

[…] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Scribe of Royal Documents, (he of)

' making' (things) right.ᵍ
Notes:

a - The ꞌ-sign (Gardiner N14) has two possible phonetic values: $sb3$ and $dw3$.

$Śb3.(w)t$ is the collective noun, "instructions, teachings," that is otherwise unattested in the Old Kingdom. However, Jürgen Osing notes the existence of two different $nisbe$ derivatives with essentially the same meaning ("director, instructor" or, perhaps, "pupil," since the object of the verb is ambiguous) in some Old Kingdom titles: $sb3.(wy)$, (lit., "he of giving direction"), and $sb3.(w)t(y)$, (lit., "he of the instructions").

The second variant appears to be formed on a feminine noun, $sb3.(w)t$, meaning "instructions, teachings." Although the root noun in this case is not attested in the Old Kingdom (outside of the Pottery Mound seals), its existence is implied by the $nisbe$ formations noted by Osing. Even though no plural strokes are ever written in the Pottery Mound corpus, Osing's proposed reading $sb3.(w)t$ is retained here because the Middle

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23 Compare with $sb3.yt$ in Wb. 4, 85, 10-12 and 86, 1-3, only attested since the Middle Kingdom. Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Analecta Orientalia 34 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), §252, cites an example of $sb3.t$, meaning "constellation," and not, as here, "instructions."

24 Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 1097 [27095], has an entry $sb3(w)$, "Lehre, Erziehung" but he cites only a single, "unklar" example.

Kingdom śb3.yt, "instructions," implies that its older predecessor must have once contained a penultimate -w-. I am grateful to Prof. Pascal Vernus for his observations on the development of this word.

b - For this title, see Jones.\textsuperscript{26} See also zš-γ(\textit{w})-(nw)-ny-św.t-pr-ˁ3, "Scribe of Royal Documents of the Palace,"\textsuperscript{n27} and zš-γ(\textit{w})-(nw)-ny-św.t-ḥft-ḥr, "Scribe of Royal Documents of the (Royal) Presence,"\textsuperscript{n28} as well as their longer compounds. The space at the end of this line seems to allow for the restoration of a bookroll determinative since there is no direct evidence of the bottom of the seal or a bottom border line.

In the Old Kingdom, the writing zš-ny-św.t appears to be a shortened form of the more common zš-γ(\textit{w})-(nw)-ny-św.t, "Scribe of Royal Documents."\textsuperscript{n29} The only clear Old Kingdom example of zš-ny-św.t (outside of the Pottery Mound corpus) is in the caption over the representation of a man named Maˁa.\textsuperscript{30} This writing is likely the result of restricted space, however, since the caption over the woman next to Maˁa, ḫm.t=f ḫnm.t, "his wife, Khenmet," is similarly constricted with the ☛ and ☝ of ḫm.t=f separated by the following ☀ of the woman's name, ḫnm.t. The other examples listed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Dilwyn Jones, \textit{An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom}, BAR International Series 866 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 838 [3057].
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 838 [3059].
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 839 [3063].
\item \textsuperscript{29} So Hannig, \textit{Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I}, 1231 [30242].
\item \textsuperscript{30} Hermann Junker, \textit{Giza VI: Die Mastabas des Nfr (Nefer), 'Kdfjj (Kedfi), k3ḥjjf (Kahjet) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen} (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943), 110 Abb. 32.
\end{itemize}

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by Hannig are "unclear." In fact, one of Hannig's sources happens to be a sealing from the Kromer excavations at Giza, which was actually impressed by Seal 1.\textsuperscript{31} The most complete writing of this title in the Pottery Mound corpus is $zš^{-}(\cdot.w)-n(w)-ny-św.t$ at the end of Seal 6, line 5, showing the indirect genitive $n(w)$. Other instances of abbreviated writings in the Pottery Mound corpus appear in Seal 7, lines 1 and 3 below.

\textbf{c} - Sneferu was the first Egyptian ruler to adopt the epithet $n\textfrak{t}r-3$, "the great god," that was used by most of the succeeding kings of the Fourth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{d} - $M\textfrak{r}y$ is the perfective passive participle with the semantic subject following as a direct genitive.\textsuperscript{33} Kaplony characterizes the relationship between $d\textfrak{w}3$-epithets and $m\textfrak{r}i$-epithets in Old Kingdom seal inscriptions, noting that the king "verehrt ($d\textfrak{w}3$) den Gott, dessen Geliebter er ist."\textsuperscript{34} This relationship should probably be broadened out to say that subordinates "worship" ($d\textfrak{w}3$) superiors and that superiors "love" or "prefer" ($m\textfrak{r}i$) their subordinates. In the Pottery Mound seals, gods "love" the king, but in one case (Seal 6, line 3) it is the seal owner who is loved by "his lord," expressed using an imperfective passive participle emphasizing its repetitive nature. There is a single

\textsuperscript{31} See Seal 1, "Comments," below.
\textsuperscript{34} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 70.
occurrence of a *dw3*-epithet in the entire Pottery Mound corpus on Sealing 2878. In that instance, the seal owner - a prophet of Hathor and perhaps a son of the king - "worships" the goddess in keeping with the template wherein subordinates "worship" superiors and superiors "love" subordinates.

- Prior to the discovery of the Pottery Mound sealings the name *Hmnw*, "Eight-town" or "Hermopolis" as well as the epithet *hnt.y-Hmnw*, "foremost-of-Hermopolis," applied to the god Thoth, were attested only as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Zibelius suggests that Khnum, who is identified as "lord of Hermopolis" in the mortuary complex of Pepi II, was only associated with Hermopolis in the Sixth Dynasty. He claims that this might be due to the proximity of Khnum's cult center at *Hr-wr* to Hermopolis and Khnum's manifestation as a ram, which was similar to that of Amun, long a member of the Ogdoad, the eight great deities venerated at Hermopolis. However, Seal 1 shows that Khnum was already closely associated with Hermopolis by the mid-Fourth Dynasty.

From the Early Dynastic Period, Khnum appears to have had a close association with the royal residence. Kaplony took titles such as "Servant" or "Prophet of Khnum"

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35 See the discussion of Sealing 2878 in Section 2.4.2.7 below.
37 Perhaps Antinōopolis, but in any case a locality near Hermopolis. See Ibid., 171-172.
38 See Seal 2, note e, below.
on Early Dynastic seals and seal impressions as palace titles. Khnum was not identified with any single locality in the Old Kingdom but had several cult centers throughout Upper Egypt. The god is depicted in reliefs from the mortuary complex of Sahure in association with four specific locations: the pr-š3 (a part of the palace), the town of Ḫr-wr, the cataract region (kbhw), and "[the temple of] Khnum." Furthermore, the reliefs from the pyramid complex of Pepi II appear to connect Khnum with Hermopolis. Khufu's name fully written is Ḫnmw-hw=f-wi, "it is Khnum who protects me," apparently reflecting a particularly close identification of this ruler with Khnum. It was only starting in the Middle Kingdom that Khnum became associated predominantly with Elephantine and the cataract regions.

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40 Peter Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 8 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1963), n. 1863.
43 Bickel, "L'iconographie du dieu Khnoum," 55-56, who presumes that the [nb pr Ḫnmw proposed by Sethe, refers to Elephantine. The text refers only to the "House of Khnum," with no further geographical specification.
44 Gustave Jéquier, Le monument funéraire de Pepi II, Tome II: Le temple, Fouilles à Saqqarah (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1938), pl. 46, but see also Thoth, as "lord of Hermopolis" on pl. 47.
45 See Ahmad Badawi, Der Gott Chnum (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), 17, for a writing of Khufu's complete name on the chest of a ram statue in the Berlin Museum.
This is a nisbe formation on the dual nb.ty. Edel has noted cases in which some feminine duals do not show a separate ending for the masculine nisbe. Edel, AāG, §344.

Two ø-loaves should probably be restored below the two ç-signs at the end of the line.

The most likely interpretation of šm3ˁ.t(i) here (as well as in Seal 5, line 1) is as a nisbe-formation on a verbal noun ending in -t. James Allen has demonstrated that four basic forms of the verbal noun are clear in the Pyramid Texts, one of which shows a final -t. The existence of these four verbal noun forms is certain yet they appear to serve similar syntactic functions in the Pyramid Texts. Only later in Middle Egyptian does one of these forms become the accepted infinitive for each verbal class. Allen, The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2 (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1984), 451. Ibid., 475.

Although no verbal nouns ending in -t are attested for causative 3-literals such as šm3ˁ, this may simply be due to the relative scarcity of this class of verbs in the Pyramid Texts. See Ibid., 646-647 for known occurrences of causative 3-literals in the Pyramid Texts. There were only two instances of a verbal noun of a causative 3-literals known to Allen, both involving the verb šmnḥ, "to make better, improve."

Verbal nouns ending in -t are known in the Pyramid Texts for most other verbal classes including 2-lit., 2ae-inf., 2ae-gem., 3-lit. and even possibly 3ae-gem. - none of which form an infinitive with a final -t in Middle Egyptian. If the root of šm3ˁ.t(i) is the

47 Edel, AāG, §344.
49 Ibid., 475.
50 See Ibid., 646-647 for known occurrences of causative 3-literals in the Pyramid Texts. There were only two instances of a verbal noun of a causative 3-literals known to Allen, both involving the verb šmnḥ, "to make better, improve."
51 See Ibid., 738, table 34.
verbal noun *šm3ʾ.t, the lack of an explicitly written nisbe ending -i/y here and elsewhere is not uncommon.⁵²

There may be a chronological pattern in the use of šm3ʾ.t(i) in the Pottery Mound seals. Seals 1 (line 6) and 5 (line 1) are the only two seals in the Pottery Mound corpus containing šm3ʾ.t(i) used intransitively. Both were made in the reign of Khafre. On the other hand, Seal 7 (line 5) and Seal 12 (line 6) both use the masculine singular imperfective active participle šm3ʾ and were carved in the reign of Menkaure. In both of these later examples šm3ʾ is transitive, taking either wḏʾ-mdw, "judgment" (Seal 7, line 5) or wḏ.wt, "commands" (Seal 12, line 6) as its direct object.

Comments:

Three sealings impressed by Seal 1 were excavated just west of Area A by Karl Kromer.⁵³

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⁵² Edel, AäG, 146-147.  
Seal 2 (67 Sealings)

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Phase VI-a:** 22826 (1), 24451 (8), 24459 (4), 24468 (3), 24469 (1); **Phase VI-b:** 24450 (6); **Phase VI-c:** 21555 (2), 21557 (39), 21582 (1), 21595 (2)

Count of Sealing Types:

- **Basket** (1), **Box** (18), **Jar** (2), **Peg-and-String** (2), **Possible Container** (24), **Undetermined** (20)

Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) 'Hr' k3-ḥ.t tpy bd.t 'pr.t'-ḥrw[^a] [...]

'Horus:' Bull-bodied, first of emmer and 'invocation' offerings[^a] [...]

2) zš '(.w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t' ir wd.wt Hr[^b] zš '(.w)̣-(nw)-ny-šw.t
Scribe of ‘Royal’ Documents, who executed the commands of Horus, \(^b\) Scribe of Royal ‘Documents’,

3) ‘Hhr’ k3-ḥ.t mr(y) Šš3.t-ḥnt.yt-pr-md3.t\(^c\)

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, beloved of Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll,\(^c\)

4) […] zš (w)-(nw)-ny-św.t zš ḫry.t-ś ny-św.t\(^d\)

[…] Scribe of Royal Documents, Scribe of the King's Writing Case,\(^d\)

5) ‘Hhr’ k3-ḥ.t ṣn’ Mnw ḫm(?)\(^e\)

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, ‘brother’ of Min and Amun(?)\(^e\)

6) ‘zš (w)-(nw)-[ny-św.t] n śb3(w.t) ny-św.t\(^f\)

‘Scribe of’ [Royal] ‘Documents’ for Royal Instructions.\(^f\)

Notes:

\(a\) - Here the ◦ and □ in tpy are apparently reversed. The bottommost preserved sign seems to be a slightly damaged □-sign to accompany the ▼-sign above it. The resulting epithet, \(tpy\ bd.t\ pr.t-ḥrw\), "first of emmer and invocation offerings," apparently stresses the king's wealth and generosity, but is not known outside of this seal.
b - ỉr is the masculine singular perfective active participle and is translated here as "executed," attempting to reflect the ambiguity inherent in the phrase ỉr wḏ.t, which may mean either "to do what is commanded," or "to write a command." This dual meaning is particularly relevant as an epithet for a royal scribe who both recorded the king's commands and also promulgated them putting them into effect. The translation of the verb ỉr as "to execute" captures both of these senses. Related epithets are found on Seal 4, line 5 and, probably, Seal 10, line 2.

c - Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll (ḥnt.yt-pr-md3.t) is mentioned here as well as on Seal 5, line 3. Seshat is most often associated with scribes and writing, similar to Thoth. In later periods, Seshat was closely associated with Thoth at Hermopolis and was known by the epithet nb(.t) ḫmnw, "lady of 'Eight-town' (i.e., Hermopolis)." The goddess is regularly shown from the Early Dynastic Period on wearing a leopard skin, with distinctive shoulder clasps, over her right shoulder. Otherwise similar leopard skins were worn by the king's eldest son in his

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54 Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 184 [46266].
55 Ibid., 187 [3315].
57 Ibid., 50-53, especially n. 285 concerning the identification of this as a leopard (rather than panther) skin. Wolfgang Helck, "Schamane und Zauberer," in Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1984), 107, ties the wearing of the leopard skin with Seshat's particular association with writing, which had practical magical properties. This is analogous to the ś(t)m-priest's practical, magical role as a
various roles as ś(t)m-priest, acting for the king in ritual contexts or as the bearer of the Wepwaut-standard in the "Procession of Horus." Until the reign of Niuserre in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty only ś(t)m-priests, or the eldest son of the king, are shown wearing this particular style of leopard skin, which retains the skull, claws and tail.

Pottery Mound may preserve direct evidence that similar garments were worn nearby. In 2007, Richard Redding discovered two leopard teeth mixed in with the massive quantities of bone fragments from the same features as the sealing fragments. Since no other leopard bones were found, the most likely explanation of ritual actor. On a similar connection between a different, "long" leopard skin garment and the goddess Mafdet, see below Seal 6, note f.

58 Elisabeth Staehelin, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 8 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1966), 64-75.

59 Ibid., 77. Another type of garment was worn by Neferma'at, "king's son" of Sneferu, which was made of multiple leopard skins but lacked the distinctive paws, tail and head of the animal. This garment is thereafter only known to have been worn by Kainynysut in the mid-Fifth Dynasty (p. 78). See Michel Baud, Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien, Bibliothèque d'Étude 126 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999), 196. Despite Baud's characterization that the leopard skin was diffused to the elite from the Fourth Dynasty on, the evidence outlined by Staehelin shows that the "elite" wearers of the leopard skin in the Fourth Dynasty were restricted to ś(t)m-priests and king's eldest sons. Helck, "Schamane und Zauberer," 107-108 notes the "Demokratisierung" of the wearing of the leopard skin, but over the long period from the Old Kingdom to the Nineteenth Dynasty. In the Fourth Dynasty, only high level members of the king's family are shown wearing the leopard skin. On the costume of the ś(t)m-priest and its historical evolution, see Albrecht Fehlig, "Das sogenannte Taschentuch in den ägyptischen Darstellungen des Alten Reiches," SAK 13 (1986): 81-85.

this find is that these teeth once belonged to a leopard skin garment that retained only the head.

High level scribal officials like the owners of the core seals at Pottery Mound regularly served as ḥm-nṯr-priests of the goddess Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll\(^1\) or another expanded version of this epithet.\(^2\) Dagmar Budde however would not limit the significance of Seshat merely to scribes and scribal institutions. Noting Seshat's connection with the king's birth, naming and coronation as well as with royal building activities such as foundation rituals, Budde primarily associates Seshat with the king in all his pursuits.\(^3\)

The institutional nature of the "House-of-the-Book-Roll" (\(pr-\text{md}3.t\)) as well as its relationship to the "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-God" (\(pr-\text{md}3.t-nṯr\)) and the "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-Handlers-of-the-Cord (?)" (\(pr-\text{md}3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t\)) are controversial. \(Pr-\text{md}3.t\) might be a shortened form of \(pr-\text{md}3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t\) or \(pr-\text{md}3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t\) or \(pr-\text{md}3.t-nṯr\). \(Pr-\text{md}3.t\) might be a shortened form of \(pr-\text{md}3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t\) or \(pr-\text{md}3.t-nṯr\).


\(^2\) Extended variants include ḫnt.yt \(pr-\text{md}3.t-nṯr\) and ḫnt.yt \(pr-\text{md}3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t\). Helck, *Beamtenstiteln*, 70-71 n. 30 takes the term \(nṯr\) in the former as referring to the king.

\(^3\) Budde, *Die Göttin Seschat*, 84-85.
ntfr, since all three terms are attested in epithets for the goddess Seshat.64 Grdseloff translates pr-md3.t-ḥ(w)-ny-św.t as "école de la noblesse," designating "[l']école des princes à l'époque Memphite." Helck instead sees this as an institution in which the names of the (he does not transliterate the term) were listed and registered. Helck places this bureau as well as the pr-md3.t-ntfr, "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-God," (wherein "God" refers to the king) under the administration of the "Chamber of the House of Royal Documents" (iz n pr-(.w)-ny-św.t) listed as a component of the "Royal House" (pr-n-ny-św.t) in a royal decree from the Sixth Dynasty.66 Accepting Helck's suggestion for the most part, Baud instead reads ḥ(w)-ny-św.t as "ḥ(w)-ny-św.t" (not ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥحة
royal cord." Moreno Garcia, discussing the connection between the pr-md3.t-ntṛ and the śn.wt-sanctuary, concludes that both the pr-md3.t-ntṛ and the pr-md3.t-b(w)-ny-św.t carried out "des activités de recensement et d'élaboration de dossiers dont l'accès était limité au roi et à certains fonctionnaires, et que, secondairement, ces centres contribuaient à la formation d'une elite administrative en raison de l'emploi de documents reserves."

J. C. Moreno Garcia, Études sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Égypte, de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 4 (Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, 1997), 111 n. 352, reads the sign as ḫmr-šny-św.t. However, see Baud, Famille royale, 114-118, who gives the history of interpretations of this term.

Baud, Famille royale, 116, where he presents four different theories regarding the pr-md3.t-b(w)-ny-św.t. He finally asserts that "seule la troisième hypothèse est vraisemblable" (referring to Helck's explanation), but Baud translates ḫ(w)-ny-św.t as "handlers of the cord (?)", whereas Helck reads the term ḫy-ḥt ny-św.t.

Jone
ts, Index of Titles, 867 [3174].


Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 1005 [25135].
figuratively, "authority," whereas ḫry.t-ˁ is formed with 𓊧, meaning "letter, document." 𓊧 𓊧 𓊧

- The antithetical arrangement of the figures in this epithet is rare but not unattested elsewhere. On one seal impression two Horus falcons on standards are arranged facing each other under the cartouche of Pepi I. In this particular context however Kaplony reads nṯr wy, "the two gods," referring to Re and Hathor. The reading of the Horus falcon on a standard as nṯr in the Old Kingdom is well-established. However, the two antithetical, ithyphallic gods in the epithet in line 5 most likely signify two distinct deities or possibly two distinct forms of a single deity.

Amun is the only other god known to have taken on the ithyphallic attributes of Min. However, he is not represented in this form (as Amun Kamutef) - indeed, in any form - until early in the Middle Kingdom. From Old Kingdom textual evidence, Amun and his female consort, Amaunet, appear to be members of the Ogdoad, a group of eight deities worshipped in Hermopolis, and are named together in the Pyramid Texts along

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73 Ibid., 1005 [25156], which shows three small circles as its determinative.
75 Wb. I, 158-159. Ibid., 252-253 [4569]. For the compound ˁ-ny-swick.t with the meaning "royal warrant," see Hratch Papazian, "Domain of Pharaoh: The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005), 249-250.
76 Mriri-rˁ 33: Kaplony, RAR IIA, 392-394 X Kaplony, RAR IIB, pl. 105 (33).
77 Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 669 [16881], for writings. See also Kaplony, RAR I, 74 n. 148.
78 Pyr. 446 (W).
with Nun and Naunet, two other members of the Ogdoad. Therefore, the association between Amun and Hermopolis appears to reach back at least to the Fifth Dynasty. The existence of the Ogdoad at Hermopolis in the Fourth Dynasty is strongly supported by the epithet äßig-mnw, "foremost of 'Eight-Town' (i.e., Hermopolis)" given to the god Khnum in Seal 1.

Amun and Min might have been closely associated in the Old Kingdom. Sethe points out that the names for the two gods (iciente and Sxw) might be related morphologically. In a passage in the Pyramid Texts, Amun's name is apparently substituted for that of Min in parallel versions of the text. According to Sethe the cults of Amun and Amaunet were only moved from Hermopolis to Thebes in the early Eleventh Dynasty.

Outside of the Pottery Mound seals, there are no known iconographic depictions of the god Amun from the Old Kingdom. In some of the earliest representations of Amun

79 Kurt Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Philosophische-Historische Klasse 4 (Berlin: Werner de Gruyter, 1929), §81. See, however, G. A. Wainwright, "The Origin of Amun," JEA 49 (1963): 22-23, who argues that Amun and Min were identical forms of the same god before the Middle Kingdom. Wainwright contends that the pairs of gods mentioned in the Pyramid Texts are not necessarily members of the Ogdoad.

80 Sethe, Amun, 19-22 §30.

81 Pyr. 1712b. Ann McFarlane, The God Min to the End of the Old Kingdom, SACE 3 (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1995), 253. The initial sign for extrême is clearly preserved in this passage.
(in his form as Amun Kamutef) from the Middle Kingdom, he is indistinguishable from Min, with an erect phallus, feet together, wearing a two-plumed crown with a trailing ribbon and with an upraised arm supporting a flail. Amun Kamutef is depicted in this ithyphallic form in the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari and in later scenes copied by Senwosret I at Karnak. However, the attestations of Amun in the Pyramid Texts confirm a much older date for this god, despite McFarlane's suggestion that Amun "may well be a Theban 'replica' of the more ancient god (Min)."

Ithyphallic figures appear on red-line painted pottery vessels from the Naqada II Period, and may be found in rock inscriptions of the late Predynastic Period. While there is no direct evidence connecting these figures explicitly with the god Min at this early date, the existence of standards and symbols of Min on contemporary pots and inscriptions makes the association highly likely. The remains of three colossal statues of ithyphallic gods were discovered at Coptos by Sir Flinders Petrie in 1893-1894. Two

82 For the existence of a similar form of Min Kamutef, see Ibid., 172 n. 975 X


84 Luc Gabolde, Le "grand château d'Amon" de Sésostris 1er à Karnak: la décoration du temple d'Amon-Ré au Moyen empire (Paris: Boccard, 1998), §64, §68, pl. IX-X.

85 McFarlane, The God Min, 253.

86 Ibid., 157.

87 Ibid., 159-160.

88 Ibid., 166.
out of the three statues show traces of inscribed Min-standards,\(^{89}\) which, considering their original provenance at the later temple of Min at Coptos, make it nearly certain that they represent the god Min. Inscribed *serekhs* containing the Horus name of Narmer date these statues to the First Dynasty.\(^{90}\) The earliest depictions of Min, in his traditional, historical form as an ithyphallic mummy, wearing the two-plumed crown and supporting a flail with his upraised arm, are found on ink vase-inscriptions of the Second Dynasty.\(^{91}\) If one of the two ithyphallic deities shown here is indeed Amun, then this would be the earliest such representation of the god Amun.

Another royal epithet, *mry Mnw Gbtiw*, "beloved of Min of Coptos," is clearly preserved on many of the Fourth Dynasty sealings excavated by Emery at Buhen. McFarlane suggests that this epithet might mean that the seal bearer was based in Coptos, but she later regards Buhen as having been established and supplied by the "Residence at Memphis.\(^{92}\) This is in line with her view that figures of Min during this period are a "royal prerogative and not found on private monuments.\(^{93}\) These sealings also represent the earliest inscriptional evidence directly associating Min with his cult center at Coptos.\(^{94}\)

\(^{90}\) Ibid.: 36-37.
\(^{91}\) McFarlane, *The God Min*, 193.
\(^{92}\) Ibid., 194.
\(^{93}\) Ibid.
\(^{94}\) Ibid., 209.
Elsewhere, on Seal 4, line 6, the king (as Horus) is identified as a "brother" of two ithyphallic gods, perhaps Amun and Min. The claim that the king, as a manifestation of Horus, is a brother of Min fits in well with the close association of Horus and Min in the Fourth Dynasty. In essence this epithet, attested on possibly four seals in the Pottery Mound corpus, establishes a generational "triad" of Horus, Min and Amun. On Seal 12 below the king appears to be called the "brother of Horus and Seth" as well but in that instance the epithet does not directly follow the serekh.

f - The restoration of zš-‘(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t n šb3(wt)-ny-šw.t is based on the clear bookroll and partial trace of what is likely an arm at the beginning of the line. A more complete (although still damaged) version of the same title can be found on Seal 6, line 7. A more radical abbreviation of this title, written zš-‘(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t-n-šb3(wt) (-ny-šw.t) is seen on Seal 9, line 3.

For a discussion of šb3(wt), "instructions," see Seal 1, note a, above. However, šb3(wt) here is written without the -sign, perhaps for spatial reasons. The prepositional phrase n šb3(wt)-ny-šw.t appears to specify the sphere of authority for this particular zš-‘(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t. See the discussion below in Chapter 3.

95 Ibid., 214.
96 See also Rˁ-f 12: Kaplony, RAR IIA, 41, line f This is a silver cylinder seal discovered by Reisner intact in the mortuary temple of Menkaure. Again the epithet is not under the serekh.
**Seal 3 (56 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

- **Phase III**: 24462 (2); **Phase IV**: 22830 (1); **Phase VI-a**: 22826 (1), 22829 (3), 24458 (1), 24459 (2); **Phase VI-b**: 24450 (1); **Phase VI-c**: 21555 (2), 21557 (29), 21574 (2), 21595 (4), 21596 (6), 21597 (1), 24452 (1)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Box** (10), **Door** (2), **Jar** (1), **Papyrus** (1), **Peg-and-String** (5), **Possible Container** (12), **Undetermined** (25)

**Reconstruction:**

**Transliteration and Translation:**

1) zš (.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t t-[…]
   
   Scribe of Royal Documents, […]

2) Ḥr wšr-ib
   
   Horus: Strong-hearted,

3) Ḥr wšr-ib
Horus: Strong-hearted,

4) Khafre,\(^a\)

5) [zš] (w)-(nw)-[ny-šw.t] zš [b][y.ł]-[ny-šw.t] nb mḏ3.t(?)^b

[Scribe] of [Royal] Documents, Scribe of the (King's) [Writing Case], possessor of the book-roll(?).^b

Notes:

\(^a\) - The cartouche of Khafre is surmounted by two overlapping hovering falcons, each grasping a šn-ring in its talons. It is faced by the figure of a striding king wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt with a base line often interpreted as signifying a statue.\(^97\)

\(^b\) - Line 5 is highly fragmentary and problematic. The presence of the -n-arm between and below the two serekhs of lines 2 and 3 suggests that line 5 indeed runs horizontally, left to right across the bottom of the seal.

\(^97\) Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), 274. For instance, see a nearly identical depiction of the striding king wearing the red crown associated with the Horus name of Anedjib from an inscribed stone vessel from the Step Pyramid Complex in Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, fig. 8.4, no. 2.
Seal 4 (41 Sealings)

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Phase VI-a:** 22829 (1), 24451 (1), 24458 (1), 24459 (2), 24468 (2); **Phase VI-b:** 24450 (6); **Phase VI-c:** 21555 (1), 21557 (24), 21596 (1), 24452 (1), 27159 (1)

Count of Sealing Types:

- **Box** (18), **Possible Container** (15), **Undetermined** (8)

Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) [zš] ṣ(r.w)\(-(nw)-ny-św.t] n […] ny-św.t […]

   [Scribe of Royal Documents] for Royal […] […],

2) [ḥr] ḫk3^-h.t [mry] b3.w[a] […]

   [Horus:] 'Bull'-bodied, [beloved of] the Souls of […]^[a],

3) […] zš ḥry.t^- […] ṣny-św.t’
[...] Scribe of the 'King's' Writing Case [...],

4) [Ḫr] k3-[ḥ.t] š3 R b ḫr y ḫd.t c

[Horus:] Bull-[bodied], son of Re, b ḫr Keeper of the White Crown, c

5) ir wd.t ny-št bi.ty Mn-k3.w-R d ḫš (w)-(nw)-ny-št

the one who executed the command of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkaure, d Scribe of Royal Documents,

6) Ḫr k3-ḥ.t šn Mnw Ĭmn (?)

'Horus:' Bull-bodied, brother of Min and Amun (?),

7) [...] n [...] ḫr [...]

[...] for [...] ḫr House [...]?

Notes:

a - The Pyramid Texts not only attest b3.w ("the Ba's")98 but also mention b3.w-i3b.tiw ("the Eastern Ba's"),99 b3.w-ỉwnw ("the Ba's of Heliopolis"),100 b3.w-P(-Dbw.t) ("the Ba's of Pe (Buto)"),101 and b3.w-Nḫn ("the Ba's of Hierakonpolis").102 Any of these

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98 Pyr. 1307a; Pyr. 2101a.
99 Pyr. 159a.
100 Pyr. 904a; Pyr. 1090c; Pyr. 1261c; Pyr. 1289a; Pyr. 1315c; Pyr. 1495c.
101 Pyr. 478a; Pyr. 904b; Pyr. 942a; Pyr. 1005a; Pyr. 1253a; Pyr. 1495c.
102 Pyr. 478a; Pyr. 904b; Pyr. 942a; Pyr. 1253a.
might be restored here. The epithet *mry b3.w-ỉwnw*, "whom the Ba’s of Heliopolis love," occurs in a seal from the reign of Userkaf.\(^{103}\) The epithet *mry b3.w Nḥn*, "whom the Ba’s of Hierakonpolis love," occurs on a seal from Khufu’s reign.\(^{104}\)

b - The title *š3-R* first appears as a royal epithet in the reign of Djedefre and is attested for Khafre and Menkaure thereafter.\(^{105}\) It was not however the marker of a distinct royal name in this period as it was to become in succeeding dynasties.\(^{106}\)

c - While *ḥḏ.t*, "White Crown (of Upper Egypt)," is well known,\(^{107}\) the title *īry ḥḏ.t*, "Keeper of the White Crown" - which is clearly to be restored here - is mentioned by neither Hannig nor Jones. Other titles formed with \(\mathfrak{A}(ḥḏ.t)\), such as *ḥrp ḥḏ.t*,

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\(^{103}\) *Wšr-k3-f* 11: Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 151-152. Based on the three epithets preserved on this seal, Kaplony believes that it may have been carved in a particular year recorded in the annals (p. 152).

\(^{104}\) *Ḥw-f-w* 7, line (g): Ibid., 14-15.

\(^{105}\) Dobrev, "Considérations," 196-197.

\(^{106}\) Ibid.: 197-198.

\(^{107}\) Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 917 [22462].
"Controller of the White Crown," and *nd ḫḏ.t*, "Protector of the White Crown," are attested on other seal inscriptions.

**d -** The word order here appears jumbled. The royal name *ny-šw.t-bi.ty Mn-king-w-R* is actually a direct genitive governed by *wḏ.t* but it has been placed first for honorific reasons. The ḫ-sign in *wḏ(.t)* has been written in front of *ir*, the perfective active participle, for (presumably) graphic reasons.

**Seal 5 (32 Sealings)**

**Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):**

- **Phase III:** 24462 (1); **Phase IV:** 22843 (1); **Phase VI-a:** 22826 (1), 22829 (3), 24451 (6), 24468 (1); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (15), 21574 (1), 21596 (3)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Box** (11), **Possible Container** (11), **Undetermined** (10)

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108 Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *Deshasha: the Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, ACER 5 (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993), 15 n. 38. Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 41 claims that such a reading makes no sense. Instead he prefers to read the sign in front of the ḫḏ.t-sign as ṣḥm, "to protect." But as Kanawati notes other titles, such as ḫrp ḫw.wt n.t ḫḏ.t ḫḏ.t, "Controller of the Estates of the White and Red Crowns," make it clear that these officials must have overseen much more than the crown itself. They may have been at the head of landed estates and other properties, so the reading ḫrp, "controller," seems appropriate. For the translation of ḫw.wt as "estates," see Papazian, "Domain of Pharaoh", 115 n. 157.

109 For ḫrp ḫḏ.t, see Mn-king-w-R 32 in Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 121-122, pl. 44. For *nd ḫḏ.t*, see R⁻š⁻f 12 in Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 40-46, pl. 14.
Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) šm3.t(i) ŋny-ṣw.t bi.ty’ ḫr=f-Rˁa zš ŋ(ṇ.w)’(nw)-ny-ṣw.t b

The one of making (things) right (for) a the ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt’ Khafre,

Scribe of Royal ‘Documents’,

2) ḫr wšr-ib (phrr) Hp c

Horus: Strong-hearted, (the one of the Running of) the Apis Bull, c

3) ḫr=f-Rˁ mry Šš3.t ḫnt[.yt] pr-md3.t

Khafre, beloved of Seshat-Fore[most]-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll,

4) ḫr wšr-ib […]

Horus: Strong-hearted, […]

5) ḫr=f-Rˁ mry Nb.ty d š[…]}

Khafre, beloved of the "Two Ladies," d […]
6) ˹Hr wṣrʾ-ib nṯr ˁt˺

‘Horus: Strong’-hearted, the ‘great’ god.

Notes:

a - For the intransitive use of ˹ṣm3ʾ.t(i)˺, a ˷nisbe- formation of a verbal noun, in the Pottery Mound seals from the reign of Khafre, see Seal 1, note g, above.

b - The ˷ sign has been moved under the head of the Apis Bull in line 2 presumably for spatial reasons.

c - ˷Phrr Ḥp˺, usually translated as "the Running of the Apis," is a ritual associated with agricultural fertility and abundance.\textsuperscript{110} It is mentioned four times in the Annals, each time in association with the appearance of the king as "King of Upper Egypt," "King of Lower Egypt," or (once) as the unified "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." Eberhard Otto noticed the apparent association of these royal appearances with numbered occasions of the Running of the Apis and could only conclude that "das alte Apisfeste bereits in dieser Zeit in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung abgeschwächt war und nur noch in Verbindung mit dem königlichen Fest gefeiert wurde."\textsuperscript{111} It is interesting that here on Seal 5 the king running behind the Apis Bull wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt


\textsuperscript{111} Eberhard Otto, \textit{Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten}, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 13 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), 12.
whereas the king wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt in a similar scene on Sealing 2719 discussed below.\textsuperscript{112} Whether the king's crown indicates some kind of temporal association of the carving of a seal with "the Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt," it is clear that the king need not always wear the White Crown of Upper Egypt in the \textit{phrr Hp} scene as suggested by Kaplony.\textsuperscript{113}

A similar and related ceremony\textsuperscript{114} depicted on seals of the Old Kingdom\textsuperscript{115} is the \textit{\textit{śph-}ng3}, or "catching the steer," ritual. \textsuperscript{116} However in this ritual the king is usually shown with a lasso or tether in his trailing hand whereas the king holds a flail for the \textit{phrr Hp}.

\textbf{d} - The two goddesses \textit{Nḫb.t} and \textit{Wd.t} are here shown standing in the twin baskets, which confirms the reading \textit{nb(.ty)}, "the two ladies." \textit{Nḫb.t} is depicted with a winged vulture headdress as she is in the mortuary temple of Sahure.\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Wd.t},

\textsuperscript{112} See Section 2.4.2.1 below.
\textsuperscript{113} Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 237 n. 415: "Ist U (White Crown) für den Apislauf obligatorisch?"
\textsuperscript{115} For example, \textit{Ṣ3ḥw-r} \textsuperscript{16}: Kaplony, \textit{RAR II A}, 185-189.
\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Wb.} IV, 406, 6. For the connection of this ceremony with the Apis bull and the possible reading \textit{śph-hp}, see Kaplony, "Die Siegelabdrücke," 109-110 n. 40.
\textsuperscript{117} Borchardt, \textit{Saḥu-Re}, Band II, pl. 18.
however, appears to be wearing a uraeus in this seal, similar to one she wears in the reliefs from the Niuserre mortuary temple.118

**Seal 6 (31 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

- **Phase VI-a**: 22827 (1), 24474 (1); **Phase VI-c**: 21555 (1), 21557 (25), 21561 (1), 21596 (2)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Bag** (1), **Box** (11), **Papyrus** (1), **Possible Container** (11), **Undetermined** (7)

**Reconstruction:**

Transliteration and Translation:

1) [zš] (.w)-(nw)-(ny-św).t ḫry.t-ˁ (hbny)a (ny-św.t) [...] [Scribe] of [Royal] Documents (and) b of the (King's) (ebony) a Writing Case [...],

2) Ḥr k3-ḥ.t zm3-t3.wy c ˹...˺ ‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, who unites the Two Lands, c ˹...˺,

3) [zš] (.w)-(nw)-(ny-św.t) mrr(.w) ni nb=f r ˹[nb]d [Scribe] of [Royal] Documents, preferred one of his lord [every] day, d

4) [Ḥr] k3-ḥ.t mry(.t) e M3fd.t f [Horus:] Bull-bodied, beloved of Mafdet, f

5) […]t wd.wt g ˹m˺ zš ˹(.w)-n( w)-ny-św.t ˹...˺ […] the commands g ˹as ˹Scribe of ˹Royal ˹Documents, [...],

6) [Ḥr] k3-ḥ.t [šn] Mnw ˲lmn (?) […] [Horus:] Bull-bodied, [brother] of Min and Amun (?), [...],

7) [zš] (.w)-(nw)-(ny-św).t n śb(3.wt)-ny-św.t […] [Scribe] of [Royal] Documents for Royal Instructions, [...],

8) [Ḥr] k3-ḥ.t Wp-w3.wt h […]
[Horus:] Bull-bodied, [...] of Wepwawet ʰ [...].

Notes:

a - Typically, ḫry.t-ˁ is determined with a top-down view of a scribal kit\textsuperscript{119} as seen on Sealing 2836 discussed below.\textsuperscript{120} Here the word is apparently followed by a roughly triangular sign that is heavily damaged. Similar traces also appear as a determinative of the same word in Seal 7, line 3. The most likely restoration in both places would be the \textsuperscript{119}Edward Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom," in \textit{Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente}, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson (Chicago: the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999), 39-40. On the importance of this determinative, see Henry G. Fischer, "Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom," ZÄS 105 (1978): 54 n. 63.  
\textsuperscript{120}See Section 2.4.2.5 below.  
\textsuperscript{121}Gardiner, \textit{Egyptian Grammar}, 517, sign U13. The traces in Seal 7, line 3 seem to match Gardiner's sign U14, an older forerunner of U13, more closely.  
\textsuperscript{122}To date this text seems to be preserved only in the pyramid of Pepi II. While the texts from the pyramid of Pepi I contain a new version of this section of the Pyramid Texts, PT 1906c-d is not preserved. See Catherine Berger and others, \textit{Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier}, MIFAO 118 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2001), 48, "P/F/Se 52-56." The text in question should appear on pl. IIB, at the bottom of line 55.  
was made from ebony in this instance since later in the same line the throne is explicitly identified as being "of ebony." 124 The restoration of the same sign as the determinative of hry.t- here seems to indicate that the king's writing case was also made of ebony. Independently, Brovarski suggests that ebony was probably used to construct a writing case depicted in the tomb of Sekhentiu. 125

b - This appears to be a compound writing of the two titles zš-ʾ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t and zš hry.t-ʾ-ny-św.t and may reflect the close association of the two titles in the mind of the seal carver.

c - The zm3-t3.wy symbol here is understood as an epithet of the king. 126 The zm3-t3.wy symbol similarly used as an epithet directly following a serekh is also known from sealings excavated at Buhen. 127 In that case, a single cylinder seal apparently impressed at least eight and at most 11 different sealings. That originating seal, as tentatively reconstructed by Kaplony, not only bore the zm3-t3.wy symbol directly beneath a serekh (as it is here on Seal 6) but also mentions "the Instructions of [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Khaf[re]," šb3.(w)t-[ny-św.t-bity] ḫʾ=f[-r] in an unclear context.

124 The word hbn(y), "ebony," later in the line is not written with the -sign but instead shows an Old Kingdom version of (Gardiner sign M41) which frequently determines words made of wood.
125 Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 40.
126 Kaplony, RAR I, 207.
127 Rˁ-hˁ-f 31: Kaplony, RAR IIA, 58-60.
d - *Mrr(.w)* is the imperfective passive participle with the subject introduced by ❗️. The imperfective passive participle indicates repeated or long-lasting signs of love. This is perhaps best translated, then, as "preferred." I am grateful to Dr. Robert K. Ritner for this suggestion. For the relationship of *mri*-epithets and *dw3*-epithets in Old Kingdom seal inscriptions as well as the relative social positions of the semantic subjects and objects in these clauses, see Seal 1, note d, above.

e - The antecedent for the perfective participle *mry{.t}* should be the Horus-name K3-ḥ.t, "Bull-bodied," which is masculine. The ★ may have been mistakenly written, influenced by the proximity of the divine name *M3fd.t*, which has been written between the relative form and its antecedent in honorific transposition.

f - The goddess Mafdet was particularly associated with the physical well being of the king and is twice attested in the Pyramid Texts\(^{129}\) as *hr.yt-ib hw.t-Петербург*, "she who is in the midst of the 'Estate of Life' (where the royal meals were prepared)"\(^{130}\) and once as *ḥnt.yt hw.t-Петербург*, "foremost of the 'Estate of Life'." In addition the goddess Mafdet was closely associated with the leopard and the wearing of a long leopard skin may have


\(^{129}\) Pyr. 677d and Pyr. 685d.


\(^{131}\) Pyr. 440c.
been an attribute of this deity. However it is also possible that the goddess may instead be affiliated with the African Mongoose and not a cat-like animal. In any case in the Pyramid Texts she is particularly bound up with personal protection of the king especially from snakes and serpents. An entry in the annals for King Den in which divine statues of both Seshat and Mafdet were created may show a close association of these two goddesses.

The space at the beginning of this line might have contained a royal name written in honorific transposition. The initial ∂-sign could be the final sign of śm3ˁ.t(i), as in Seal 1, line 6, and Seal 5, line 1. Šm3ˁ.t(i) is a nisbe-form of the verbal noun śm3ˁ.t, meaning "the one of making (things) right." In both Seal 1 and Seal 5, this verb is intransitive, but elsewhere in the Pottery Mound corpus it does take a direct object. In fact, in Seal 12, line 6, the imperfective active participle of śm3ˁ.t takes wḏ.wt, "commands," as its object. Perhaps Seal 6, line 5 should be restored [...][śm3ˁ.t(i) wḏ.wt]

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132 Staehelin, Tracht, 73, 78. The "short" version of the leopard skin is associated with the š(t)m-priest, and the longer version of the leopard skin is worn by both male and female tomb owners depicted as the "honored dead." It is this "long" skin which is associated with Mafdet. On the magical role of the š(t)m-priest as a ritual actor in the Early Dynastic Period, see n. 59 above.
133 Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess," 89-90.
134 Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, fig. 8.6 (3).
Perhaps *mry Wp-w3.wt*, "beloved of Wepwawet," is to be restored here since this epithet is also attested on another seal from the reign of Khufu.\(^{135}\)

**Seal 7 (22 Sealings)**

**Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):**

- **Phase VI-a:** 24459 (2); **Phase VI-b:** 24450 (1); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (17), 21561 (1), 24452 (1)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Bag** (1), **Box** (6), **Peg-and-String** (2), **Possible Container** (7), **Undetermined** (6)

**Reconstruction:**

\(^{135}\) See Kaplony's *Ḥw-f-w 7*: Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 14-15.
Transliteration and Translation:

1) ‘zš’(w)−(nw)−[ny−św].t ḫry−tp šb3(?)

‘Scribe’ of [Royal] Documents, who is under the sunshade (?),

2) ‘Ḥr’ k3−ḥ.t

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied,

3) [zš] (w)−(nw)−‘ny−św’.t zš ḫry.t−ny−św.t

[Scribe] of ‘Royal’ Documents, Scribe of the King’s Writing ‘Case’,

4) Ḥr k3−ḥ.t ḫry−tp šb3(?)

Horus: Bull-bodied, who is under the sunshade (?),

5) zš ‘(w)−(nw)−św’.t śm3‘ wḏ’−mdw

Scribe of Royal Documents, who makes right the judgment,

6) ‘Ḥr’ k3−ḥ.t

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, ....
Notes:

1. This epithet is unknown outside of Seals 7 and 10 from Pottery Mound. In fact, the ♦ hieroglyph is known only in three other contexts outside of these sealings:136 1) in the rank title ḫt-♦ (attested in the title sequences of eight Old Kingdom officials);137 2) on a fragment of "crystal" after the term pr-ny-św.t presumably

136 Similar "labrys-shaped" control marks have been discovered in the pyramid complex of Khentkaues and the unattributed Lepsius Pyramid XXIV at Abusir. See Miroslav Verner, Paule Posener-Kriéger, and Peter Jánosi, *Abusir III: the Pyramid Complex of Khentkaues*, Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology (Prague: Universitas Carolina Pragensis, 1995), 50-51, nos. 25, 26, 29, 31, 32 and 34. See also Miroslav Verner, *Abusir II: Baugraffiti der Ptahshepses - Mastaba* (Prague: Charles University, 1992), 52, 55 nos. 42,43, where it appears that this mark only appears in the Khentkaues Pyramid and Pyramid XXIV. However, Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, *Abusir III*, 50-51 nos. 24 and 34, suggest that this was simply a mark written on rejected pieces of stone by the masons.

137 For a full discussion see Ann McFarlane, "The Titles of šm3 + God and ḫt + God: Dynasties 2 to 10," *GM* 121 (1991): 88-89 and 95-97, with a list of attestations. These eight Old Kingdom examples exclude the Second Dynasty inscribed bowl fragment mentioning the ḫt-♦ (ny-)nb=śn, discussed by McFarlane, "Titles," 89. This bowl was originally published by Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit: Supplement*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 9 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pl. 29 [1078]. However neither Kaplony nor McFarlane give a compelling reason for dating this piece specifically to the Second Dynasty. There is little in Kaplony’s publication which allows for dating this alabaster fragment accurately. Barbara G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 5 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994), 106, no. 40, shows a round-bottomed dish, which she dates to Dynasties 1 and 2, but then also shows a "round-bottomed bowl with plain rim" (p. 107, no. 42), which could date to Dynasties 1 through 6, and a "round-bottomed bowl/dish with plain rim" (p. 107, no. 43) which could date to anytime between Naqada II and Dynasty 6. There seems to be nothing about this alabaster bowl fragment which limits its date to the Second Dynasty. Also excluded here is an unprovenanced relief fragment published by Cecil Mallaby Firth and Battiscombe G. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, Volume I: Text*, Excavations

The reading of the hieroglyph \(\text{ḥ3}\) appears to have become confused in current scholarly literature. While it has most often been left untransliterated in recent discussions,\footnote{McFarlane, "Titles," 88-89. See also Christian Leitz and Dagmar Budde, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VII: ś-ḏ*, OLA 116 (Dudley, MA: Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 690.} Hannig\footnote{Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 1599 [43982].} has read it unambiguously as \(\text{ḥ3}\), the name of the god of the Western Desert,\footnote{Leitz and Budde, *Lexikon, Bd. 5*, 10-11.} without explanation.

The two titles \(\text{ḥt-ḥ3}\) and \(\text{ḥry-tp}\) may ultimately be related. As discussed by Ann McFarlane, the Old Kingdom title \(\text{ḥt}\) followed by a divine name or emblem is generally taken to be a shortened form of the more fully written \(\text{ỉm-yḥt}\), which literally means "one who is behind."\footnote{McFarlane, "Titles," 84-85. However, since the title \(\text{ḥt}\) followed by a god's name is only held by queens and other highly placed nobles prior to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, McFarlane suggests that "the two forms, \(\text{ỉm-yḥt}\) and \(\text{ḥt} + \text{god}\) may have different meanings and functions" (p. 85).} In comparison \(\text{ḥry-tp}\) translated literally means "one who is under the head of" or more figuratively "subordinate of." In essence the two phrases

\begin{flushleft}
\text{at Saqqara (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), 168.5} \text{ X Cecil Mallaby Firth and Battiscombe G. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, Volume II: Plates*, Excavations at Saqqara (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), pl. 66.8.}
\end{flushleft}
have very much the same meaning. Yet, the exclusive use of $ht$ in tomb inscriptions and $hry$-tp as a title in the Pottery Mound seals is striking. However, it is difficult to determine whether this apparent distinction is contextual (cemetery vs. settlement) or functional (commemorative vs. administrative).

Outside of a single, unclear Second Dynasty example the title $ht$ is only known to have been held by viziers who were "sons of the king." Khafmin (vizier and actual son of Khufu) and Nebemakhet (vizier and actual son of Khafre) are the earliest known holders of this epithet from the Fourth Dynasty. All of the remaining holders of $ht$ are viziers buried in the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties, except Hetepherenptah who is merely an "oversee of works." A possible transliteration of the $\text{-}$-sign may be based on its appearance in the so-called "small" Hebsed reliefs in the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob. These reliefs once decorated the walls of the chapel in the southwest corner of the temple's........

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144 Baud, *Famille royale*, 323. The title "son of the king" is one of the highest social ranks for men during the Old Kingdom. At first it was held exclusively by actual sons of the king. Over time, however, this title came to be conferred on high-ranking nobles who were not, literally speaking, royal sons. For a detailed discussion of the "sons of the king," see Chapter 4.

145 The dating and interpretation of the monument of Hetepherenptah remain highly controversial. See Ibid., 313.

courtyard and include two complete, parallel depictions of the king's Hebsed festival.\textsuperscript{147} Each version of these reliefs contained two different, sequential carrying-chair processions. In the first, the king visits the shrines of various divinities dressed in the white crown of Upper Egypt while in the other he wears the red crown of Lower Egypt.\textsuperscript{148} In the third panel of the "Upper Egyptian" procession, the king in his carrying-chair visits the shrine of Seth identified as "the Ombite (\textit{Nwb.ty})."\textsuperscript{149} In the first line of this scene an official not wearing the typical garb of either the chief lector priest or the $\dot{s}(t)m$-priest (the typical ritual actors in the reliefs), stands holding the curved ‘\textit{w.t}-staff’\textsuperscript{150} and the \textit{hrp}- scepter.

There are two different versions of this scene, each facing different directions, one depicted on fragment 44c\textsuperscript{151} and the other on fragment 45b.\textsuperscript{152} In fragment 44c, the word $\dot{s}b\dot{3}$ with the \textit{pr}-sign determinative (read right to left) is in front of the official (facing right). The \textit{cartouche} of Niuserre identifying the seated figure of the king who dominates

\textsuperscript{147} Kaiser, "Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserre," 89.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 97.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 97 and Falttafel 5. Specifically, see Borchardt, \textit{Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)}, \textit{Band 1: Der Bau}, pl. 18 (44c) and pl. 19 (45b). For a description of Fragments 44c and 45b in context, see Borchardt, Bissing, and Kees, \textit{Re-Heiligtum, Band 2}, 6-7.
\textsuperscript{150} See Ali Hassan, \textit{Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches}, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 33 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), 175, for the association of this staff with the king from Naqada II Period.
\textsuperscript{151} Borchardt, Bissing, and Kees, \textit{Re-Heiligtum, Band 2}, pl. 18.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., pl. 19.
the entire panel is behind the official but not over the base line. This is therefore not a part of the text for the first line. To the right of the word šb3, but reading left to right, is the name Nwb.ty, designating Seth the Ombite. The word šb3 has a ][-sign determinative clearly indicating that the word for "door" is meant here. However the somewhat damaged parallel text in fragment 45b shows the ][-symbol with a short, additional base line immediately after the word šb3 and in front of the figure of the official. In contrast to fragment 44c, the word šb3 is written from left to right and the official is facing to the left. In addition, the 'w.t-staff has been awkwardly shortened and the official stoops to make room for the ][-sign. Despite the reversed facings of the two scenes and slightly different orthography these two texts are clearly parallel.

The meaning of this text remains obscure. While it is clear that the word šb3 in this context means "door," the role played by the ][-sign in the reliefs is unclear. Since it appears in one set of the Hebsed reliefs but not in the other, its presence is evidently not required to make sense of the actions in the scene. This symbol may simply serve as a determinative to the writing of šb3 that immediately precedes it, and need not fulfil any other function.

153 Compare this with the institution "Doors of the (Royal) Funerary Workshop," šb3.w w‘b.t(-ny-šw.t), attested on seals from the reign of Khufu. See Ḥw-f-w 3 Kaplony, RAR IIA, 10-12, from the tomb of Hetepheres. Also see Ḥw-f-w 27 Kaplony, RAR IIA, 26-27, from Karl Kromer's excavations at Giza.
Henry Fischer studied a particular kind of sunshade shown in various Old Kingdom reliefs that distinctively combines two crossbar elements, an upright pole and an overlying cloth and streamers and closely resembles the šb3-sign. Drawing on an Eleventh Dynasty representation where this type of sunshade is explicitly labelled šb3, Fischer reads a caption in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Nimaatre identifying the man carrying a similar sunshade as hry šb3, or "the parasol bearer." A plural version of this same title might be restored in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi. For Fischer, the "name of the parasol is readily explained by the crisscrossed supports beneath the cloth, which, in combination with the support on which they rest, resembles the tapering points of the five-pointed star ... as represented by the ancient Egyptians."

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The resemblance between the [hieroglyph] and the depictions of śb3-sunshades as collected by Fischer\textsuperscript{159} is striking but not exact. The reliefs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms almost always show a rectangular covering attached to the crossbars and overhanging flap or streamers which are not shown on the hieroglyph. However, the presence of the [sign] following the word śb3 in Fragment 45b from the Niuserre Hebsed reliefs might indicate a phonetic affiliation suggesting that this enigmatic hieroglyph is functioning as a determinative. For this reason, the [sign] is read here (tentatively) as śb3, "sunshade."

If this reading is indeed correct, then the [sign] in the Niuserre reliefs might simply reinforce the phonetic value of the preceding word, śb3, and need not play a part in the surrounding ritual action. The presence of this sign in a carrying chair scene might parallel the regular appearance of similar sunshades in private tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.\textsuperscript{160} This is not to dismiss the allusions that the [hieroglyph] might have in this context, connecting the "door" (śb3) with a ritual object (the śb3-sunshade), which would have been familiar to contemporary Egyptians. A similar - if obscure - alliterative word-play might also be at work in the sealings from Giza among the words śb3.(w)t, "instructions," śb3.wt, "doors" on the Hetepheres and Kromer seals (both dating to the reign of Khufu) and śb3(?), "sunshade."

\textsuperscript{159} Fischer, "Sunshades," 153 fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.: 154.
If the sign is indeed the \( \text{šb3}- \) sunshade, it represents an important symbol of authority. Other titles formed with \( \text{ḥt-} \) incorporate only the names of a limited number of gods,\(^{161}\) implying that the "sunshade" had a special status. In addition, the title \( \text{ḥt-} \) is held almost exclusively by viziers and "sons of the king," which might reflect an important economic role in the king's household.\(^{162}\)

The title \( \text{ḥt-} \) is not attested as an epithet of the king himself. As a component of a title, \( \text{ḥry-tp} \) is known only in the titles \( \text{ḥry-tp ny-šw.t} \) (with various modifiers),\(^{163}\) \( \text{ḥry-tp Š.t ny-šw.t} \) (sometimes followed by \( \text{štp z3} \)),\(^{165}\) and \( \text{ḥry-tp šnw.t} \).\(^{166}\) However, two of the Pottery Mound seals employ \( \text{ḥry-tp} \) as an epithet of the king's Horus name.\(^{167}\) In contrast, Seal 7, line 1, shows \( \text{ḥry-tp} \) immediately after the title \( \text{'zš7 '(w)-(nw)-[ny-šw].t} \) and so it clearly refers to the seal owner, not the king. This may be significant. The bearer of Seal 7 was able to claim a designation also claimed by the reigning king on the same seal (line 4), perhaps indicating that they were both from the same social

\(^{161}\) McFarlane, "Titles," 84 and n. 21. The only deities known to McFarlane to have been combined with \( \text{ḥt-} \) are Ha (written as a standard), Horus, Wer, Min and Menat.

\(^{162}\) Karl Heinrich Dittman, "Zum Titel [ḥt...]," ZÄS 77 (1941): 9-10. The evidence supporting Dittman's conclusions is tenuous.

\(^{163}\) Jones, Index of Titles, 788 [2874]-791 [2889]. See also Ogden Goelet, Jr., “Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom” (Columbia University, 1982), 670, n. 162.

\(^{164}\) Jones, Index of Titles, 791-792 [2890].

\(^{165}\) Ibid., 792 [2891].

\(^{166}\) Ibid., 792-793 [2892].

\(^{167}\) Seal 7, line 4 and Seal 10, line 7.
group. The only other known title that incorporated the \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\) hieroglyph, \(\text{h}\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\), was claimed exclusively by royal "sons" in the late Fourth Dynasty. If the two titles \(\text{h}\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\) and \(\text{hry-tp}\) are related, the owner of Seal 7 might also be a "king's son."

b - The traces at the end of line 3 seem to fit perhaps indicating that the king's writing case may have been made of ebony.\(^{168}\) For a more complete discussion, see Seal 6 note a, above.

c - Here \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\) is the masculine singular imperfective active participle of the caus. 3-lit. \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\), "to make right." In other contexts \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\) is typically followed by either \(w\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{mdw}\), "judgment," or \(w\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}(w)t\), "command(s)."\(^{169}\) While \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\) is followed by \(w\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{mdw}\), "judgments," here, in Seal 12, line 6, \(w\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}wt\) is the direct object. As noted in Seal 1, note g, above, there may be chronological significance in that \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\text{t(i)}\) - a \text{nisbe}-formation on a verbal noun - appears on two seals carved in the reign of Khafre and the two examples of \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{m3}^\prime\) - the imperfective active participle - date to the reign of Menkaure.

d - This apparently graphic writing of a royal epithet is difficult to interpret.

Comments:

Sealing 3332, which has been classified as "ambiguous," shows the royal epithet "brother of Min and Amun(?)," (\(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{n Mnw Imn(?)\) beneath a Type 1 \text{serekh}. Only Seal 6 has a Type 1 \text{serekh} and the same epithet, but there the word \(\text{\textsuperscript{\h personally}}\text{n}\) is not written between ________________


\(^{169}\) Jones, \textit{Index of Titles}, 889-891.
the crowns of the two gods as it is on Sealing 3332. Seals 1 and 3 also have Type 1 *serekhs* but they do not have enough available space to make this restoration. The only other seal at Pottery Mound with a Type 1 *serekh* as well as available space for the restoration is Seal 7. However lacking other positive evidence Sealing 3332 has been cataloged as "ambiguous" and the epithet at the end of line 2 has not been restored in the reconstruction of Seal 7.

**Seal 8 (22 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Unassigned:** 21554 (1); **Phase VI-a:** 24458 (1), 24459 (2); **Phase VI-b:** 21600 (1), 24450 (4); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (10), 21595 (2), 21596 (1)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

**Bag** (2), **Box** (5), **Papyrus** (1), **Peg-and-String** (1), **Possible Container** (3), **Undetermined** (10)

**Reconstruction:**

![Seal 8 Reconstruction](image-url)
Transliteration and Translation:

1) [Hr k3-h.t …]
   [Horus: Bull-bodied], […],

2) […] wd].tw (?) mᵃ zš […] ny-šw.t […]
   [… the command]sᵃ as Scribe of Royal (or the King's) […]

3) [Hr] 'k3'-ḥ.t 'mry Nṯr.wyᵇ […]
   [Horus:] 'Bull'-bodied 'beloved of the Two Gods',ᵇ […],

4) zš ḫry.t⁻ ny-šw.t kdw(?) … c […]
   Scribe of the King's Writing Case, wall-builder(?) … c […],

5) [Hr] 'k3'-ḥ.t mr(y) b3.wyᵈ ḫnty ḫr'⁻ […]
   [Horus:] 'Bull'-bodied, beloved of the Two Soulsᵈ Foremost-of-the-'House⁻'[…],

6) […] 'zš⁻ [(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t] nb wd.wt […]
   […], 'Scribe' of [Royal Documents], possessor of the commands […],

7) [Hr k3-h.t] (ibz.w) Ḥr Šthᵉ […]
   [Horus: Bull-bodied], (whom) Horus and Seth (have introduced),ᵉ […],

8) […]
9) [Hr k3-h.t] šn[Mnw [Imn(?)] ...]

[Horus: Bull-bodied], ‘brother’ of Min and [Amun(?) ...],

10) [zš (.w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t n] šb3.(w)t ’ny-šw.t f mrr(.w) g nb[=f ...]

[Scribe of Royal Documents for] ‘Royal’ Instructions, preferred g of [his] lord [...].

Notes:

a - The writing of the ≈ before the 𓊣 is puzzling but may have been caused by
the graphical requirements of arranging two bird-signs and the half-loaf ≈.

b - The "Two Gods" in question may be Horus and Seth. The only other
occurrence of the same epithet is on a seal from the reign of Pepi I mentioned above. Kaplony understood the "Two Gods" there to be Hathor and Re. However it is also
possible that the "Two Gods" are written as a deliberate reference to the Coptite
nome especially considering the attestation of Min later in line 9. It is worth noting that


171 See n. 75.

172 The name of the Coptite nome (5th Upper Egyptian nome), nṯr.w, is written with two falcons each on a standard. See Wolfgang Helck, "Gaue," Lexikon der Ägyptologie 2 (1976): 387. For the emblem of the Coptite nome, see Wolfgang Helck, "Gauezeichen," Lexikon der Ägyptologie 2 (1976): 423-424.
each of the royal epithets on this seal (as far as the reconstruction allows) mentions a pair of deities or forces in relation to the king.

**c** - While one group of signs appears to be clearly $kdw$, "wall-builder,"$^{173}$ the surrounding traces make it difficult to interpret.

**d** - The "Two Souls" most likely refers to an otherwise unspecified pair of gods.$^{174}$ The divine epithet that follows is damaged.

**e** - The word $ibz(.w)$ is not written out and has only been proposed by Kaplony$^{175}$ for other Old Kingdom contexts based on later, more explicit texts.$^{176}$ The root $ibz$ is the 3-lit. Old Egyptian ancestor of the later 2-lit. verb $bz$,$^{177}$ "to introduce,"$^{178}$ with connotations of "to initiate"$^{179}$ and "to inaugurate."$^{180}$ Jean-Marie Kruchten examines this verb in a broader historical context and prefers a root meaning of "to spout out" or "to erupt," stressing that $bz$ describes a "'passage' entre deux mondes violemment

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$^{173}$ Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 1343 [34680].
$^{174}$ See Ibid., 406 [9224].
$^{175}$ Kaplony, RAR I, 199-200.
$^{177}$ For the development of $ibz>bz$, see Edel, AäG, 186. See also Allen, Inflection, 553.
$^{178}$ Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 423 [10024].
$^{179}$ Ibid., 423 [10027].
$^{180}$ Ibid., 423 [10028].
contrastés" implying an idea of transcendance. According to Kruchten, the king undergoes such "passages" when he is crowned king and at the moment of his death. In fact, both of these events ideally occurred in close association, as one king's funeral and interment were quickly followed by the new king's coronation. While, strictly speaking, the *bs-ny-św.t* was the first of many rituals performed during the king's coronation, it marks the passage of the prince into his new role as king. Typically, the new king is "introduced" to or "initiated" into the kingship by one or more gods, if the agent is expressed.

Kaplony is apparently confident that the two divine figures in this type of representation are Horus and Seth. Although the right figure on Seal 8, line 7, is clearly Seth, the left figure is not clear. This motif is to be distinguished from a similar one in which Horus and Seth stand on either side of the king (who wears the White Crown) each holding one hand on the king's crown and typically grasping an -sign in the other hand. This scene is tentatively interpreted as "the king who unifies the two

181 Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIIèmes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), 149. I thank Dr. Ritner for this reference.  
182 Ibid., 167-175.  
183 Ibid., 204.  
184 Ibid., 174.  
185 Kaplony, *RAR I*, 200.  
186 Ibid., 197-201, for a discussion of these two types of representations.
lands (for) Horus and Seth" \( (\text{ny-św.t-zm3-t3.wy } Hr \text{ Śth}) \) by Kaplony.\textsuperscript{187} Both of these motifs - "the king's introduction" \( (bz-\text{ny-św.t}) \) and "the unification of the two lands" \( (śm3.t-t3.wy) \) - may be related to two specific parts of the longer coronation ceremony as listed in a stela of Tuthmosis I from Tombos.\textsuperscript{188}

\begin{itemize}
    \item[f] The bottom of the \( \text{_SURFACE}\)-sign and the \( \text{BASE}\) in \( \text{ny-św.t} \) seem clear.
    \item[g] For the translation of the imperfective passive participle, \( mrr(.w) \), as "preferred," see Seal 6, note d, above.
\end{itemize}

Comments:

A seal similar to Seal 8 seems to have impressed Kaplony's \( R^{	ext{C}}-\text{ḥাত}-f\text{ 55}, \textsuperscript{189} \) a sealing that was excavated by Karl Kromer. The position and the order of the signs in Kaplony's drawings are consistent with those on the reconstruction of Seal 8. However, the seal that impressed Kaplony's \( R^{	ext{C}}-\text{ḥাত}-f\text{ 55} \) clearly dates to the reign of Khafre whereas the three seals (other than Seal 8) in the Pottery Mound corpus that bear the epithet \( śn Mnw \text{ ˋlmn(?)}, \) "brother of Min and Amun(?)" (Seals 2, 4 and 6) date to the reign of Menkaure.

Seal 8 also made an impression on Sealing 4550, a box sealing that was crumpled and discarded when wet. The "back" (really the "inside") shows both the

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 199.
\textsuperscript{188} Kruchten, \textit{Les annales des prêtres}, 168.
\textsuperscript{189} Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIA}, 75-76.
positive and negative impressions of a clear box sealing with wood grain and crossing sets of strings. It even shows the impression of a lateral hole through which a string once ran. One side of the original "back" of the sealing pressed itself into the other half of the sealing when it was crumpled. All of this demonstrates that the sealing was still wet when it was balled up and discarded. It had also apparently been impressed by Seal 8 before it was discarded.

The evidence from Sealing 4550 clearly shows that Seal 8 was actually used (at least occasionally) in close proximity to Pottery Mound. In general, a sealing need not be discarded near where it was made, since sealed containers and documents were often moved around a site or among sites. The sealings broken from these objects might end up far from the location where they were initially made and sealed. However, a sealing, such as Sealing 4550, that was crumpled and discarded before it even dried, is clear evidence of local sealing activity and indicates that the seal used on it must have been present.

**Seal 9 (21 Sealings)**

**Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):**

- **Phase VI-b:** 21586 (1); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (20)

**Count of Sealing Types:**

- **Box** (4), **Papyrus** (1), **Peg-and-String** (2), **Possible Container** (8), **Undetermined** (6)
Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) [zš ˁ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św].t n ś-[…]a

[Scribe of Roya]l [Documents] for […], a

2) ˟Ḥr’ k3-ḥ.t […]

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, […],

3) zš (ˁ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t n śb3.(w)t(-ny-św.t)b mr[r nb=f] c

Scribe of Royal (Documents) for (Royal) Instructions, b belo[ved of his lord], c

4) ˟Ḥr’ k3-ḥ.t […]

‘Horus:’ Bull-bodied, […].

Notes:

a - From the preserved traces this line may have contained the same text as in line 3. It is likely that the seal originally had only four lines of text given the close
correspondence of the diameter of 1.33 cm. calculated from the reconstruction and the seal's end-impression on Sealing 2747.\textsuperscript{190}

b - The writing here appears to have been highly abbreviated. \textit{Ny-św.t} appears to serve in both \textit{zš-(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t} as well as \textit{šb3.(w)t-ny-św.t}.

c - There appears to be space for the second \textit{r} in \textit{mrr}, the imperfective passive participle translated as "preferred" as in Seal 6, line 3, above.

**Seal 10 (16 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Phase VI-a:** 24458 (1), 24459 (3), 24469 (1); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (10), 21596 (1)

Count of Sealing Types:

**Box** (7), **Jar** (1), **Possible Container** (5), **Undetermined** (3)

Reconstruction:

\textsuperscript{190} See Figure 2.4 and pp. 13-14 above.
Transliteration and Translation:

1) [Ḥr] k3-b.t [...] ḫtm(?)^a [...] 

Horus: Bull-bodied, [...] of the Seal(?)^a [...],

2) [zš] ḫ(w)-(nw)-(ny-św.t] ʾr [wd].t b m zš ḫ(w)-(nw)-ny-św.t [...] 

[Scribe] of [Royal] Documents, who executed the command as Scribe of Royal 'Documents' [...],

3) [Ḥr] k3-b.t Šth^c [...] 

[Horus:] Bull-bodied, [...] of Seth^c [...],

4) [zš] ḫ(w)-(nw)-(ny-św.t] zš ḫry.t[-] ny-św.t [...] 

[Scribe] of [Royal] Documents, Scribe of the King's 'Writing Case', [...],

5) [Ḥr] k3-b.t [...] 

[Horus:] Bull-bodied, [...],

6) [...] z3b zš ʾr[y] iʾḥ^d 

[...] judge and (judicial) scribe concerned with iʾḥ (?),^d

7) [Ḥr k3]-b.t ḫry-tp šb3(?)^e [...]-'ny-św.t'

[Horus: Bull]-bodied, who is underneath the sunshade(?)^e 'Royal' [...],

203
8) [...] ‘zš’ [(w)-(nw)-ny-št] mr[r nb=f ...]

... ‘Scribe’ of [Royal Documents], prefer[red of his lord ...].

Notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Htm (?): Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seal 10, line 1</td>
<td>Fourth Dynasty</td>
<td>Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washptah Izi(^{191})</td>
<td>Early Fifth Dynasty</td>
<td>Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston 14-1-34(^{192}) (sealing)</td>
<td>Early Fifth Dynasty</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykaunysut(^{193})</td>
<td>Fifth Dynasty ?</td>
<td>Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raemka(^{194})</td>
<td>Fifth Dynasty</td>
<td>No Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nysankptah(^{195})</td>
<td>Sixth Dynasty</td>
<td>No Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wernu(^{196})</td>
<td>Sixth Dynasty</td>
<td>No Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayhep Teti(^{197})</td>
<td>Sixth Dynasty</td>
<td>No Feather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Examples of the ḥtm (?)-sign by date showing the existence or absence of the feather decoration.


The sign on the standard is clearly a recumbent seal with a decorative feather with the reading $htm(?)$, rather than the outdated $\overline{\text{šmśw.t}}$. This sign most commonly appears as a component in the titles $\text{ḥm } htm(?)$ and $\text{ḥm-}n\text{ṯr } htm(?)$ designating an official who "im Dienst des geheiligten königlichen Siegels stand" according to Junker. The $htm(?)$-sign here appears to be followed by a tall, vertical sign that is almost entirely destroyed.

The feather decoration on top of the horizontal seal in the $htm (?)$-sign appears to be an optional feature that is more common before the early Fifth Dynasty (see Table 2.1). Although the number of examples are limited, those that date to the Fourth Dynasty (Seal 10, line 1) and early Fifth Dynasty (Washptah Izi) show the feather whereas those from the late Fifth Dynasty (Raemka) through the Sixth Dynasty lack the feather. The seal impressions from the seal carved during the reign of Userkaf appear to have lacked the feather, but both instances on the sealing in question are only partly preserved.

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198 See W. V. Davies and others, *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 36 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984), 24 n. 5. For the older reading see Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 135, 149. Kaplony seems to read this sign as an equivalent writing for $\overline{\text{šmśw.t}}$ in the well-known epithet of Horus and Anubis $\text{ḥnty } (pr-)\overline{\text{šmśw.t}}$. However the context is highly uncertain and there are no phonetic complements to support Kaplony's interpretation.

199 Jones, *Index of Titles*, 590 [2160].

200 Ibid., 569 [2096].

b - For the translation of ḫr, the perfective active participle, as "who executed," see Seal 2, note b above. Traces of a possible $\frac{1}{2}$-sign might be visible on Sealing 2851 to the left of the $\varpi$-sign.

c - The epithet ṣn ḫr Ṣṭḥ, "brother of Horus and Seth," applied to the king is known from Seal 12, line 4, below as well as other seal impressions from the Old Kingdom. However, in each of those examples, Ṣṭḥ is written below ṣn ḫr. Here, the recumbent Seth-animal is directly underneath the serekh, leaving no space for any intervening signs. This epithet, whatever the restoration, apparently refers to the god Seth alone.

Aside from his close association with the king and kingship, Seth, as a member of the Ennead, is affiliated with the "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-God," (pr-$md\,t-n\tr$) attached to the ṣn.$w\,t$ sanctuary. On the South Saqqara Stone in a slightly damaged context, Seth (written with the same recumbent Seth-animal as here) is associated with the ṣn.$w\,t$-sanctuary. Later, on the same monument, there is an apparent reference to the Ennead (of which Seth is a member) "in the House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-God (pr-

______________________

202 For instance, $R^{c}\,h^{c}\,-f\,12$: Kaplony, RAR II A, 40-46, line (f). $R^{c}\,h^{c}\,-f\,65$: Kaplony, RAR II A, 82-83, line (h).

$md3.t-n\text{tr}$ in the śn.wt-sanctuary. For the "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-God" ($pr-md3.t-n\text{tr}$) and the "House-of-the-Book-Roll-of-the-Handlers-of-the-Cord (?)" ($pr-md3.t-\text{hr}(w)-ny-\text{sw}.t$) with respect to the goddess Seshat, see Seal 2, note c, above.

**d** - Here reading $z3b$, "judge," and $z\text{š} \text{ir}y \text{i}^\text{f}h$, "(judicial) scribe concerned with the $\text{i}^\text{f}h$," as distinct titles although it is possible that a single title, "chief (judicial) scribe concerned with the $\text{i}^\text{f}h$," is meant. Henry Fischer demonstrated that the second title is indeed to be read $z\text{š} \text{ir}y \text{i}^\text{f}h$ and is a type of legal scribe given its frequent association with other legal titles (like $z3b$).

**e** - See Seal 7 note a, above for a discussion of this epithet.

**Seal 11 (16 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Phase VI-b**: 21586 (1), 21600 (1); **Phase VI-c**: 21557 (10), 21582 (2), 21595 (1), 27159 (1)

Count of Sealing Types:

**Box** (5), **Papyrus** (1), **Possible Container** (4), **Undetermined** (6)

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204 Zone F6, col. x + 9, see Ibid.: 42, note a. For a discussion of the connections among the $pr-md3.t-n\text{tr}$, the Ennead and the śn.wt-sanctuary, see Siegfried Schott, "Die Opferliste als Schrift des Thoth," ZÄS 90 (1963): 104-106. and, more recently, Moreno Garcia, Études sur l'administration, 110-113.

Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) Ḥr k3-h.t [...]  
   Horus: Bull-bodied, [...],

2) 'zš' (ˁ.w-nw)-ny-ˁsw'.t (n) k3.t nb[t (n.t) ny-ˁsw.t ...] a
   'Scribe' of 'Royal' (Documents) (for) All [Royal] a Works [...],

3) [Ḥr] k3-h.t [...]  
   [Horus:] Bull-bodied, [...],

4) [...] Mn-k3.w-R [...]
   [...] Menkaure [...].

Notes:

a - Like the title "Scribe of Royal (Documents) for (Royal) Instructions," (zš(ˁ.w-nw)-ny-ˁsw.t n šb3.(w)t(-ny-ˁsw.t)), in Seal 9, line 3, above, this title is highly abbreviated. As discussed in Seal 1, note b, above, zš-ny-ˁsw.t is most likely an abbreviated writing of zš-(ˁ.w)-n(w)-ny-ˁsw.t in the Old Kingdom. K3.t nb[t] is preserved here, but the nb-sign
(as seen most clearly in Sealing 2800) is noticeably off-center, perhaps serving as the "base" for the seated human figure directly above it.

There are two compound titles incorporating "scribes of royal documents for royal works" known for the Old Kingdom. One seal from the reign of Niuserre (Cairo JdE 44200) lists (along with other titles of the seal bearer) "Scribe of Royal Documents of Every Work of the King That is Done Every Day." Otherwise, an "Overseer (imy-r3) of Scribes of Royal Documents for Every Work of the King" is known in the late Fifth Dynasty. These parallels suggest that a full writing of *ny-św.t* might complete the title in Seal 9, line 3.

**Seal 12 (9 Sealings)**

Pottery Mound Features (by Phase):

**Phase VI-a:** 24459 (1), 24474 (2); **Phase VI-c:** 21557 (5), 21596 (1)

Count of Sealing Types:

- **Possible Container** (3), **Undetermined** (6)

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207 Jones, *Index of Titles*, 842 [3071].

208 Ibid., 210 [782].

209
Reconstruction:

Transliteration and Translation:

1) [Hr] k3-h.t […]

[Horus:] Bull-bodied, […],

2) […] ḥry … a […]

[…] who is in charge of … a […],

3) [Hr] k3-h.t […]

[Horus:] Bull-bodied, […],

4) […] šn Ḥr Ṣth mr(y) b3.w ḫnw

[Menkaure,] b brother of Ḥorus’ and Seth (and) beloved of b the Souls of Heliopolis,

5) [Hr] k3-h.t […] c

[Horus:] Bull-bodied, […], c

6) […] šm3 d wd.wt zš [״(.w)‑(nw)‑ny‑šw.t

210
The one who makes right the commands [of Menkaure], Scribe of Royal Documents.

7) [Hr] k3-h.t nb [...]  
[Horus:] ‘Bull’-bodied, ‘lord’ of [...],

8) [...] zš (w)-(nw)-(ny-sw.t) hry[-t]- (ny-sw.t)  
... [Scribe] of [Royal] ‘Documents’ and of the (King’s) ‘Writing Case’.

Notes:

a - This group of signs is clear only on Sealing 2799. The signs in the alternate, "spacing lines" face right to left whereas the lines containing serekhs are oriented from left to right. While the off-center -sign seems certain, the head and neck of a bird that precedes it is damaged. It is difficult to propose a restoration here.

b - The masculine singular perfective passive participle refers to the king not Horus and Seth. This implies that a royal name should be restored at the very beginning of this line of text. For a similar restoration, see note e below.
c - The contorted enemy figure that seems to span the ends of lines 4 and 5 is all that remains of the depiction of the king smiting an enemy.\textsuperscript{209} Compare this figure with that carved inside the lower part of the \textit{serekh} on Brooklyn 44.123.30.\textsuperscript{210}

d - Šm3 here is the masculine singular imperfective active participle. See Seal 7 note c, above. This line of text most likely refers to the seal owner, but might begin with one of Menkaure's royal names written first in honorific transposition, as discussed in the following note.

e - The restoration of the king's name at the start of this line is paralleled by Seal 4, line 5, above. In that instance the word \textit{wd.t}, "command," is a part of the epithet \textit{ir wd.t ny-św.t-bi.ty Mn-k3.w-\textit{R}}, "the one who executed the command of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkaure" with the \textit{cartouche} name of the king written at the start of the line in honorific transposition. In addition, restoring the \textit{cartouche} name of the king at the start of this line would also parallel a similar restoration suggested in Seal 12, note b, above. Given these two relatively clear cases in which a royal name starts a line of text, both line 4 and line 6 here might also have once begun with a royal name of some sort.

\textsuperscript{209} For a discussion of smiting scenes in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom seals, see Kaplony, \textit{RAR I}, 238-243.
f - From the preserved traces this line may have originally contained a compound form of the titles zš-ˁ(y.w)-nw-ny-św.t and zš hry.t-ˁ ny-św.t similar to that in Seal 6, line 1, above.

2.4 Other Seals (39 Sealings)

Pottery Mound yielded a total of 1,036 registered sealings bearing seal impressions, 424 of which had been impressed by one of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed above. 221 other sealings bear impressions that might have been made by these seals but also might arguably have been made by another otherwise unknown cylinder seal. These seal impressions have therefore been classified as "ambiguous" in the catalog. 352 other sealings bear only the merest traces of seal impressions and are often badly broken or abraded. These sealings bearing "traces of impressions" are also listed separately in the catalog.

Impressions on the 39 remaining Pottery Mound sealings are the best evidence for seals other than the twelve "core" seals in the Pottery Mound corpus. Although it is theoretically possible that the 221 "ambiguous" sealings and the 352 sealings with "trace" impressions might have been originally impressed by the twelve "core" seals reconstructed above, the 39 sealings discussed in this section were certainly sealed by different seals.

211 See the catalog on the Supplementary DVD.
2.4.1 Provisional Seals (7 Sealings)

Seven of these 39 sealings were apparently impressed by three seals that are not among the "core" seals. These seals have been provisionally designated Seal "A" (2 sealings), Seal "B" (2 sealings) and Seal "C" (3 sealings). These seals have not been included among the "core" seals reconstructed above for two reasons. First, they are poorly represented. Seal 12 is the least attested "core" seal appearing on 9 sealings. However, that is still triple the number of sealings impressed by Seal "C," the best represented seal in this section. Second, each of these three provisional seals is only partially preserved whereas the reconstructions of the "core" seals are all nearly complete.

The *serekh* type of Seal "A" is uncertain.\textsuperscript{212} However, the existence of a star-shaped hieroglyph just to the right of its lower right corner is enough to confirm that two sealings (Sealings 2876 and 3687) had been sealed by the same seal. Sealing 2876 confirms that this star-sign is part of the word *šb3.(w)t* followed by an epithet of some kind.\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{212} The traces seem to be a Type 8 *serekh*, but are not complete. See Figure 2.1 for the types of *serekhs*.

\textsuperscript{213} This epithet cannot be *mrr nb=f* as in Seal 6, line 3; Seal 8, line 10; Seal 9, line 3; and perhaps Seal 10, line 8. In the impression on Sealing 2876, the signs are to be read from right to left and so the sign which follows the visible \(\leftarrow\) should not be the \(\nearrow\)-sign. In any case the surviving traces do not fit the \(\nearrow\)-sign.
Seal "B" is mostly reconstructed from Sealing 2753, one of just two sealings impressed by this seal. From this sealing, the originating seal once had a *serekh* containing a Horus name starting with *k3*, probably that of Menkaure (*k3-h.t*). The seal owner appears to have held the title "Scribe of [Royal] (Documents) for (Royal) Works," (*zš-(n).w-nw-[ny-šw.t]-n-k3.t-(ny-šw.t)*), modified by the epithet *mrr [nb=f]*. This title differs from that in Seal 11, line 2, in a few important respects. It is clear that *k3.t* on Sealing 2753 is not modified by *nb[t]* as it is on Seal 11. This not only shows that Seal "B" is different from Seal 11, but may also indicate that the two scribes were of different levels of importance. Nigel Strudwick has shown that "Overseers of All Royal Works" appear to have held national or regional authority over the king's various construction projects, whereas "Overseers of Royal Works" had more limited scope of responsibility.\(^{214}\) A similar distinction may have held for the scribes in this department as well.

The three sealings that have been assigned to Seal "C" show incomplete but otherwise clear examples of a *serekh* of Type 8. Two of these sealings (Sealings 3646 and 3729) appear to contain traces of Khafre's Horus name (*wšr-ib*) written inside the *serekh*. All three sealings also show a tall vertical stroke that runs parallel to the

serekh's left side. These similarities are enough to conclude that the same seal impressed these three sealings but otherwise tell little about the seal owner or his titles.

It is conceivable that Seals "A" and "C" might represent different parts of the same seal. However, Sealings 2876 and 3687 (both from Seal "A") contain a large sign centered underneath the serekh, whereas Sealing 3633 (from Seal "C") shows a large empty space beneath the serekh. It still remains possible that these might be different serekhs on the same seal but there is no positive evidence to support the contention that Seals "A" and "C" might be the same.

2.4.2 Unmatched Formal Sealings (12 Sealings)

12 sealings in Pottery Mound appear to have been impressed by Official Seals other than the twelve "core" seals and the three provisional seals above. However, each of these seals is so far known only from impressions on a single sealing and so it is difficult to determine exactly how many seals ultimately produced these 12 sealings.

2.4.2.1 Sealing 2719

Sealing 2719 bears two instances of a Type 1 serekh containing the Horus name of Khafre (wšr-ib) written vertically, that is, with the \[\text{\textdagger}\] -sign over the \[\text{\textbullet}\] -sign. None of the other seals match both of these criteria. Of the four seals above dating to the reign of Khafre, Seals 1 and 3 write Khafre's Horus name horizontally and Seals 5 and "C" do not have Type 1 serekhs. Therefore, Sealing 2719 must have been impressed by yet another seal carved in the reign of Khafre.
A good portion of the seal's inscription is preserved on Sealing 2719.\textsuperscript{215}

1) […] ś\[ḥtp(?) ḫ=fr-R\]\textsuperscript{a} […]

[…] who sat[satisfies Khafre]\textsuperscript{a} […]

2) [Hr] wšr-ib (phrr Hp)\textsuperscript{b} […]

[Horus:] Strong-hearted, (the one of the Running of the Apis Bull),\textsuperscript{b} […]

3) [… ir(.w)]\textsuperscript{c} wd\.wt wd\.mdw\textsuperscript{c} mrr(.w) [nb=f]

[The one who executed]\textsuperscript{c} the commands and judgment [of (Khafre)],\textsuperscript{c} preferred of [his lord],

4) ’Hr’ wšr-ib […]

’Horus:' Strong-hearted […]

\textsuperscript{a} - This line is between two serekhs and should be read from right to left. Enough of a cartouche is preserved to be certain that a royal name, (most likely that of Khafre), is to be restored near the start of the line. The \textsuperscript{I} -sign following the cartouche here appears to be written from left to right. A reconstructed seal design from Buhen dating to the reign of Menkaure shows the epithet \textit{ṣḥtp ny-šw.t-bi.ty Mn-k3.w-R} with the \textsuperscript{I} -sign

\textsuperscript{215} See the photograph of Sealing 2719 in the catalog on the Supplementary DVD.
in śhtp similarly written, facing backwards. A similar phrase incorporating the royal name of Khafre has been suggested here as a restoration.

b - For the epithet (ḥrr Ḥp) see Seal 5, note c, above. Here neither the word Ḥp nor a depiction of the Apis bull itself is preserved. However, the figure of the running king with the trailing flail would fit the Running of the Apis Bull scene. It is interesting that here the king wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt but in Seal 5, line 2 he wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. This may signify that this particular Running of the Apis might have coincided with another royal ritual, the Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, during the year the seal was made.

c - The restoration of īr(.w), the masculine singular perfective active participle and some form of the king's name at the start of line 3 is speculative. For a similar restoration see Seal 6 note g, above.

2.4.2.2 Sealing 2726

Sealing 2726 shows an impression from a seal belonging to a "Scribe of Royal Documents" bearing Type 1 serekhs. None of the twelve "core" seals have a quail chick located just to the right of the lower right corner of a Type 1 serekh as Sealing 2726 does.

\[\text{\footnotesize Mn-k3w-R'}32: \text{Kaplony,} \text{ RAR IIA, 121-122 \ X} \text{Kaplony, RAR IIB, pl. 44. For other examples of "backwards" \(\|^\) signs in the Fourth Dynasty, see Schweitzer, Schrift und Sprache der 4. Dynastie, 413-417.}\]
2.4.2.3 Sealing 2784

Sealing 2784 is a papyrus document sealing that seems to have two overlapping impressions on its front surface. From what is preserved, it shows a Type 12 serekh - unique in the corpus - containing the Horus name of Khafre (wšr-ib) written horizontally. The lone title preserved on this sealing is "Scribe of Royal Documents."

2.4.2.4 Sealing 2797

Sealing 2797 bears two seal impressions. The "top" impression shows a serekh of Type 10. The "bottom" impression shows a bull inside a serekh, suggesting that the originating seal was carved during the reign of Menkaure, and traces of hieroglyphs to the right. This is the only sealing from Pottery Mound with a serekh of this type and so must have been made by a seal different from the twelve "core" seals.

2.4.2.5 Sealing 2836

Sealing 2836 bears three overlapping seal impressions. The "top" impression shows the bottom of a Type 1 serekh. The "bottom" impression appears to contain a part of the rightmost ithyphallic god in the epithet "brother of Min and Amun(?)" (sn Mnw ḫmn(?)). Behind this divine figure is the phrase "King's Writing Case," bry.t- ny-św.t, written from right to left with a complete and elaborate determinative. The only "core" seals with a Type 1 serekh are Seals 1, 3, 6 and 7, none of which could have 217 See Seal 6, note a, above.
possibly contained the text on Sealing 2836. It must therefore have been impressed by a different seal.

2.4.2.6 Sealing 2838

Sealing 2838 is a highly abraded but otherwise intact papyrus document sealing. It bears three impressed surfaces on its front. The easiest to read is the "top" impression, which shows a vertical Menkaure *cartouche*. Elsewhere there is a Type 1 *serekh*. None of the nine reconstructed Menkaure "core" seals show both of these characteristics. Only Seals 4 and 11 contain Menkaure *cartouches* and neither of them has a Type 1 *serekh*. It is possible that this seal is represented somewhere among the "ambiguous" sealings from Pottery Mound, but it cannot be one of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed above.

2.4.2.7 Sealing 2878

Sealing 2878 is a rectangular, half-barrel-shaped sealing, made of fine, grey clay. The front has three separate seal impressions: one arching across the center of the front and two others above and below this impression on the sides. The back clearly shows the imprint of papyrus, crossed by three parallel strips of fiber. This sealing is nearly intact.

Sealing 2878 appears to have been impressed by a cylinder seal similar to that
used on a sealing discovered by George Reisner elsewhere at Giza (Boston 27-3-
500). In the original publication, Reisner notes that this sealing had been found in the
debris in Street 7300 in Giza's Eastern Cemetery between Tomb G 7340 and Tomb G
7440. Although it lacks a clear back impression Reisner suggests that this sealing
once was attached to a letter or document based primarily on its size, shape and the
apparent manner in which it had been fastened. However, it actually conforms more
closely to Engel and Müller's Type S1 and was probably really used on a basket or a
net. Reisner struggles with his overall interpretation of the object and wonders if the
seal might have belonged to a "Prince Duwa-[n]-Hathor," but ultimately acknowledges
the problem with reading a personal name other than the king's on a seal from this
period.

In his first discussion of the same sealing, Kaplony supports Reisner's reading of
this group as a masculine personal name because of the seated figure apparently
serving as a determinative. This conclusion is subsequently followed by Betina
Schmitz when she includes "Dw3-Ḥwthr" in her list of known king's sons. However, in

218 See Reisner and Smith, A History of the Giza Necropolis, Volume II, 54, fig. 54.
219 Ibid., 54.
221 Kaplony, IÄF, 699 n. 105.
222 Bettina Schmitz, Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJ SWT "Königssohn" (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976), 344.
a later study of Old Kingdom cylinder seals and sealings, Kaplony reverses himself. He restores both a missing serekh with a Horus name and a now illegible cartouche in front of the title s3 ny-św.t.\textsuperscript{223} He then concludes that "[d]a es von Ringnamensssiegel keine Abdrücke geben darf, handelt es sich um ein Horusnamenssiegel mit Beamtenstitel und dw3-Vermerk," and translates the inscription "Königssohn von seinem Leibe, nämlich des Königs […], des ḫwtr-Verehrers."\textsuperscript{224} This change-of-heart by Kaplony is overlooked by Baud when he, too, includes "Dw3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr" as the personal name of a king's son in his own study.\textsuperscript{225}

Sealing 2878 appears to confirm Kaplony's final conclusion that the originating seal used on Boston 27-3-500 did not in fact bear the personal name "Dw3-Ḥt-Ḥr," but rather belonged to an otherwise anonymous "Son of the King of His Body." The three seal impressions preserved on the front and sides of Sealing 2878 were apparently all made by the same seal.\textsuperscript{226} The "top" impression (Impression 1) shows most of the name of the goddess Hathor followed by dw3. The scale of the signs and the high quality execution of the \textsuperscript{223} Kaplony, RAR IIA, 445-446.
\textsuperscript{224} Ibid., 445.
\textsuperscript{225} Baud, Famille royale, 609.
\textsuperscript{226} See the photographs in the Supplementary DVD.
followed by a *cartouche* containing the ♂-sign. Combining these three impressions, the originating seal can be restored as in Figure 2.5.

![Figure 2.5: Reconstruction of the originating seal for Sealing 2878 made by combining three separate seal impressions.](image)

The preserved lines are to be read as follows:

1) ... - Re
   
   (King) ...-Re,

2) [z3 ṅy-św.t n] ḫt=f²²⁷
   
   [Son of the King of] his Body,

3) ḥm-ntr ḫw.t-Ḥr
   
   Prophet of Hathor,

4) dw3 (Ḥw.t-Ḥr ?)
   
   worshiper of (Hathor?).

It is likely that the seal that impressed Sealing 2878 had just four lines of text. In Kaplony's later interpretation of Boston 27-3-500, he proposed that the title *z3 ṅy-św.t*

²²⁷ The columns on this seal are not strictly respected. The text in line 2 appears to overlap slightly with line 3 at the bottom.
should lie between a cartouche and the dw3- epithet since the cartouche (written in honorific transposition) serves to identify the king who is the "father" of the seal owner.\(^{228}\) The same situation apparently applies to the seal that impressed Sealing 2878. The existence of a cartouche on the seal is clear in the "bottom" impression (Impression 3) and it is nearly certain that \([z\,ny-\textit{św.t} \, n\, \textit{ḥt=ḥ}]=f\) is to be restored in line 2.\(^{229}\) If so, the cartouche should be restored in line 1 immediately preceding the title \(z\,ny-\textit{św.t} \, n\, \textit{ḥt=ḥ}\) in line 2. This restoration would confirm that the originating seal had only 4 lines of text. The presence of a cartouche on Sealing 2878 seems to give indirect support to Kaplony's final restoration of Boston 27-3-500 that disregards the reading of "dw3 Ḥw.t-Ḥr" as a personal name.

Sealing 2878 is a papyrus document sealing sealed by a royal prince and discarded in the debris of Pottery Mound. By itself this is significant. During the Fourth Dynasty, "royal sons" were of the highest rank just below the king in Egyptian society.\(^{230}\) To date no actual seals of "royal sons" have been found. Just four sealings with impressions made by such seals have ever been discovered. In addition to Sealing 2878 and Boston 27-3-500 discussed above, Sealing 2184 from another excavation area in Area A called "the Royal Administrative Building" was also impressed by a seal

\(^{228}\) Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIA}, 445.
\(^{229}\) See Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 159-160. While the label \(m\,ś.w=ḥ\, n\, \textit{ḥt=ḥ}\) may occasionally appear in Old Kingdom tombs, the epithet \(n\, \textit{ḥt=ḥ}\/=\textit{ḥt}=\textit{ḥ}=ś\) almost always appears in conjunction with \(z\,z.\,t\) as a rank title.
\(^{230}\) See Chapter 4 below.
that belonged to a King's Son. A fourth sealing (or group of sealings)\textsuperscript{231} was discovered in the subterranean chamber of the subsidiary pyramid just south of the Khafre pyramid. The seal that made these impressions seems to have originally belonged to a Son of the King's Body ($z3\ ny-\overset{\text{sw.\ t\ n\ ht=f}}{\text{ḥt}}$), Unique Friend ($\overset{\text{šmr\ w:\ ty}}{\text{ḥˁ ty}}$) and Chamberlain ($\overset{\text{imy-iz}}{\text{ḥˁ f}}$), all of which are high ranking titles. Given the importance of royal princes in the administration of the Fourth Dynasty, it is noteworthy that all four of these sealings were discovered at Giza and that two out of the four have been produced by excavations in Area A.

\textbf{2.4.2.8 Sealing 3265}

The front of Sealing 3265 shows at least four distinct seal impressions. Except for a \textit{serekh} containing the Horus name of Menkaure ($k3\-\overset{\text{ḥt}}{\text{ḥt}}$), only a few of the other signs can be read. The \textit{serekh} is Type 11. Only Sealing 3267 (classified as "ambiguous") might have once had a \textit{serekh} of this type, and only a portion of its \textit{serekh} is preserved. In the end both Sealings 3265 and 3267 might have been sealed by the same seal, but not enough is preserved to be sure. In any case, none of the "core" seals from Pottery Mound made any of the impressions on Sealing 3265.

\textsuperscript{231} Uvo Hölscher, Ludwig Borchardt, and Georg Steindorff, \textit{Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren} (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1912), 107 and Abb. 157. See $R\-\overset{\text{ḥˁ f}}{\text{ḥˁ f}}$: Kaplony, \textit{RAR IIA}, 38, who points out that the total number of sealings found here is unclear.
2.4.2.9 Sealing 3561

Sealing 3561 appears to show a partial *serekh* of Type 9 containing traces of the Horus-name of Khafre (*wšr-ib*). While Seal 12 above shows a Type 9 *serekh*, it was carved in the reign of Menkaure. The seal that impressed Sealing 3561 was therefore not one of the twelve "core" seals.

2.4.2.10 Sealing 3742

This sealing has been tentatively classified as "formal" although it shows no trace of a *serekh*, the primary characteristic of formal sealings. It clearly contains a \-sign and two other signs that are difficult to interpret, which are consistent with epithets common on Official Seals. However, the \-sign is formed with two crossing elements, rather than one, and is otherwise unique in the Pottery Mound corpus. All of the \-signs in the twelve reconstructions in Section 2.3 above have a single cross element, and so the seal that impressed Sealing 3742 must be different. It might also reasonably be treated as a *Figurensiegel* impression and therefore an "informal" sealing.

2.4.2.11 Sealing 4417

Sealing 4417 shows signs of at least three seal impressions, the "top" two appear to preserve portions of the same \-sign. The signs below the jackal make clear that in both cases that the titles *z3b* "judge," and *zš iry išh", "(judicial) scribe concerning the išh(?)" are written. These same titles are mentioned in Seal 10, line 6. However, seal 10
has *serekhs* of Type 7 whereas Sealing 4417 seems to show Type 2 *serekhs*. Sealing 4417 also seems to show restorable traces of Menkaure's Horus name (*k3-ḥt*). Only Seals 2 and 4 both date to Menkaure's reign and have Type 2 *serekhs*, but neither of these seals has enough space to restore these titles between the bases of two *serekhs*. Therefore, Sealing 4417 could not have been impressed by one of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed in Section 2.3 above.

2.4.2.12 Sealing 4427

Sealing 4427 was impressed at least three times by an Official Seal carved with the Horus-name of Khafre. It also had a *cartouche* followed by the epithet "the Good God" (*nṯ r nfr*) and used vertical dividers to separate the columns of text. The use of vertical dividing lines on Old Kingdom Official Seals (*Amtssiegel*) - while rare - is attested as early as the reign of Sneferu and appears sporadically throughout the Old Kingdom. However, none of the twelve "core" seals show this trait.

2.4.2.13 Conclusion: Total Number of Official Seals at Pottery Mound

As discussed above, the twelve unmatched sealings bearing impressions from Official Seals from Pottery Mound were certainly not sealed by any of the twelve "core" seals which also happen to be Official Seals. However it is difficult to establish the exact number of seals that impressed the seven sealings assigned to the "provisional" seals

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and the twelve "unmatched" sealings. Among the three "provisional" seals, only Seal "C" with its Type 8 serekh is unique. Seal "A" may yet prove to be the same as Seal "C" with future excavation and Seal "B" might ultimately be shown to belong to any Menkaure seal with scribal titles (such as the originating seals for Sealings 2726, 2784 or 4427).

Presuming that every seal used just one type of serekh, it seems clear that the twelve "unmatched" sealings must have been made by at least seven different seals. Sealing 2878 with the title epithet $dw3\, Hw.t-Hr$ and Sealing 4427 with the dividing lines are clearly unique in the corpus and each represent distinct originating seals. Four sealings bear Type 1 serekhs, but one of these bears the Horus name of Khafre and another the Horus name of Menkaure. At a minimum these four sealings could have been impressed by two different seals. Five of the remaining six sealings have different types of serekhs and so each represent a different originating seal. The final sealing - Sealing 3742 - could conceivably have been made by almost any of these seals, and so cannot be counted. All told then the seven sealings assigned to the three "provisional" seals and the twelve "unmatched" sealings could have been impressed by a minimum of ten seals and a maximum of 15 different seals. When added to the twelve "core" seals, there is positive evidence that 22-27 different Official Seals are represented in the Pottery Mound corpus.

These numbers must be seen against the background of the other sealings from Pottery Mound. In addition to the "unmatched" formal sealings, the sealings assigned to "core" seals and those from "provisional" seals, 221 "ambiguous" sealings and 318
sealings with "trace" seal impressions also appear to have been sealed by Official Seals. By definition, however, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty how many seals made these sealings above and beyond the 22-27 identified above. Highlights from the "ambiguous" sealings will be discussed below, but the "trace" impressions are merely listed in the catalog on the Supplementary DVD.

2.4.3 Unmatched Informal Sealings (20 Sealings)

Of the 1,036 sealings from Pottery Mound with seal impressions, only 49 total have been classified as "informal." As discussed in Chapter 1, this preliminary field classification applies to impressed sealings that were not sealed by Official Seals. Sealings classified as "informal" most often bear impressions showing crudely executed and scattered hieroglyphs, or loosely composed fields of tête-bêche animals, or even cross-hatched lines. When they can be identified at all, the originating seals for informal sealings typically prove to be either Administrative Seals or Figurensiegel, which are often characterized as "personal."\(^{233}\)

The layout of Official Seals by contrast almost always conforms to a predictable structure. As can most clearly be seen in the reconstructions of the "core" seals above, Official Seals usually contain vertical columns of text that alternate in their orientation from left-to-right to right-to-left with every other column containing an easily identifiable

\(^{233}\) For a description of Administrative Seals and Figurensiegel, see Chapter 1 above.
serekh. These "grammatical" rules facilitate the reconstruction of Official Seal designs from overlapping seal impressions.

In the end, it is difficult to estimate how many seals might have produced the impressions on the "informal" sealings from Pottery Mound. 28 out of the 49 "informal" sealings bear just traces of a seal impression and cannot be ascribed to any particular seal design with confidence. The remaining 20 "informal" sealings appear to show distinct seal designs and layouts but (as noted above) could possibly have come from more complex originating seals. Lacking any discernible seal designs, the remaining 20 "informal" sealings with impressions will be discussed according to broader, thematic groupings.

2.4.3.1 "Textual" Sealings (Six Sealings)

The seals that impressed Sealings 2811, 2840, 2941, 3359, 3655 and 3684 bore roughly carved text with vertical dividing lines. For this reason, none of them could have been sealed by any of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed in Section 2.3 above. It is possible however that the impressions on some of these sealings might have been made by the same seal. In fact, Sealings 2811 and 2941 seem clearly to contain overlapping text that demonstrates that they were indeed impressed by the same seal. The other sealings are much less certain. Sealing 3359 shows a ♦-sign and a vertical dividing line separating two columns of text while Sealing 3655 shows a ♦-sign to the left and two other signs (including a ♦-sign) to the right of a common vertical divider.
While the impressions on these two sealings are consistent with those on Sealings 2811 and 2941, there is no positive evidence (such as overlapping text) that they were all made by the same seal. Separately, Sealing 2840 appears to bear the text "sealer of the storehouse" (ḥtm(.w) ṣd3) and probably was made by a different seal altogether. Sealing 3684 is very faint, but it is clear that the seal that impressed it contained a block of text divided by vertical lines. It also seems to have included a graphical component above the text but the impression is very faintly preserved. In the end, all that can be said of these five sealings is that they were most likely made by three or four seals.

Given the complete absence of royal names as well as the low-quality of the carving, it seems clear that the originating seals for these sealings are not Official Seals. In fact, the title "sealer of the storehouse" on Sealing 2840 and the use of vertical dividers (rare on Amtssiegel) indicate that these impressions were made by an Administrative Seal (Verwaltungssiegel). Kaplony catalogs eight different seals belonging to a "sealer of the storehouse" (ḥtm(.w) ṣd3). To these can be added a similar seal discovered in the mortuary temple of Queen Khenutkaues II at Abusir. All of these seals have the title "sealer of the storehouse" (ḥtm(.w) ṣd3), a graphical component and vertical dividing lines. Two of these examples also preserve a personal

234 Kaplony, RAR I, 16.
236 Verner, Posener-Kriéger, and Jánosi, Abusir III, pl. 25, no. 126/A/80.
name, a common feature on Officials' Seals (Beamtsiegel). All of this suggests that the seal that impressed Sealing 2840 might have originally had these same features but only the textual component has survived.

As noted above, Sealings 2811 and 2941 appear to have been impressed by the same seal. Although both sealings are damaged, the first line of text on the originating seal appears to read, "...esh, Assistant, whom ... praises...." The second line is more difficult to translate, but it may contain a personal name "Iryu`mer`u." The last legible line on Sealing 2941 might end with the word htm(w), or "sealer." Despite the difficulties with the existing text on these two sealings, the lack of a royal name and the possible presence of a personal name with titles and epithets (referring to the seal owner) are all clear indications that the originating seal was an Officials' Seal (Beamtsiegel). While neither Sealing 3359 nor 3655 preserves enough text to restore any title or personal name, their relatively crude carving and the existence of clear vertical dividing lines are at least consistent with Officials' Seals (Beamtsiegel) as well.

2.4.3.2 Decorative Hieroglyphic Signs (Four Sealings)

Sealings 2667, 2856, 2942 and possibly 2867 all show evidence of large crudely executed hieroglyphic signs similar to other known Figurensiegel. The use of

237 F43 and F44. Both of these seals also appear in Henry G. Fischer, "Old Kingdom Cylinder Seals for the Lower Classes," Metropolitan Museum Journal 6 (1972): fig. 19 and 21. They both have the personal name Tnti.

238 See Chapter 1.
hieroglyphs as graphic components in their own right, free of syntactic association, is best seen in Kaplony's F18. On this seal, the even distribution of several signs over the surface of the seal appears to be merely a decorative pattern. The size of the ḫnḫ-sign on Sealing 2667 and the crude execution of the ḫ-sign on Sealing 2856 are consistent with graphic use of hieroglyphic signs. Sealing 2942 not only appears to show a large ˁ-sign but also the front part of a recumbent animal of some sort, confirming that the hieroglyph is likely intended as a graphic component in a larger composition.

Sealing 2867 is not so clear. Although the sealing is nearly intact and bears two impressions, the preserved signs are faint and hard to read. The signs that can be read (such as the ASET-basket and the ˁ-sign) are large and heavily carved. The ASET-basket also appears to be "filled" by a single stroke instead of finer hatching. These traits of clumsy execution as well as the even distribution of signs across the surface suggest that Sealing 2867 might also have been impressed by a seal that used hieroglyphic signs graphically.

2.4.3.3 Graphic Designs (Five Sealings)

Sealings 2752, 2871, 2888, 2908 and 4438 all seem to be examples of graphic designs common among Kaplony’s Figurensiegel. The impression on Sealing 2752

\footnote{Kaplony, RAR II B, 154.}
appears to show two quail chicks (perhaps preceded by traces of a third), all on a shared ground-line. This is a common motif on Old Kingdom cylinder seals.\textsuperscript{240} Below this line of quail chicks seem to be several signs of some kind, but they are badly damaged. Sealing 2908 appears to show the curled tail of a scorpion, a stroke and part of another sign of some kind. Scorpions are common components in graphic compositions on Old Kingdom seals.\textsuperscript{241}

Sealings 2871, 2888 and 4438 all show traces of quadrupedal animals apparently in broader graphic compositions. Sealing 2871 shows at least two overlapping impressions with four-legged animals on ground-lines, one of which seems to be an ibex. In both cases these animals are surmounted by what appears to be a second ground-line and traces of other signs so each impression appears to be only a part of a more extensive composition. Sealing 4438 also shows a four-legged animal as a component in a broader composition but lacks a ground-line. On Sealing 4438, the quadrupedal animal appears above a fish and is followed by the foot of another figure. Sealing 2888 seems to show a single animal (possibly a bull) with no ground-line and a preceding vertical stroke. There are traces of surrounding signs but little sense can be made of the composition.

\textsuperscript{240} See F150, F163 and F183 in Ibid., pls. 175, 177 and 180.  
\textsuperscript{241} See F9, F29, F43, F92 and F203 in Ibid., pls. 152, 156, 159, 166 and 183.
Again, it is difficult to determine how many seals made the impressions on these five sealings. The carving in the impressions on all five sealings appears to be of similar quality and scale, so it is possible that they were all impressed by a single complicated seal. However, the existence of a ground-line on Sealing 2871 might argue that at the very least two seals left all of these impressions but it may be even more likely that each sealing was made by a different seal.

2.4.3.4 Cross-Hatched Patterns (Two Sealings)

Simple cross-hatching was common in Old Kingdom cylinder seals. Most often cross-hatching was used on only a portion of the seal's surface as a component in the seal's overall design. Occasionally the entire seal might be covered by cross-hatching.

Two sealings from Pottery Mound (Sealings 2711 and 4434) show traces of cross-hatched seal impressions. Although it is impossible to determine whether these patterns once covered the entire surface of their respective originating seals or were merely limited components in their composition, the hatching on Sealing 4434 is more regular and much more finely executed than that on Sealing 2711. It seems clear that these sealings were impressed by two different seals.


243 F180 in Ibid., pl. 179.

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2.4.3.5 Linear and Oval Designs and Serated-Line Patterns (Three Sealings)

Sealings 2870, 2958 and 3503 all bear traces of decorative motifs which typically form just one component in a larger arrangement. Sealing 2870 shows two pairs of counterposed serated lines. Serated lines - either singly or in facing pairs - are common in the layout of Old Kingdom seals. Frequently, pairs of counterposed serated lines serve to frame the seal’s composition with one pair near the "top" border and the other near the "bottom" border. Occasionally these pairs may be replaced by a single, serated line. Shorter segments of these pairs might also appear within the larger composition such as that which includes a line of quail chicks. Sealing 2958 has two seal impressions both of which seem to show a motif of an oval-within-an-oval. This oval motif is common on Old Kingdom seals but is otherwise always just one component in a broader composition. Finally, Sealing 3503 bears a partial impression with a pattern of several line segments. A similar arrangement can be seen on a seal in the Cairo Museum (JdE 27552). This crudely executed seal not only shows several

\[\text{\footnotesize 244 See F1, F9, F19, and F53 in Ibid., pls. 151, 152, 154 and 160.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 245 For instance, see F103 in Ibid., pl. 167.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 246 For a pair of serated lines as a component of a more extensive seal layout, see F143, F161, F163 and F171 in Ibid., pls. 173, 177 and 178. F163 and F171 also show traces of a line of quail chicks similar to Sealing 2752 discussed in Section 2.4.3.3 above.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 247 See F33, F90 and F158 in Ibid., 156, 165 and 176-177.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 248 F30 in Ibid., pl. 157.} \]

236
linear patterns but also contains a pair of serated line segments and some areas of cross-hatching.

The impressions on these three seals are all similar to other Old Kingdom seal designs, but it is clear that these motifs typically accompany other decorative patterns on a single seal. So while it is possible that all three were from different seals, it is more likely that the seals used on these sealings also bore the other motifs discussed above, such as a line of quail chicks, cross-hatching, or the hieroglyphs used graphically.

2.4.3.6 Conclusion: Total Number of "Informal" Seals at Pottery Mound

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the individual seals used to generate the seal impressions or, put another way, to determine the number of possible seal owners who impressed the sealings found at Pottery Mound. The "informal" seals pose a serious challenge to this goal. The layout of these seals is inherently unpredictable and may combine several different motifs. So when presented with fragments of impressions made by these seals it is virtually impossible to eliminate the possibility that all of these sealings might have been impressed by just a few seals.

Only 49 sealings from Pottery Mound have been identified as "informal" and of these only 20 preserved more than traces of the seal impression. Just two of these 20 sealings (Sealings 2811 and 2941) bear overlapping impressions and were likely impressed by the same seal. Bearing in mind the discussion above, it is possible that
the 20 "unmatched" informal sealings were impressed by as many as 19,\textsuperscript{249} or as few as nine, different seals. All of the "textual" sealings could have come from three seals. All the "hieroglyphic" seals could have come from two seals. Most of the "graphic" seals do not show ground-lines, but one (Sealing 2871) does, so they come from a minimum of two seals. There are two clearly different cross-hatched seals and the remaining three sealings (Sealings 2870, 2958 and 3503) bear motifs that were part of broader compositions, meaning that their originating seals likely have already been included in the other categories.

It is possible that the number of seals that produced these seal impressions is even less than nine, since many of the different motifs might have been components on a single seal. For instance, some known seals have cross-hatching, oval shapes and hieroglyphs used graphically. Given the low degree of replication among these seal impressions, it seems likely that some of the categories above might have been combined on the same seal. The low, overall number of "informal" sealings indicates that relatively few "informal" \textit{seals} were used at Pottery Mound when compared to the number of Official Seals. Since only 22-27 Official Seals likely produced 981 sealings at Pottery Mound, it would seem more reasonable that the 49 "informal" sealings from the

\textsuperscript{249} Sealings 2811 and 2941 were sealed by the same seal. All the other 18 sealings could have been from different seals.
same location were made by nine seals, as opposed to the possible upper limit of 48 seals.

2.5 Ambiguous Impressed Sealings (221 Sealings)

221 sealings from Pottery Mound have been classified as "ambiguous." In general, these sealings preserve more of the original seal design than those with "trace" impressions. They are "ambiguous" in that their impressions might have reasonably been made by two or more of the "core" seals and so they cannot be assigned to just one seal design with certainty. Much of this ambiguity is a direct consequence of the method adopted for reconstructing the originating seal designs by identifying the serekh type used on the seal. If a seal impression does not happen to contain the bottom portion of a serekh - or the serekh is poorly preserved - it is highly likely that it will be classified as "ambiguous," unless it happens to show another distinctive arrangement of hieroglyphs or other images. This situation is made even more problematic since all of the twelve "core" seals were issued to "scribes of royal documents," who frequently possess many of the same titles and epithets. Without a distinctive serekh and surrounding signs many of the impressions on these sealings could conceivably be assigned to several of the twelve "core" seals in Section 2.3.

See the Supplementary DVD for a catalog of these sealings with photographs.

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220 out of the 221 "ambiguous" sealings are all classified as "formal" and just one is "undetermined." Fragments which can be clearly labelled as "informal" were certainly not made by the "core" seals discussed above and so have already been discussed in Section 2.4 above.

Many of the "ambiguous" sealings deserve detailed discussion even though they cannot be attributed to a specific originating seal. For instance, 14 sealings preserve substantial sections of impressions from the top of the cylinder seal and yet they could not be assigned to just one of the twelve "core" seals because they do not preserve enough of the bottom part of a serekh or any other diagnostic arrangement of signs. Five other sealings actually preserve the bottom part of the originating seal but not the serekh and so they might also be assigned to more than one "core" seal. This situation is comparatively rare since the diagnostic, lower parts of the serekhs tend to be closer to the bottom of the cylinder than the top. 19 other seals are more fragmentary but they preserve variations on the known motifs and words in the restored seals. While future excavations at Pottery Mound might eventually provide missing impressions that tie some of these fragments to certain originating seals, for the time being, these "ambiguous" sealings demonstrate the prevalence of known motifs within Pottery Mound generally. They may or may not be from the twelve seals above but they certainly were deposited in the same place during the same period and thus have value filling out the broader administrative context of Pottery Mound.
The discussion of the "ambiguous" sealings from Pottery Mound will be broken into three broad sections. First, sealings with impressions from the "tops" of seals illustrate how substantial these "ambiguous" sealings may be. Second, the few "ambiguous" sealings with impressions from the bottom of the seal will be discussed. Finally, several of the most interesting motifs from the remaining "ambiguous" sealings will be highlighted. Altogether these sealings give a broad sense of the motifs and titles not yet discussed.

2.5.1 Ambiguous Impressions from near the Top of Seals

14 Pottery Mound sealings\(^{251}\) bear impressions from the upper registers of the originating seal but still cannot be assigned to a particular seal reconstruction. Two of these sealings are indicative of the problems of this group. Sealing 3450 clearly shows a Horus falcon on top of a *serekh* separating two horizontally arranged *cartouches* of Menkaure. It also has a horizontal boundary line marking the upper limit of the seal's design. Even though this seal impression is quite extensive compared to many of the sealings from Pottery Mound, it still cannot be assigned to any single seal reconstruction. In fact, it could conceivably be assigned three different seals. The most striking attribute of Sealing 3450 is that it shows two *cartouches* at the start of two

\(^{251}\) Sealings 2716, 2746, 2775, 2823, 2866, 2921, 2954, 3099, 3412, 3428, 3450, 3464, 3799 and 3819. All of these sealings are cataloged with photographs on the Supplementary DVD.
alternate columns of text. In a similar way, *cartouches* head columns of text on Seal 1, line 4; Seal 4, line 5 (after the royal title *ny-šw.t-bit.y*); perhaps Seal 11, line 4 (after a gap which may have been a royal title); and three separate times on Seal 5. *Cartouches* may also be restored at the start of Seal 4, lines 4 and 6. Theoretically similar restorations are possible for Seal 8, lines 2 and 8; Seal 10, lines 6 and 8; and Seal 12, lines 2, 4 and 6. Therefore, the impression on Sealing 3450 showing two *cartouches* of Menkaure in alternating lines could have been made by Seals 4, 10 or 12. It must remain "ambiguous."

Similarly, Sealing 3819 bears a single, large impression from near the top of a seal. This impression begins with the title "Scribe of Royal Documents" followed by the epithet *śm3ˁt* (written with the ←-sign). The lower part of a Horus-falcon atop a *serekh* containing Menkaure’s Horus name (*k3-ḥḥ*) (but lacking the diagnostic lower façade) comes next. The following line is mostly obscured by an overlying impression but does contain strokes consistent with a repetition of "Scribe of Royal Documents." While this arrangement of titles and signs resembles Seal 7, lines 5, 6 and 1, the manner of writing *śm3ˁt(i)* on Seal 7 clearly lacks the ←-sign over the †-sign. However, Sealing 3819 might fit the restorations of Seal 4 (lines 7, [8] and 1), Seal 10 (lines 8, 1 and 2) or Seal 12 (lines 6, 7 and 8). For this reason Sealing 3819 also must remain "ambiguous."

This kind of ambiguity similarly applies to the other twelve sealings with impressions from near the top of the seal. Given the complete absence of the upper
portions of the columns of text in the reconstructions of Seals 9, 10 and 12 in particular, most impressions from high on the seal that do not include a diagnostic portion of the lower part of the *serekh* frequently might fit all of these three seals. This highlights an unavoidable deficiency of relying on *serekhs* to help organize the reconstructions.

### 2.5.2 Ambiguous Impressions from near the Bottom of Seals

Amiguous impressions also come from near the bottom of the originating seal, but because the lower, diagnostic portion of the *serekh* typically appears on the lower half of the cylinder these cases are less common. In addition, most of the seal reconstructions are either highly fragmentary near the bottom or the lower portions are missing altogether. In fact, of the twelve "core" seals reconstructed in Section 2.3 above, only Seals 1 and 2 preserve a significant portion of the bottom part of the seal's inscription. Seals 8, 9 and 11 on the other hand lack almost all of the bottom of their inscriptions and allow great latitude for possible restoration.

Five sealings from Pottery Mound bear impressions from near the bottom of the originating seal that are ambiguous. Two of these sealings - Sealings 2910 and 3406 - bear impressions that show a horizontal boundary line at the base of the cylinder. Sealing 2743 contains the terms [zš] *(w)-*({nw}-)*ny-św.t* and *bry.t-₇ n[y-św.t]*, which are otherwise common on the Pottery Mound seals. Sealings 2837 and 3470 both seem to

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252 Sealings 2743, 2837, 2910, 3406 and 3470. All of these sealings are cataloged with photographs on the Supplementary DVD.
show traces of the title $z\check{s} \,(.w)-(nw)-ny-\check{sw}.t$. However, nothing about these seal impressions restricts them to a single seal in the corpus and so they must remain "ambiguous."

2.5.3 Traces of Common Motifs

Several "ambiguous" seal impressions bear motifs that are common in other Old Kingdom seal inscriptions and many of these motifs already appear on the twelve "core" seal reconstructions. Others only happen to appear on "ambiguous" fragments. These motifs help to round out the wider repertoire of seal inscriptions at Pottery Mound. For instance, Sealings 2699, 3130 and 3405 all seem to preserve the royal epithet "beloved of Ptah " ($mr(y) P\check{t}h$) with varying degrees of completeness. It is remarkable that none of the twelve "core" seals preserve any mention of the god Ptah given Giza's close proximity to Memphis. But these three small sealing fragments make it clear that at least some of the sealings discarded in Pottery Mound do refer to Ptah.

Some of the other ambiguous sealings show different versions of motifs and texts that are already included in the "core" seal reconstructions in Section 2.3 above. However these different renderings show that these motifs and titles were more common than might be implied by the reconstructions alone. For instance four separate sealings show the king being "introduced" ($ibz(w)$) by two gods, a scene that also appears on Seal 8, line 7. However, two of these sealings - Sealings 2864 and 3618 - clearly show the word $mry$ (as a component of the preceding column of text) directly in front of these three standing figures, excluding the possibility that Seal 8 made these
impressions. Two other sealings - Sealings 2762 and 3170 - just preserve traces of the three figures, and could have been impressed by Seals 8 or 11\textsuperscript{253} or another as yet unidentified seal.

Other motifs that appear on ambiguous sealings include the epithet "brother of Min and Amun(?)" (\textit{\textsc{sn Mnw ëmn(?)}}),\textsuperscript{254} the title "judge" (\textit{\textsc{z3b}}),\textsuperscript{255} and the word "instructions" (\textit{\textsc{sb3.(w)t}}).\textsuperscript{256} Sealing 2691 bears no impression save the end-impression of a cylinder seal. It has been classified as an "ambiguous" seal impression since it bears no other seal impressions and there is no conclusive way to assign it to a known seal.

2.6 Sealings with Trace Impressions (352 Sealings)

Next to the 424 sealings impressed by the twelve "core" seals, the largest group of sealings from Pottery Mound are those classified as bearing "traces" of seal impressions. There is a conceptual continuum between "ambiguous" sealings and those with "traces." Usually, "trace" impressions are those that preserve just a single legible sign indicating that an impression is indeed present. "Ambiguous" sealings typically bear

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{253} Restoring the three striding figures below the \textit{serekh} as a royal epithet in Seal 9, line 2, or Seal 11, line 3.
\item \textsuperscript{254} Sealing 3332. This epithet appears on Seal 2, line 5; Seal 4, line 6; Seal 6, line 6; and Seal 8, line 9.
\item \textsuperscript{255} Sealings 3478 and 3536. The word \textit{\textsc{z3b}} also appears on Seal 10, line 6.
\item \textsuperscript{256} Sealing 2947. The writing on this sealing matches none of the writings in the reconstructions in Section 2.3 above, but may yet potentially be restored on Seal 4, line 1; Seal 9, line 1; or Seal 10, line 6.
\end{itemize}

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a few signs that may potentially be used to identify the originating seal. The boundary between these two categories is subjective. However one classifies these sealings, little can be said about them but they have been included in the catalog.

2.7 Conclusion

The two initial assumptions used in reconstructing the seals of Pottery Mound were apparently justified in practice. All of the seal impressions on every sealing proved to be from the same reconstructed seal, confirming the absence of "counter-sealing" at Pottery Mound. In addition, all of the serekhs on each reconstruction were of the same type. In no case did impressions from different seals appear on the same sealing as the reconstructions were built up from overlapping impressions, nor did two different types of serekh ever appear on the same seal drawing.

After a thorough examination of all 1,036 impressed sealing fragments from Pottery Mound, they all seem to have been produced by between 31 and 74 distinct originating seals. Twelve of these seals were particularly well-represented making impressions on 424 sealings, or 41% of all the impressed sealings from Pottery Mound. 19 other "formal" sealings bear impressions that must have been made by as few as ten or as many as 15 other seals. In addition, Pottery Mound produced 49 "informal" sealings that could not have been made by the "core" seals. Given the inherently complex composition of "informal" seal designs, it is difficult to determine exactly how many seals made these impressions, but as few as nine seals and as many as 48 seals might be represented by all the "informal" sealings.
Altogether, then, there is evidence for between 31 and 74 seals in the Pottery Mound corpus. However, 221 other sealings from Pottery Mound are ambiguous (meaning that they could be assigned to more than one known seal reconstruction) and 352 other sealings bear the merest trace of a seal impression and can not be reasonably assigned to any reconstruction. These two classes account for over half of all impressed sealings so far excavated at Pottery Mound.

Even more striking however are the different extremes of replication seen in the Pottery Mound sealings. Just twelve seals - the "core" seals - are known to have impressed 424 sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus. The remaining 19 to 62 possible seals are known (as far as can be determined) from just 87 sealings. The remaining sealings cannot be conclusively assigned to any single seal reconstruction. It is clear that the owners of the twelve "core" seals had a particularly intense interest in the institution or institutions that contributed sealings to Pottery Mound.

Many questions regarding these officials remain. The high numbers of sealings they produced do not in themselves necessarily mean that these officials worked near Pottery Mound since sealings may often be brought into a site and, then, broken and discarded. Also, determining the relationships among these officials and how they might have changed over time relies ultimately on the archaeological provenance in which the sealings were found. If these contexts were relatively undisturbed, they might be tied directly to local sealing activity. After being broken and discarded, sealings become refuse. In congested urban areas that lack easy access to open space, this refuse is
repeatedly moved around the site from unused space to unused space, eventually losing any association with the location where the sealings were first broken. Clearly, reconstructing the administrative structure of the institution or institutions that deposited the sealings in Pottery Mound requires more than identifying the officials and restoring their seals. Chapter 3 will focus on the attributes of the individual sealings sealed by the twelve "core" seals in order to reconstruct the history, roles and relationships of these official who wielded them.
3.1 Introduction

At first glance, the sealings from Pottery Mound as well as the originating seals that impressed them seem to afford an unprecedented opportunity to study the operations of a Fourth Dynasty scribal institution. The reconstructed "core" seals were apparently owned by twelve scribal officials who served Khafre and Menkaure in the second half of the Fourth Dynasty. The sealings they made over time show how these seals were used while the archaeological strata in which they were found might preserve the associations among these officials and how these relationships changed over time.

Sealings are the source for several interrelated types of information, each with its own implications and limitations. First, given adequate preservation and sufficient replication, the seal impressions on the sealings' fronts permit the reconstruction of the originating seals (representing specific administrative actors). Second, the types of sealings sealed by a single seal in a defined context constitute a "use profile" indicating how that seal was generally used in that context. Third, under the right conditions, the archaeological provenance of impressed sealings helps determine when the originating seals were in use (even if only relative to other known seals) and potentially isolate where those seals might have been used. Fourth, the composition or matrix of the mud from which the sealing was composed might conceivably be used to identify the
possible number of clay sources from which the sealings in any particular context were produced. The greater the number of possible sources for sealing clay in a particular collection of sealings, the greater the likelihood that the sealings were produced in different places.

The institution (or institutions) that produced the Pottery Mound sealings can be identified by describing similar patterns of association among the sealings. First, the Pottery Mound sealings exhibit a high degree of replication that allows for the extensive reconstruction of the designs of the twelve "core" seals in Chapter 2. These seals are to be distinguished from the other 19 to 62 possible seals at Pottery Mound that are for the most part represented by just a single sealing. The textual and compositional elements on these "core" seals include royal names with their accompanying devices (i.e., *serekhs* and *cartouches*), royal and personal epithets and, most importantly, the titles associated with the officials to whom these seals were originally given. The co-occurrence of these elements on different seals helps to define the possible relationships among the seal owners as well as their administrative functions. Second, the greater number of sealings assigned to each of the "core" seals produces a more representative "use profile" for these seals. However, even though the Pottery Mound sealings comprise one of the richest assemblages of impressed sealings for Egypt's Old Kingdom, the 1,036 impressed sealings clearly indicate that the breaking and discarding of sealings was not a common, daily occurrence but rather happened much less frequently. Whatever this frequency may have been, the more sealings that a seal left
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>zš-(w)-(nw)-ny-sw.t</th>
<th>... (n) šb3(t) ny-sw.t</th>
<th>... (n) k3.t nb(t) (n.t) ny-sw.t</th>
<th>zš-hry.t'-ny-sw.t</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>(either... ...or)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>E (Abbreviated)</td>
<td>Abbreviated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>E (Abbreviated)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal 12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
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</table>

behind, the "use profile" based on the types of those sealings will more closely correspond to the actual use of the originating seal. Finally, the stratigraphic context of the sealings may reveal when and how frequently they were deposited and, under the right conditions, even where they were created. The clay matrix of the sealings however will not be considered here but, based on a preliminary inspection, all of the 424 replicate sealings appear to have been made from highly levigated clay mixed with very fine sand as a filler.¹ A more detailed technical assessment of the clay sources used to make the Pottery Mound sealings must wait for future research. To the extent that all of these associations complement and reinforce - or contradict and qualify - each other, they will help identify the nature and functions of the institution or institutions that produced the 424 replicate sealings in Pottery Mound.

3.2 Textual and Compositional Evidence

Regardless of the archaeological context of the Pottery Mound sealings or their functional types, much can be gleaned about the people who produced them by examining the textual and compositional elements on the originating seals reconstructed in Chapter 2. The single most striking common attribute is that every one of the twelve "core" seals had been originally issued to a high ranking scribe of the Fourth Dynasty

¹ For definitions of these terms, see Barry J. Kemp, "Soil (including Mud Brick Architecture)," in Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology, ed. Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge: University Press, 2000).
(see Table 3.1). Six of the twelve seals appear to have been issued to scribes who were simply identified as "Scribe of Royal Documents" whereas the other six seals belonged to scribes of royal documents who were dedicated to a more specific purpose.

Another important feature of the twelve "core" seals from Pottery Mound is the royal names. The cartouche name of the king surrounded by a cartouche is preserved on five seals. In each of these cases, the same seal also shows the same king's Horus name inside a serekh. All twelve of the "core" seals bear either a complete Horus name or - in the case of Seal 8 - one that can be restored with certainty. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Horus name written inside a serekh during the Old Kingdom consistently refers to the living, reigning king when the seal was carved. The presence of complete or restorable Horus names on all twelve "core" seals dates the carving of those seals to the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure.

The other prominent components of the seals presented in Chapter 2 are epithets of the king and the titles and epithets of the seal owners. As discussed in Chapter 1, during the Old Kingdom Official Seals such as the twelve "core" seals from Pottery Mound do not bear the name of the seal owner. However, while there are textual and compositional elements common to several of these seals, it is clear that each one is unique. In fact, the unique qualities of these seals have permitted the identification of replicate sealings from the many shattered sealing fragments and the subsequent reconstruction of the designs of the originating seals. It is possible that the increasing individuality of the Official Seals in this period compensates for the disappearance of the
Beamtsiegel of earlier times. Beamtsiegel bore the personal name as well as the titles of the seal owner but not the name of the reigning king and were often used in conjunction with his own Official Seal, which bore the king's name and the sealer's titles but not his personal name. In the absence of the more personalized Beamtsiegel, Official Seals took on an increasingly distinctive design. In the end, the overall impression is that each of the "core" seals at Pottery Mound was carved for an individual official.

An underlying assumption in such an analysis is that at any given time each official wielded only one Official Seal. However, in other cultures and in other periods in Egypt's history some officials did hold more than one seal at a time. For instance, in his study of the sealings from the palace of Ešnunna, Clemens Reichel remarks on the likelihood that one particular official named Šu-Enlil used two very similar seals during the same period in his career.² Peter Kaplony studies the seals used by the high official Hemaka over the course of Den's reign in the First Dynasty.³ According to Kaplony, Hemaka would often seal storage jars intended for the burials of important nobles with two different cylinder seals. One of these seals was a Beamtsiegel (bearing Hemaka's name and titles) and the other was an Official Seal (bearing Hemaka's titles

³ See Chapter 1 n. 228 above.
and the king's Horus name). By examining the overlapping use of these two types of
seals, Kaplony established the sequence of Beamtensiegel and Official Seals used by
Hemaka over his career. Although Hemaka frequently possessed and used two different
cylinder seals at the same time during his career, Kaplony concludes that at any one
moment he wielded just one Beamtensiegel and one Amtssiegel.

The case of Hemaka suggests that each Official Seal belonged to a different
official. When a young man entered into royal service, he would receive his first
Amtssiegel, an event which marked a shift in his social status by which he became
"ennobled" (šꜣḥ).⁴ Each of the "core" seals in Chapter 2 appears to have been tailored to
a specific individual, like Amtssiegel in general, since many of these seals bear multiple
titles and varying combinations of royal epithets. Although some titles may be shared by
several "core" seals, the specific combinations of titles and the other compositional
details of the seals appear to be uniquely identifiable indicating that the seal was
created for an individual at a discrete point in his career and not handed on from one
holder of a set of titles to his replacement.

The question of the heritability of Official Seals as well as whether the seal
owners might delegate the use of their seal under some circumstances might be
definitively answered in the future by a careful examination of the fingerprints that are

⁴ Wolfgang Boochs, Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, Kölner Forschungen zu
preserved on the outer surface of sealings. These fingerprints are left behind after the wet sealing has been applied and the outer surface made smooth for application of the cylinder seal. If many sets of fingerprints are randomly associated with multiple seals over time, then the seals may have been commonly delegated to assistants who prepared the sealings and made the impressions. If a single set of fingerprints is exclusively associated with the impressions of a single seal - and no others - then a good case can be made that a single person handled that seal during the sealing process. Should that exclusive sealer change after some period of time and then use the seal for some time thereafter, it is possible either that the seal owner has changed his delegate or that the seal itself has been handed on to a new official. While none of these outcomes can be conclusive, such a study of these fingerprints might shed some light on the delegation and heritability of Official Seals in the Old Kingdom.\(^5\)

**3.2.1 Titles on the Pottery Mound Seals**

The twelve "core" seals presented in Chapter 2 represent the most frequently attested seals in the Pottery Mound corpus. So, it is striking that all twelve bear the title Scribe of Royal Documents \((zš\.w)-(nw)-ny-ś.w.f)\) and eight of the twelve also bear the title Scribe of the King’s Writing Case \((zš hry.t-ç-ny-św.f)\) with different degrees of restoration.

3.2.1.1 Scribes of Royal Documents in the Old Kingdom

During the Fourth Dynasty when Pottery Mound was being formed, the Scribes of Royal Documents apparently exhibited no hierarchical structure. Before the start of the Fifth Dynasty only the simple title žš (.w)-(n.w)-ny-ṣw.t is ever claimed by tomb owners.⁶ No superiors (e.g., imy.w-r3, šḥḏ.w, ḫrp.w, etc.) nor subordinates (e.g., imy.w-h.t or ḫṛy.w-) are attested for these scribes in the Fourth Dynasty. From slightly earlier in the Fourth Dynasty, 13 of the 178 sealing fragments recovered by Karl Kromer at Giza also preserve the simple title žš (.w)-(n.w)-ny-ṣw.t, with no evidence for the supervisory title šḥḏ zš(.w) (.w)-(n.w)-ny-ṣw.t.⁷

By the Fifth Dynasty, the administration of the Scribes of Royal Documents had apparently undergone several changes. Over the course of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, six different Inspectors of the Scribes of Royal Documents (šḥḏ.w zš(.w) (.w)-(n.w)-ny-ṣw.t) decorated tombs in the Memphite area.⁸ Three other tomb owners near Memphis held the same title but were attached to other government departments,  

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⁶ Patrizia Piacentini, Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l’ancien empire, volume 1: Les premières dynasties, les nécropoles memphites, Études et Mémoires d’Égyptologie 5 (Paris: Cybele, 2002), 769. The following names are given in transliteration for ease of reference. Giza: nfr (date: Khafre); nfr (G3015, date: Dynasty 4); nfr-ššm-ḥwfwšši (date: Dynasty 4); k3-m-nfr.t (G II S, date: Menkaure); tn.ti (G2051, date: Dynasty 4); possibly šn-nw-k3=i:kkī (G2041, date: end Dynasty 4 or Dynasty 5).


⁸ See the index in Piacentini, Les scribes, v. 1, 769.
namely, the department of provisioning offerings (šḥd zš(.w) ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t pr ḥry-wdb), the treasury (šḥd zš(.w) ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t pr-ḥḏ), and the granary (šḥd zš(.w) ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t šnwḥ). However, these relatively few examples are still overshadowed by the large number of Memphite tomb owners who claim the simple title zš ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t (or zš ṣ n ny-św.t) and its variants during the same period.⁹

Also, the hitherto unknown title Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents (ỉmy-r3 zš(.w) ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t) makes its first appearance in the reign of Neferirkare.¹⁰ At first, the vizier (the second most powerful man next to the king) and another subordinate official seem to have held this title at the same time until the establishment of a second, concurrent vizier with particular responsibility for Upper Egypt in the reign of Djedkare Izezi.¹¹ The earliest holders of this title seem to be Washptah, vizier under Neferirkare,¹² and Seshemnefer II, who likely never became vizier.¹³ After the reforms in the reign of

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⁹ According to the index in Ibid., 761, there are 69 references to the simple title zš ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t, 37 occurrences of zš ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t (n) ḫft-hṛ and just 6 occurrences of zš ṣ(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.t (n) pr-ḥḫ.ⁱ⁰ Klaus Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 300, sees the reign of Neferirkare as the culmination of a process whereby the members of the royal family and household were removed from the national administration. See now Michel Baud, Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien, Bibliothèque d'Étude 126 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999), 323-327.ⁱ¹ Nigel Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: the Highest Titles and their Holders (Boston: KPI, 1985), 214.ⁱ² Ibid., 79-80 no. 37.ⁱ³ Ibid., 200-202, Table 12. See Chapter 4. See also Piacentini, Les scribes, v. 1, 198-199.
Djedkare Izezi, this title was held exclusively by viziers with a single exception in the reign of Pepi II.

According to Petra Andrassy, Scribes of Royal Documents in the late Fifth Dynasty were most likely assigned to one of three administrative departments - called, iz.w, or "chambers" - within the royal administration (Pr-ny-św.t): the House of Royal Documents (Pr ū-ny-św.t), the House of Sealed Documents (Pr hry-ḥtm-md3.t), or the House of the Book Roll (Pr md3.t). However, prior to the reforms under Neferirkare, the structure, administration and even the existence of one of these departments - the House of Royal Documents (Pr ū-ny-św.t) - are not certain. In fact, just one of these divisions - the House of the Book Roll (Pr md3.t) - is ever attested in the Fourth Dynasty. Wolfgang Helck suggests that the vizier actually headed the administration of the royal documents with the title Chief of the Royal Scribes (?), or mḏḥ zš(.-w)-ny-św.t, before the establishment of an Overseer of the Scribes of Royal Documents early

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14 Petra Andrassy, "Zur Struktur der Verwaltung des Alten Reiches," ZÄS 118 (1991): 7 and n. 9. In his discussion of the relevant passage in Coptos B, Hans Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 14 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 100-102 n. 23 reads "Pr md3.t" as "pr-", and translates it "archive." In the same discussion (p. 169 n. 20), Goedicke cites Coptos L, in which a similar document dealing with the division of land is registered with the pr hry-ḥtm-md3.t.


16 Ibid.
in the Fifth Dynasty. Strudwick disagrees noting that relatively few officials are known to have held the older title and only two of them were viziers. Also, the old title Chief of the Royal Scribes (?) continued to be used even after the implementation of the new title \textit{imy-r3 zš(.w) γ(w)-(nw)-ny-św.t} in the reign of Neferirkare implying that the two titles were actually distinct by that time. Ultimately, Strudwick concludes that, "[i]t is quite possible that in the fourth dynasty the office of vizier incorporated important scribal functions without expressing it in the form of titles." The corps of scribes who worked with royal documents in the Fourth Dynasty, then, may have directly served the vizier in his diverse duties and functioned as equals beneath him. This would help explain the relatively frequent occurrence of this apparently simple title in the tombs of otherwise important Fourth Dynasty officials.

3.2.1.2 Keeper of the Royal Instructions and Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions

The most common group of titles on the Pottery Mound seals deal explicitly with "royal instructions" (\textit{šb3.(w)t ny-św.t}) but the translation and interpretation of this phrase

\begin{quote}
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\textbf{17} Wolfgang Helck, \textit{Untersuchungen zu den Beamten titeln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches}, Ägyptologische Forschungen 18 (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1954), 75-76. Note that Wepennnefret also claims the titles \textit{hm-ntr Šš3.t ḫnty.t Pr-md3.t-ḥw-ny-św.t} in addition to \textit{mdḥ zš(.w) ny-św.t}. See Peter Der Manuelian, \textit{Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis}, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 7 (New Haven: The Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, 2003), 32 n. 3 and n. 5. For the reading of \textit{ḥw-ny-św.t}, see Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 114-118.
\end{quote}

\footnotesize
\textbf{18} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 216.
have been contested. Although titles containing šb3.(w)t ny-św.t were known starting in the reign of Khafre and disappearing by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, scholars have never been unanimous in their understanding of this phrase in Old Kingdom titles. For example, Seidlmayer has suggested that the title, which he transliterates imy-r3 šb3(w.w), is to be translated as "overseer of the helmsmen" since it consistently appears in nautical scenes. In other contexts, the simple titles šb3.w or šb3.t(i) seem to demand a translation of "leader, director," or even "teacher" or "pupil." Objecting to the conventional interpretation of the genetival phrase n šb3.t(iw) ny-św.t, frequently translated as "of the royal pupils," in several Old Kingdom titles, Siedelmeyer can find no evidence that šb3(.w) ny-św.t or šb3.t(iw) ny-św.t ever referred to an organized collective of people, as the śḏ.tiw-ny-św.t ("royal students") or the mš.w-ny-św.t

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21 Ibid.: 168.
22 Ibid.: 170.
23 Wolfgang Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im Alten Reich," MDAIK 15 (1957): 105, examines the roles of wʾb-priests in the mortuary cults of dead kings in relation to the existing pyramid towns. Among the cults to which these priests may be attached he notes the šb3.t-ny-św.t, which he translates as "die 'Zöglinge' des Königs." These priests are a part of the funerary cults for these "royal pupils" which the king established when they were young, according to Helck.
24 See Baud, Famille royale, 118-127 for a discussion of the śḏ.tiw-ny-św.t, which incorporates the broader subject of royal adoption and education.
("royal children")\(^{25}\) certainly do. Instead, Seidlmayer proposes reading this phrase as Ệ nb3.t ny-swick.t, and translates it as "under royal instructions" applied to priests in particular meaning under the direct control of the king.\(^{26}\)

Seidlmayer's suggested interpretation remains controversial. Michel Baud notes that in many contexts nb3(.w) demands the translation "teachers" or "lessons."\(^{27}\) Pätznick doubts the very existence of Seidlmayer's nautical title imy-r3 nb3(w.w), "overseer of helmsmen."\(^{28}\) In particular, reviewing Seidlmayer's treatment of the title imy-r3 nb3(w.w) ny-swick.t,\(^{29}\) Pätznick points out that in two of Seidlmayer's examples - an inscription from the tomb of Senedjemib Inti at Giza\(^{30}\) and a caption in the tomb reliefs of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi\(^ {31}\) - the <> in imy-r3 is missing. According to Pätznick, the

\(^{25}\) See Ibid., 347-350. for a discussion of the mš.w-ny-swick.t as an institution in the Old Kingdom.

\(^{26}\) Seidlmayer and Ziermann, "Eine Friesinschrift," 170-171.

\(^{27}\) Baud, Famille royale, 122. See also Peter Kaplony, Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs: IIA, Katalog der Rollsiegel, Text, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 3A (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1981), 484-485.

\(^{28}\) Pätznick, Siegelabrollungen, 81.

\(^{29}\) Seidlmayer and Ziermann, "Eine Friesinschrift," 168-171.

\(^{30}\) Richard Lepsius and Edouard Naville, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1972), v. 2, pl. 76e. See also Kurt Sethe, Urkunden des Alten Reiches, Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), 67 line 3. More recently, see Edward Brovarski, The Senedjemib Complex, Part I: the Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378). Giza Matabas 7 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2001).

\(^{31}\) This caption identifies a man named Ikhenu. See Norman de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi, Part II: Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 12 (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pl. 7.
Senedjemib Inti inscription actually reads (i)m(y) śb3(w), meaning "he who is directing (the course of the boat)." In the tomb of Djau, the caption for the ship's captain named Ikhenu ends in the phrase m śb3, which should simply be translated (according to Pätznick) as "giving direction" and need not be emended at all.

Two other examples cited by Seidlmayer are from the tombs of Kaiemtjenenet and Irysekhu. In these texts, forms of the title śb3(.w) are apparently compounded with the collective mś.w-ny-św.t, "royal children." Although damaged, the title for Kaiemtjenenet can be easily restored as Overseer of the Instructors of the [Royal] Children (imy-r3 śb3(.w) mś.w-[ny-św.t]).\(^\text{32}\) Similarly, Irysekhu twice claims the titles Overseer of the Instructors of the King's Children of His Body (imy-r3 śb3(.w) mś.w-ny-św.t (n) ḫ(t)=f)\(^\text{33}\) and the abbreviated Overseer of the Instructors of the King's Children (imy-r3 śb3(.w) mś.w-ny-św.t).\(^\text{34}\) In these instances, no nautical translation is required.

The fifth and final example cited by Seidlmayer and questioned by Pätznick is in a list of officials responsible for brick deliveries in the papyri from the Neferirkare mortuary temple. In one entry, only the title imy-r3 śb3(.w) is preserved giving no further

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\(^\text{32}\) Also see Henry G. Fischer, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' Deir el Gebrâwi," JARCE 13 (1976): 16.


\(^\text{34}\) Selim Hassan, The Mastabas of the Seventh Season and Their Description, Excavations at Giza (1935-1936) 7 (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), 67 fig. 55.

Ibid., 70 fig. 60.
indication of the nature of its function or the sphere of its responsibilities. However, as noted by Pätznick, given that the other titles listed in the same text are often compounded with pr-ˁ3, meaning "Great House" or "palace," and include physicians and hairdressers to the king, the translation of imy-r3 šb3(.w) as "Overseer of Instructors" seems preferable to Seidlmayer's "Overseer of Helmsmen." In conclusion, Pätznick sees šb3.t ny-šw.t as a specific institution - the Royal School - and šb3.t(i) ny-šw.t as a nisbe meaning, "he of the Royal School," referring to a teacher. Pätznick claims that this interpretation is reinforced by the close association between the titles šb3(w).t(i) ny-šw.t and zš-ny-šw.t on a sealing from Elephantine.

However, the term šb3.t ny-šw.t need not specifically designate an official royal school. As already noted by Osing, the existence of the masculine nisbe in the title šb3.(w)t(y)-ny-šw.t clearly implies that the feminine (collective) noun šb3.(w)t existed in the Old Kingdom. Lacking any determinatives or divergent contexts, the exact meaning of this term remains uncertain. In the Middle Kingdom, the collective sb3y.t, "lessons,

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instructions," is used to label "instructions" in wisdom literature. So, rather than positing the existence of a specific institution (the Royal School) as Pätznick, it seems safer to read šb3. (w)tl as the collective noun, "instructions," in keeping with the Middle Kingdom sense. While it does not appear to designate a particular institution, "royal instructions" were certainly associated with an educational facility of some kind.

Care must be taken to recognize that this facility bore little resemblance to modern schools. As discussed by Michel Baud, the terms šb3.ti ("pupil"), šd.ti ("foster-child") and šd.ti ("student") in the Middle Kingdom regularly refer to children educated in the care of the king in the palace (ˁḥ). The association among šb3.t(i), šd.t(i) and the palace can be seen in a passage from the biography of lykerneferet, a Twelfth Dynasty treasury official, where the tomb owner is brought into the palace in his youth as a šb3.t(i) and a šd.t(i).

\[dq-ntt\ in(w)\=k\ i\=s\ pw\ m\ šb3.t(i)\ h\=m\=i \ iw\ hpr.n\=k\ i\=s\ m\ šd.t(i)\ h\=m\=i\ šb3.t(i)\ w\ n\ ˁḥ\=i\ iw\ di.n\ tw\ h\=m\=i\ r\ [śmr]\ iw\=k\ m\ h\=wn\ n\ rnp.wt\ 26.\]

40 Wb. 4, 85-86.
41 For instance, see Kaplony, RAR IIA, 76, in reference to a sealing excavated at Giza by Karl Kromer. Kaplony believed that basic craft production may have formed part of the education of royal pupils. See Kromer, Siedlungsfunde, 130 and pl. 40, 9, for the sealing in question.
42 Baud, Famille royale, 119.
43 The terminology used to refer to the palace in the Middle Kingdom is fundamentally different from that used in the Old Kingdom. See Ogden Goelet, Jr., “Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom” (Columbia University, 1982).
"For you were brought as a pupil of my Majesty. Indeed, you have grown up as a foster-child of my Majesty and a unique student of my palace. My Majesty appointed you to be [a 'friend'] when you were a young man of 26 years."  

Baud maintains that a similar situation prevailed in the Old Kingdom. One of the few explicit sources on education in the royal palace of the Old Kingdom is the biography of Ptahshepses. The first two lines from the text on the chapel wall read:

1) [...] rk Mn-k3.w-r’ šd(w).f m-m mš.w-ny-šw.t m pr-3 ni ny-šw.t m ḫnw-5 m ip.t-ny-šw.t špśš ḫr ny-šw.t r ḫ<r>d [nb] [...] Pṯḥ-špśš

2) [...] rk špśš-k3=f šd(w)=f m-m mš.w-ny-šw.t m pr-3 ni ny-šw.t m ḫnw-5 m ip.t-ny-šw.t špśš ḫr ny-šw.t r i[dw nb] [...] Pṯḥ-špśš.

1) [...] the time of Menkaure, who was educated among the Royal Children in the palace of the king in privacy in the royal apartments, honored by the king more than [any (other)] child [...] Ptahshepses.

44 S. Berlin 1204, lines 6-7. For bibliography, see Baud, *Famille royale*, 119 n. 100.

45 Ibid., 120, gives a translation of the pertinent lines from the biography of Ptahshepses. For a recent publication of this text with a newly added block from the Oriental Institute collection, see Peter F. Dorman, "The Biographical Inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara: a Newly Identified Fragment," *JEA* 88 (2002).

46 This is the circumstantial, passive šḏm(w)=f used as a virtual relative clause modifying an indefinite noun earlier in the column, now lost. See the grammatical discussion in Dorman, "Biographical Inscription," 102, note a.

47 This translation differs slightly from that of Éric Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer Éditeur, 1986), 96 ex. 170 n. 1197, upon which both Dorman and Baud base their interpretations. The phrase *m ḫnw-5* is followed by *m ipt-nyšwt*, so this translation is an attempt to reflect the parallelism of the two phrases. On the reading *ḥnw-5*, see Michel Baud, "La date d'apparition des ḫntiw-š," *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 120 n. 106, with comments. Also, Gae Callender, "The Nature of the Egyptian 'Harim': Dynasties 1-20," *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 5 (1994): 11, notes that the children of high officials
2) [...] the time of Shepseskaf, who was educated among the Royal Children in the palace of the king in privacy in the royal apartments, honored by the king more than [any (other)] y[outh] [...] Ptahshepses.

The biography of Ptahshepses shows that children from outside the royal family were taken to be raised and educated alongside the actual children of the king in the palace during the Fourth Dynasty as they are in the Middle Kingdom biography of Iykhernofret. The term used for "palace of the king" in Ptahshepses' inscription is pr-ˁ3 ni ny-šw.t and the specific location within the palace where this education takes place is clearly identified as the ip.t-ny-šw.t, "royal apartments." Also, this education evidently progressed from one age-classification to another. Ptahshepses entered the palace as a "child" (ḥrd) in the reign of Menkaure, and remained there in the succeeding reign of Shepseskaf as a "youth" (idw).

were often educated by "ipt personnel" in the Old Kingdom. See also Goelet, "Two Aspects", 175-177.

48 Baud, "La date d'apparition des ḫntiw-š," 134-135, gives a useful survey of the existing interpretations of ip.t-ny-šw.t. However, considering that many different officials along with their wives, children and extended families resided in the ip.t-ny-šw.t (p. 134), perhaps "royal quarter" might be a more accurate translation.

49 On the succession of kings during the Fourth Dynasty, see Dorman, "Biographical Inscription," 107-110.

50 For the progression of age classes in the Old Kingdom, see Henry G. Fischer, "The Inspector of Youths Nfr-n-ḥwfw," OMRO 41 (1960). See also Baud, Famille royale, 120 n. 112.
A similar progression can be seen in the later, Sixth Dynasty, biography of Meryrenefer Qar of Edfu from his offering niche now in the Cairo Museum. Here, the tomb owner claims: "I was a young man (ḥwn) who tied on the fillet in the time of Teti. I was brought to Pepi in order to 'shape' (me) among the children of the chiefs. I was made Unique Friend, Overseer of Palace Attendants by Pepi." Although the vocabulary used in this text differs from that in the biography of Ptahshepses, the concepts are essentially the same. Qar is taken to the king (and presumably the palace) and educated (in some sense) among the children of the most important officials in the country. At some point, he receives his first appointment by the king to oversee palace personnel.

The term śb3.yt was regularly used in the Middle Kingdom as a title for a class of wisdom texts known as "teachings" or "instructions." Although this class of texts was popular as a subject for rote copying in scribal schools of the Ramesside Period, so were many other kinds of texts and there is no evidence for school copies of these texts

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dating to the Middle Kingdom. It would appear that they were originally intended to give moral and cultural guidance rather than to serve as scribal schoolbooks.\textsuperscript{56} However, it may be significant that two instruction texts are attributed to kings by name\textsuperscript{56} and others are set in the Old Kingdom and attributed to Old Kingdom viziers.\textsuperscript{57} While the date of composition for these "Old Kingdom" instructions is still debated,\textsuperscript{58} it remains possible that they drew on Old Kingdom originals that are now lost but might be reflected in the titles on the Pottery Mound seals.

3.2.1.3 Scribes of the King's Writing Case

Another commonly attested title on the Pottery Mound seals is \textit{zš ḫry.t- ny-św.t}, Scribe of the King's Writing Case, which clearly occurs on five seals and may plausibly be restored on three others (see Table 3.1). This title always appears on the same seal with the title Scribe of Royal Documents in the Pottery Mound corpus.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{The Instructions of Amenemhat} and \textit{The Instructions for King Merykare}.  
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ptahhotep, Kagemni, and Hordjedef}.  
\textsuperscript{58} Miriam Lichtheim, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings, Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms} (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1973), 5-7, dates Hordjedef to the Fifth Dynasty and Kagemni and Ptahhotep to the Sixth. For a Twelfth Dynasty date for all three texts, see Parkinson, \textit{Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection}, 45-50. For an Old Kingdom source for \textit{Ptahhotep}, see Gerhard Fecht, "Cruces Interpretum in der Lehre des Ptahhotep (Maximen 7, 9, 13, 14) und das Alter der Lehre," in \textit{Hommages à François Daumas}, ed. Antoine Guillaumont (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1986).
\end{flushright}
Aside from the mention of the simple title $z\ddot{s}h\,bry.t\,-ny\,-\ddot{sw}.t$ on an inscribed bowl fragment from the Third Dynasty, the earliest attestations of this particular type of scribe date to the Fourth Dynasty. Netjeraperef, perhaps a son of Sneferu, and Hetepherenptah, the date of whose tomb is still controversial, are the earliest known holders of the title. Two Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Writing Case ($i\dddot{m}y.w\,-r3\,z\ddot{s}(.w)\,bry.t\,-ny\,-\ddot{sw}.t$), Nefer$^{59}$ and Seshemnefer I,$^{60}$ are also attested in the Western Cemetery at Giza for this period. Thereafter, for the duration of the Fifth Dynasty seven tomb owners in the vicinity of Memphis claim to be simply Scribe of the King's Writing Case. The basic title is also mentioned on two sealings from Abusir probably dating to the Fifth Dynasty. Only later do two overseers of this class of scribes appear once again, although one of them$^{61}$ is uncertainly dated while the other$^{62}$ dates to the First Intermediate Period.

The exact nature and responsibilities of a Scribe of the King's Writing Case are difficult to define except that personal service to the king is implied. Based on a

$^{59}$ Piacentini, Les scribes, v. 1, 97-99, for the date and commentary on the titles).
$^{60}$ Ibid., 196-198, for the date and commentary on the titles as well as the genealogy of the Seshemnefer family. Note that Seshemnefer I might be the father of the scribe Seshemnefer II, the earliest non-vizier to bear the title $i\dddot{m}y\,-r3\,z\ddot{s}(.w)\,(.w)\,-(nw)\,-ny\,-\ddot{sw}.t$. See the discussion in Chapter 4.
$^{62}$ Ibid., 126-127, tomb of Imysetkai.
sequence of titles in the tomb of Rawer I,63 Helck suggests that the ideal career-path for a royal scribe was to be promoted to Scribe of the King's Writing Case after first serving as a Scribe of Royal Documents.64 However, Helck assumes that the scribal titles in Rawer I's tomb were written in the order in which Rawer acquired them. This is far from certain. However every one of the "core" Pottery Mound seals that bear the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case also bear a form of the title Scribe of Royal Documents clearly showing that both titles were frequently held simultaneously by the Pottery Mound scribes.

Most of the scribes of the King's Writing Case at Pottery Mound received their seals in the reign of Menkaure. Of the eight "core" seals that bear this title - or restorable traces of it - only Seal 3 dates to the reign of Khafre. However, the restoration of "žš [h]ʃ[y.t-'] (ny-šw.t)" in Seal 3, line 5 is problematic as is the interpretation of the whole line of text. Outside of that single exception, all of the remaining examples of the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case in the Pottery Mound "core" seals date to the reign of Menkaure.

63 Hermann Junker, Gîza III: Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G, 1938), 219, Abb. 42. Rawer I is most likely a son of Seshemnefer I, and possibly related in some way to Seshemnefer II. See Baud, Famille royale, 59 n.305.
64 Helck, Beamtentiteln, 72.
3.2.1.4 The House of the Book Roll (Pr md3.t) in the Fourth Dynasty

The Pr md3.t, or House of the Book Roll, is a component of the same divine epithet on two of the Pottery Mound seals. Both of these seals - Seals 2 and 5 - bear the royal epithet "beloved of Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll" (mry Śš3.t-ḫnty.t-pr-md3.t). From other Old Kingdom evidence, officials who worked in the House of the Book Roll regularly served as ḥm-nṯr-priests of the goddess Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll,65 or another expanded version of this goddess's epithet.66

Scribes of Royal Documents were apparently dedicated to producing and keeping track of a special class of documents known as ḫ.w ny-św.t, which might be most precisely translated as "royal acts" or "royal warrants".67 Royal warrants were issued by the king specifically to effect some legal purpose. This class of documents seems to be a subset of "royal decrees," or wd.w ny-św.t, that includes royal letters and edicts. The only institution known to have dealt with ḫ.w ny-św.t before the Fifth Dynasty was the House of the Book Roll.68 There are no sources that detail the functions and sphere of influence for this institution in the Fourth Dynasty, however it must have

65 Ibid., 70-71 n. 30.
66 Extended variants include ḥnty.t Pr-md3.t-nṯr and ḥnty.t Pr-md3.t ḫ(w) ny-św.t. Helck takes the term nṯr in the first as referring to the king; cf. Ibid. For ḥnty.t Pr-md3.t ḫ(w) ny-św.t, see note 22 above.
existed since it appears as a component in an epithet of the goddess Seshat in the Wepemnofret stela of the Fourth Dynasty. Only later in the Fifth Dynasty were two new institutions formed: the House of Sealed Documents (Pr ḫry ḫtm md3.t) and the House of Royal Documents (Pr ṯ-ny-šw.t). So, when the sealings in Pottery Mound were originally deposited in the Fourth Dynasty the House of the Book Roll was the only institution dedicated to producing, issuing and administering royal documents.

Other departments within the national administration also maintained their own scribal corps. The House of Provisioning Offerings (Pr ḫry-wḏb), which was responsible for the distribution of offerings for the funerary cults of favored officials as well as existing royal and divine cults, maintained its own corps of scribes and administrators to compile and maintain the lists and legal documents related to collecting the resources necessary for this massive redistribution.  

3.2.2 Royal Names on the Pottery Mound Seals

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Horus name when written inside a serekh during the Old Kingdom belongs to the reigning king except in rare instances. Using the Horus names inscribed in this manner as a dating criterion, the reconstructed seals of Pottery

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69 Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, 32 n. 5. As discussed above, the same epithet of Seshat also appears in Seal 2, line 3 and Seal 5, line 3.

Figure 3.1: Three seals carved in the reign of Khafre from Pottery Mound.
Mound form two distinct groups. Seals 1, 3 and 5 were carved in the reign of Khafre and the nine other seals were made in the reign of Menkaure.\footnote{Only Seal 8 requires restoration of the Horus name contained by the serekh. However, on Seal 8, line 3, the feet of the šn-sign in $k3.h.t$ (Menkaure's Horus name) are clear.}

3.2.2.1 Seals Carved in the Reign of Khafre (see Figure 3.1)

All three of the seals from the Pottery Mound corpus that were carved in the reign of Khafre were issued to Scribes of Royal Documents with no further specification. However, the composition and arrangement of each vary greatly. Seal 1, which is represented on the most fragments of all the Pottery Mound seals, has the most conventional layout of the three Khafre "core" seals in that it exhibits a six-line layout with no apparent underlying horizontal line of text and the entire surface of the seal was covered with text. In these ways, it is similar to the better preserved Menkaure seals such as Seal 2. In addition to holding the title Scribe of Royal Documents, the owner of Seal 1 was also the Keeper of Royal Instructions, perhaps a forerunner of the expanded title Scribe of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions.

Seal 3, however, is unique in several respects. The counter-posed serekhs, the soaring Horus falcons grasping šn-rings and the double-headed uraeus are all unknown elsewhere in glyptic designs of the Old Kingdom. Seal 3 may be the only Khafre seal to bear the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case.
Seal 5 is similar to Seal 1 and shows a more conventional arrangement. However, the goddesses mentioned in the royal epithets in lines 3 and 5 are represented anthropomorphically rather than symbolically as is common in the Menkaure seals like Seshat (Seal 2, line 3) and Mafdet (Seal 6, line 4). However, this
distinction may simply reflect stylistic preference rather than a meaningful chronological
development since the name of the goddess Seshat is also written with the scepter
hieroglyph in the earlier reign of Khufu on the Wepemnofret stela.\textsuperscript{72}

3.2.2.2 Seals Carved in the Reign of Menkaure

Nine of the "core" Pottery Mound seals bear the Horus name of Menkaure (\(k3 \ h3\))
more or less complete inside a \textit{serekh} and therefore date to his reign. The Menkaure
"core" seals can be further divided into two broad groups, based on common titles,
epithets and motifs.

\textbf{3.2.2.2.1 Group 1: Seals 2, 6, 8, 9 and Perhaps 4 (see Figure 3.2)}

The seals of Group 1 belong to Scribes of Royal Documents dedicated
specifically to the Royal Lessons. Four seals bear the title Scribe of Royal Documents
for Royal Instructions (\(z\š \ (.w)-(nw)-\text{-}\sw.t \ n \ \text{-}n\sb3.t-\text{-}\sw.f\)) either with some restoration
(Seals 2, 6 and 8) or in an abbreviated form (Seal 9). Seals 2, 6 and 8 also share three
other characteristics: 1) the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case (\(z\š \ hry.t-\text{-}\text{-}\sw.f\))\textsuperscript{73},
2) the royal epithet "brother of Min and Amun(?)" (\(sn \ Mnw \ \text{?}mn(?)\))\textsuperscript{74}, and 3) an epithet of

\textsuperscript{72} Der Manuelian, \textit{Slab Stelae}, 32 fig. 5 line 1.
\textsuperscript{73} Seal 2, line 4; Seal 4, line 3; Seal 6, line 1; and Seal 8, line 4.
\textsuperscript{74} Seal 2, line 5; Seal 4, line 6; Seal 6, line 6; and Seal 8, line 9.
the seal owner incorporating "the command(s)" (\textit{wd.\,(w)t}) of Horus or the king.\textsuperscript{75} Only the highly abbreviated Seal 9 bears the title Scribe of Royal (Documents) for (Royal) Instructions but shares none of these other traits.

Seal 4 bears both the non-specific title Scribe of Royal Documents (line 5) and traces of another, more specific title (line 1). Line 1 shows a \\textsuperscript{ }-sign suggesting the restoration "\[zš\] ṭ(w)-\textit{ny-\,ś\,w.t}" which is clearly followed by "\textit{n […]} ny-\,ś\,w.t." It is likely that the owner of Seal 4 was a Scribe of Royal Documents dedicated to a specific purpose but that specialization is lost in the \textit{lacuna}. However, Seal 4 also bears all three of the other traits common to Seals 2, 6 and 8, all of which belonged to Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions. Seal 4, line 1 contains the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case. Seal 4, line 6 shows the royal epithet "brother of Min and Amun (?)," while Seal 4, line 5 bears the personal epithet "the one who executed the command of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkaure" (\textit{ir \,wd.\,t \,ny-\,ś\,w.t \,bit.y \,Mn-k3.\,w-R}). The only other specification for a Scribe of Royal Documents attested at Pottery Mound is "'Scribe of Royal' (Documents) (for) All [Royal] Works" on the highly abbreviated Seal 11, line 2. Seal 11 however bears none of the traits common to the seals of Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions. The evidence seems to support restoring Seal

\textsuperscript{75} Seal 2, line 2; Seal 4, line 5; Seal 6, line 5; and possibly Seal 8, line 2. The close association of epithets dealing with royal commands and Scribes of Royal Documents may be reflected in the appearance of the "m of equivalence" in Seal 6, line 5.
Figure 3.3: Four seals belonging to other Scribes of Royal Documents at Pottery Mound.
In the Pottery Mound seals, the Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions date exclusively to the reign of Menkaure. However, their appearance at Pottery Mound may have been anticipated by the older title Keeper of Royal Instructions \( (iry \, šb3.t-ny-św.t)\) on Seal 1, which dates to the reign of Khafre.

The title Scribe of the King's Writing Case \( (zš \, hry.t-\text{"}-ny-św.t)\) was not restricted to Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions. The title Scribe of the King's Writing Case appears on eight "core" seals from Pottery Mound,\(^{76}\) four of which belong to undifferentiated Scribe of Royal Documents (Seals 7, 10, 12 and possibly 3). From the Pottery Mound seals, Scribes of the King's Writing Case in the Fourth Dynasty appear to belong to a select subgroup of Scribes of Royal Documents who need not be specialized. If this title is to be restored on Seal 3, line 5, then it was used both in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure.

### 3.2.2.2.2 Group 2: Seals 7, 10, 11 and 12 (see Figure 3.3)

All of these seals were issued in the reign of Menkaure and were held by Scribes of Royal Documents \( (zš(.w) \, \text{"}(w)-(nw)-ny-św.t)\) who were not explicitly associated with the Royal Instructions. Seal 11 was issued specifically to a "Scribe of Royal (Documents) for All [Royal] Works" \( (zš \, (.w-nw)-ny-św.t \, n \, k3.t-nb[.t-n.t-ny-św.t]),\)

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\(^{76}\) Seals 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 15, and 17.
whereas Seals 7, 10 and 12 give no specialization beyond Scribe of Royal Documents (zš '(.w)-(nw)-ny-św.f).

In general, the seals in this group exhibit traits not shared with the seals in Group 1. For instance, Seals 7 and 10 both bear the epithet bry-tp-šb3(?), "who is underneath the sunshade(?)." These two seals are the only known sources for this particular epithet, which may refer to either the king or the seal owner (Seal 7, lines 1 and 4). 77 In addition, Seal 12, line 4, also gives śn Hr Šth, "brother of Horus and Seth," as a royal epithet. 78 This contrasts with the royal epithet from Group 1 above, which refers to the king as the "brother of Amun (?) and Min".

3.2.3 The Epithets

The meaning conveyed by the divine names in the epithets on the seals from Pottery Mound is difficult to determine. Doxey in her treatment of Middle Kingdom, non-royal epithets concluded that the epithets associated with officials on quarrying and mining expeditions incorporated the names of local gods of the site of the expedition and not the local god of the particular official. 79

77 For similar "overlap" between royal and non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom, see Denise M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 12 (Boston: Brill, 1998), 4-5.
78 See Seal 12, note b.
A wide variety of gods are named in the epithets on the Pottery Mound seals. Wepwawet (Seal 6, line 8), Mafdet (Seal 6, line 4), Khnum-Foremost-of-Hermopolis (Seal 1, line 4), Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll (Seal 2, line 3 and Seal 5, line 3) and even Seth (Seal 10, line 3) are all attested in the royal epithets. Pairs of gods are also mentioned in the king's epithets: Horus and Seth (Seal 8, line 7 and Seal 12, line 4), Nekhbet and Wadjet (as the "Two Ladies" on Seal 1, line 5 and Seal 5, line 5) and Min with, perhaps, Amun (Seal 2, line 5; Seal 4, line 6; Seal 6, line 6; and Seal 8, line 9). To these can be added "the Two Gods" (Seal 8, line 3) and the damaged "Two-Souls-Foremost-of-the-"House"-..." (Seal 8, line 5). In addition, Seal 4, line 2 appears to show the remains of a royal epithet mentioning "the Souls."

The king is also identified by several traditional epithets. He is called "the son of Re" (Seal 4, line 4), "the [Great] God" (Seal 1, line 3 and Seal 5, line 6 - both of which require restoration), "who unites the Two Lands" (Seal 6, line 2) and "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (Seal 1, line 1). He also participates in two rituals: the "introduction" by Horus and Seth (Seal 8, line 7) as well as the running of the Apis bull (Seal 5, line 2). Another epithet of the king that mentions "the Seal (?)" on Seal 10, line 1 is incomplete and enigmatic.\(^80\) However, two otherwise unknown royal epithets appear in the Pottery Mound corpus. Seal 2, line 1 appears to contain the royal epithet "first of emmer and

\(^80\) See Seal 10, note a.
invocation’ offerings’ (tpt bd.t ‘pr.t-ḥrw) while Seal 4, line 4 identifies Menkaure as the "Keeper’ of the White Crown" (‘irv ḫḏ.t).

Many of the epithets applied to the seal owner are framed in reference to the king. The most common personal, non-royal epithets involve "executing commands" (formed with the verb ir) and occurs on three seals81 with some restoration. "Possessor of the commands" (nb wd.wt) in Seal 8, line 6 might be a related epithet. Another epithet that incorporates a nisbe-form of the verbal noun šm‘3, "to make right," is typically written šm‘3.ti wd.wt, "the one of making right the commands (of Horus)," outside of Pottery Mound. However, in the Pottery Mound seals it is just written šm‘3.ti, on Seal 1, line 6 and Seal 5, line 1, which may be an abbreviated writing.82 Another epithet written with the verb šm‘3, šm‘3(.w) wd‘-mdw, "who has set right the judgment," appears on Seal 7, line 5. In all of these cases, the "commands" and "judgment" that are to be set right, whether explicit or implied, are those of the king. On Seal 6, line 3, the seal owner is characterized as mrr nb=f r‘[nb], "whom his lord prefers [every] day." This same epithet might also have appeared on Seal 8 line 10, but without the adverbial r‘ nb, "every day." Presumably in these inscriptions nb=f refers to the king.

There are two other personal epithets attested in the Pottery Mound corpus. "Possessor of the book roll (?)" (nb md3.t (?) ) appears in the problematic Seal 3, line 5.

81 Seal 2, line 2; Seal 4, line 5; and Seal 10, line 2.
82 See Seal 1, note g in Chapter 2.
As already mentioned, "he who is under the sunshade (?)" is only known as a personal epithet from Seal 7, line 1 and as a royal epithet on Seal 7, line 4 and Seal 10, line 7, but its exact meaning remains obscure.

In the end, it is difficult to see any meaningful pattern in the epithets from the Pottery Mound seals. In the royal epithets, some gods (Mafdet, in particular) are strongly linked to the Residence and, in the case of Seshat-Foremost-of-the-House-of-the-Book-Roll, explicitly so. However, other gods such as Min, Amun and Khnum-Foremost-of-Hermopolis are closely associated with cities outside the capital. Amun (as a member of the Ogdoad) and Khnum-Foremost-of-Hermopolis in particular are linked to Hermopolis, perhaps indicating that Hermopolis may have been a scribal center already in the Old Kingdom. The personal, non-royal epithets are unified in their regular reference to the king and royal authority. Otherwise, without knowing how these epithets were selected, by whom and for what purpose, it is difficult to see any other patterns in the epithets.

It does seem clear that there was a common connection among the motifs and texts selected to be carved on a particular Official Seal. The seals in Group 1 above appear to have two titles (Scribe of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions and Scribe

83 In the reliefs from the Sahure mortuary temple, Thoth, the god of writing, is identified as "the lord of Hermopolis." See Ludwig Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re, Band II: die Wandbilder, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 101 and pl. 21.
of the King's Writing Case) and two kinds of epithets in common (when they are completely preserved). This implies a link of some kind between the epithets (both royal and non-royal) used in the design of an Official Seal and the administrative titles of the seal's recipient.

### 3.3 Use Profiles for the Pottery Mound Seals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sealing Types</th>
<th>Replicates</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bag</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Box</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
<td><strong>257</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Papyrus</strong></td>
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<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peg-and-String</td>
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<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible Container</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undetermined</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>424</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,036</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2**: Counts of replicate sealings from the "core" seals and all impressed sealings from Pottery Mound by sealing type.

Further information can be gained by comparing the originating seals with the types of sealings they sealed that were broken and discarded in the Pottery Mound deposits. Only the sealings bearing replicate impressions can provide information on how the seals that produced those impressions were used. In Pottery Mound, only the twelve "core" seals with a total of 424 replicate sealing fragments provide enough sealings to produce meaningful use profiles (see Table 3.2). By contrast, use profiles are nearly impossible to infer from the remaining 612 impressed sealings from Pottery
Mound since only nine of these sealings bear replicate impressions. While such "non-replicate" sealings might provide supplementary information regarding the daily functions of the scribes of Pottery Mound, they can not in themselves show broader patterns of seal use since each is unique.

The textual and compositional attributes of the twelve "core" seals from Pottery Mound indicate that the seals that generated nearly 41% of the impressed sealings belonged to Scribes of Royal Documents and were made in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure in the Fourth Dynasty. By examining the use profiles for these seals, the activities of this scribal community will be placed in the broader context of existing Old Kingdom evidence from tomb scenes and documentary records.

3.3.1 Box Sealings

257 sealings, or just under 25% of the 1,036 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound, have been identified as box sealings making them far the most commonly identified type of sealing in Pottery Mound (see Table 3.2). Among the 424 replicate sealings impressed by the twelve "core" seals identified in Chapter 2, 122 are box sealings while 138 are "possible containers" and 133 are "undetermined." These three

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84 The replicate impressions are on Provisional Seals "A," "B" and "C" as well as the two informal sealings in Chapter 2.
85 See Chapter 1 for a description of the Pottery Mound sealing types and their characteristics. 296 of the impressed sealings from Pottery Mound have been classified as "possible containers" and 382 are "undetermined" and are not considered "identifiable" here.
categories account for all but 31 of the replicate sealings from Pottery Mound. For comparison, box sealings from all of Area A outside of Pottery Mound for all seasons to date, are under 3%. The actual number of box sealings might have even been higher since, when box sealings are broken, many of the resulting fragments bear only impressions of cords wrapped around a central peg and would therefore be classified as "possible containers."

3.3.1.1 Flat-Topped Wooden Boxes

The titles and epithets on the seals and sealings from Pottery Mound indicate that the community that produced them was predominantly composed of high level scribes. The overwhelming number of box sealings among the sealing types present in Pottery Mound seems to bolster this conclusion since in Ancient Egypt, papyrus rolls were typically stored in jars or wooden boxes and chests. Scribal kits were also contained by wooden boxes.

86 For the same typological comparison using all Area A sealings, not just "impressed" sealings, see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1.


88 Černý, Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt, 30.
Three specific types of boxes are known to have held papyrus documents in the Old Kingdom: "ḏḏ.wt, hn.w, and bry.wt-". The fundamental difference between "ḏḏ.t- and hn-boxes appears to be based on size. Although both box types are commonly depicted in tomb scenes as rectangular wooden boxes with batten supports and a single simple knob in the center of the lid, "hn"-chests tend to be larger. Later in the Sixth Dynasty, "hn" becomes the term most often used to refer to any kind of wooden box. Sarcophagi and wooden coffins can also be referred to as "hn.w." In the Abusir Papyri, both "ḏḏ.t- and hn-boxes hold natron, incense or ritual equipment but larger, heavier objects (including "ḏḏ.wt" themselves) are placed inside hn-

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90 For a sample of the different sizes of hn-chests in relationship to human figures in Old Kingdom reliefs, see Ibid., 31, figure 4.3. A good example of a medium-sized hn-chest is from the tomb of Hetepheres at Giza, which is labelled as a "hrn" in its inscription. This box is shown in Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 31, figure 4.2. Its dimensions are 41.9 cm (length) x 33.7 cm (width) x 21.8 cm (height).

91 Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 29 notes that carpenters in the Tomb of Ti are constructing both an "ḏḏt-box and a hn-chest. Both are simple rectangular containers but the hn-box is three times as long as the "ḏḏ.t-box. Although neither has a knob in this particular scene, this may be because they are not yet complete; one carpenter is drilling a hole, presumably for the knob, in the top of the "ḏḏt-box. See Henri Wild, Le tombeau de Ti, Fascicule III: La chapelle (Deuxième partie). MIFAO 65 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1966), pl. 174.

92 Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 29, 33.
93 Ibid., 37.
94 Ibid., 36-37.
chests. PT 309 presents the king, Unas, as a functionary of the gods using \(hn\)-boxes to store administrative documents:

Words to be said: Unas is the tax collector\(^95\) of the gods and attendant\(^97\) of the estate of Re, whom she whom the gods implore, she who is in the prow of the bark of Re, bore. May Unas sit in front of him. May Unas open his boxes \((hn.w=\text{-})\). May Unas break open his orders. May Unas seal up his bookrolls. May Unas send forth his messengers who do not get tired. May Unas do what he says\(^98\) to Unas.\(^99\)

The only two references to stored papyrus rolls in the Abusir archive identify them explicitly as being inside \(hn\)-chests.\(^100\) However, citing the similarity between two tasks from different monthly duty tables,\(^101\) Paule Posener-Kriéger feels that a papyrus

\(^{95}\) Ibid., 29.
\(^{96}\) Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, 1509 no. 40316: \(d\text{ḥ}3y\), "tax collector."
\(^{97}\) Ibid., 756 no. 19312: \(ḥ3y\), "he who is behind."
\(^{100}\) Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series: The Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 75 e.: … \(m\text{ī}t\ m\ h\text{n} n\ z\text{š}\); cf. Posener-Kriéger, Les archives, 479. Also, Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series: The Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 92 A, a2: \(z\text{š}\ h\text{n}\); cf. Posener-Kriéger, Les archives, 356-357. The last reference is in an accounting list of fabrics and textiles. Presumably, the word \(z\text{š}\) here refers to new papyrus or perhaps old documents intended for erasure and reuse, not documents meant for storage.
\(^{101}\) Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series: The Abu Sir Papyri, pl. 6 A d, which is part of Posener-Kriéger's "tableau I," refers to a task called "sealing the \( fd.t\)-box." This task is later suspended and performed in the adjacent temple of Khentkaues instead, according to an annotation in red. Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series:
roll bearing the libation ritual was stored in a sealed ḫḏt-box inside the Khentkaues temple after the rite was completed.\(^\text{102}\)

Other evidence further supports the conclusion that papyrus was commonly stored in rectangular boxes and chests of various sizes in the Old Kingdom. For example, fragments of a small decorated rectangular box and a button handle were discovered in the same stratigraphic layer as fragments of papyrus documents in the mortuary temple of Khentkaues at Abusir.\(^\text{103}\)

Later, in the Coffin Texts,\(^\text{104}\) an exhortation sent to Osiris, Foremost of Abydos, begins by commanding that he open the box (ẖḏt) that contains the document giving the deceased’s credentials, as suggested by Brovarski.\(^\text{105}\) In addition, a New Kingdom

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\(^\text{102}\) Although there is no direct connection between the handing over of the scroll and the sealing of the ḫḏt-box, Posener-Kriéger sees them as part of the same process. See Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, 18.


\(^\text{105}\) Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 30.
ostracon also refers to "your documents which are in your box" using the term 'ḏfd(.t). However, this might represent the overlapping definitions of the two kinds of containers.

These boxes were frequently sealed with clay sealings as well. Fragments of reliefs from the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir seem to show the "sealing" and carrying away of ḥn-chests, some of which contain incense and clothing.  

Representations of rectangular boxes often show a mud sealing in profile in the center of the lid, presumably around the button handle that secured the cord loops drawn up from the side but occasionally these boxes were closed and not sealed. The back of a sealing applied in this manner would preserve the flat surface of the box's lid (and the grain of the wood, if the box were not painted or plastered) as well as the crossing cords used to secure the lid. In fact, George Reisner recovered sealings matching this description from the tomb of Hetepheres:

The complete box sealing was a domed piece of mud over which the cylinder seal had been rolled, sometimes a number of times. The base shows a flat surface with traces of the imprint of wood graining where it had rested on the lid of a wooden box and also the marks of a crossed string which had passed around the box in two directions to tie the lid fast.


107 Borchardt, Sahu-Re, Band II, pl. 59. The phrases "ḥtm hn.w ḫr(y.w) .... śnṯr," and "nhh" appear on two separate fragments. This context is very fragmentary.

108 Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 36.

This description also fits many of the box sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus although only about a quarter of the original intact sealing is usually preserved. The imprint of a pair of cords runs along the two broken sides meeting at a right angle since the sealing usually will break along the cords, the weakest part of the sealing. The bottom surface usually preserves an imprint of the lid and often the wood grain. Only rarely is there a knot impression at the point where the two pairs of cords meet perhaps indicating that the cords were really loops (as in the tomb representations) that had been pulled up and over a central knob. This knob was therefore surrounded by the cords and seldom leaves any impression.

A third kind of box associated with papyrus rolls and scribes in the Old Kingdom is the bry.t-ˁ, or "scribal writing case." An actual writing case from the Old Kingdom was discovered in 1931 by Giulio Farina inside a tomb at Gebelein. The Gebelein box contained five rolls of papyrus and pieces of several others, many showing clear signs

of reuse. A list of personal names inscribed on the interior surface of the lid appears to be a service roster intended to aid the scribe since some of the names on the lid also appear in the documents contained by the box. The case was long and flat with runners on its base. Its lid was made from two planks of wood tied together using embedded pegs. Two runners on the inside surface of the lid were carefully placed so that it would not slide when placed over the opening of the box. The lid on this box was evidently secured in a manner similar to that used on hn-chests in the tomb scenes described above since a hole for a knob handle survives in the center of the lid and each side has a pair of holes for the cords used to secure the lid. Four similar writing cases are depicted in one register in the reliefs of the tomb of Ti,\textsuperscript{111} all with lids secured by cords in various ways. Two of these cases are oval or rounded and the other two are rectangular demonstrating that quite a bit of variation in shape and closing technique was possible. Elsewhere in the same tomb,\textsuperscript{112} two other oval bry.wt-ˁ are shown, one of which clearly has a knot at the center of the cords securing the lid. On the other, the cords meet in a neat circle, which likely represents an intact sealing.\textsuperscript{113} A more detailed representation of a bry.t-ˁ from the Giza tomb of Nysutnefer (G4970) shows a slight thickening in the

\textsuperscript{111} Wild, \textit{Le tombeau de Ti, Fascicule III: La chapelle (Deuxième partie)}. pl. 125.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., pl. 168.
\textsuperscript{113} Were this meant to represent a sealing, it should be dark gray. But, the publications do not indicate any color here.
cords over the center of the lid in plan view. However, it is unclear whether this is meant to be an oblong sealing, some kind of leather wrapping or handle or even an extended, twisted knot. Middle Kingdom depictions of scribal writing cases in frises d'objets on sarcophagi also occasionally show round objects that may be sealings in the center of the lid where the binding cords meet.

Ironically, although the Gebelein writing case is the only intact example of an Old Kingdom box that actually contained papyri when it was discovered, it was evidently not intended to be used to store these documents archivally. As noted by Paule Posener-Kriéger, it is improbable that the documents - primarily grain accounts and lists of personnel belonging to a funerary estate - were funerary in nature. It is much more likely that the papyrus rolls were included in the writing case to be washed and reused by the scribe since the same box also held brushes, cakes of ink and a broken stone cup for rinsing the brushes or mixing ink. Clearly, the papyrus was included as a component of the toolkit and the texts written on them were incidental.

While boxes were clearly used for storage during the Old Kingdom, it is difficult to determine if sealed boxes were commonly used as containers for long-distance storage.

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114 Junker, Giza III, pl. 5.
115 Gustave Jéquier, Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, MIFAO 47 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1921), 264 fig. 694 and 282 fig. 760. Jéquier's descriptions and analyses are suspect, as suggested by Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 39-40.
shipping. These boxes were certainly portable since some tomb scenes\textsuperscript{117} as well as the reliefs in the Sahure mortuary temple\textsuperscript{118} show large rectangular chests being carried on poles. "Carrying poles" (\textit{hz3.w}) might have been mentioned in an inventory of the parts of a \textit{hn}-chest in the Abusir papyri.\textsuperscript{119} In the cloth accounts from the Abusir papyri \textit{hn}- chests are mentioned twice\textsuperscript{120} although it is unclear from their contexts from what other institution they had been sent. Other items in similar inventories are explicitly sent to the Neferirkare temple from the "Eastern storerooms of Śtp-ib-\textit{r} (Niuserre's solar temple at Abu Ghurob)" or from the "palace" (\textit{ḥnw}). So, while many of the citations above imply that these boxes were used to store various items including papyrus documents for periodic, local use, it is still conceivable that they might also be used as containers for transport for some distance as well.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{117} For example, Prentice Duell, \textit{The Mastaba of Mereruka, Part I: Chambers A 1-10, Plates 1-103}, Oriental Institute Publications 31 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), pl. 99. This scene from the tomb of Mereruka, showing men carrying chests with vaulted lids using carrying poles, is labelled with the caption \textit{šhp.t hn.w nw mnḥ.t(?) inn=ti n=f m ḥnw m ḥtp-di-nyśwt}, "the bringing up of the \textit{hn}-chests of \textit{mnḥ.t}-cloth which is constantly brought to him from the Residence as an 'Offering-which-the-king-gives'." For the reading \textit{mnḥ.t(?)}, see Hannig, \textit{Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I}, 1533 no. 46849. For a discussion of the meaning of this sign, see Posener-Kriéger, \textit{Les archives}, 361-362, where she suggests that this and similar signs designate the width of the cloth.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Borchardt, \textit{Sahu-Re'}, Band II, pl. 59.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists," 35. See Posener-Kriéger, \textit{Les archives}, 193-194, for her admittedly hypothetical interpretation of the term ḥz3.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Abusir 92 A, a 2: Posener-Kriéger, \textit{Les archives}, 356-357. Also, Abusir 52 A, 3 c: Posener-Kriéger, \textit{Les archives}, 373.
\end{itemize}
Since all three kinds of boxes - 'fd.wt, hn.w, and hry.wt' - had flat wooden lids and appear to have been secured in many cases by pulling cord loops up over a central knob, discarded sealings from all of these boxes would appear indistinguishable. While the simple rectangular boxes ranging in size from the smaller 'fd.t-boxes to the larger hn-chests are attested as containers for papyrus in the Old Kingdom, it is also the case that they held a variety of other goods and might be carried for some distance between institutions. Ultimately, the high concentration of flat-lidded box and papyrus sealings as well as the predominant use of scribal titles on the originating seals suggest that the Pottery Mound sealings were discarded by a group of scribes, opening and re-sealing their scribal kits and perhaps archival boxes over a period of time.

3.3.1.2 Boxes as Local Storage (Middle Kingdom)

Boxes seem to have been used most often for local storage rather than long-range transport in the Middle Kingdom as well. Josef Wegner working at the site of Wah-Sut at Abydos and Cornelius von Pilgrim at Elephantine have both concluded that the box sealings from their sites most likely come from boxes used for local storage as opposed to long-distance transport. Von Pilgrim based his conclusions on the high degree of repetition of a few seals on what he classified as box sealings.\(^{121}\) Wegner

notes that an official at Wah-sut named Pepyankh sealed many boxes and was probably a local resident. Wegner also suggests that large quantities of repetitive "peg sealings"\(^{123}\) from the town "might derive from sealed document boxes stored in the rear part of the mayor's residence."\(^{124}\) In both of these Middle Kingdom contexts, box sealings are highly repetitive and have been taken as indicators of local storage in close parallel to the situation at Pottery Mound from the Old Kingdom.

The use of boxes for long-distance transport in the Middle Kingdom is not unknown. In his analysis of the sealings from Uronarti fort in Nubia, George Reisner noted a particularly high concentration of "small funnel type" sealings (most likely a kind of box sealing)\(^{125}\) and "box sealings" in "apartment 8." Reisner imagined that the occupant "carried on an unofficial business, perhaps supplying merchandise to the


\(^{123}\) As discussed in Chapter 1 above, boxes might be secured using a peg-and-string system in the Middle Kingdom.

\(^{124}\) Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos: An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence," 91.

garrison and carrying on a small export and import business with Egypt.\textsuperscript{126} Stuart Tyson Smith, however, sees similar deposits of box and door sealings at the same fort as indicating repeated local activity rather than as evidence of the redistribution of imported goods.\textsuperscript{127}

### 3.3.2 Door Sealings

Although there are only two sealings from Pottery Mound identified as door sealings, both were found in Sub-Phase VI-c and both had been impressed by Seal 3. This in itself demonstrates that Seal 3 was used near Pottery Mound and may also reflect the elevated status the owner of Seal 3 in these later periods since he of all the seal owners in Pottery Mound sealed doors as well as boxes.\textsuperscript{128}

### 3.3.3 Papyrus Sealings

One striking trait of the Pottery Mound sealings is the high proportion of papyrus document sealings compared to the rest of Area A. Pottery Mound as a whole produced 35 papyrus document sealings (see Table 3.2) whereas the rest of Area A was responsible for just 23 papyrus sealings out of a total of 3,366 registered sealings from 126 George A. Reisner, "Clay sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort," \textit{Kush} 3 (1955): 34.  
127 Smith, "Administration," 206. However, Smith (p. 214) does note one clear example of a box brought into Askut fort from Serra East.  
128 For the administrative significance of door sealings in a Mesopotamian context, see Reichel, “Political Changes”, 175. Also, see Maira Torcia Rigillo, "Sealing Systems on Uruk Doors," \textit{Baghdader Mitteilungen} 22 (1991): 221-222.
all field seasons.\textsuperscript{129} Yet, despite the high count of sealings, only five of these papyrus sealings were impressed by one of the twelve "core" seals from Pottery Mound. Seals 3, 6, 8, 9 and 11 each impressed a single papyrus document sealing.\textsuperscript{130} The remaining 30 document sealings are either too fragmentary to assign to any reconstructed seal or are impressed by unique seals with no replicates in the Pottery Mound corpus. Seven of these sealings bear a scribal title of some sort\textsuperscript{131} and, as discussed in Chapter 2, Sealing 2878 had most likely been sealed by a "Bodily [Son of the King]."

This pattern implies that the scribes who sealed the flat-topped wooden boxes are for the most part not sealing the papyrus documents kept near Pottery Mound. While the box sealings appear to belong to scribal writing kits or boxes that were sealed, broken and re-sealed by a group of scribes working in the vicinity of Pottery Mound, the documents were sealed by other officials for the most part.

### 3.3.4 Other Containers

Jar sealings - both direct and indirect - are poorly represented in the Pottery Mound corpus. Of the 1,199 sealings registered from Pottery Mound, only 27 were jar sealings. Furthermore, only six jar sealings bear replicate impressions and contributed to the reconstructions of the twelve "core" seals in Chapter 2. This is a surprisingly small

\textsuperscript{129} See Table 1.1 in Chapter 1.
\textsuperscript{130} The five sealings are Sealings 2701 (Seal 11), 2857 (Seal 6), 3254 (Seal 3), 3411 (Seal 9) and 3791 (Seal 8).
\textsuperscript{131} Sealings 2726, 2743, 2784, 2896, 2954, 3656 and 3657.
proportion considering that the rest of the site combined has produced 377 jar sealings (see Table 1.1). Bag sealings and basket sealings are also comparatively rare in the Pottery Mound corpus.\(^{132}\)

Twelve sealings classified as "peg-and-string" might once have belonged to once-intact door sealings (of which only two confirmed examples exist at Pottery Mound) or to some of the many box sealings when they were intact.\(^{133}\) Seal 3 has the most peg-and-string sealings of all the reconstructed "core" seals from Pottery Mound and is also the only seal known to have sealed doors. However, Seal 3 is also represented by ten box sealings so the origin of its five "peg-and-string" sealings remains obscure.

### 3.4 Stratigraphic and Temporal Associations

All of the Pottery Mound sealings have been found together in a sequence of archaeological deposits that was built up over time. Other artifacts such as bone, pottery and objects related to sealing activity discovered in the same strata can give insight into the cultural environment in which the sealings were broken and discarded. Evidence from these deposits can help determine exactly where the sealings were made and the originating seals in Chapter 2 were used. If the "core" seals reconstructed in Chapter 2

\(^{132}\) There are only five bag sealings and a single basket sealing among the 424 replicate sealings from Pottery Mound.

\(^{133}\) See Chapter 1, pp. 61-63, above, for the characteristics of peg-and-string sealings and their relationship to door and box sealings.
can be shown to have been used nearby, the association of different seals together in the same features indicates which officials may have worked together in the same space at the same time. So, the stratigraphic provenance of the Pottery Mound sealings can provide more than just the relative chronology of the originating seals. It may shed light on where they were used and the other activities that took place there.

As striking as the concentrated sealings deposit at Pottery Mound may be, the high counts of impressed sealings are not necessarily direct evidence of the institutions that functioned nearby. After all, sealings are frequently attached to moveable items such as jars, bags, boxes and documents and the discarded sealings found in any archaeological context are merely evidence for the unsealing of these objects. They are not in themselves evidence for local sealing production.

Determining where a seal was used relies on the types of sealings it produced, the nature of the deposits in which the sealings were found and the other artifacts contained in those deposits. The evidence from bones and other items in the deposits may indicate the extent to which it has been disturbed. Certain types of sealings - door sealings in particular - signify that the seal that impressed it was indeed used nearby. The discovery of by-products of sealing activity - such as clumps of raw sealing clay and unused or aborted sealings - mixed in with broken sealings strongly suggests that many of those same sealings might have also been made locally.

The ultimate value of the Pottery Mound sealings for evaluating the administration of Fourth Dynasty Giza is directly related to the nature of the
archaeological deposits in which the sealings were found. As discussed in Chapter 1, sealings were typically treated as garbage within an urban setting after they were broken. In a restricted settlement such as Area A at Giza with little direct access to extramural space for garbage disposal, refuse might be moved around from unused space to unused space and would rapidly lose any direct association with the officials and institutions that originally produced it. In the end, the patterns seen in the Pottery Mound sealings and the conclusions based on them will be limited unless the deposits that produced them are both undisturbed and contain other evidence that the sealings were made nearby.

3.4.1 The Stratigraphy of Pottery Mound: Features and Phases

A detailed archaeological analysis of Pottery Mound has yet to be published. However, Yukinori Kawae and Tove Björk, the excavators of Pottery Mound, have compiled a preliminary description of the depositional units called "features," which have been grouped into broader, interpretive "phases". The excavation and recording system of the Giza Plateau Mapping Project (GPMP) under which the excavators worked is based on the theories and principles of Edward Harris. According to this system, the basic stratigraphic unit is called a "feature." The formation of some features (like building a wall or dumping a basketful of refuse) results in the accumulation of material

deposits while others (like digging a pit or robbing a wall) actually result in the removal of material. "Features" loosely correspond to "layers," "strata" or "loci" in other recording systems. Ideally, features are excavated in the inverse order in which they were deposited and the depositional relationship among all the "features" in an excavation can be represented in a diagram, called a "Harris matrix." This matrix presents the stratigraphic relationships among all of the features in an excavation area and is constructed out of the three possible relationships between any two features: unconnected, superposition and correlation.\textsuperscript{135} Using a Harris matrix, Kawae and Björk have organized the Pottery Mound features and divided them into phases.

Phases represent the subjective interpretation of the excavator. Such interpretations must be approached with a great deal of caution. However, the phases proposed by the excavators of Pottery Mound correspond to the stratigraphic order of the features.

Table 3.3 lists counts of impressed sealings and the replicate sealings used to reconstruct the twelve "core" seals from Pottery Mound by feature. The features are grouped according to the excavator's phase and presented in inverse stratigraphic order with the latest phase (Phase VII) being listed first. Features that were not yet assigned to a particular phase by the excavators have been identified as "Unassigned" and listed separately at the bottom of the table.

\textsuperscript{135} For a basic description of the "Harris matrix," see Ibid., 34-36.
Table 3.3: Counts of impressed and replicate sealings from Pottery Mound by excavator's phase designations and feature numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
<th>Replicate</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,036</strong></td>
<td><strong>424</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Counts of impressed and replicate sealings from Pottery Mound by excavator's phase designations and feature numbers.
Two archaeological features stand out in Table 3.3. Feature 21557 in Phase VI-c produced the majority of both impressed and replicate sealings from Pottery Mound while Feature 24462 in Phase III is the earliest feature to produce sealings. Both of these features will be examined in greater detail below.

**3.4.2 The Date of Pottery Mound**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
<th>Horus $Wšr$-$ib$</th>
<th>Horus $Kš$-$ḫ.t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-c</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-b</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-a</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unassigned</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,036</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>239</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Counts of impressed sealings and Horus names from Pottery Mound grouped by excavator's phase designations.

The royal names on the sealings fragments help to assign reigns to each of the excavators' phases in two different ways. First, attestations of Horus names can be counted by phase without reference to their originating seals. These counts are arranged in inverse stratigraphic order in Table 3.4.

Second, all of the sealings with replicate impressions made by one of the "core" seals in Chapter 2 can be linked to a particular king even if they do not have a royal name themselves since the originating seal is itself datable to a given reign. In Table 3.5, the "core" Khafre and Menkaure seals from Pottery Mound are identified for each phase in which they are attested on sealings in inverse stratigraphic order.

305
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Khafre Seals</th>
<th>Menkaure Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-c</td>
<td>Seals 1, 3 and 5</td>
<td>Seals 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-b</td>
<td>Seals 1 and 3</td>
<td>Seals 2, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-a</td>
<td>Seals 1, 3 and 5</td>
<td>Seals 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Seals 3 and 5</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Seals 1, 3 and 5</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unassigned</td>
<td>Seal 1</td>
<td>Seal 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.5: "Core" seals from Chapter 2 by excavators' phase.**

Phase III, the earliest phase in Pottery Mound with impressed sealings, produced 14 registered impressed sealing fragments (see Table 3.4), all of which came from Feature 24462 (see Table 3.3). Four of these fragments bore the Horus name of Khafre and the rest had no royal names at all. Eight sealings in Phase III bear impressions made by three of the "core" seals reconstructed in Chapter 2: Seal 1 (5 fragments), Seal 3 (2 fragments) and Seal 5 (1 fragment). These three seals are the only "core" seals at Pottery Mound carved in the reign of Khafre. No other "core" seals are present in Phase III. This pattern clearly indicates that Feature 24462 and Phase III in general were likely deposited in the reign of Khafre, or early in the reign of Menkaure, before new seals bearing his name were in wide use.

The next two phases show a mixture of royal names. Phase IV produced 15 impressed sealings, one of which bore the Horus name of Khafre while two others contained the Horus name of Menkaure (see Table 3.4). Only two sealings could be assigned to "core" seals. One belonged to Seal 3 and the other had been impressed by
Seal 5, both carved in the reign of Khafre. Phase V produced 11 impressed sealing fragments, three of which bear the Horus name of Khafre and three others that of Menkaure (see Table 3.4). No "core" seals are attested in Phase V. Overall, the commingling of Khafre's and Menkaure's Horus names in the Phase IV sealings clearly shows that Menkaure had assumed the throne before this material was deposited even though the few sealings impressed by "core" seals happen to be those of Khafre. This same pattern is seen in the impressed sealings from Phase V, even though no sealings from Phase V contributed to the reconstructions in Chapter 2.

The vast majority of the sealings from Pottery Mound were discovered in the three sub-phases that make up Phase VI. Of the 1,036 impressed sealings registered from Pottery Mound, 986 come from Phase VI. In fact, 619 impressed sealings come from just Feature 21557, a feature within Sub-Phase VI-c (see Table 3.3). Every "core" seal is represented in this single feature and the mixing of seals carved in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure (and no other kings) indicates that Feature 21557 was deposited sometime in the reign of Menkaure.

Apparently only Khafre's seals were in use when Phase III was deposited. Later in Phases IV and V isolated sealings imply that some Menkaure seals had been issued by that time. However, the nine "core" seals that bear Menkaure's Horus name are

136 Sub-Phase 6-a contained 183, 6-b produced 58 and 6-c had the most with 745 impressed sealings.
attested only in the three sub-phases of Phase VI. This pattern does not necessarily show that the earliest phases of Pottery Mound were deposited in the reign of Khafre. Given the time lag between issuing a seal and the final disposition of the sealings it impresses over the course of its useful life,\textsuperscript{137} it is quite possible that Phase II might date to sometime early in Menkaure's reign.

Features 21557 and 24462

Phase III (the earliest phase with sealings) and Phase VI (the phase with the most sealings) are represented by two very important features. First, all of the sealings in Phase III come from a single feature: Feature 24462 (see Table 3.3). Second, 619 impressed sealings - almost 60% of all impressed sealings discovered at Pottery Mound - come from Feature 21557 in Phase VI-c. This feature contained sealings impressed by all twelve "core" seals as well. In a real sense, these two features - Features 24462 and 21557 - bracket the formation of Pottery Mound.

Aside from their stratigraphic significance, these features appear to be similar in other respects. Richard Redding analyzed the bone from both features. The bone in Feature 21557 preserved a striking quantity of fragile pieces of bone and showed few

\textsuperscript{137} See Chapter 1.
signs of compaction. Similarly, after looking at the faunal evidence from Feature 24462, Redding concludes that this feature was "well protected" and "not heavily trampled." The only substantive difference between the bone in the two deposits was that Feature 24462 contained more "fine-grained" pieces of bone, which he suggests are consistent with floor sweepings. Redding therefore concludes that both features were originally carried in small units and deposited in Pottery Mound from very close by. The high state of preservation also suggests that these features had not been moved or re-deposited thereafter.

3.4.3 Objects Related to Sealing Activity

While the faunal evidence suggests that two of the most important features in Pottery Mound were deposited from close by and were not disturbed thereafter, sealing-related objects found among the sealings demonstrate that sealings were actually made in the vicinity of Pottery Mound. Pottery Mound produced a total of 71 so-called "sealing-related objects," including a single fragment of a cylinder seal. 45 of these objects

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140 Ibid., 6.

141 Ibid.

142 See the Supplementary DVD under "Catalog of Sealing-Related Objects."
appear to be wadded up pieces of unused sealing clay. They do not appear to be "blanks", which are carefully prepared pieces of sealing clay ready to be pressed into place. These pieces more likely are scraps of clay left over after the main body of the sealing had been formed and applied. They are generally too small to have been intended as complete sealings in themselves and they are folded and cracked with no further smoothing or surface preparation. 24 of these scraps come from Feature 21557 and two from Feature 24462.

Seven sealing-related objects from Pottery Mound were initially classified as "tokens," meaning that all surfaces of the object had been carefully prepared and pressed by fingers into a finished shape. The ultimate intended use of this type of object is unknown. However, four of these "tokens" were cone-shaped and might represent scraps of sealing clay pinched off of a sealing as it was being applied. If correct, these

---

143 This seal fragment has been registered as "Sealing 3037" even though it is technically an object and not a sealing.
144 Sealings 3065, 3066, 3073, 3077, 3078, 4537, 4538, 4539, 4545, 4548, 4549, 4551, 4552, 4554, 4557, 4559, 4561, 4562, 4563, 4564, 4566, 4568, 4569, 4572, 4573, 4655, 4656, 4657, 4659, 4660, 4669, 4670, 4671, 4672, 4673, 4677, 4678, 4679, 4680, 4681, 4682, 4683, 4684, 4685 and 4687.
145 These pieces are similar to the "Clay Lumps" (Type "A") from Arslantepe. See Piera Ferioli and Enrica Fiandra, "3. Sealed Objects, Closing and Sealing Practices Reconstructed from the Cretulae. The Two Main Corpora of Administrative Materials: An Initial and Final Stage in the Procedures," in Arslantepe Cretulae: An Early Centralised Administrative System Before Writing, ed. Marcella Frangipane et al., Arslantepe, 5 (Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana nell'Anatolia Orientale, 2007), 70-72. Smaller, unimpressed lumps of sealing clay are also classified as Type "M" by Ferioli and Fiandra, "Sealed Objects," 85.
146 Sealings 2862, 4565, 4570 and 4571.
conical "tokens" might also indicate local sealing activity. All of these tokens came from Phase VI and all but two were from Feature 21557. Six other pieces appear to have once served as "core" pieces of clay from which smaller pieces were apparently torn or pinched to make smaller sealings. All but one of these pieces were excavated from Feature 21557. Finally, three sealing-related objects appear to have once been intact sealings that were crumpled and discarded while still wet.

A box sealing - Sealing 4550 from Feature 21557 - is the most compelling example of these discarded sealings (see Figure 3.4). Upon excavation, Sealing 4550 appeared to be just a rounded ball of sealing clay with a long axial fold and traces of a seal impression made by Seal 8 on its surface. Later, as it was being cleaned for registration this piece fell into two parts. The visible interior surfaces show a positive and a corresponding negative impression from the lid of a box.

Evidently, Sealing 4550 had once been applied to a box and impressed by Seal 8. For some unknown reason, this sealing was then removed and balled up, pressing one half of the back impression into the other half, while the sealing was still wet. This nodule was then discarded in Feature 21557. Of the three objects that appear to be discarded sealings discussed above, Sealing 4658 is also a crumpled box sealing but it shows no traces of a seal impression while Sealings 4553 and 4688 are less clear.

147 Sealings 4546, 4547, 4555, 4574, 4674 and 4676.
148 Sealings 4553, 4658 and 4688.
Figure 3.4: Sealing 4550: A = exterior when intact. B = interior after registration. C = traces of seal impressions from Seal 8 on the exterior. D = locations of seal impressions on the reconstruction of Seal 8.

Taken together, Sealing 4550 and the sealing-related objects show that sealings were not simply broken and discarded in the vicinity of Pottery Mound. They were also being applied and impressed there as well. In addition, the crumpled box sealing Sealing 4550 is direct evidence that Seal 8 was used locally to seal boxes and a clear
demonstration that at least some of the boxes sealed with the sealings in Pottery Mound were not used for long-range transport but rather for local storage.

3.4.4 The Isolation of the Pottery Mound Sealings

The seals used on the sealings from Pottery Mound appear only in the area around the mound itself and nowhere else at Giza. With two exceptions, all of the sealings impressed by the twelve "core" seals were found in the three contiguous five-by-five meter squares that make up the Pottery Mound excavation area.\(^{149}\) The two exceptions -- Sealing 4437 (Seal 6) and Sealing 4481 (Seal 1) -- were excavated in "House Unit 1," the small excavation area that bounds Pottery Mound immediately to the north. However, the boundary between these two excavation areas is essentially arbitrary and the features in the two areas may yet prove to be the same, These two stray sealings may ultimately prove to have come from the deposits in Pottery Mound.

In addition, Karl Kromer discovered three sealings impressed by Seal 1 in his main excavation area,\(^{150}\) about 200 meters west of Pottery Mound on the western slope of the ridge separating Area A and Area B (see Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1).\(^{151}\) Over the

\(^{149}\) These squares are 6-G2, 6-H3 and 6-H4.

\(^{150}\) Both no. 985 (Tafel 38, Fig. 1) and 1016 (Tafel 40, Fig. 5) are from "Quadrant G" according to Kromer, *Siedlungsfunde*, 130. Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 71 claims that no. 985 is from "Quadrant I" instead. He also includes no. 1395 - not published by Kromer - which is from "Quadrant I." Both Quadrant G and Quadrant I are in Kromer's main excavation area. See Kromer, *Siedlungsfunde*, Karte 2 following p. 10.

\(^{151}\) Also see the commentary to Seal 1 in Chapter 2 above.
course of six field seasons from 1971 to 1975, Kromer excavated the remains of what he understood to be debris from a dismantled settlement that included a royal "resthouse" for Khufu and Khafre. He concludes that this settlement had been intentionally demolished during the reign of Khafre based primarily on the large number of sealings bearing the Horus names of Khufu and Khafre as well as the complete absence of the names of any later kings. Finding impressions of Seal 1 among these remains further bolsters the conclusion that this seal was carved in the reign of Khafre and not later.

The isolation of the Pottery Mound sealings from the rest of Area A is stark when compared with another sealings-rich excavation area called "Area AA" in the Western Town section of Area A (see Figure 1.3 in Chapter 1). This area incorporates 20 excavation squares just to the northwest of Pottery Mound and House Unit 1 but is separated from them in their latest phase by an uninterrupted mudbrick wall. To date, 222 sealing fragments with replicate impressions have been registered from Area AA and 15 new theoretical seals have been pieced together but remain unpublished. However, in contrast to the Pottery Mound seals, sealings with replicates from the new Area AA seals have been found in four other excavation areas. This broader pattern

153 House Unit 1, Gallery Set 2, Main Street Gate House and even one sealing in Pottery Mound.
of dispersal for the sealings impressed by the seals from Area AA highlights the comparatively restricted range of the Pottery Mound seals.

### 3.5 Conclusion

The sealings from Pottery Mound tell the story of a group of Scribes of Royal Documents over a limited period of time during the Fourth Dynasty. All twelve "core" seals reconstructed in Chapter 2 belonged to Scribes of Royal Documents. The faunal evidence from Features 21557 and 24462 - representing two discrete moments that bracket the formation of Pottery Mound - indicates that the material they contained was produced nearby, was not compacted after deposition and was not disturbed afterwards. These two deposits - one very early and the other from the latest preserved phase - are essentially two time capsules preserving the refuse from activities in the surrounding structures. Mixed in with the bones, these features also contained the debris of sealing activity including remnant scraps of sealing clay and aborted sealings that were crumpled up while still wet. It is clear that whoever was opening the box sealings near Pottery Mound was also busy producing their own sealings. Sealing 4550, a crumpled box sealing, clearly indicates that one of the officials who sealed boxes near Pottery Mound was the owner of Seal 8.

Door sealings are another positive indication of local sealing activity. Doors are sealed in place and the sealings typically are not discarded very far from the door they sealed. Out of the 1,199 registered sealings from Pottery Mound, only two have been classified as door sealings. Both were found in Phase VI and both had been sealed by
Seal 3. This is clear evidence that the official who owned Seal 3 - one of the best represented seals in the corpus - was active near Pottery Mound. The owner of Seal 3 also sealed at least ten box sealings showing that at least some and possibly all of the 122 box sealings impressed by the twelve "core" seals were also made locally.

So, two of the twelve owners of the "core" Pottery Mound seals certainly sealed boxes and occasionally doors in the immediate vicinity of Pottery Mound. In these two cases at least the boxes being sealed were used for local storage and not for long-distance transport. This agrees with similar evidence from Middle Kingdom sites such as South Abydos and Elephantine, where the preponderance of the evidence suggests that boxes were used for local storage, in spite of a few documented exceptions.

Box sealings are the most commonly identified sealing type among the replicate sealings from Pottery Mound (see Table 3.2). In fact, only Seal 12 - with three "possible container" sealings and six undetermined sealings - has no identifiable box sealings. So, if boxes were typically used for storage near Pottery Mound and not consistently brought in from elsewhere then box sealings are also direct evidence that all but one of the "core" seals were held by officials eating and working in the immediate vicinity of Pottery Mound. The Pottery Mound seal owners were apparently isolated from the rest of Area A both administratively and physically.

The Pottery Mound evidence also suggests that seals inscribed with the Horus name of one ruler were not necessarily replaced upon the accession of a new king in the Fourth Dynasty. Three sealings with impressions of Seal 1 were excavated by Karl
Kromer along with other sealings apparently deposited in the reign of Khafre. Seal 1 is also the best-represented seal in Feature 21557, most likely laid down in the reign of Menkaure. In addition, 17 out of the 54 sealings from Feature 21557 that bear impressions of Seal 1 are box sealings, which were probably used for local storage. The sheer number of Seal 1 sealings, the proportion of box sealings among them and the numerous box sealings sealed by seals dating to Menkaure that were found mixed in with them strongly suggest that these sealings were also made - and discarded - in the reign of Menkaure. Therefore, Seal 1 appears clearly to have been used both in the reign of Khafre (from its appearance among the Kromer sealings) and in the reign of Menkaure (from its appearance in the latest phases at Pottery Mound). The same conclusion also applies to Seals 3 and 5 by association, since they alone appear alongside the Seal 1 sealings in Feature 24462.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the idea that a king would systematically gather up seals carved under his predecessor and replace them with those bearing his own name is promoted by Kaplony and repeated by Boochs. It ultimately relies on ambiguous passages in Hatshepsut's coronation decree from the Eighteenth Dynasty and the

\[155\] Boochs, *Siegel und Siegeln*, 60 and n. 2.  
Ramasseeum Dramatic Papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁵⁷ In the account of Hatshepsut's coronation from Deir el-Bahari, the lector-priests are brought together to make public the new royal titulary and put it "in every monument and seal." While this implies that all new seals issued after the king's coronation to new officials or those recently promoted or reassigned would bear the new royal names, there is no explicit statement that existing seals with older kings' names were re-issued. Likewise, in the passage from the Ramasseum Dramatic Papyrus, Horus receives a golden ring. No older seals are collected. In neither text is it clearly stated that older seals were systematically replaced.

The evidence from Pottery Mound seems to suggest that Scribes of Royal Documents in the Fourth Dynasty received their seals relatively early in their careers and continued using them well into their careers. This makes sense from what is currently known about how the Scribes of Royal Documents were organized in the Fourth Dynasty. Apparently, before the early Fifth Dynasty, these scribes lacked an internal hierarchy. There was correspondingly little opportunity for official promotion or advancement within the scribal corps. As these scribes received greater and greater seniority and authority within the organization, their titles would not change and there would be no administrative reason to update their seals. In fact, it might even have been

prestigious to be identified by a seal bearing the Horus name of a long dead king as a symbol of your seniority within an otherwise undifferentiated cohort of scribes.

This implies that the titles on the seals of Pottery Mound were actually those received by these officials early on in their careers when they first received their seal from the king. The junior status of some Scribes of Royal Documents in the reign of Khafre can be seen on the north wall of the tomb chapel of Nysutnefer where the tomb owner and his wife are seated as Nysutnefer's son, Kahersetef, reads the scroll for the reversion of offerings ritual. In this particular scene, Kahersetef bears the title "Scribe of Royal Documents." In fact, elsewhere in the same tomb Kahersetef is labeled as Scribe of Royal Documents and depicted with a side-lock, the symbol of youth. This tomb is dated by Baud to about the time of Khafre whereas Junker, the original excavator, dates it in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. Given Nysutnefer's titles, which principally concern the pyramid and palace of Khafre, Baud's date seems more likely. In any case, these depictions clearly show that Scribes of Royal Documents in the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty could often be junior members of important families.

159 Ibid., 177, and see Abb. 27 and, more completely, Abb. 28.
160 G4970 in the Western Cemetery at Giza, near the tomb of Seshemnefer II, G 5080 and Seshemnefer III, G5170.
161 Baud, *Famille royale*, 57-58. For greater detail concerning the family and where they may have been buried, see Baud, *Famille royale*, 506.
162 Junker, *Giza III*, 16.
The pattern from Pottery Mound indicates that the oldest seals (Seals 1, 3 and 5) had been given to their recipients when they entered service at some point in the reign of Khafre. These seal bearers continued to use the seals into the reign of Menkaure judging by the contemporary association of seals on impressions from Feature 21557 by which time at least the owners of Seal 1 (the best represented seal) and Seal 3 (the only seal to seal doors) apparently had taken on more duties and attained increased authority. During the reign of Menkaure, these senior officials had been augmented by a new class of scribes who were frequently specialized.

Other institutions in the reign of Menkaure showed a greater degree of internal stratification than the Scribes of Royal Documents. As mentioned above, 15 seals have so far been reconstructed from 222 sealings with replicate impressions from Area AA, an excavation area just to the northwest of Pottery Mound. Of these originating seals, all but two belonged to "royal purification priests" (w'b.w-ny-św.t) or mention the "royal funerary workshop" (w'b.t-ny-św.t) or both. Five of these seals apparently belonged to "assistant royal purification priests" (ḥry.w-ˁt w'b-ny-św.t) and two seals had been issued to "subordinates of the royal funerary workshop" (imy.w-ḥt w'b.t-ny-św.t). One seal was owned by an official who was both. Another, fragmentary seal mentions an "inspector" (šḥḏ) associated with the funerary workshop (w'b.t). A different, more complete seal apparently belonged to an "inspector of assistant royal purification priests" (šḥḏ ḫry(.w)-r w'b(.w)-ny-św.t). One of these seals bears the Horus name of Khafre and all but one of the rest bear the Horus name of Menkaure. The remaining seal does not have a
preserved Horus name. So, while these seals seem to be closely contemporary to those of Pottery Mound, they belong to officials from a different institution and show a greater degree of hierarchical differentiation. In such an environment, where frequent promotion often carries with it a new title, seals would be replaced more regularly and it would be less likely that older seals with the names of previous kings would continue to be used.

While it seems likely that the officials in Area AA were connected to the Royal Funerary Workshop (w'b.t ny-św.t) since it is attested on as many as six of the theoretical seals from that area, it is less clear what institution produced the Pottery Mound sealings. In the Fourth Dynasty, the House of the Book Roll (Pr md3.t) is the only known scribal department and is attested exclusively in epithets of the goddess Seshat. However, these scribes may not have been strictly assigned to any formal government department in this early period. Much in the same way the Vizier’s scribal and legal responsibilities were expansive but carried no corresponding titles in the Fourth Dynasty, so the scribes who may have worked beneath him may have lacked a designated bureau.

In the end, the exact nature of this scribal community sequestered in the heart of the Western Town within Area A is hard to define. It is clear that these Scribes of Royal Documents, many of whom are also Scribes of the King's Writing Case and many are associated with "royal instructions," were closely associated with the king and - judging

163 Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, 32 n. 5.
by somewhat later titles - the Vizier. However, the numbers of broken sealings, although vast by Old Kingdom standards, still seems to indicate a sporadic or seasonal presence in the community south of the Wall of the Crow.

However, perhaps the answer lies in the mounds of debris excavated by Karl Kromer just to the west of Area A back in 1970-1973. Based primarily on the sealing fragments he excavated, Kromer concluded that the huge piles of cultural debris and disarticulated mud bricks had once belonged to a settlement that had included a royal rest house of Khufu and Khafre.164 This conclusion is supported by several Old Kingdom texts that clearly suggest that the king was frequently present at the construction site of his pyramid, implying the likely existence of at least a temporary royal residence nearby. The link between the rest house hypothesized by Kromer and Pottery Mound is supported by the existence of seal impressions of Seal 1 at both sites.

164 Kromer, Siedlungsfunde, 114.
Chapter 4: The Historical Setting

4.1 Introduction

The history of Egypt from the Third Dynasty through the end of the Old Kingdom is one of constant change and adaptation. Although the view is distorted by the uneven nature of the evidence, the history of the Fourth Dynasty appears to be one in which the royal family consolidated its authority by controlling the major administrative offices of the Vizier and the Overseer of Royal Works. Other titles boasting a direct, family relationship to the king thrived, becoming the most prestigious of the period.

By the early Fifth Dynasty however the nature of the Egyptian state and its economy had changed. While some officials continued to claim to be "sons of the king," they no longer controlled the most important government departments. The administration of resources that had been so critical to the massive construction efforts of the Fourth Dynasty became highly specialized in the Fifth. New government bureaus were created under the Vizier, each specializing in an aspect of the hitherto undefined responsibilities of the Vizier. In addition, the overall number of officials staffing these newly created departments increased rapidly in the early Fifth Dynasty. All of these changes - the "exclusion" of the "sons of the king" from important administrative posts, the creation of several new branches of government and the burgeoning number of officials - have led scholars to suggest that they were all the result of a massive, intentional restructuring of the Egyptian state mandated by the express will of the king.
The precise causes and timing of the transformation of the centralized family-run state into a specialized, bureaucratic government however have remained a point of contention.

The Pottery Mound seals show that the process that gave rise to the bureaucracy of the Fifth Dynasty actually began in the reign of Menkaure. The development of the institutions surrounding Pottery Mound shows the beginnings of specialization in the king's scribal corps. More importantly, many of these new scribes are dedicated to the royal educational infrastructure. The training of competent government officials took time and the expansion of the corps of public officials that took place early in the Fifth Dynasty must have had its origins even earlier in the late Fourth Dynasty. To the extent that Area A at Giza represents an occasional residence of the king and his household, the increase in the numbers of scribes active around Pottery Mound in its latest phase may signal a ramping up in the infrastructure for educating and training future administration officials. While it is difficult to assess the precise responsibilities of the new "scribes of royal documents for royal instructions," it is likely that these scribes had some role in the education of royal and noble children in the royal palace.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Area A at Giza was most likely not the principal residence of the king but more likely was an occasional "rest house" used by the king and his household and Pottery Mound seems to reflect aspects of the central government. The early appearance of a "Keeper of Royal Instructions" in the seals of Pottery Mound shows that the administration of "royal instructions" likely had been
carried out at least occasionally in the structures surrounding the dump from their inception. The later appearance of as many as five scribes assigned to the royal instructions while the older keeper of royal instructions remained active suggests that these activities were scaled up late in the reign of Menkaure, perhaps laying the foundation for an anticipated increase in the number of students.

These patterns are significant for understanding the development of Egyptian bureaucracy in the age of pyramid construction. Often, literacy and bureaucratic organization have been listed as necessary conditions for the large, national construction projects undertaken in the Fourth Dynasty. While it is clear that literacy and ordered government facilitated the massive construction projects of the Fourth Dynasty, the sheer numbers of literate scribes and officials as well as the complexity of their formal organization both seem to have increased in scale in the succeeding Fifth Dynasty. The Pottery Mound seals give rare, contemporary testimony that the foundation for the extensive bureaucracy typical of the early Fifth Dynasty was actually laid in the reign of Menkaure, as the last (and smallest) of the great Fourth Dynasty pyramids was being built. Far from being a precursor to building projects on the scale of the Giza pyramids, the burgeoning bureaucratic organization of the Fifth Dynasty may have actually been the result of the stresses inherent in the flexible, family-oriented governmental structures of the Fourth Dynasty.
4.2 The Seals of Pottery Mound in Historical Context

Inasmuch as is certain, all of the seals used near Pottery Mound were carved in the reign of either Khafre or Menkaure. No earlier or later kings are represented on the seal impressions from Pottery Mound. Given the numerous attestations of Khafre and Menkaure seals and the complete absence of other royal names, the strata of Pottery Mound were most likely deposited in the reign of Menkaure, perhaps starting sometime in the reign of Khafre.

In many ways, Menkaure's reign marks the end of the Fourth Dynasty and the start of a period of transition. Menkaure was the last king of the Fourth Dynasty to build a pyramid and the last king to be buried at Giza. As the great-grandson of Sneferu, the founder of the dynasty, Menkaure represented the fourth generation to occupy the throne. When he became king, he had several brothers and dozens of cousins, all of whom could trace their family ties back to the great Sneferu.¹ In an era when family relationships determined access to positions of power, the number of competing family branches and collateral lines might have easily led to instability.

¹ See the genealogical tables for the Fourth Dynasty royal family in Yvonne Harpur and Paolo J. Scremin, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content, Studies in Egyptology (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 240-244. According to Harpur's reconstruction, Khafre had twelve sons including Menkaure, at least four daughters and was himself one of Khufu's ten known children.
The seals and sealings of Pottery Mound were products of the administrative system of the Fourth Dynasty. Knowledge of the structure and development of the administration during this period is based almost exclusively on representations and title sequences carved in tomb chapels. This evidence is by its nature commemorative and retrospective and often subject to broadly different interpretations. The sealings of Pottery Mound on the contrary offer a rare contemporary glimpse of administrative practices during the reign of Menkaure. The evidence from these sealings may help to highlight and resolve the unsettled aspects of the current understanding of the Egyptian state during the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty.

4.2.1 "Sons of the King"

One characteristic of Fourth Dynasty administration is the predominance of close family members of the king in the highest positions of authority. These kinship connections however are often difficult to determine with precision. The family relationship between the king and his highest administrators is most clearly seen in the depictions of family members in the tomb chapels of these officials, except these situations are rare. More often, the tomb owner's relationship to the king is indicated by certain titles, the most prominent of which is "son of the king" (z3 ny-św.t) and its variants "bodily son of the king" (z3 ny-św.t n ht=f) and "eldest (bodily) son of the king" (z3 ny-św.t (n ht=f) śmśw).

These titles however cannot always be taken literally. Early on Hermann Junker noticed that the title "son of the king" frequently referred to royal grandsons and even
great-grandsons.\textsuperscript{2} According to Junker only a true son of the king may possess titles that include the phrase "of his father " \((n\ it=f)\),\textsuperscript{3} but the title "son of the king" alone most often designates royal grandsons especially in the Western Cemetery. The supplemental phrase "of his body" \((n\ ht=f)\) ironically does not necessarily denote a physical relationship with the king according to Junker since Hemiunu (a son of Neferma'at and perhaps grandson of Sneferu) claims to be a "king's son of his body." Therefore given the obvious exceptions to the literal meaning of "king's son" throughout the Fourth Dynasty, Junker suggests that the title "king's son" may be inherited or acquired through marriage and does not in itself necessarily identify a true son of the reigning king.

Later, Betina Schmitz again took up the problem of the title "king's son" during the Old Kingdom. In her analysis, Schmitz gives several criteria to determine "true" sons of the king.\textsuperscript{4} First, the title \textit{z3 ny-św.t} followed by the name of a specific king indicates that the holder was an actual son of that king. Second, only actual sons of the king appear in depictions of court officials in the royal mortuary temples. However these

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., 33-34.
\textsuperscript{4} Bettina Schmitz, \textit{Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT "Königssohn"} (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976), 46-64.
\end{flushleft}
representations are rare and are lacking altogether for the Fourth Dynasty. Third, royal wives are occasionally depicted in the tombs of their children in the Fourth Dynasty. Schmitz sees descent from a wife of the king as a firm indication of royal paternity. Finally, Schmitz takes into account other special sources of evidence such as tomb location and contents, biographical and later literary evidence and the use of the problematic phrase "of his father" ($n$ $it=f$) as a component of certain titles.

Using these criteria, Schmitz concludes that the title $z3$ $ny$-$św.t$ was not meant literally in the Old Kingdom. Instead, she contends that the titles "son of the king" ($z3$ $ny$-$św.t$), "bodily son of the king" ($z3$ $ny$-$św.t$ $n$ $ḥt=f$) and "eldest (bodily) son of the king" ($z3$ $ny$-$św.t$ $(n$ $ḥt=f)$ $śmśw$) were respectively indicators of increasing social rank. The reasons for promotion from one rank to the next remain unclear. True princes were born into one of these ranks usually $z3$ $ny$-$św.t$ $n$ $ḥt=f$, but occasionally they may be $z3$ $ny$-$św.t$ $śmśw$. Should they go on to serve in a high administrative post, such as Vizier, they might be promoted. "Titular" princes of non-royal birth however only attained these titles by promotion through the administrative ranks. Contrary to Junker’s hypothesis, there is little evidence that these rank titles were inherited.

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5 So far, depictions of court officials are only known from the mortuary temples of Sahure (Fifth Dynasty) and Pepi II (Sixth Dynasty).
7 Ibid., 103-108.
The rise of these "titular" sons of the king occurred sometime during the Fourth Dynasty. According to Schmitz throughout this period there were two distinct groups of high ranking titles that were reserved only for "sons of the king." The first group of titles was also the most ancient and included the Vizier, Overseer of All Royal Works and the head of royal expeditions \((htm.w-ntr m imw)\). All three of these functions were apparently only held by royal princes in the Third Dynasty and continued to be restricted to actual sons of the king into the Fourth Dynasty. At the onset of the Fourth Dynasty, a new group of titles comes to be reserved for both actual and titular "sons of the king." These titles include Overseer of the Phyles of Upper Egypt \((imy-r3 z3.w-šm‘w)\), which is typically combined with Great One of the Tens of Upper Egypt \((wr-md(,w)-šm‘w)\). The second title in Schmitz' new group is \(mdh zš-ny-št.w\), often translated as "Chief of the Royal Scribes (?)" but perhaps more accurately means "Master Architect of the

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8 Michel Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 126 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999), 174-175.
9 Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 162.
10 Ibid., 163-165.
11 These titles are apparently restricted to the first half of the Fourth Dynasty which may be a sign that Menkaure himself may have drastically curtailed the scope of royal construction activity. So, Ibid., 163, " als ab Mykerinos die königlichen Bauvorhaben stark eingeschränkt wurden."
King." The final title Schmitz includes among the new princely titles of the Fourth Dynasty is that of Sem-priest (šm ḫrp-šnḏ.yt).

At some point during the Fourth Dynasty - Schmitz suggests "in der Mykerinos-Schepseskaft Zeit" - the "titular" princes begin to serve in the old offices previously reserved for true royal sons. The first such "fictive" prince to serve as Vizier was Seshathetep, who presumably served under Shepseskaf or later in the Fourth Dynasty. For Schmitz Seshathetep marks the beginning of a period in which "echte und titulare Prinzen nebeneinander in der Verwaltungspitze tätig sind" and which culminates with the total exclusion of the "sons of the king" from high administrative offices that Schmitz claims was complete by the start of the Fifth Dynasty.

Michel Baud generally agrees with the broad strokes of Schmitz's conclusions. He agrees that the titles "son of the king" (z3 ny-šw.t), "bodily son of the king" (z3 ny-šw.t n ḫt=f) and "eldest (bodily) son of the king" (z3 ny-šw.t (n ḫt=f) šmśw) represent successively more prestigious indicators of rank. However, the reasons for promotion to the older title appears to become honorific late in the Fifth Dynasty. See discussion in Chapter 3.

14 Schmitz, Untersuchungen, 162.
15 Ibid. She dates Seshathetep's tomb to the early part of the Fifth Dynasty on p. 25. See now Naguib Kanawati, Tombs at Giza, Volume II: Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080). ACER 18 (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 2002), 11-30.
16 Schmitz, Untersuchungen, 166.
these ranks is not straightforward. Baud carefully studies seven Old Kingdom officials with titles attested from two or more stages in their career with some certainty. Baud concludes that if there is a connection between administrative competence and promotion to the title "king's son" (or one of its variants), it is "selon des modalités beaucoup plus complexes et plus souples qu'on ne l'a imaginé jusqu'à présent."

For Baud however the literal meaning of the titles incorporating "king's son" and the rules governing promotion from one rank to the next are not as important as their high prestige during the Fourth Dynasty. He notes that, whatever its ultimate significance, "son of the king" is held by just "soixantaine" known officials whereas the highest social rank, ỉry-pū.t, typically held by only the highest officials, is claimed by about 100. Claiming the king as one's father regardless of its literal truth clearly held great prestige during the Fourth Dynasty. The decline in the administrative authority of the "king's sons" at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, Baud claims, is due in part to the rise in the perceived value of merit as opposed to birthright.

### 4.2.2 The Structure of Fourth Dynasty Administration

Outside of the dominance of the royal family, the state structure of the Fourth Dynasty was marked by two traits: centralization and flexibility. Centralization is

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18 Ibid., 181.
19 Ibid., 182.
20 Ibid., 184-185.
reflected in the rise in the administrative importance of the Vizier, a position which was held exclusively by the sons or grandsons of kings. In the Fourth Dynasty not only did the Vizier head the central administrative apparatus, he also acted as the Overseer of All Royal Works. In this capacity, the Vizier was responsible for foreign expeditions, the agricultural administration of certain important parts of the country and marshalling labor. Only sporadically in the Fourth Dynasty is the Overseer of the Treasury clearly independent of the Vizier while other positions such as Overseer of the Scribes of Royal Documents, Overseer of the Granaries and Overseer of the Six Law Courts only appear later in Fifth Dynasty tombs.

The office of Vizier appears to be fundamentally a creation of the Fourth Dynasty. Except for an early attestation of a form of the title on a stone vessel from under the Step Pyramid at Saqqara,21 the earliest known Vizier is Neferma’at, a son (or possibly brother) of Sneferu.22 Succeeding Viziers were most likely uncles or cousins of the reigning king and not his son. For instance, Neferma’at's own son, Hemiunu, went on to serve as Khufu's Overseer of Works and Vizier. Another early Vizier, Ankhaf, was most likely Khufu's uncle although this is not certain.23 From the evidence of these three early Viziers - Neferma’at, Hemiunu and Ankhaf - it seems that early in the Fourth

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21 Strudwick, *Administration*, 300.
22 See Baud, *Famille royale*, 490.
23 Ibid., 425.
Dynasty the Vizier often was not a son of the reigning king but instead represented another, collateral branch of the family.

Accompanying the rise of the Vizier in the early Fourth Dynasty was a surprising amount of flexibility that can be glimpsed in the wide variety of titles claimed by high officials. As described by Michel Baud, the administration under Sneferu was characterized by a diversity of titles and overlapping spheres of competence. In this period, the highest officials often held administrative titles (such as Overseer of All Royal Works) as well as apparently important judicial and scribal functions. The reign of Sneferu was, in Baud's words, "indéniablement celle d'une réorganisation administrative, au cours de laquelle émerge la figur centrale du vizir."25

At the start of the Fourth Dynasty the only consistently attested high administrative titles are the Vizier (t3y.ty z3b t3.ty) and the Overseer of Royal Works (imy-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t ny-św.t),26 frequently held by the same person. Other high administrative titles appear to have been innovations of the early Fifth Dynasty. This need not mean that Fourth Dynasty administration was less evolved or effective than the more complicated bureaucracy that was to follow in the Fifth Dynasty, just that the titles assigned to certain roles may not have been as clear or explicit. For example, the earliest holder of the high legal title Overseer of the Six Great Mansions (imy-r3 hw.t

24 Ibid., 312-314.
25 Ibid., 312.
26 Strudwick, Administration, 217.
wr. t 6. t) - a title that was only held by the Vizier, was Kai, who was buried in the reign of Niuserre. The earliest Overseers of Royal Documents were Washptah, who was a Vizier, and Seshemnefer II, who was not. According to his biography, Washptah died in the reign of Neferirkare while Seshemnefer probably did not long survive him. There even appears to be no official explicitly in control of the "House of Redistribution of Offerings," Pr ḫry-wḏḥb, which handled the redistribution of surplus agricultural production, until the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

Other Fourth Dynasty departments also seem to have had no explicit title for their chief administrator. For instance, there are only sporadic occurrences of high granary officials in the Fourth Dynasty. Pehernefer, the administrator of the cult of Sneferu's mother, held the apparently high office of Overseer of Every Granary of the King (imy-r3 šnw.t nb.t n.t ny-šw.t). Another Fourth Dynasty official, Akhy, held a similar title Overseer of the King's Granaries (imy-r3 šnw.wt ny-šw.t). A man named Ifefy, whose

27 Ibid., 306.
28 Ibid., 177. For the date of Kai's tomb, see p. 144.
29 Ibid., 200, table 12.
30 Baud, Famille royale, 289.
31 Strudwick, Administration, 259 cites 37 examples dating to the Fifth Dynasty in the Memphite area. The dual šnw.ty likely reflects an association with national administration. See Helck, Beamtenstiteln, 64.
32 Strudwick, Administration, 263.
tomb apparently dates to the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty, bears the possibly related title Overseer of the King's Granary (ими-ր3 ժնու.տ նյ-ժբ.տ). Since these three titles show none of the organization and regularity of the Fifth Dynasty titles for the administrators of granaries, Strudwick suggests that oversight of the granaries in the Fourth Dynasty presumably "would have been one of the undefined tasks of the Vizier or the overseer of works."34

Similarly, the title Overseer of the (national) Treasury (يمي-ր3 պր.անդ-հդ) is predominantly known from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Only Nefer from Giza and the aforementioned Akhy (who is likely to have been buried in the Fifth Dynasty) might have actually held this title in the Fourth Dynasty.36 Nefer's tomb was completed in the Fourth Dynasty sometime after the reign of Khafre.37 While he never became Vizier and was probably not related to the king, Nefer did serve in a number of other high offices and many of his titles are unusual.38

33 Ibid., 60-61. Strudwick notes the tension between Fourth Dynasty elements such as a cruciform chapel and thick, raised relief and the Fifth Dynasty title հնուտ-է in this tomb.
34 Ibid., 275.
35 This title is to be distinguished from the less important title "overseer of the treasury," يمي-ր3 պր-հդ.
36 Strudwick, Administration, 290.
37 Ibid., 109-110 [84].
38 As mentioned above, Nefer is one of just two officials who claim to be Overseer of Scribes of the King's Writing Case (يمي-ր3 ժժ(.ա) բրու.տ-՝ նյ-ժբ.տ) from this period. Ibid., 138-139 dates his tomb to the "early fifth dynasty." Klaus Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 131 dates him to
Although explicit holders of the important titles "Overseer of the Six Great Mansions" (يمي-👨‍🏫 חו.ת ור.ט 6.ת), "Overseer of Granaries" (يمي-👨‍🍳 ש.ת) and "Overseer of the Treasury" (يمي-👨‍💼 פ.ו-ﺢ) are lacking for the Fourth Dynasty, by the middle of the Fifth Dynasty each of these titles were regularly held by the Vizier. The absence of these titles in the Fourth Dynasty need not imply that there was no chief administrator for these departments but rather that functional oversight rested instead in the hands of the Vizier. Only later do explicit titles for control of these departments appear perhaps reflecting the general trend of specialization and formalization of the bureaucracy that already existed.

If this inference is correct, the position of Vizier epitomized the consolidation of administrative power in the Fourth Dynasty. As the Overseer of All Royal Works, the Vizier might be assisted by a second Overseer of All Royal Works, who would handle the technical details of managing and coordinating the major construction activities throughout the country.39 Beneath these two officials a whole hierarchy of overseers and other officials would execute the necessary tasks.40 In addition, the direction of the Granaries and the Treasury were only occasionally held by an official other than the

"Sahure-Neferirkare." However, see Baud, Famille royale, 59, who argues for earlier dates for Seshemnefer III and Seshemnefer II. If Seshemnefer I is their direct predecessor, then his date must also be reconsidered. See Baud, Famille royale, 282 who dates Seshemnefer I to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

39 Strudwick, Administration, 249-250.
40 Baud, Famille royale, 276-283.
Vizier. The Vizier might have exercised control over the administration of justice during the Fourth Dynasty.⁴¹

The consolidation of the administration of the Fourth Dynasty is also apparent in the king's household. At this time those charged with the king's personal well-being who had direct access to the king could claim the rank śmr wːty, often translated as "Unique Friend." The most important positions held by this class of officials were "Controller of the Palace" (ḥrp ṯḥ),⁴² "Master of Largess (in) the 'Mansion-of-Life'" (ḥry-wḏb (m) hw.t-桷),⁴³ and Sem-priest (śm ḫrp ṣṇḏy.t nb.ṱ) among other titles.⁴⁴ The "Unique Friends" of the king were almost always "sons of the king" from the reign of Khufu through the end of the Fourth Dynasty. At this time these officials - to judge by their titles - do not seem to have actually performed the functions related to the king's meals, clothes, grooming or entertainment; these duties were handled by others who were not "sons of the king."

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⁴² For a recent discussion of this title, see Miroslav Bártta, "The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom," Archiv Orientální 67, no. 1 (1999).

⁴³ Alan H. Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess," JEA 24 (1938): 89 describes this title as "the official who presided over the royal meals in the king's ... living- or dining-room." He was also apparently in charge of the royal gifts called htp.w-ny-šw.t.

⁴⁴ For a list of śmr.w wːtiw and their associated titles, see Baud, Famille royale, 261-263 tableau 15.
These "technical" officials become particularly prevalent starting in the reign of Menkaure.45

The king's household itself may also have been brought under the control of the Vizier. In many ways, the history of one of its important positions, Controller of the Palace (ḥrp 'ḥ), parallels the early development of the Vizierate. Early in the Fourth Dynasty, the Controllers of the Palace were not necessarily members of the royal family but at some point during Sneferu's reign, true royal princes such as Netjeraperef and Kainefer hold the post. In fact, starting with Kainefer the sons of Sneferu and Khufu hold the posts of Vizier and Controller of the Palace simultaneously. The appearance of the title Controller of the Palace at the start of the Fourth Dynasty and its consolidation in the hands of the royal family in the reign of Khufu suggests a period of transition at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty similar to the rise of the Vizier.

So, while the administration of the Fourth Dynasty appears to have been highly centralized, this concentration of power in the hands of the Vizier may not have been reflected in the titles of the period. It seems likely that the Vizier had ultimate authority in most aspects of government but only in the case of the management of royal works did he hold a specific title making his authority explicit. His control of other branches of the government was apparently implicitly understood.

45 Ibid., 264, citing the biography of Debeheni.
4.2.3 Provincial Administration in the Fourth Dynasty

A similar pattern can be seen in the administration of the provinces during the Fourth Dynasty. During the Old Kingdom provincial administration was most likely coordinated by the "House of Redistribution of Offerings," pr hry-wḏb. This institution did more than manage the agricultural production of the countryside. It also distributed and transported the surplus production to its designated recipients.\textsuperscript{46} While many titles are attested for officials in this department during the Fourth Dynasty including an Overseer of the House of Provisioning Offerings at the very beginning of the dynasty named Pehernefer, no other Overseers of this institution are known thereafter until the start of the Sixth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{47} So, while the existence of this administrative organization in the Fourth Dynasty is clear, only one of its chief administrators during this period is explicitly identified.

Throughout the Fourth Dynasty provincial administrators seem to have controlled several different nomes at once but they were not buried in these provinces. Instead they set up their mortuary cults near the capital. Metjen, Pehernefer and Izy, the only provincial administrators whose tombs clearly date to the Fourth Dynasty, each fit this

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 285.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 288.
pattern. Metjen administered land in the Delta as well as in Upper Egypt\textsuperscript{48} and was buried at Saqqara sometime during the reign of Sneferu. Pehernefer's tomb was likely completed not long thereafter\textsuperscript{49} and he oversaw districts primarily in Lower Egypt.\textsuperscript{50} Izy's titles are known only from a false door panel and some relief fragments from his tomb, which was probably originally at Saqqara. He was both an "Elder in the Nomes of Lower Egypt" (\textit{šmśw m śp3.wt t3-mḥw}) and the "Leader-of-the-Land of the Upper Egyptian Nomes" (\textit{ššm-t3 śp3.wt śmʾw}).\textsuperscript{51}

Although these few ornate tombs are located near Memphis, it is not clear that this necessarily means that these high provincial administrators necessarily lived near the capital. Martin-Pardey for instance argues that many Fourth Dynasty provincial officials might have been buried in rural tombs that were either uninscribed or built of less durable materials such as mud brick.\textsuperscript{52} She cites the existence of such tombs at Abydos, Naga ed-Deir, Reqaqna, el-Kab and el-Tarif, which she claims demonstrate the existence of relatively important local provincial officials over the course of the Fourth Dynasty. Martin-Pardey goes further suggesting that provincial administrators for Lower

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\textsuperscript{48} Eva Martin-Pardey, \textit{Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches}, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 1 (Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1976), 74-75.
\textsuperscript{49} Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 449.
\textsuperscript{50} Hermann Junker, "Phrnfr," \textit{ZÄS} 75 (1939).
\textsuperscript{51} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 65-66. He was also a "scribe of royal documents."
\textsuperscript{52} Martin-Pardey, \textit{Provinzialverwaltung}, 76-78.
Egypt were buried near Memphis while those from Upper Egypt were buried in the provinces closer to their homes.

Martin-Pardey's conclusions seem unlikely. Two of the three provincial administrators mentioned above - Metjen and Izy - governed land all over the country and can not be restricted to either Lower Egypt or Upper Egypt. Also, the comparatively elaborate tombs for these three officials suggest that they had higher rank than the officials buried in the provincial tombs. These higher administrators appear to have been particularly favored by the king and were subsequently rewarded with decorated tombs near the capital, whereas the uninscribed provincial tombs most likely belonged to lower ranking local administrators. It seems clear that ultimate control of the provinces in the Fourth Dynasty rested with the king and his appointees who were centered near Memphis.

4.2.4 The Structure of Fifth Dynasty Administration

In contrast to the administration of the Fourth Dynasty, the nature of administration early in the Fifth Dynasty saw a formalization of government functions with the creation of several new departments and institutions. The Vizier maintained his central role in the government but he adopted explicit titles related to each of these functions. In many cases, he was assisted by another subordinate official who held the same title and oversaw the day-to-day operations of these departments. Strikingly, these high officials of the new order no longer claimed affiliation with the royal family. They did not claim the title "king's son" nor did they claim to be *ir y p.t*, the designation
of princely rank. Instead, they were specialized bureaucrats who ran the country while the true "sons of the king" seem to have been relegated to religious and ceremonial functions.

Early in the Fifth Dynasty, whole new bureaux and departments are organized under the direct supervision of the Vizier. Judging by the title sequences in dated tombs, the titles for overall control of the legal system, the state granaries, the Treasury and the royal scribal corps all make their initial appearance in the first part of the Fifth Dynasty. This formalization of hitherto implicit government functions may also be reflected in the development of a strict hierarchy of ranks associated with these titles since, starting in the reign of Neferirkare, these titles begin to appear in highly structured sequences in tomb inscriptions.

During this bureaucratic restructuring, whole new economic and religious institutions were also invented. Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, established the first of six known solar temples. These new institutions not only symbolize the increased importance of the cult of Re, they are also substantial economic forces in their own right. A calendar of offerings set up in two parts in the valley temple of the solar temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab shows that it had been endowed with an almost

54 Ibid., 275.
55 Ibid., 299.
56 Ibid., 214.
57 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 300.
impossibly large consignment of cattle, bread and beer. According to Helck's reconstruction of the text, the sun temple would have received a daily delivery of 280 "portions" of bread and beer, 22 additional loaves of pzn-bread, 3 oxen, perhaps as many as 3 smaller animals and occasionally 3 geese. To these must be added special deliveries for feast days through out year. The scale of these offerings shows the economic importance of these solar temples.

There are other indications that the royal economy was overhauled to accommodate the fundamental changes brought about by the introduction of the solar temples. Prior to the start of the Fifth Dynasty, the king's household, which was the focal point of the nation's economy, was called the 'ḥ,' the pr-ˁ, and, in an administrative sense, the pr-ny-św.t. With the start of the Fifth Dynasty, a new term, hnw, or "Residence," appears. This word seems to refer to an institution in which the king lived and which at the same time played a significant economic role in the nation. Along with the new sun temples, the Residence was an important source for the resources that

59 Ogden Goelet, Jr., “Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom” (Columbia University, 1982), 230, on First Dynasty ivory tags.
60 Ibid., 536-537, from Dynasty Four.
61 Ibid., 478-482, from the Archaic Period.
62 Ibid., 6-7.
63 For a discussion of the economic role of the Residence, see Ibid., 72-83.
maintained the mortuary cult of Neferirkare, according to administrative documents from later reigns.\textsuperscript{64}

Not only is there an apparent increase in the quantity of government departments and new institutions during the early part of the Fifth Dynasty, the overall number of officials represented by inscribed tombs seems to increase significantly.\textsuperscript{65} This burst of tomb building seems to have been short-lived since the numbers of tomb-owning officials appear to decline in the Sixth Dynasty, perhaps as a result of far-reaching reforms in the reign of Djedkare Izezi in reaction to the increasing influence of the new class of officials.\textsuperscript{66} Strudwick notes that the numbers of funerary estates that supported the mortuary cults of these officials declined from the Fifth into the Sixth Dynasties\textsuperscript{67} perhaps reflecting a shift in the economy underlying the mortuary cults of the nobility at this time.

\textbf{4.2.5 Provincial Administration in the Fifth Dynasty}

Provincial administration also seems to have undergone a radical restructuring in the early Fifth Dynasty. In this period the highest administrators in the provinces seem to be restricted to a single province and start to be buried in ornate tombs located in

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 56.
\textsuperscript{66} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 340-341.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 341 n. 3.
those provinces. This development marks the origin of the concept of the nomarch - that is, a governor living in the province he governs, who hands on his position to his son - which becomes more fully developed by the Sixth Dynasty.\(^{68}\) The beginning of this evolution may be seen in the careers of Nysutnefer and one of his sons named Neferma'at. Although Nysutnefer is buried in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, he is perhaps the last provincial governor in the mode of the Fourth Dynasty. Not only is Nysutnefer the governor of three scattered provinces, he is also buried in an elaborate tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza back in the capital. His son Neferma'at on the other hand is the ruler of only one of the nomes previously governed by his father and he is buried at Dahshur.\(^{69}\)

The family of Nysutnefer provides clear evidence of continuity between the provincial administrators of the Fourth Dynasty and those of the Fifth. However the independent wealth of the provincial governors has clearly increased by the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. Martin-Pardey remarks that, "mit Beginn der 5. Dynastie durchaus nicht ein abrupter Wechsel in der Gauverwaltung einsetzt."\(^{70}\) However, what is new is

\(^{70}\) Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 78.
that provincial tombs begin to bear inscriptions. As a result, the Fifth Dynasty produces a comparative "Strom von Quellen" from Upper Egypt.\textsuperscript{71}

4.3 The Transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty

The events surrounding this apparently radical transformation of Egyptian society from a flexible, family-oriented enterprise to a highly structured, professional bureaucracy remain controversial. Helck, Schmitz, Strudwick and Baud have each presented different reconstructions of this period, each of which relies heavily on the dating of the tombs of the important historical actors. Consequently, radical re-dating of one or two of these tombs will have a dramatic impact on the interpretation of the development of Egyptian administration. The Pottery Mound sealings can help to settle some important aspects of this debate.

4.3.1 The "Exclusion of the King's Sons"

One striking aspect of the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty is the nearly total disappearance of the "sons of the king" from the highest administrative offices. In the first half of the Fourth Dynasty until sometime in the reign of Khafre, the Vizier also typically served as the Overseer of All Royal Works. The nature of the Vizierate apparently underwent a significant change during the reign of Khafre. Of the

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 79.
five known sons of Khafre who went on to become Vizier, none ever claimed to have been Overseer of All Royal Works. At least one of these men, Sekhemkare, lived well into the reign of Sahure in the Fifth Dynasty. Apparently at the same time, "titular" princes like Seshathetep (Hety) start to serve in the old, princely offices that had been reserved for the actual sons of the king up to this point. Furthermore, this new class of Viziers also holds the title Overseer of All Royal Works like earlier Viziers from the reign of Khufu. The precise date of Seshathetep (Hety)’s tomb is still debated but his rise to the Vizierate may signal the start of the process of excluding royal relatives from high positions within the royal administration.

The pace of this "exclusion of the royal sons" depends to a great extent on the dates one assigns to the tombs used in the arguments. Otherwise there are many signs of continuity from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasties. The creation of new solar temples and the ascendancy of the cult of Re in the Fifth Dynasty actually have clear precedents in the Fourth Dynasty. All the rulers from Djedefre to Menkaure incorporated the name of Re into their cartouche names. The epithet "son of Re" (z³ Rˁ) was first associated with the cartouche of the ruler starting in the reign of Djedefre. Many officials who flourished in the Fifth Dynasty (as is evident in the biography of Ptahshepses, for example) had been closely affiliated with the last kings of the Fourth Dynasty. Even

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Sekhemkare, a true son of Khafre, acknowledges being honored by five kings, including the first two rulers of the new dynasty, Userkaf and Sahure.  

In addition, the mortuary cults of the Fourth Dynasty Rulers continued to prosper under the new rulers of the Fifth Dynasty. The seal Cairo JdE 44200, which was carved in the reign of Niuserre, evidently belonged to a "prophet" of the Horus names of Sneferu, Khafre and Menkaure. The cult of Khentkaues I was initiated early in the Fifth Dynasty at Giza, demonstrating that the rulers of the new dynasty consciously promoted their ties with the old pyramid builders. It appears that the cultural traditions and cults of the Fourth Dynasty continued - and even flourished - in the early Fifth Dynasty even as the administrative system underwent sweeping changes.

Helck, Schmitz, Strudwick and Baud have all ventured explanations for the sudden change in administrative organization at the end of the Fourth Dynasty into the early Fifth Dynasty. Helck sees the exclusion of the royal sons from the highest offices as coincident with the rise of the cult of Re. He sees a direct link between the replacing

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73 Baud, *Famille royale*, 575 [218].
74 Discussed above in Chapter 1.
of the king by the sun god Re at the center of the theological world and the exclusion of the sons of the king from high offices.\textsuperscript{77} Helck's view implies that the royal sons were suddenly excluded from positions of practical power at the start of the Fifth Dynasty. However, the rise of the cult of Re started in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty and the memories of the old kings continued to be venerated into the Fifth Dynasty. Instead it is more likely that the process of removing the royal princes from positions of administrative authority was more gradual than Helck believed.

Schmitz holds that fictive princes began serving in the highest administrative positions alongside the actual sons of the king beginning with Seshathetep Hety in the reign of Menkaure.\textsuperscript{78} Schmitz\textsuperscript{79} agrees with Helck\textsuperscript{80} that the fundamental reason for this change was a shift in the nature of kingship over the course of the Fourth Dynasty, in which the sun god Re replaced the king at the center of the theological cosmos. However the resulting administrative reform at the end of the Fourth Dynasty was in her view two-fold. The sons of the old kings were gradually excluded from high administrative positions, a process which was completed (according to Schmitz) by the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Then, they were suddenly replaced by non-princely bureaucrats. When the old royal princes decorated their tombs sometime later their

\textsuperscript{77} Helck, \textit{Beamtentiteln}, 58.
\textsuperscript{78} Schmitz, \textit{Untersuchungen}, 162.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 166.
\textsuperscript{80} Helck, \textit{Beamtentiteln}. 
administrative titles reflected their active careers that had been cut short at the end of the Fourth Dynasty. By this time, the title "son of the king" had lost much of its prior prestige.  

Strudwick sees the transition between the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasties as a much more gradual process than either Helck or Schmitz. He does not see a dramatic administrative break between the dynasties and instead claims that the transition period lasted from the reign of Menkaure into that of Sahure. Moreover, its causes were not theological as Helck and Schmitz had proposed but rooted in the practicalities of family politics. According to Strudwick, a deliberate decision was taken by a king (he suggests Menkaure) to open up the highest offices in the land to men other than his close family members. After that deliberate decision had been taken, there followed a period in which two Viziers served simultaneously, one a "king's son," the other handling the actual functions of the Vizier. In this manner, Strudwick proposes that the royal sons were slowly removed from office as their expectations of administrative power diminished over time. In Strudwick's view, this process was eventually completed by the reign of Sahure.

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83 Ibid., 339.
84 Ibid., 338.
Strudwick speculates that Menkaure himself may have made this decision for political reasons. The natural rivalries among potential royal successors who were also controlling the economic, administrative and religious arms of the state led to increasing instability over the course of the Fourth Dynasty. Although the exact nature of this internecine struggle remains "shadowy," there is archaeological\(^5\) and documentary\(^6\) evidence supporting dynastic instability. Direct evidence however for Strudwick's suggestion that two Viziers - one of royal blood and the other not - served together at the same time at the end of the Fourth Dynasty is lacking.

Baud in contrast concludes that the removal of royal princes from administrative positions was not rooted in theology or politics and he disagrees with Strudwick's speculative reconstruction of the manner in which they were phased out.\(^7\) Baud believes that the nature and extent of the exclusion of royal sons were not as drastic nor as far-reaching as previous scholars have portrayed, pointing out that in only relatively few cases is it reasonably certain that a "royal son" was not of royal birth.

\(^5\) The pyramid of Djedefre was damaged soon after its completion. Tombs of other sons of Khufu, such as Khufukhaf in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, were also defaced in antiquity. The so-called "unfinished" pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan should date architecturally to the Fourth Dynasty, but it's intended owner is not known.

\(^6\) Strudwick points to a short reign that the Turin Canon places between Khafre and Menkaure.

\(^7\) Baud, *Famille royale*, 323-327.
After reconsidering the dates of the tombs of key officials, Baud\textsuperscript{88} instead contends that even early in the Fourth Dynasty "fictive royal sons" attained the position of Vizier. By contrast, Schmitz and Strudwick had maintained that the vizierates of so-called fictive "royal sons" were more concentrated at the end of the Fourth Dynasty implying an opening up of administrative opportunities to non-royal officials. Baud also contends that "royal sons" were not entirely relegated to ceremonial positions in the early Fifth Dynasty but instead remained active in some areas of the administration of Dynasty Five although they were restricted from the very highest offices.

Baud ultimately suggests that the apparent "removal" of the royal sons from administrative to religious and ceremonial positions was not the result of a deliberate social demotion as much as the by-product of specialization of the administration. As the government bureaucracy became increasingly specialized, the tasks required to oversee it became more and more technical. As a result, these positions came to be delegated "à des hommes nouveaux."\textsuperscript{89}

At the same time at the start of the Fifth Dynasty, increasing prestige was placed on the person of the king and direct access to him. As a result, royal hairdressers and manicurists increased in influence. The sons of the king retained importance in their father’s household and the ceremonial and religious titles they held may have been

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 318.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 327.
more powerful in reality than the administrative positions they gave up. Baud also points out that the title strings for royal princes during this period of transition may be abbreviated and tombs for many royal sons may be lacking since the royal cemetery shifted to Abusir and Saqqara, where excavations are less complete.\textsuperscript{90}

Although he questions the extent and causes of the so-called "exclusion" of the royal sons, Baud does not deny that royal sons no longer appear in the very highest positions in the administration early in the Fifth Dynasty. He sees the origins of this process extending back as far as the reign of Khafre,\textsuperscript{91} representing a generational development in the nature of the Vizierate after it had been fully established in the reign of Khufu. The Viziers who are sons of Khufu also hold the title Overseer of All Royal Works whereas the sons of Khafre (and their contemporaries) by contrast held one position or the other - never both - and the true sons of Khafre make no claim to the religious and administrative titles that were commonly held by earlier Viziers. According to Baud, this suggests that these princes may have exercised general direction of the administration and not the technical day-to-day operations marking the beginning of the delegation of authority that characterizes the early Fifth Dynasty.

Baud's reconstruction of the history of the end of the Fourth Dynasty undermines Strudwick's contention that Menkaure had deliberately reformed his government.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 324-327.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 322.
However, the arguments of both scholars depend on the dates they have assigned to the tombs and titles of key officials, such as Seshathetep (Hety). Baud's early date for this tomb (the reign of Khafre)\textsuperscript{92} suddenly eliminates the perceived concentration of "fictive" princes serving as Vizier at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, a perception that plays an important role in the interpretations of both Schmitz and Strudwick. The apparent lack of evidence other than inscriptions from tombs renders any historical reconstruction of this important period questionable. The seals from Pottery Mound, however, may provide this evidence.

\textbf{4.3.2 Historical Sources: Titles, Tombs and Seals}

Interpreting the administrative changes at the end of the Fourth Dynasty is inevitably the product of the available sources from the period and how they have been interpreted. Most of the story of the transition is based on the dates of the associated tombs and their title sequences. However, these title sequences were most likely composed near the end of an official's career\textsuperscript{93} and sometimes even posthumously.\textsuperscript{94}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{92} Ibíd., 58.
\textsuperscript{93} Nigel Strudwick, \textit{Texts from the Pyramid Age}, Writings from the Ancient World 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 42.
\textsuperscript{94} For instance, see the tomb of Sabni's father, Mekhu I, at Qubet el-Hawa and perhaps, that of Debeheni at Giza. See Nicole Kloth, \textit{Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung}, SAKB 8 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2002), 38-39, regarding Debeheni. See Strudwick, \textit{Texts from the Pyramid Age}, 335, for Mekhu I.
\end{footnotesize}
Much more is known about titles in the Middle Kingdom, a period of more
developed, highly specialized bureaucracy. Scholars have recently attempted to
distinguish among "regular titles" that correspond to state positions with defined
responsibilities and dedicated source of income which existed independent of the
holder, the titles that usually accompany them (Beititeln), the titles that might "signal"
a sphere of activity but cannot be taken literally (Signaltiteln) and epithets. Rank titles
are distinct from these "regular titles" and only indicate the holder's social status or
standing at court. While many Old Kingdom titles resemble their Middle Kingdom
descendants, it is often difficult in practice to distinguish among regular titles, honorific
titles and epithets in the Old Kingdom. Each and every title carried with it a certain level
of prestige, whether it designated an administrative position, a ceremonial or religious
role or simply indicated the social standing of the holder.

Sealings and seal impressions offer a synchronic control with which to evaluate
the diachronic perspective offered by tomb inscriptions. Seals are carved at a given
point in an official's career and there is no evidence from the Old Kingdom that they were

95 Stephen Quirke, "The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom," Revue
97 Ibid.: 107 n. 3.
98 Ibid.: 124.
99 Ibid.: 106.
100 See Baer, Rank and Title, 6-8.
re-carved thereafter. The titles and texts on them indentified a particular individual and symbolized his relationship to the king. They memorialized a point in his career. Thereafter, only the sealings he left behind tell how that seal was used and what other seals were used in association with it.

The sealings and seals of Pottery Mound offer a unique opportunity to examine the development of an important part of national administration at a crucial point in its development. All of the "core" Pottery Mound seals were held by high level scribes who were issued their seals in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure. The sealings impressed by these seals were found in the features of Pottery Mound. Features 24462 and 21557 in particular appear to have been undisturbed deposits generated by the activity of the surrounding structures that contributed to the dump. These two deposits respectively are from the earliest and latest phases and together encapsulate the development of the institutions surrounding Pottery Mound.

The twelve "core" seal bearers were all either Scribes of Royal Documents (in some fashion) or Scribes of the King's Writing Case or both. The three earliest seals were inscribed in the reign of Khafre and belong to unspecialized Scribes of Royal Documents. Importantly, one of the three seals also included the title Keeper of Royal Instructions, perhaps an early indication of the connection of Pottery Mound with royal education. No seals carved in the reign of Menkaure are attested in Feature 24462, so it was most likely deposited either in the reign of Khafre or early in the reign of Menkaure before any new seals had come to be expressed in the archaeological record.
The later deposit, Feature 21557, shows a sharp increase in the number of Scribes of Royal Documents who were now living and working in the vicinity. Not only were the three early seal bearers apparently still active but, judging by the relatively numerous sealings they produced and the exclusive use of one of these seals on door sealings, they were also apparently very important scribes at this time. They had been joined by nine new scribes. Four or possibly five of these new scribes were dedicated to "Royal Instructions" (šb3.(w)t-ny-św.t) in some fashion.\textsuperscript{101} Another seal (Seal 11) belonged to a "Scribe of Royal (Documents) for All [Royal] Works."\textsuperscript{102} Three of the remaining seals show the unspecialized title Scribe of Royal Documents and were carved in the reign of Menkaure.\textsuperscript{103}

The new scribal seals carved in the reign of Menkaure demonstrate an apparent innovation of the period - specialization. That is, some of the new Scribes of Royal Documents are explicitly tied to a specific sphere of influence; they are not simply Scribes of Royal Documents. Table 4.1 displays all of the Old Kingdom titles which show specialization of the title Scribe of Royal Documents (zš (\textasciitilde w)-(n.w)-ny-św.t). These instances do not include attestations incorporating the word "scribe" (zš) unless it is a part of the larger construct zš (\textasciitilde w)-(n.w)-ny-św.t. The title Scribe of Royal

\textsuperscript{101} Seals 2, 6, 8, 9 and probably 4 belonged to Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.2.1 above.
\textsuperscript{102} Seal 8. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.2.
\textsuperscript{103} Seals 10, 12 and 19. The Horus name inside a serekh is complete in Seals 10 and 19. Seal 12 shows a Horus name ending in -ḥt, which is likely that of Menkaure.
Documents of the "Great House" (zš \( (n.w) - ny - šw.t \) pr-ˁ\(3 \))\(^{104}\) has been excluded from Table 4.1 as well since it is not clear whether pr-ˁ\(3 \) designates an institution. Strudwick has apparently interpreted pr-ˁ\(3 \) as an embellishment (which occasionally may be further emphasized by adding the preposition \( hft - hr \), "in the presence of") stressing the royal affiliation of these scribes, not their dedication to the "Great House" as an institution.\(^{105}\)

As seen in Table 4.1, these specialized scribal titles date almost exclusively from the middle to the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The early date for Huty is controversial and may be questioned. The existence of specialized titles on JdE 44200, a cylinder seal from the reign of Niuserre (no. 4 in Table 4.1) shows that they were in actual use in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. This conclusion is reinforced by the depiction of Kaiaper in the tomb of Tjy (no. 5 in Table 4.1) since titles used as labels in tombs were presumably current at the time the decoration was executed. The other examples are taken from title


\[^{105}\] Strudwick, Administration, 210-211, where pr-ˁ\(3 \) is enclosed in parentheses. For a more detailed examination of pr-ˁ\(3 \) in scribal titles from the Old Kingdom, see Goelet, “Two Aspects”, 613-616. Goelet sees a close but still distinct relationship between the king (ny-sw.t) and his seat of power (pr-ˁ\(3 \)). However, Goelet, “Two Aspects”, 633 acknowledges that sometimes this distinction is blurry.
sequences carved in tombs and may have been acquired at any time over the course of the tomb owners' careers.\footnote{See Strudwick, Administration, 172-174.}

The specialized titles on the Pottery Mound seals date to the reign of Menkaure and are much earlier than the examples in Table 4.1. However, it is possible that both the Pottery Mound seals and the titles in the mid- to late-Fifth Dynasty tombs reflect late-Fourth Dynasty administrative patterns. Official Seals such as the Pottery Mound "core" seals were given to their owners at the start of their career at which point these officials became "ennobled" (šˁḥ). These seals might be replaced later when the titles inscribed on them became obsolete or when the seal itself became worn out or too damaged to use. As suggested in Chapter 3 with regard to the three Khafre seals in Pottery Mound, some Official Seals might be retained from one reign to the next and continue in use as their owners increase in authority and responsibility. However the titles on the "core" Pottery Mound seals show no hierarchy in the scribal titles they possess. In other words, there are no "overseers" nor are there any "assistants" among the Pottery Mound scribes. As a result there was no apparent opportunity for promotion and little reason to replace their existing cylinder seals. In fact, retaining old seals from past reigns might have even been a sign of seniority and distinction within a otherwise undifferentiated group of scribes. In general the impressions on sealings will bear the titles in use in an organization until those titles become obsolete. However, different
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Huty</td>
<td>Late IV, early V</td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t 3ḥ.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Nykaultah</td>
<td>mid V</td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t pr-ˁ3 m wʾb.t pr.wy nbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Seshemnefer II</td>
<td>early Niuserre</td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t n sb3.t ny-šw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Anonymous</td>
<td>Niuserre</td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t n k3.t n.t ny-šw.t nb.t ir.t(i) rˁ nb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t ḫr-ˁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t n mdw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Kaiaper</td>
<td>late Niuserre</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t pr.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Nekhetkai</td>
<td>mid V or later</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t šnw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Ankhmaʿraʾ</td>
<td>late V</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t šnw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Irukaptah</td>
<td>late V</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t šnw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Manefer</td>
<td>late V</td>
<td>imy-r3 zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t n k3.t nb.t n.t ny-šw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imy-r3 zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t n wg.t-mdw nb.t nt ny-šw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Rashepses</td>
<td>mid Djedkare</td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t m ḫṭm nb ntt m ḫḥ.t nt ḫw.t-ḥr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t m ḫṭm nb ntt m ḫḥn-Rˁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zš ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t m ḫṭm nb ntt m Wʾb-šw.t-wšr-k3=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Neferherenptah</td>
<td>V or later</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t pr-ḥry-wḏb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) Iymery</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>ˁḥd zš(w) ḫ(w)-ny-šw.t pr-ḥḏ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Specialized Titles with “Scribe of Royal Documents” from the Old Kingdom.

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107 Unless otherwise noted, all dates are taken from Ibid.
108 Ibid., 26. However, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 103 [328] is uncertain about the date.
109 Kaiaper is depicted in the tomb of Tjy. See Strudwick, *Administration*, 158-159 [157] for his date for this tomb.
110 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96 [290].
111 Ibid., 92 [266].
112 Ibid., 54-55 [22].
rules are in effect for the title strings selected for an official's tomb, which is typically constructed at the perceived end of his career. The retrospective nature of commemorative tomb inscriptions almost requires the inclusion of titles held early in the official's career - titles that may have long ago become obsolete in an administrative context.

This "lag" between sealing evidence and the inscriptions from tombs may help to resolve some issues concerning the history of the transition between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Much (though not all) of the surviving information about the administrative structure of Egypt in the Old Kingdom is derived from sequences of titles carved in non-royal tombs. Helck, Schmitz, Strudwick and Baud have all by necessity based their historical analyses of the administration of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties on their own interpretations of title strings and their often divergent dates for the corresponding tombs. Since tombs provide the bulk of the evidence for reconstructing Old Kingdom administration, disagreement concerning the date of the tombs of key officials can have a dramatic effect on the resulting view of history. Three members of the Seshemnefer family, all buried at Giza, epitomize the development of the bureaucracy of the early Fifth Dynasty and the rising fortunes of the scribal class during this period.

113 Strudwick, Administration, 7-8.
4.3.3 The Seshemnefer Family at Giza

The careers of the Seshemnefer family, the three earliest members of which were buried in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, not only illustrate the rise of scribes within the administration of the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty, they also demonstrate how sensitive any understanding of this development is to differences of opinion in the dating of certain tombs. Seshemnefer I, the earliest documented member of the family, had broad administrative experience from the titles recorded in his tomb. Among these titles he claims to have overseen the Scribes of the King's Writing Case. Seshemnefer II, who was probably his son and led an almost exclusively scribal career, is the earliest known Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents who was not also a Vizier. His son, Seshemnefer III, was already an Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents when his father's tomb was decorated and he was subsequently promoted to be Vizier late in his life.

This important sequence of scribal officials has largely been seen as indicating the rise of bureaucracy over the course of the early Fifth Dynasty, based on the conventional dates of their tombs. However, the evidence from Pottery Mound suggests that these developments may have in fact occurred much earlier than previously thought.
Seshemnefer I

The oldest member of this family was probably Seshemnefer I (G4940) whose tomb is conventionally dated to some time early in the Fifth Dynasty. Seshemnefer I was likely the father of Seshemnefer II, but this is not certain. Both men had sons named "Rawer," "Seshemnefer" and "Pehenptah," that may reflect a family tradition. Seshemnefer I and Seshemnefer II each list funerary estates in their respective tombs with similar names that may have been the result of a family inheritance. One major complication in determining the relationship between the two men is that Seshemnefer II’s mother was named Merytites and Seshemnefer I’s wife in his tomb is

114 Naguib Kanawati, Tombs at Giza, Volume I: Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940). ACER 16 (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 2001), 55, "probably Sahure - Niuserre." Baer, Rank and Title, 131 [476]. Strudwick, Administration, 138-139 [129].

115 Peter Jánosi, Giza in der 4. Dynastie: die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches: Band I, die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 24 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 214, admits that this relationship is possible but not clear. Hermann Junker, Giza III: Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G, 1938), 11, thinks that Seshemnefer I may have been the uncle or older brother of Seshemnefer II, not his father. Kent R. Weeks, Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, Giza Mastabas 5 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), 7, conjectures that Seshemnefer II might be the son of Shepseskaafankh and not Seshemnefer I.

116 Kanawati, Tombs at Giza 1, 52 and pl. 47. See Baud, Famille royale, 59 n. 306.

117 See Baud, Famille royale, 577.

118 Junker, Giza III, 11. See also Kanawati, Tombs at Giza 2, 52 and pl. 63.
Imendjefaes. While there is independent evidence that Imendjefaes was indeed the mother of at least one of Seshemnefer I's other sons, it might be possible that Seshemnefer II was born to a second wife named Merytites, who is not represented in his father's tomb for some reason.

Seshemnefer I was not primarily a scribe. Many of his titles are concerned with provisions, construction and labor. He bears just two apparently related scribal titles, "Overseer of the Scribes of the King's Writing Case" (imy-r3 zš(.w) bry.t⁻ny-św.t) and "Privy to the Secret of the King's Writing Case" (ḥry-ššt3 n ḫry.t⁻ny-św.t). The first of these titles is also held by Nefer (G2110), who was buried in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. Seshemnefer I's titles bear other similarities to those of Nefer. Not only are both men the only known Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Writing Case before the late Sixth Dynasty, both were also Overseers of the Two Places of Provisions (imy.w-r3 š.ty-df3) as well as Great Ones of the Tens of Upper Egypt (wr.w 10.w Šm⁻w). Given

119 Kanawati, Tombs at Giza 1, 52 and pl. 48.
120 A statue discovered in the serdab of G5270 (Rawer I) preserves only the feet of Pehenptah and "his mother," Imendjefaes. See Junker, Giza III, 221 Abb. 43.
121 For possible examples of polygamy among the nobility in the Old Kingdom, see Baud, Famille royale, 157-159.
122 For a list of Seshemnefer I's titles, see Kanawati, Tombs at Giza 1, 51-52.
123 "Overseer of the Two Places of Provisions," imy-r3 š.ty-df3; "The one in charge of the reversion-offerings in the Mansion of Life," ḫry-wdb m ḫw.t⁻nḥ.
124 "Overseer of Royal Works," imy-r3 k3.t ny-św.t.
125 "Great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt," wr 10.w šm⁻w.
126 Strudwick, Administration, 109-110 [84], who dates the tomb to "Reign of Khafre or a little later."
these similarities, Seshemnefer I may have been active in the late Fourth Dynasty, perhaps taking over many of Nefer's responsibilities upon the latter's death.\textsuperscript{127} So, while Seshemnefer I is clearly important within the royal administration, he had many other duties in addition to whatever scribal responsibilities he may have had. The diversity of his titles seems typical of the general nature of Fourth Dynasty administration.

The date of Seshemnefer I's tomb is not controversial. Based on its layout, execution and building materials, Junker judged that the tomb of Seshemnefer I was a close contemporary of the tomb of Meryib.\textsuperscript{128} As a result, he dated both tombs to the early Fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{129} This date has been followed by most scholars.\textsuperscript{130}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{127} Alongside his other important titles, Nefer also identifies himself as simple scribe of royal documents (zš \(\gamma.w\)-ny-św.f), perhaps demonstrating the relatively high status of this simple title earlier in the Fourth Dynasty.
\textsuperscript{128} G 2100 Annex I. See Junker, \textit{Giza II}, 121-135.
\textsuperscript{129} Junker, \textit{Giza III}, 11.
\textsuperscript{130} See Michel Baud, "À propos des critères iconographiques établis par Nadine Cherpion," in \textit{Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire}, ed. Nicolas Grimal, Bibliothèque d'Étude v. 120 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1997), 56 n. 160. One notable exception is George A. Reisner, \textit{A History of the Giza Necropolis} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), 214-215. Reisner believed that Seshemnefer I was the father of Seshemnefer II, and that the latter's tomb could be dated by a seal impression to the reign of Shepseskaf. Thus, Reisner would date Seshemnefer I's tomb to Menkaure's reign. His interpretation of this seal impression however is likely mistaken. See below.
\end{flushright}
Seshemnefer II

Seshemnefer II never became Vizier. He did serve however as Overseer of All Royal Works and held an important position in the armory.131 Outside of these two positions, all of his other titles are scribal.132 In the offering scene located in the center of the western wall of his offering chapel,133 he claims the following titles:

1) \textit{imy-r3 zš(.w)-ʾ(.w)-ny-św.t, zš ʾ(.w)-ny-św.t n šb3.t-ny-św.t},

"Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents, Scribe of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions,"

2) ḥry-śšt3 n ḥry.t-ʾ ny-św.t, zš ḥry.t-ʾ ny-św.t,

"Privy to the Secret of the King's Writing Case, Scribe of the King's Writing Case,"

3) \textit{imy-r3 [ʾḥ3].w m pr.wy},

"Overseer of [Weapons] in the Two Houses,"

4) ḥry-śšt3 n wd.t-mdw n.t ny-św.t,

"Privy to the Secret of the Judgment of the King,"

5) \textit{imy-r3 k3.t nb(.t) ny-św.t mrr nb=f},

"Overseer of All Royal Works, whom his lord prefers,"

131 Kanawati, \textit{Tombs at Giza 2}, 51 and pl. 63. The title here is broken but may be restored \textit{imy-r3 [ʾḥ3].w m pr.wy}. This seems to be a clear forerunner of the title \textit{imy-r3 pr.wy ʾḥ3} usually translated as "Overseer of the Armory" held by his son Seshemnefer III. See Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 284. Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 278 claims that this title is unknown before the Fifth Dynasty.

132 For a list of Seshemnefer II's titles, see Kanawati, \textit{Tombs at Giza 2}, 51.

133 Ibid., pls. 30, 63.
6) Śšm-nfr.

"Seshemnefer."

Seshemnefer II may be the earliest bearer of the title Overseer of Royal Documents, depending on the relative date of his tomb.\(^{134}\) His position dealing with royal works echoes those of Seshemnefer I but Seshemnefer II obviously had broad experience as a scribe which his forerunner lacked. The existence of nearly equal numbers of Viziers and non-Viziers who were Overseers of Scribes of Royal Documents in the early Fifth Dynasty led Strudwick to suggest that for most of this period two officials acted as Overseers of Scribes of Royal Documents simultaneously, one being the Vizier and the other his assistant.\(^{135}\) The sharing of this title likely ended in the reign of Djedkare Izezi, with the establishment of a second Vizier and other reforms.\(^{136}\)

The dating of Seshemnefer II's tomb and his career has an important impact on how the development of scribal bureaucracy in the Old Kingdom is understood. Strudwick suggests that, since the number of Viziers holding the title Overseer of

\(^{134}\) According to Strudwick, *Administration*, 200-201, early holders of this title were the Viziers Washptah (North Saqqara D 38, Neferirkare), Sekhemankhptah (G7152, Niuserre), Kai (North Saqqara D 19, Niuserre) and Pehenwikai (North Saqqara D 70, late Niuserre). Other early non-Viziers who were Overseers of Scribes of Royal Documents were Zetju (Saqqara D46, late Fifth Dynasty), Tty (Saqqara D 22, late Niuserre) and Netjeruser (Saqqara D1, late Niuserre to Menkauhor). Baud, *Famille royale*, 320 tab. 19 dates the Vizier Pehenwikai to Neferirkare or later. He also would date the non-Vizier Zetju to the reign of Userkaf or Sahure (pp. 566-567).

\(^{135}\) Strudwick, *Administration*, 208-209.

\(^{136}\) Ibid., 209 n. 1. He cites Baer, *Rank and Title*, 300-302 who explicitly mentions Djedkare.
Scribes of Royal Documents roughly equals the number of non-Viziers with the same title during the Fifth Dynasty, "there were likely to have been two [imy-r3 zš-š-ny-św.f] simultaneously, a vizier in overall charge and a non-vizier who would then attend to the detailed daily administration...."\textsuperscript{137} Strudwick further maintains that the Vizier Washptah, who almost certainly died in the reign of Neferirkare, was the first Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents\textsuperscript{138} and that non-Viziers who held the same title served slightly later.\textsuperscript{139} However, it seems likely that Washptah may not have been Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents prior to his (late) promotion to be Vizier.\textsuperscript{140} Seshemnefer II on the other hand most likely did serve as Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents earlier in his career well before the decoration of his tomb was completed. On the south wall of Seshemnefer II's offering chapel,\textsuperscript{141} a son is depicted presenting a lotus blossom to his father. He is labelled as, "his son whom he loves, the Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents, Seshemnefer" (z3=f mry=f imy-r3 zš(.w) ŋ(.w)-ny-św.t Ššm-nfr). This son is certainly Seshemnefer III.\textsuperscript{142} This inscription shows that Seshemnefer III had already replaced his father as the single, non-vizier Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents before the decoration of his father's tomb was finished. From the inscriptions in his own

\textsuperscript{137} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 208.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 215.

\textsuperscript{140} Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 324.

\textsuperscript{141} Kanawati, \textit{Tombs at Giza 2}, pl. 64.

\textsuperscript{142} Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 59 n. 307. Seshemnefer III's mother is Henutsen in his tomb. Seshemnefer II's wife is Henutsen in his. See Kanawati, \textit{Tombs at Giza 2}, 52.
tomb, it would appear that Seshemnefer III may have continued to hold this position until very late in his career when he started decorating his own tomb.

While there is no clear indication exactly when Seshemnefer II became Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents, it is clear that he no longer held that position when his tomb was decorated since he already had turned it over to his son, Seshemnefer III. This means that whatever the true date of Seshemnefer II's tomb, he had already completed his tenure as Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents well before that time.

The most persuasive argument concerning the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb relies on the presence of funerary domain names compounded with the personal name Iymery in the inscriptions. Similar domain names also appear in the tombs of Wenshet (G 4840), Seshemnefer I (G 4940) and Iymery (G 6020). Wenshet's tomb was likely completed in the Fourth Dynasty soon after the reign of Khufu. In her tomb she lists an estate called grg.t Ỉy-mry that was apparently named after her own son, Iymery. Seshemnefer I's tomb (G 4940) also shows the same estate (grg.t Ỉy-mry) named after Wenshet's son and dating back to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. While Seshemnefer II's tomb contains other estate names also compounded with the personal name Iymery, Junker believes that Seshemnefer II had actually copied scenes from the tomb of a different Iymery (G 6020), whose tomb dates to the reign of Niuserre and that the two

tombs were nearly contemporary.\textsuperscript{144} Junker's reasoning has been largely followed by most scholars.\textsuperscript{145}

However Michel Baud dates the construction of Seshemnefer II's tomb to the end of the Fourth Dynasty leaning heavily on the discovery of a sealing bearing impressions of Shepseskaf's Horus name in one of the burial shafts.\textsuperscript{146} In his study of the Cemetery en Echelon Peter Jánosi has criticized similar uses of seal impressions in determining the date of tombs at Giza "since they might originate from a funerary endowment of a deceased king."\textsuperscript{147} As shown in Chapter One, the difficulty in using sealings to date archaeological context has little to do with the name of the king, since the Horus name inside a serekh belongs to the reigning king at moment the seal was carved (see Chapter 1). The difficulty has more to do with the archaeological context in which the sealing was found, since more often than not sealings are found in "secondary" contexts. Jánosi elsewhere demonstrates convincingly that the core mastabas in the Cemetery en Echelon were constructed as early as the reign of Khufu.\textsuperscript{148} Only later were the burial shafts completed and the tomb chapels added. The sealings of Fourth

\textsuperscript{144} Junker, \textit{Giza III}, 71.
\textsuperscript{145} Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 132 [477]. Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 154 [308].
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 181, 183.
Dynasty rulers may have been discarded at any moment after the construction of the mastaba cores, and might have come to be included in the fill of the shafts unintentionally thereafter. The appearance of a single sealing can only serve as a *terminus ante quem non* for interpretation and cannot by itself reliably date a given context.

In the end, it seems that the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb cannot be more closely determined than perhaps the reign of Neferirkare into that of Niuserre as suggested by Jánosi.\(^{149}\) The similarities between this tomb (G 5080) and G 6020 belonging to Iymery are difficult to interpret. While the estate names in Seshemnefer II's tomb might be named after the owner of G 6020, they may just as likely be named after the son of princess Wenshet from the Fourth Dynasty of the same name. Otherwise, the association between the two tombs - G 5080 and G 6020 - rests on a shared representation which might have been copied from one to the other but does not by itself demonstrate which tomb was earlier.

In the absence of other evidence, many scholars have tried to tie the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb to that of his son, Seshemnefer III. For instance, Naguib Kanawati notes that a number of scholars have dated the tomb "to the earlier part of

Niuserre's reign\textsuperscript{150} relying on the accepted date of Seshemnefer III, "who is generally dated on firmer ground to the reign of Djedkare."\textsuperscript{151} This last point is not quite true.

\textbf{Seshemnefer III}

The career of Seshemnefer III marks the triumph of the scribal class. The south wall of Seshemnefer III's tomb chapel is the only wall on which he possesses the title of Vizier as well as "son of the king." Junker believed that this indicated that Seshemnefer III had been promoted to the Vizierate while his tomb was being decorated since only that single wall shows these new titles.\textsuperscript{152} This same wall depicts one of Seshemnefer III's sons presenting him with a lotus blossom. This son is labelled, "his eldest son, the Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents, Seshemnefer" (\textit{z3=f śmśw imy-r3 zš.(w) '(w)-ny-św.t Ššm-nfr}).\textsuperscript{153} For Junker, this clearly indicated that Seshemnefer III handed his position as Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents on to his own son when he became Vizier since he no longer seems to claim that title. The promotion of Seshemnefer III to be Vizier not only attests to the rise of a non-Vizier Overseer of

\textsuperscript{150} Kanawati, \textit{Tombs at Giza 2}, 53.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{152} Junker, \textit{Giza III}, 206. See, however, Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 578, with reservations.
\textsuperscript{153} Junker, \textit{Giza III}, pl. 2. Junker, on p. 11 claims that this son is Seshemnefer "IV." Seshemnefer IV, however, never claims the title \textit{imy-r3 zš.(w) '(w)-ny-św.t} in his tomb southeast of the Great Pyramid. Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 133 considers this identification speculative. For the titles of Seshemnefer IV, see Hermann Junker, \textit{Giza XI: Das Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide} (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1953), 126.
Scribes of Royal Documents to the Vizierate, it also marks the return of "titular" princes to high administrative positions perhaps as a result of the reforms of Djedkare Izezi.

However, the historical significance of Seshemnefer III's career ultimately relies on the date of his tomb. Similarly, the appearance of the title Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents among non-Viziers early in the Fifth Dynasty and the formation of the bureaucracy at that time depend heavily upon the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb. Since the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb cannot be determined independently of that of Seshemnefer III, Seshemnefer III's tomb has become the chronological anchor for the historical development of scribal administration in the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties.

The date for the tomb of Seshemnefer III (G5170) remains in dispute despite Kanawati's suggestion that it is somehow on "firmer ground" than the date of Seshemnefer II's tomb.\textsuperscript{154} For the most part, previous scholars have relied on the analysis of Grdélloff\textsuperscript{155} and dated Seshemnefer III's tomb to the reign of Djedkare Izezi.\textsuperscript{156} Grdélloff remarked that a Vizier named Menunefer is frequently depicted in the

\textsuperscript{154} See Jánosi, "Tombs and Dating," 179 n. 30 for a recent discussion of scholarly opinion.


\textsuperscript{156} See, for example, Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 132 [478].
mortuary temple of Niuserre. The same Vizier is also attested in a document from the Abusir Papyri dating to the reign of Djedkare Izezi. Grdseloff concluded that Menunefer therefore must have served as Vizier from the reign of Niuserre into that of Djedkare Izezi. He also believed that Senedjemib Inti was promoted to be Vizier in the fifth year of Djedkare Izezi. This leaves a small, five year period in which Seshemnefer III could possibly have served as Vizier and seemingly pinpoints the date of his tomb to early in the reign of Djedkare.

However, Grdseloff's argument is based upon misunderstandings of both the Abusir papyrus and the biography of Senedjemib Inti and must be rejected. Menunefer's name and title in the Abusir papyrus are actually components in the name of a phyle of

157 Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907), 71, 73-77. For more specific citations, see Grdseloff, "Deux inscriptions juridiques de l'Ancien Empire," 60 n. 1.


temple officials named in memory of the famous Vizier.\textsuperscript{160} It cannot be cited as evidence that Menunefer served as Vizier into the reign of Djedkare.

In addition, Grdseloff's date for the promotion of Senedjemib Inti is incorrect. Instead of giving the date of Senedjemib Inti's promotion, the text appears to define the period - the first "five years, four months, three days today under Izezi" - in which the events in the inscription occurred.\textsuperscript{161} Lacking a specific date for his promotion, the balance of the remaining evidence seems to suggest that Senedjemib Inti was actually Vizier late in the reign of Djedkare Izezi.\textsuperscript{162} So, it seems impossible to limit the Vizierate of Seshemnefer III to any particular range of dates between the reigns of Niuserre and Djedkare Izezi using these texts.

Junker advances two other arguments for dating Seshemnefer III's tomb specifically to the reign of Djedkare Izezi. First, a sealing with Djedkare Izezi's Horus name was found in G5470, the tomb of Rawer II who may also have been a son of

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\textsuperscript{161} See Brovarski, \textit{The Senedjemib Complex, Part I: the Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senejemib Mehi (G 2378)}. 91 n. e for a discussion.

\textsuperscript{162} See Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 301 who suggests that Senejemib Inti may have outlived Djedkare. Brovarski, \textit{The Senedjemib Complex, Part I: the Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senejemib Mehi (G 2378)}. 23, however, argues that he may have died before Djedkare.
Seshemnefer II.\textsuperscript{163} This would suggest that Seshemnefer III - his brother - would not have died too long thereafter.

Junker's other argument is stratigraphic. Seshemnefer III's tomb (G 5170) is built against the rear wall of Rawer I's tomb (G 5270). This tomb, in turn, is built against the back of Djaty's tomb (G 5370).\textsuperscript{164} Djaty's tomb is dated based on the discovery of a wooden box containing the sealings of several lector priests of Sahure and Neferirkare.\textsuperscript{165} However, even Junker admits that the original find spot for the box and its contents were uncertain but he optimistically concludes, "[s]o dürfen wir mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, daß der Inhalt der Kiste von dem Begräbnis des \textit{Ḏ3tjj} stammt, selbst wenn diese selbst einer anderen Zeit angehören sollte."\textsuperscript{166} So while it is apparent to Junker that Seshemnefer III's tomb is later than Rawer I's tomb and that they both are later than that of Djaty, it is not entirely clear that Djaty's tomb dates to Neferirkare's reign given the uncertain provenance of the sealings bearing that king's Horus name. So, even accepting Junker's appraisal of the provenance for the sealings, the most that can be said is that all three tombs - Seshemnefer III (G5170), Rawer I (G5270) and Djaty (G5370) - were built after the reign of Neferirkare.

\textsuperscript{163} Junker, \textit{Giza III}, 13.
\textsuperscript{164} For Djaty's tomb, see Hermann Junker, \textit{Giza VII: Der Ostabschnitt des Westfriedhofs, erster Teil} (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1944), 230-241.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., 238-241.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., 232.
There are other problems with both of Junker's arguments. First, it is dangerous to rely on the testimony of a single sealing to date any archaeological context. Without knowing more information about the excavation of Rawer II's burial shaft, the discovery of a seal impression with Djedkare Izezi's name tells little about the date of the tomb owner's burial. Even so, the date of the death of Seshemnefer III's brother, Rawer II (if, indeed, this relationship is accurate),\textsuperscript{167} may have little bearing on the date of Seshemnefer III's own tomb.

Second, Junker's stratigraphic sequence of tombs requires further examination. Peter Jánosi has recently studied the construction of tombs in the Cemetery en Echelon and concluded that the core mastabas with rough limestone exteriors and shafts that reached down only to the bedrock had been constructed there as early as the reign of Khufu. Only later were these tombs claimed and completed by important officials over the course of the late Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.\textsuperscript{168} According to Junker's reasoning, Seshemnefer III's chapel is built against the back wall of Rawer I's mastaba and therefore Seshemnefer III's tomb must be later than Rawer I's. This is not necessarily the case if the cores for all of these tombs had been constructed by Khufu decades earlier. Jánosi, however, does not precisely define the extent of the Cemetery en Echelon in his study and it is not clear whether his conclusions can be applied to the

\textsuperscript{168} Jánosi, "Tombs and Dating," 181-183.
tombs of Rawer I and Djaty (although the tomb of Seshemnefer III certainly is included by Jánosi). Clearly the stratigraphic arguments of Junker must be re-examined with future field work.

Michel Baud dates the tomb of Seshemnefer III to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty most probably to the reign of Neferirkare. His argument for this comparatively early date is based on the basilophoric estate names in the tomb of which the name of Neferirkare is the latest. In addition, Seshemnefer III's tomb reliefs display a number of Nadine Cherpion's iconographic criteria which typically date no later than the reign of Niuserre.

The wide disparity in proposed dates for Seshemnefer III is important for understanding the office of the Vizier or the role of the "king's sons" in higher administration at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Klaus Baer proposed that the exclusion of the "royal sons" from administrative responsibility was accompanied "by the rise of an independent civil service and of families of powerful officials," like the Seshemnefers. Later, according to Baer, Djedkare Izezi reacted against the increased independence of this new class of officials and instituted a series of reforms. Naguib Kanawati has

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169 See Ibid., 176 fig. 1 which includes the tomb of Seshemnefer III (G 5170), shows an outline of Rawer II's tomb (G5270) without a number and does not show Djaty's tomb (G5370) at all.
170 Baud, Famille royale, 59.
171 Ibid., 56 n. 287.
172 Ibid., 59.
173 Baer, Rank and Title.
suggested that, from the reign of Djedkare Izezi on, two Viziers served simultaneously in the capital, a conclusion supported by Strudwick.\(^{174}\) Seshemnefer III received the rank "king's son of his body" \(z3 \text{ny-}\bar{sw}.t \text{n} \text{ht=f}\) as a result of his promotion to Vizier, according to Schmitz,\(^{175}\) which she sees as part of a general return to the old, Fourth Dynasty titles in the reign of Djedkare.\(^{176}\) If one accepts Baud's proposal that Seshemnefer III's tomb should instead be dated to the reign of Neferirkare, Seshemnefer III becomes an obvious exception to the familiar narrative.

The Seshemnefer Family: Conclusions

The Seshemnefer family apparently oversaw the rise of one part of the "independent bureaucracy" which arose after the last connections between the close members of the ruling family and the state administration were severed. Seshemnefer I may have assumed oversight of the "Scribes of the King's Writing Case" (as well as some other positions) from Nefer when the latter died sometime in the reign of Khafre or soon thereafter. Seshemnefer I himself apparently completed his tomb early in the succeeding dynasty.

Seshemnefer II - probably his son - spent much of his career as a scribe. At one point, he was a Scribe of the King's Writing Case, exactly the kind of scribes overseen


\(^{175}\) Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 85-86.

\(^{176}\) Ibid., 168-170.
by Nefer and Seshemnefer I. He was also perhaps simultaneously a Scribe of Royal Documents and then ultimately Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents. This last position was new, perhaps having been held just once before by the Vizier Washptah. According the representations in his tomb, Seshemnefer II handed this position on to his son, Seshemnefer III.

Seshemnefer III marks the pinnacle of the family's fortunes. When he was preparing his tomb, he had apparently served continuously as Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents since he had received that position from his father. As the decoration of his tomb neared completion, Seshemnefer III was raised to the position of Vizier and received the honorific title of "king's bodily son." With this promotion Seshemnefer III apparently handed the post of Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents over to his own son, Seshemnefer.

There are fundamentally two views of these three important scribal officials, each based on different dates for their tombs. First, most scholars date Seshemnefer I's tomb to the early Fifth Dynasty, Seshemnefer II's tomb to the reign of Niuserre and Seshemnefer III's tomb to the reign of Djedkare Izezi. Michel Baud however would instead date Seshemnefer II's tomb to the late Fourth Dynasty and Seshemnefer III's tomb as early as Neferirkare in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. This radical re-dating of these two tombs in particular would imply that the position of Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents (held by Seshemnefer II) had been created by the kings of the later Fourth Dynasty and that Viziers (such as Seshemnefer III) had started to adopt the title
"son of the king" anew as early as Neferirkare. The Pottery Mound seals help to resolve these disputes.

4.4 The Pottery Mound Seals in Historical Context

Sealings and seals have played an important role in reconstructing the administration in the Early Dynastic Period. However, sealings and seals have so far had a limited impact on understanding Old Kingdom administration. This has much to do with the changing nature of burial practices and the complexity of interpreting sealing evidence. In the Old Kingdom, grave goods including sealed vessels and storage jars were minimized in favor of funerary stelae and later elaborate representations in expansive tomb chapels. This shift in emphasis from grave goods to tomb scenes and title strings reduced the number of sealings in Old Kingdom burials, one of the best sources of contemporary information for economic administration in earlier periods. However, this is not to say that sealings and cylinder seals are lacking from the Old Kingdom. The primary difference between the sealings from the Old Kingdom and those from the Early Dynastic Period is one of context. The sealings found intact in Early

Dynastic tombs are in a "primary" context and are often found in close association with the objects they once sealed.  

"Primary" versus "secondary" context is tricky to define and often circularly related. "Primary context" typically applies to the relative stratigraphic position of an object which has been "undisturbed by any factor … since it was deposited by those who were involved with it." According to the same author, "secondary" context "refers to the context of a find whose primary context has been disturbed by later activity."  

In one sense, almost all sealings from a settlement site are discovered in a "secondary context" unless they are excavated intact on their container, door or document. Sealings are made to be broken and discarded. This "refuse" which also contains pieces of bone, broken pottery and charcoal is often moved around within a site after its "initial" deposition in a dump or holding site. Cornelius von Pilgrim in his discussion of the Middle Kingdom sealings from Elephantine observed that sealings are most commonly found in such "secondary" locations.

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178 So, for example the sealings from tomb U-j at Abydos. See Ulrich Hartung, "Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)," *MDAIK* 54 (1998).
Pottery Mound is different. From the discussion in Chapter 3, it is reasonably clear that the contextual features comprising Pottery Mound are in what might be called "primary contexts" since the Pottery Mound sealings were deposited soon after they were broken, not transported from a great distance away and not moved thereafter. It is the special nature of the contexts in which they were found that connects the Pottery Mound sealings (and the originating seals) to the nearby structures. It also identifies the relative periods of time in which the sealings were deposited, reconstructing the chronological development of the surrounding institutions.

Pottery Mound is unique among Old Kingdom sites given the sheer quantity of sealings which come from "primary" contexts. The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom sealings from Elephantine have only been presented in broad spatial patterns and the nature of the deposits in which they were found has not been analyzed in any detail. The sealings from Buhen are roughly contemporary with those from Area A but the site itself has only been cursorily published.\textsuperscript{181} Recent publications of seal impressions from the mortuary temples of Khentkaues II\textsuperscript{182} and Raneferef\textsuperscript{183} at Abusir show little

\textsuperscript{183} Miroslav Verner, \textit{Abusir IX: The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef: The Archaeology}.Ibid. (Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts Charles University in Prague, 2006), 205-270.
consideration for the context of the sealings, reconstructing any originating seal designs or even systematically identifying the types of sealings. The sealings from Ayn Asil -- site of a governor's palace in the Dakhla Oasis, burned in the reign of Pepi II -- present a special opportunity to study the daily processes of provincial administration in the Sixth Dynasty, but they await complete publication.184

The unique character of the Pottery Mound sealings offers an important opportunity to view the development of administration in the waning years of the Fourth Dynasty. The titles preserved in the Pottery Mound seals rank highly enough to appear on tomb walls and help to correlate what is known about the Pottery Mound scribes with what has already been gleaned from the tomb inscriptions.

4.4.1 Identifying the Pottery Mound Officials

While the Pottery Mound seals lack personal names like all Old Kingdom Official Seals, they do bear the name of the king in whose reign they were made as well as a selection of titles of the seal's owner. The careers of these men likely continued well after the time represented by the features in Pottery Mound. Later, when they built their tombs and looked back on their careers, they might select the titles they once held when they worked near Pottery Mound. By comparing the titles on the Pottery Mound seals

184 Laure Pantalacci, "L'administration royale et l'administration locale au gouvernorat de Balat d'après les empreintes de sceaux," CRIPEL 22 (2001). She doubts the ability to reconstruct seal designs from seal impressions and tie the resulting seals to a meaningful context.
with the titles known in published tombs, the information gleaned from Pottery Mound can be correlated with the existing interpretations of the evolving administrative system of the Old Kingdom.

On the twelve Pottery Mound "core" seals, there are eight possible administrative titles preserved. Two of these - ḫd.w on Seal 9 and ḫry ... (?) on Seal 12 - are incomplete and highly uncertain. The title Keeper of Royal Instructions (ḥry šb3.(w)t ny-šw.t) is clear on Seal 1 but is otherwise unattested outside of the Pottery Mound corpus. The five remaining titles - "Scribe of Royal Documents" (zš ḫ(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t), "Scribe of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions" (zš ḫ(w)-(nw)-ny-šw.t n šb3.t ny-šw.t), "Scribe of Royal (Documents for) All [Royal] Works" (zš ḫ.(w-nw)-ny-šw.t n k3[t] nb(t) [n.t ny-šw.t]), "Scribe of the King’s Writing Case" (zš hry.t-ny-šw.t) and "Judge and (Judicial) Scribe Concerned with iḥt" (z3b zš ḥry iḥt) are all known from tombs outside of Pottery Mound.

By far the most common of the Pottery Mound titles in the Old Kingdom tombs is "Scribe of Royal Documents." In the vicinity of Memphis, there are 69 known Old Kingdom officials who claim the simple title Scribe of Royal Documents and 37 others who claim the slightly more elaborate Scribe of Royal Documents in the Royal
Presence. In addition there are six known Scribes of Royal Documents of $pr^{-3}$ as well as nine "inspectors" of these kinds of scribes. Scribe of Royal Documents is attested throughout the Old Kingdom but it is most popular in the Fifth Dynasty. The simple title Scribe of Royal Documents was evidently created in the Fourth Dynasty and the earliest attestation of the simple title appears in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110), who is also the earliest known Overseer of Scribes of the King's Writing Case ($imy-r3$ $zš(.w)$ $bry.t^{-}ny-św.t$). The title Scribe of Royal Documents by itself is so common that it is of little value in identifying the Pottery Mound seal bearers. However, outside of the tomb of Nefer (G 2110), the attestations on the Pottery Mound seals are among the earliest known.

4.4.1.1 Known Scribes of the King's Writing Case

The title Scribe of the King's Writing Case is relatively common on the Pottery Mound seals. Depending on restorations and abbreviations eight of the Pottery Mound seals show this title and five others might also have it. If these restorations are

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186 Ibid.
187 Ibid., 769.
188 Strudwick, Administration, 211.
189 Ibid., 109-110 [84]. Strudwick dates this tomb to "the reign of Khafre or a little later."
190 Seal 2, line 4; and Seal 3, line 5.
indeed accurate, Pottery Mound shows imprints from the seals of eight different Scribes of the King's Writing Case, all but one of which were carved in the reign of Menkaure. All of these seals are represented by sealings in Feature 21557, which implies that they were all in use at the same time.

From outside of Pottery Mound, just ten Scribes of the King's Writing Case are known. They are listed here in chronological order:

1) Hetepherenptah. The titles of this official are known only from a black granite "doorjamb" of uncertain provenance, now in the Cairo Museum (Cairo JdE 15048).

191 Seal 4, line 3; Seal 6, line 1; Seal 7, line 3; Seal 8, line 4; Seal 10, line 4 and Seal 12, line 8.
192 The other two may have also been made under Menkaure. However, Seal 15 has no Horus name preserved and Seal 17 only shows a name ending in -ḥt, which may conceivably be either the name of Menkaure or Shepseskaf.
193 Baud, *Famille royale*, 99 n. 523. Baud includes in his list a relief fragment of uncertain context, with no name preserved. Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra, 1964-1973*, Texts from Excavations, Fourth Memoir (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979), 36 n. 2 voices doubt over the reading of the title, so this example is not included here. Baud also suggests that Pernedju may also have had this title. However, José M. Galán, "Two Old Kingdom Officials Connected with Boats," *JEA* 86 (2000): 149-150 makes clear that Pernedju did not in fact have this title. Miroslav Verner, *Abusir IX: The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef: The Archaeology*, Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts Charles University in Prague, 2006), nos. 151, 153 and 154 are three sealings from the Raneferef mortuary temple impressed by the same seal. This seal apparently bears a title which might be read ḫr-t-ỉny-ś.w.t ni ḫr.t-ỉ, or, as the editors, ḫr-mdȝ.3.t-ỉny-ś.w.t and ḫr-ḥy.t-ỉ. This seal dates to the reign of Djedkare Izezi, a time in which there was a tendency to re-use older titles from the Fourth Dynasty. In any case, despite some similarities, this title is not the same as that under discussion here.
Date: Sneferu (Baud), end of Dynasty 5 or after (Baer), or early-mid Dynasty 6 (Strudwick, Helck).

2) Netjeraperef (Dahshur, Mastaba II/1, in Baud’s "Secteur 1"). The recent discovery of Netjeraperef's tomb at Dahshur confirms a date in the reign of Sneferu. He also may have been an actual son of Sneferu and brother of Khufu. Date: Sneferu (Baud).

3) Seshemnefer II (Giza, G5080). Date: late Dynasty 4 (Baud) or early Niuserre (Strudwick, Baer).

4) Tjy (Saqqara, Mariette Mastabas, D22). Date: Niuserre to the end of Dynasty 5 (Baer) or late in the reign of Niuserre (Strudwick).

Baud, *Famille royale*, 313.

Baer, *Rank and Title*, 108, who agrees that the titles show an archaizing tendency.

Strudwick, *Administration*, 120.

Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 112 n. 5.


For the location of this sector within the greater necropolis of Dahshur, see Baud, *Famille royale*, 64 fig. 7 and 66.

Ibid., 102 and 508.

Ibid., 59.

Strudwick, *Administration*, 139.

Baer, *Rank and Title*, 131-132 [477].

Ibid., 152.

Strudwick, *Administration*, 158-159 [157].
5) Anonymous. Cylinder seal in Cairo Museum, carved in the reign of Niuserre (JdE 44200).\textsuperscript{206} The owner of this seal was both a Scribe of Royal Documents (of all Royal Works) and a Scribe of the King's Writing Case. The owner was also a prophet of Re in three different solar temples, and a prophet of the Horus names of Sneferu, Khafre and Menkaure.\textsuperscript{207} This seal seems to show that the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case was still used, either as a functional designation or an honorific title, in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. Date: Niuserre.

6) Rawer I (Giza, G5270). Date: mid-Dynasty 5 (Baer).\textsuperscript{208}

7) Djefawi (North Saqqara, Mariette Mastabas D25). Date: mid-late Dynasty 5 (Baer,\textsuperscript{209} Strudwick).\textsuperscript{210}

8) Irukaptah (P. Berlin 15728).\textsuperscript{211} Date: "perhaps" late Dynasty 5 (Strudwick).\textsuperscript{212}

\textsuperscript{206} Kaplony in Herbert Ricke, \textit{Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf, Band II}, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 8 (Wiesbaden: Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 1969), 84 n. 5 with Abb. 11.

\textsuperscript{207} See Baud, \textit{Famille royale}, 23, for the changes in the designations of prophets in the reign of Niuserre.

\textsuperscript{208} Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 97-98 [297], who suggests that Rawer I is the son of Seshemnefer I, the father of Seshemnefer II. Due to the repeated use of the same names from generation to generation in the Western Cemetery, this relationship is not secure.

\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., 157 [594].

\textsuperscript{210} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 166-167.


\textsuperscript{212} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 62.
9) Rahetep (Saqqara, Mariette Mastabas C24). Date: Dynasty 5, or later (Baer).  

10) Nykaudjed. On a relief fragment of unknown provenance now in the Cairo Museum (CG 1678) Date: sometime in Dynasty 5 (Baud, uncertain).  

This list of Scribes of the King's Writing Case can be divided up chronologically. Hetepherenptah (no. 1) and Netjeraperef (no. 2) both date from early in the Fourth Dynasty, specifically to the reign of Sneferu. Both of these tombs are conclusively earlier than the tombs of the only two officials known to have been Overseers of Scribes of the King's Writing Case, Nefer and Seshemnefer I at Giza.

The remaining eight attestations clearly date to the Fifth Dynasty. Irukaptah (no. 8) is mentioned in an undated text from the Abusir Papyri. JdE 44200 (no. 5) is a cylinder seal from the reign of Niuserre. Both of these examples clearly demonstrate that the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case was in active use in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

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213 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 100 [312].  
216 Michel Baud, "La date d'apparition des ṣntiw-š," *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 313 gives a convincing argument that Hetepherenptah's monument dates to the reign of Sneferu and is not a much later "archaizing" monument.
The six remaining examples consist of decorated tombs (or relief fragments from tombs). As has been seen most clearly in the discussion of the representations in the tomb of Seshemnefer III, title strings from tombs are composed from the titles accumulated over the course of a lifetime and not simply those held by the owner when the tomb was completed. Therefore, these officials may have actually held these positions much earlier than the date of their tomb.

Given the disparity in their dates, it is difficult to see a common connection among these six officials. However, the eight Scribes of the King's Writing Case from Pottery Mound seem to be the only known examples of this title (outside of the two overseers Netjeraperef and Hetepherenptah) from the Fourth Dynasty. Then, these six later examples are buried over the course of the Fifth Dynasty. Since the title is still actively used during the Fifth Dynasty, the likely explanation for the dearth of examples is that the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case may be held mostly by junior scribes in royal service and might be superseded by higher ranking offices when they compose their title strings at the end of their careers.

4.4.1.2 Known Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions: Seshemnefer II

Seshemnefer II is the most secure candidate who might have owned one of the five seals that possibly belonged to the Scribes of the Royal Documents for the Royal Instruction in the Pottery Mound corpus. Indeed, outside of the seals from Pottery
Mound, Seshemnefer II is the only official ever known to have held this precise title. He is also among the ten known holders of the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case discussed above. The five possible seals in Group 1 from Chapter 3 all had both of these titles and all date to Menkaure's reign. The co-occurrence of these titles in Seshemnefer II's titulary and these five Pottery Mound seals is compelling evidence that he may have once owned one of these seals and lived and worked around Pottery Mound early in his career.

However, the date for his tomb remains problematic. All five of these seals certainly date to the reign of Menkaure but most scholars date the completion of Seshemnefer II's tomb to the reign of Niuserre, except Michel Baud, who dates it much earlier in the Fifth Dynasty. While there is no direct evidence for how long Seshemnefer II might have lived, considering the known life spans of some of his close contemporaries, it appears possible that he may have started his service as early as the reign of Menkaure. Peter Dorman, in his recent re-examination of the biography of Ptahshepses, has suggested that Ptahshepses lived for at least 69 years. This estimate is based on the lengths of kings' reigns reconstructed by Jürgen von

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217 Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza 2*, 51 (7). See also Jones, *Index of Titles*, 842-843 [3072].
Beckerath,\footnote{Jürgen von Beckerath, \textit{Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.}, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 46 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 147-163 esp. 155 and 159.} who in turn draws on evidence from the ancient king lists and annals as well as Greek historians. In his discussion, Dorman notes that two other officials, Sekhemkare and Netjerypunysut, both buried in the early Fifth Dynasty, claim to have been honored by \((im\text{3}\text{ḥ}.\text{w} \text{ḥr})\) a sequence of kings. From these sequences, both of these men appear to have lived\footnote{Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 6 n. 4 notes that most often this phrase indicates that an official was contemporary with the named monarch. This assumption cannot be made with respect to attestations of Unas, given the long duration of his cult.} under all the kings from Khafre through Sahure\footnote{Hassan, \textit{Giza IV}, 119-120. These cartouches are listed as parallel components of a single \textit{im\text{3}\text{ḥ}.\text{w} \text{ḥr}...} statement. Dorman, "Biographical Inscription," 109 mistakenly claims that this list starts with Khufu.} and all the kings from Djedefre through Sahure,\footnote{Henri Gauthier, "Le roi Zadfré successeur immédiat de Khoufou-Khéops," \textit{ASAE} 25 (1925): 180.} respectively. Accepting von Beckerath's suggested lengths of these kings' reigns,\footnote{See tables in von Beckerath, \textit{Chronologie}, 155 and 159.} Sekhemkare was active for a minimum of 43 years\footnote{Khafre (1 year), Menkaure (28 years), Shepseskaf (5 years), Userkaf (8 years), and Sahure (1 year).} and 80 years at most.\footnote{Khafre (26 years), Menkaure (28 years), Shepseskaf (5 years), Userkaf (8 years), and Sahure (13 years).} Netjerypunysut lived for at least 69 years\footnote{Djedefre (1 year), Khafre (26 years), Menkaure (28 years), Shepseskaf (5 years), Userkaf (8 years), and Sahure (1 year).} and 89
years at most.\footnote{227} Using Strudwick's figures, which are based just on the Turin Canon, Sekhemkare lived for 67 years, and Netjerypunysut lived for 75 years at most.\footnote{228} So, if the lengths of reigns in the Turin Canon are accurate, Ptahshepses's 69 years would therefore not be unknown for a high official in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

However this calculated life span is strikingly long compared to ancient Egyptian life expectancies drawn from Roman census data or excavated cemeteries from earlier periods. In their study of human remains from Asyut and Gebelein in the Turin Museum, Masali and Chiarelli estimate that the arithmetical mean age for their admittedly unrepresentative sample\footnote{229} was 30 years old in the Predynastic Period and about 36 years old in Pharaonic times.\footnote{230} Evidence from censuses and tax lists shows that life expectancy at age five in Roman Egypt was 40.6 years for males and 38.5 for females.\footnote{231} Although it is likely that the privileged members of Old Kingdom society lived longer than the bulk of the population, life spans extending into six or seven decades were certainly rare occurrences.

\footnote{227} Djedefre (9 years), Khafre (26 years), Menkaure (28 years), Shepseskaf (5 years), Userkaf (8 years), and Sahure (13 years).
\footnote{228} Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 2-3 table 1.
\footnote{229} M. Masali and B. Chiarelli, "Demographic Data on the Remains of Ancient Egyptians," \textit{Journal of Human Evolution} 1 (1972): 162, admit that their corpus of material does not satisfy their statistical requirements.
\footnote{230} Ibid.: 164-165.
More directly, Old Kingdom texts clearly show that officials who were active in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty were buried in the middle of the Fifth. Sekhemkare, mentioned above, claims to have been "honored by" (im3wḥr) each of the kings from Khafre through Sahure. This phrase seems to imply more than simply living under those rulers. It suggests that Sekhemkare had an active career under those kings.²³² Similarly, Netjerypunysut claims to have been "honored by" (im3wḥr) each of the kings from Djedefre through Sahure. In these two instances, then, officials whose careers may have started under Djedefre and Khafre completed their tombs in the reign of Sahure.

Ptahshepses is even more specific in his biographical inscription. The text is organized into eight vertical columns, each of which corresponds to the reign of a different king.²³³ Ptahshepses was born and entered into the palace (pr-ˁ3 nɨ ny-św.) to be educated in the reign of Menkaure. The text then outlines the many honors and gifts granted to Ptahshepses by succeeding kings over the course of his career, ending (apparently) in the reign of Niuserre. Given the incomplete nature of the tomb chapel, it is likely that Ptahshepses was buried soon after the conclusion of his biography, sometime in the reign of Niuserre.²³⁴

²³² See Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 30 for the association of imakhu and patronage.
²³⁴ Ibid.: 109-110 and n. 58.
If indeed Ptahshepses entered the palace of Menkaure to be educated as a child, and Seshemnefer II were involved in the administration of royal education at the same time, Seshemnefer II must be older than Ptahshepses. This conclusion would seem to support Baud and Cherpion's early date for Seshemnefer II's tomb. However, Seshemnefer II's age when he died is not known and it is not necessarily impossible for his tomb to date to the reign of Niuserre.

4.5 Summary

When viewed in its historical context the evidence from Pottery Mound shows that the specialization and expansion of the bureaucracy epitomized by the numbers of elaborate tombs from the middle of the Fifth Dynasty actually started in the reign of Menkaure. This increased specialization is apparent in the scribes dedicated to the educational infrastructure as well as the royal works.

The increase in the numbers of scribes represented in Pottery Mound may indicate an expansion in the scribal corps that may correspond to a broader overall expansion in the national bureaucracy. While scribal positions were commonly entry-level jobs for officials of the Old Kingdom, the prevalence of titles specifically dealing with the education of new officials may mean that the ranks of potential government

\[235\] See Michel Baud, "Two Scribes K3.i-ḥr-št.f of the Old Kingdom," GM 133 (1993): 17 n. 25. See also the representation of Nysutnefer's son Kahersetef as a youth with a sidelock but also bearing the title "Scribe of Royal Documents" mentioned in Chapter 3.
bureaucrats were expected to swell, even as the giant construction projects of the great Fourth Dynasty pyramids were scaling back.

However, it is perhaps even more important to realize that many of the new scribes working in the structures around Pottery Mound were dedicated to royal instructions. These "instructions" were likely concerned with the early education of men like Ptahshepses, who were to staff the bureaucracy of the Fifth Dynasty.

An increase in the apparatus of royal instruction implies a ramping up of the education process in the palace; presumably greater numbers of pupils were taken in, pupils who were to have important roles in the governments of future kings. So, in this light, Ptahshepses is not unique. He was but one of an expanded class of royal pupils, who went on to run the great solar temples of the next generation. It is difficult not to see in this the intentional will of Menkaure, as Strudwick has proposed.

One of the key aspects of the Pottery Mound seals is what they say about the organization of these scribes. Two of the older seals from the reign of Khafre were still heavily represented in the latest phase of Pottery Mound and one of them was the only seal used on doors. This profile of usage seems to reflect an implicit hierarchy.

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236 Dorman, "Biographical Inscription."
237 Baud, Famille royale, 452-454 n. 68. Ptahshepses began his biography by entering the house of Menkaure as a child. He later married the daughter of Userkaf, and became the "Prophet of Re" in the solar temples of Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare and Niuserre. If Ptahshepses was indeed one of the charges educated by the scribes of Pottery Mound, he went on to become one of the most powerful officials of the next dynasty.
According to the titles from tombs, Seshemnefer II appears to have been one of the first men to have claimed the title Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents, a title which was to become the exclusive prerogative of Viziers later in the Fifth Dynasty. It appears that an equivalent position may already have existed at Pottery Mound but was not expressed in the seal inscriptions. Seshemnefer II, who most likely owned one of the Group 1 Menkaure seals, was not one of these older scribes but he may have taken over for them later as the Fourth Dynasty came to a close. At that point, the position of Overseer of Scribes of Royal Documents may have been formalized and he stepped in to fill it. At some point before his death, he stepped down from this job, but handed it on to his son, Seshemnefer III, who would himself become the Vizier one day.

One critical question is why Menkaure saw fit to so radically reform and expand his administration. It seems unlikely to be related to the building of pyramids since Menkaure never wavered in building his own pyramid (which was ultimately completed by his successor, Shepseskaf). Strudwick's suggestion that this deliberate change was the result of frustration with constant dynastic strife may be closer to the truth. The family-run state of the Fourth Dynasty may have reached the end of its stability. At first, under Sneferu, only the king and his sons shared power. This system reached its apogee under his son, Khufu, who apparently accommodated his cousins and nephews by bringing them into his administration. However, with the next generation there were increasing numbers of relatives to placate or disappoint. It is hard to imagine this kind of
power structure surviving much longer after this point. Menkaure may have seen that the future lay with technically skilled bureaucrats, not the "sons of the king."

4.6 Conclusion

Soon after they were excavated the Pottery Mound sealings were recognized as remarkable. The 1,199 clay sealings produced by three small excavation squares outnumber all known Old Kingdom finds of sealing material with the possible exception of some temples at Abusir. The recovery of these sealings from well recorded archaeological contexts within a broader, well mapped Old Kingdom site offered the potential for studying the administration of an Old Kingdom institution.

Any administrative study however demands a focus not on the impressed sealings themselves as much as on the cylinder seals that impressed them. After all, the seals represent the administrative actors whereas the sealings they made show how these seals were used over time. Although previous sealings studies for the Old Kingdom have occasionally used overlapping replicate impressions to reconstruct a small number of seal patterns, they have predominantly been in the form of simple catalogs of seal impressions that are difficult to interpret. Unless a concerted effort is made to reconstruct individual seals from the scattered fragments of broken sealings, it is impossible to identify the administrative actors that produced the sealings in a particular find, many of whom may bear similar titles and epithets. Fortunately, the Pottery Mound sealings contain a high number of replicate impressions that not only permit extensive reconstructions of the originating seals, these same sealings preserve
a "use profile" showing how that seal was used over time. Early on, the high degree of replication on the impressed sealings from Pottery Mound appeared to offer the possibility of piecing together the functions and relationships of officials operating within a discrete set of Old Kingdom institutions.

The seals that impressed the Pottery Mound sealings clearly date to the Fourth Dynasty. Out of the 1,039 impressed sealings registered for Pottery Mound 273 bear the complete Horus name of either Khafre or Menkaure written inside a serekh. The remaining Horus names and isolated cartouche names although not complete may be plausibly restored as one of the Horus names of these same two kings. The names of no other kings are found in the Pottery Mound corpus.

However the royal names carved on the originating seals do not necessarily date the formation of the deposits in the Pottery Mound. An examination of other Old Kingdom monuments shows that during the Old Kingdom the Horus name contained within a serekh consistently refers to the king who reigned when the text or monument was composed. This practice marks a clear break with the Early Dynastic Period, when the Horus names of any living or dead king were written inside a serekh. Despite this radical shift in the nature of the serekh, the royal names strongly suggest that all of the Official Seals that impressed the Pottery Mound sealings were made in the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure.

After close analysis, the 1,039 impressed sealings from Pottery Mound were most likely produced by between 31 and 74 different seals, 22 to 26 of which are most
likely Official Seals whereas between nine and 48 seals are "informal." However, the Official Seals produced by far more sealings in the Pottery Mound corpus since 981 impressed sealings have been classified as "formal" (i.e., those most likely to have been made by an Official Seal) while only 49 have been classified as "informal." This imbalance is also reflected in the number of replicate sealings as well. 433 Pottery Mound sealings bear replicate impressions and of these 424 were made by just twelve Official Seals, which have been designated the "core" seals. Even though 573 of the impressed sealings from Pottery Mound are ambiguous or too fragmentary to be assigned to any single originating seal, it is still clear that the seals used on the Pottery Mound sealings overwhelmingly belong to the central administrative apparatus.

The connection to the central government is further bolstered by an examination of the titles on the twelve "core" seals reconstructed from the impressions on 424 sealings from Pottery Mound. These "core" seals all belonged to Scribes of Royal Documents, who were important members of the central administration during the Old Kingdom and were typically drawn from the highest ranking families of the Fourth Dynasty sometimes as young men. Furthermore, the seals can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of the three seals carved in the reign of Khafre. These scribes are all simple, unspecialized Scribes of Royal Documents, one of whom also held the title Keeper of Royal Instructions. The other two groups of "core" seals were carved in the reign of Menkaure. One of them belonged exclusively to specialized scribes known as Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions. The second group
includes other Scribes of Royal Documents, some of whom were specialized like the single Scribe of Royal Documents for All [Royal] Works, while others were not specialized at all.

Beyond the titles on the reconstructed seals, the archaeology of Pottery Mound offers a special opportunity to study the development of this scribal community over time. Discarded sealings are typically treated as waste and may be moved around from unused space to unused space within a site. It is possible that the layers which make up Pottery Mound had been mixed up and moved there from elsewhere at Area A. However, two of these features - Features 24462 and 21557 - clearly contain large but fragile bone fragments indicating that both of these features had been dumped from nearby and not disturbed thereafter. These two features in effect bracket the strata in Pottery Mound and suggest that the sealings found there originally came from the surrounding structures.

Other evidence confirms that the sealings discarded at Pottery Mound were not only broken in and discarded from the surrounding structures, many of them were made there as well. Many pieces of left over or unused sealing clay were found in the same features as the sealings and the bone fragments demonstrating that sealings of some kind were being made near Pottery Mound. In particular, Sealing 4550 - a crumpled and discarded box sealing with impressions of Seal 8 on its outer surface - demonstrates not only that the owner of Seal 8 worked nearby but also that he was sealing wooden boxes there as well. The owner of Seal 3 left behind two door sealings which suggest that he
may have been a senior official in the later phases of the Pottery Mound scribal community and that he too worked nearby. Both the owners of Seal 3 and Seal 8 were also known to have sealed other wooden boxes, suggesting that boxes in the context of Pottery Mound were used for local storage and not imported into the site. This implies that many of the other wooden box sealings made by eleven out of the twelve owners of the "core" seals from Pottery Mound were also made locally.

This conclusion has an important impact not only on our understanding of the area immediately surrounding Pottery Mound but Area A itself. At least four and likely five of the owners of the twelve "core" seals were Scribes of Royal Documents for Royal Instructions who received their seals in the reign of Menkaure. In Feature 24462, in Phase III, these scribes had apparently been preceded by a simple Scribe of Royal Documents who also held the post of Keeper of the Royal Instructions from the reign of Khafre. The four or five new scribes later joined the old Keeper in Feature 21557 in Phase VI-c, as the king ramped up the educational infrastructure for training future officials. The other scribes who worked in the buildings surrounding Pottery Mound - including one dedicated to royal construction projects - show that other scribal and administrative functions were carried out in the same community. While the Pottery Mound sealings are among the most numerous collections of excavated sealings for the Old Kingdom, the absolute numbers still indicate that the sealing and unsealing activities carried out there were not daily occurrences. In fact, the twelve "core" Pottery Mound seals impressed 424 sealings, representing an average count of just over 35
sealings per "core" seal. This relatively low count seems more indicative of a sporadic, periodic royal presence at Area A, rather than a permanent, on-going residence. In short, although the Pottery Mound scribal community appears to have a close relationship to the royal administration in its functions, Area A seems to have more in common with a temporary royal "resthouse" rather than a permanent, central palace.

Beyond this conclusion the Pottery Mound seals clarify the story of how the administrative system that built the Pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty developed into the burgeoning professional bureaucracy that typified the early Fifth Dynasty. Prior research based primarily on the title sequences from tombs of the period was inconclusive. Depending on the dates one might assign to these tombs, the exclusion of the sons of the king from positions of practical administrative authority was either a sudden, dramatic event or it represented the gradual escalation of a long-standing Fourth Dynasty practice. The resolution of this dispute apparently requires either definitive dating for these tombs or external evidence.

The Pottery Mound seals seem to offer such external evidence. The seals seem to show that the scribal community at Pottery Mound not only expanded over time but they also became specialized. The three Khafre seals are the only seals present in Feature 24462 and impressed the earliest sealings so far excavated at Pottery Mound. These same three seals continued to be used into the latest phases of Pottery Mound especially in the richest feature, Feature 21557. However, by this later phase these scribes have been joined by nine other scribes. Furthermore, up to six of these scribes
were specially dedicated to a particular sphere of authority, five of them to the administration of the Royal Instructions, similar to the older holder of the title Keeper of Royal Instructions, and one to the administration of royal works. While generic Scribes of Royal Documents continue, the number of scribes appears to expand in the reign of Menkaure and they start to take on specializations perhaps reflecting a concerted effort to ramp up the instruction of officials during this period.

The story of the scribes of Pottery Mound is supported by other Old Kingdom evidence. Specialized scribal titles make their first appearance in the title strings carved in tombs from the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{238} Although five of the owners of the "core" Pottery Mound seals may have held the title Scribe of Royal Instructions, the only attestation of this same title outside of Pottery Mound is in the tomb of Seshemenefer II, which was most likely constructed in the mid-Fifth Dynasty. A similar "lag" between the Pottery Mound titles and their appearance in later tombs can be seen in the known occurrences of the title Scribe of the King's Writing Case. Eight owners of "core" seals at Pottery Mound claim this title. Although the same title is attested in two Fourth Dynasty tombs, it is most frequently attested in tombs of the mid- to late-Fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{239} This delay between the occurrences of the titles on the Fourth Dynasty Pottery Mound seals and their later use

\textsuperscript{238} See Table 4.1.
\textsuperscript{239} See Section 4.4.1.1 above.
in tombs of the mid- to late-Fifth Dynasty can readily be explained since the seals were most likely issued early in the career of the seal owners and reflect their titles relatively early in their careers. This is especially likely in the case of the Pottery Mound scribes since they show no explicit internal hierarchy and promotions within their ranks would not necessarily require issuing a new seal. So, officials who started their career as scribes in the late Fourth Dynasty might well survive well into the succeeding dynasty and ultimately record this early title in the inscriptions on their tomb.

Two officials in particular help to illustrate this delay. One is Ptahshepses who left behind an elaborate biographical inscription that detailed the accomplishments of his career over the course of eight reigns from the reign of Menkaure through the reign of Niuserre. The other is Seshemnefer II an early member of a well-known scribal family, many of whose members were buried in decorated tombs at Giza. In fact, given his titles and the date of his tomb, Seshemnefer II is the most likely historical candidate to have owned one of the Pottery Mound seals.

The development of the scribal community that produced the Pottery Mound sealings tends to support Strudwick's suggestion that Old Kingdom administration underwent a deliberate and drastic reorganization in the reign of Menkaure. The relatively rapid expansion of the scribal corps and the institution of specialities among them seem to represent a deliberate shift from the three generic scribes who received their seals in the reign of Khafre.
Appendix 1: Preliminary Report on the Faunal Remains

Recovered from Feature 21557; the Pottery Mound (SFW-PM)

(Richard Redding)

Feature 21557 is the largest feature in the Pottery Mound (SFW-PM). It is included in, and largely represents, Phase 6, which is the latest phase in the Pottery Mound. The Feature 21557 bone exceeded 210 bags and I identified only a sample in 2006. I selected 80 bags, about a 38% sample. I had done a small number of bags in 2005, but these data are not available in Egypt. I will include these in a further report. The bone is in very good shape and given the number of unfused, long bone epiphyses from very young cattle, which are delicate, that survived, the feature was not heavily compacted or trampled. The material that composes 21557 probably was not deposited from very far away and probably moved in small units; again as it was not compacted.

I examined 27,212 bone fragments in the 21557 sample. This includes 898 fish, 299 bird and 26,015 mammal fragments. I use NISP (Number of Identified Specimens) in the text and tables as the measure of abundance.

Class Osteichthyes

Table 5.1 provides the distribution of fish bone by taxon for the identified fish bone and by body part for the unidentified fish bone. The taxa included in the sample are: the Nile catfish (Clarias gariepinus), the Schal (Synodontis schalli), a cichlid
(probably Oreochromis niloticus), the Nile perch (Lates niloticus), the Bynni (Tor bynni) and the Mugil (Mugil cephalus). The numbers for each taxon (Table 1) are deceiving as the number of readily identifiable bones in the head of the Nile catfish and the Schal are much greater than for the Nile perch and the cichlid. In particular, the strong pectoral spines and heavy, textured dermal bones of the head in the two catfish tend to over represent these two taxa. A better estimator of relative abundance is the number of smaller, more delicate head bones that the catfish have in common with the taxa. These include the hyomandibular, quadrate, opercular and hyal bones. Using only these elements the relative abundance in the taxa is: Clarias gariepinus (13), Oreochromis niloticus (10), Lates niloticus (1), Tor bynni (1), Mugil cephalus (1), and Synodontis schalli (1). The surprise is the drop of the Schal in relative importance from second to tied for fourth. This order is, I believe, a more realistic estimate of relative importance and points out the problems with the super-abundance of spines and head parts of the Schal and the Nile catfish in the samples. Curiously, the Nile catfish (Clarias gariepinus) retains its relative position. I have noted, in previous reports, the existence of a “cattle-perch” complex associated with a higher status diet. The fish diet in the Feature 21557 sample is characterized by a rise in the importance of cichlids. I will need to work on this issue. I also need to go back to earlier samples and re-estimate relative importance using the counts of hyomandibular, quadrate, opercular and hyal bone fragments.

Of the 898 fish fragments, I was able to identify 300 to at least the level of the genus. Hence, 25.0% of the fish remains were identifiable.
Given the number of vertebrae in the average fish and the relative robust nature of fish vertebrae, vertebrae are under-represented in our samples across the site. This would suggest that fish were processed somewhere else, where they were filleted and perhaps dried. This is something I need to quantify with a “producing” site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon or body part</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identified fragments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarias gariepinus</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synodontis schalli</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oreochromis niloticus</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lates niloticus</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tor bynni</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugil cephalus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified fragments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skull</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertebrae</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-cranial not vertebra</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Counts (NISP) for the fish remains from Feature 21557.

Class Aves

Birds are represented in the sample from Feature 21557 by 299 NISP. This number includes 276 limb, 7 rib, 13 sterum-synsacrum, 2 skull and 1 vertebra fragments. This does not include any identifiable bird bone, which I will need a complete comparative collection to identify. Forty-two fragments were held out because they are identifiable to at least genus. This brings the total of bird bones to 341 and it means that 12.3% of the bird bones are identifiable. Most of the identifiable bird bone appears to be from water birds; i.e., the Egyptian goose (Alopochen aegyptiaca), the pin-tail (Anas acuta), the widgeon (A. penelope), and the teal (A. crecca), all of which were probably
domestic. A large bird, perhaps the crane (Grus grus) and the coot (Fulica atra) are also probably represented.

Birds are unusually abundant in the Feature 21557 sample. For each bird bone in the sample, 1.8 fish fragments were recovered. For the whole site sample 19 fish bone fragments were recovered for each bird fragment. Bird bones are 10 times more abundant in the 21557 sample.

**Class Mammalia**

The majority of the fragments in the 21557 sample are from mammals. Table 5.2 provides the distribution of the identifiable mammals by the categories skull/axial, meat bearing and non-meat bearing. The skull/axial category includes identified fragments from the skull, mandible, teeth and vertebrae. The meat bearing category includes identified fragments from the proximal limb elements that are high in meat content: i.e.; scapula, humerus, radius, ulna, illium, ischium, pubis, femur, patella, tibia, and fibula/lateral malleolus. The non-meat bearing category includes fragments from the distal limb elements that are low in meat content: i.e.; metaphorical, podia’s, and phalanges.

*Bos taurus* – Cattle dominate the mammalian fauna and are the major provider of meat. The ratio of cattle to sheep-goat is 13.7:1. The average *Bos taurus* provides 10 times the amount of meat as a sheep or goat; hence, cattle provide about 130 times as much meat as sheep and goats. The ratio of cattle to sheep-goats is extremely high; it is higher than for any other site or deposit in Egypt. The ratio for the whole site sample at
Giza is 0.33:1. The sample with next highest ratio of cattle:sheep-goats at Giza is also in SFW and is the Area AA sample at 0.70:1. The House 3 sample, also in SFW, is at 0.64:1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Body part/Total</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bos Taurus</td>
<td>skull/axial</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meat bearing</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>1724.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>4154.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Bos taurus</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>5940.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovis-Capra</td>
<td>Skull/axial</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meat bearing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Ovis-Capra</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>123.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sus scrofa</td>
<td>Skull/axial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meat bearing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total from S. scrofa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazella sp.</td>
<td>skull/axial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Gazella sp.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panthera leo</td>
<td>skull/axial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.2: Counts (NISP) by functional body parts from Feature 21557.**

The long bone fusion data indicate a very early average age of slaughter. I recorded the state of fusion on 178 cattle elements and only one, a calcaneum, was fused. Unfortunately, I had no distal humerii, proximal radii or scapulae (see discussion on absence of fore limb elements below), which fuse in the first year of life. The earliest fusing elements I had were the phalanges and the distal metapodials. They are all unfused, indicating that no animal survived beyond 18 months of age. Indeed, many of the elements, the astragalii and distal femurs in particular, were very porous and the
compactum very thin. This suggests an even younger age of slaughter for the cattle than 18 months. I estimate the average age of slaughter as less than 8-10 months.

The ratio of meat bearing to non-meat bearing fragments is 0.28:1 (after subtracting the 72 seasmoids from the non-meat bearing total). Using a percentage measure, non-meat bearing fragments are 86% of the total limb elements. If whole animals were being butchered into the sample I would expect the percentage to be about 65%, depending upon fragmentation. Hence, it is likely that we are seeing selective non-inclusion of some meat bearing elements. This conclusion is supported by the near absence of head and axial elements in the sample. The Feature 21557 sample is probably primarily discarded fragments from consumption and the butchering took place away from the consumption area. Again selective removal of some meat bearing elements probably occurred.

The most curious aspect of the cattle faunal remains in the Feature 21557 sample is the distribution of fragments from hind versus fore limbs. The expected ratio of hind to fore limb fragments, if both hind and fore limbs are contributing equally to the sample, is 1.1:1. The observed ratio is 36.1:1. This is significant to the 0.001 level. Elements from hind limbs are, almost exclusively, entering the deposits. How do we explain this odd pattern? In all the slaughter scenes in tombs I have seen, cattle are trussed up with the hind limbs tied. They force the cattle to the ground and the fore limbs are cut off with a knife under the scapula. Scenes of cattle cuts being carried as
offerings are exclusively fore limbs. Perhaps what we have are the high quality “left-overs” from offerings. This will obviously need to be tested.

Ovis-Capra – I identified only 68 fragments as sheep or goat. I have already commented on the low numbers of sheep and goat relative to cattle. The ratio of sheep to goats is 2:1. This is somewhat lower than the site average of 3:1 but the sample is small. The sheep-goats are young. I recorded the state of fusion for 19 fragments and 16 were unfused. The fused elements were a distal humerus, proximal radius and distal tibia. The first two fuse before one year and the distal tibia at 16 months. Hence, we have no evidence of any sheep-goat surviving beyond 16 months.

Non-meat bearing bone fragments are 52% of the total number of limb fragments. If whole animal were being butchered into the deposit, I would expect this percentage to be about 65%. Clearly, non-meat bearing bones are under-represented. This would suggest that butchering was done away from where the consumption was occurring and, hence, a reduced number of non-meat bearing were deposited.

Sus scrofa – I identified only six pig bones in the sample. This suggests pigs were not important.

Gazella sp. - Six fragments of gazelle, while a small number, provide us with an interesting insight into the economy of the site. The fragments are probably from the Dorcas gazelle, Gazella dorcas. This was a hunted resource and its occurrence in the Pottery Mound, another SFW sample, reinforces the pattern noted to date of a concentration of hunted resources in the BB and SFW areas. People in these areas had
preferential access to hunted resources; either, only they had the time to hunt or they
received the hunted resources from specialized hunters.

Panthera pardus - A unique occurrence in Feature 21557 is the lower right fourth
premolar of a leopard. The leopard would have been a extremely high value resource. In
the Old Kingdom, leopards may have been tamed and used by the Pharaoh and high
officials in hunting (Osborn and Osbornova 1998). In the New Kingdom, leopards were
tamed and kept by Pharaohs.

Unidentified Mammal - Table 5.3 provides counts and weights for each body part
category of unidentifiable mammal bone. The large elements are probably exclusively
from cattle and the medium elements are probably almost exclusively from sheep and
goats. Note that the ratio of cattle to sheep-goat based on limb elements is 14.2:1. This
compares well with the ratio based on identifiable bones of 13.7:1. For the rest of the
body part categories large mammals (i.e., cattle) are under-represented. This again
suggests that butchering was not going on where the consumption represented by the
sample was occurring. Ribs, vertebrae and skull parts of cattle were being discarded
mostly elsewhere.

Butchering marks - Feature 21557 had, compared to the rest of the site, a large
number of elements with butchering marks. They identifiable bones with butchering
marks are the calcaneum, astragalus and central+fourth tarsal. About 30% of the
calcanea had marks on the lateral side of the articulation for the lateral malleolus. The
astragalii frequently had marks on the medial side and across the posterior surface. The
central-fourth tarsi had horizontal marks on the lateral- anterior corner. The marks are related to butchering and will require further investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Fragments</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large limb</td>
<td>7053</td>
<td>13,594.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium limb</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>321.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large rib</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>203.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium rib</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>156.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large vertebra</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>295.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium vertebra</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large skull</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium skull</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large teeth</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium teeth</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>17,035</td>
<td>5151.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24997</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,881.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Counts and weights for unidentifiable mammal fragments presented by body part category for Feature 21557.

A number of large mammal fragments and unidentifiable fragments had sets of 3 or more marks. These marks are unrelated to butchering and appear to be random scratching at bone with a stone tool. It is almost as if a child was playing with broken bones and a blade.

**Summary**

The fauna from Feature 21557 of the Pottery Mound (SFW) provides a new “diet” for the Workers’ Town. It is most similar to the other SFW samples: i.e.; Area AA and House 3.

The similarities include the high number of cattle, birds and the presence of hunted resources. The differences include the extremely high number of cattle, the very
young age of the cattle slaughtered and the occurrence of hind limb fragments almost to the exclusion of fore limb fragments. This is the most unusual aspect of this deposit.

I will need to place the 21557 sample in the context of the entire Pottery Mound sample. There are several questions to be answered. Does the dominance of young cattle continue in other strata? Does the bias towards hind limb continue?
Appendix 2: Preliminary Report on the Faunal Remains

Recovered from Feature 24462, the Pottery Mound (SFW-PM)

(Richard Redding)

Feature 24462 is the second, large sample of bone from the Pottery Mound (SFW-PM) that I have completed. It is included in Phase III of the Pottery Mound by the excavators (Y. Kawae and T. Bjork, 2005). As with the Feature 21557 material, the bone is in very good shape and, again, given the number of unfused, long bone epiphyses from very young cattle, which are delicate, that survived, the feature was not heavily compacted or trampled. This seems to be in opposition to the excavators’ notes on the deposit. They seem to feel that the “floor-like thick compact muddy soil” was the result of tumble derived from mud-bricks collapsing from surrounding structures that may have melted with rainfall or a prepared working space (Y. Kawae and T. Bjork, 2005:51). Given the condition of the nature and condition of the faunal remains, I think the former is unlikely and the latter explanation might work if the load on the working surface was small. While this is getting into the analysis, support for a well protected, not heavily trampled deposit comes from the number of delicate fish bones that were recovered in the sample.

In the sample I examined 5288 bone fragments. The sample includes 427 fish, 64 bird and 4797 mammal fragments. I use NISP (Number of Identified Specimens) in the text and tables as the measure of abundance.
Class Osteichthyes

Table 6.1 provides the distribution of fish bone by taxon for the identified fish bone and by body part for the unidentified fish bone. The taxa included in the sample are: the Nile catfish (Clarias gariepinus), the Schal (Synodontis schall), a cichlid (probably Oreochromis niloticus), the Nile perch (Lates niloticus), the Bynni (Tor bynni), the bayad (Bagrus bajad) and the Mugil (Mugil cephalus). As I have stated previously, the numbers for each taxon (Table 6.1) are deceiving as the number of readily identifiable bones in the head of the Nile catfish and the Schal are much greater than for the Nile perch and the cichlid. In particular, the large numbers of easily identified textured dermal bones of the head and strong pectoral spines in the two catfish tend to over represent these two taxa. I use the counts of smaller, more delicate head bones that are common to all the taxa as a better estimator of relative abundance. The elements I use are the hyomandibular, quadrate, opercular and hyal bones. Given these elements the relative abundance in the taxa is: Clarias gariepinus (7), Oreochromis niloticus (3), Tor bynni (2), Mugil cephalus (1), and Bagrus bajad (1). In the 24462 fish sample, using these small common elements, the Nile perch and the schall both disappear. Note that the Schal is the most common taxa in Table 6.1, based on NISP. This is, I believe, a more realistic estimate of relative importance and points out the problems with the super-abundance of spines and head parts of the Schal in the samples. As with the 21557 sample, the cichlids are more important than the Schal and the Nile perch.
In Feature 24462 we recovered 9.7 mammal bone fragments for each fish bone. This ratio for the 21557 sample is 29.0:1. Fish are relatively more abundant in the Feature 24462 sample than in the 21557 sample. In the whole site sample the ratio of mammal to fish is 16.5:1. Fish in 24462 are relatively more abundant than fish in the whole site sample.

Of the 427 fish fragments, I was able to identify 90 to at least the level of the genus. Hence, 21.0% of the fish remains were identifiable.

Given the number of vertebrae in the average fish and the relative robust nature of fish vertebrae, vertebrae are under-represented our samples across the site. This would suggest that fish were processed somewhere else, where they were filleted and perhaps dried. This is something I need to quantify with a “producing” site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon or body part</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identified fragments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarias gariepinus</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synodontis schall</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oreochromis niloticus</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lates niloticus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tor bynni</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugil cephalus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagrus bajad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified fragments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skull</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertebrae</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-cranial not vertebra</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Counts (NISP) for the fish remains from Feature 24462.
**Class Aves**

Birds are represented in the sample from Feature 24462 by 64 NISP. This number includes 60 limb, 3 sterum-synsacrum, and 1 skull fragments. This does not include any identifiable bird bone, which I will need a complete comparative collection to identify. Eight fragments were held out and will be identifiable to at least genus. This brings the total of bird bones to 72 and it means that about 11% of the bird bones are identifiable. Most of the identifiable bird bone appears to be from water birds; i.e., the Egyptian goose (Alopochen aegyptiaca), the pin-tail (Anas acuta), the widgeon (A. penelope), and the teal (A. crecca), all of which were probably domestic. A large bird, perhaps the crane (Grus grus) and the coot (Fulica atra) are also probably represented.

Birds are abundant in the Feature 24462 sample but not as abundant as in Feature 21557. For each bird bone in the 24462 sample, 6.0 fish fragments were recovered. For the 21557 sample 1.8 fish fragments were recovered for each bird fragment. For the whole site sample 19 fish bone fragments were recovered for each bird fragment. The pattern of high levels of occurrence of bird bone fragments in the SFW area is reified.

**Class Mammalia**

The majority of the fragments are from mammals: 4797 fragments. Table 6.2 provides the distribution of the identifiable mammals by the categories skull/axial, meat bearing and non-meat bearing. The skull/axial category includes identified fragments
from the skull, mandible, teeth and vertebrae. The meat bearing category includes identified fragments from the proximal limb elements that are high in meat content: i.e.; scapula, humerus, radius, ulna, ilium,ischium, pubis, femur, patella, tibia fibula/lateral malleolus. The non-meat bearing category includes fragments from the distal limb elements that are low in meat content: i.e.; metapodials, podials, and phalanges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Body part/Total</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bos Taurus</td>
<td>skull/axial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meat bearing</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>187.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>796.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Bos taurus</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>990.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovis-Capra</td>
<td>Skull/axial</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meat bearing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-meat bearing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Ovis-Capra</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>131.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sus scrofa</td>
<td>Skull/axial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-meat bearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total from S. scrofa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazella sp.</td>
<td>Meat bearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Gazella sp.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canis familiaris</td>
<td>skull/axial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Distribution of identified mammal remains among taxa with counts (NISP) by functional body parts from Feature 24462.

Bos taurus – Cattle dominate the mammalian fauna and are the major provider of meat. The ratio of cattle to sheep-goat is 1.8:1. The average Bos taurus provides 10 times the amount of meat as a sheep or goat. The ratio of cattle to sheep-goats is high; it is the second highest ratio for the site as it is exceeded by the ratio from 21557 (13.7:1). The other units in the Workers’ Town with a high ratio of Cattle to sheep-goats are Area AA, 0.7:1 and House 3, 0.6:1. The ratio for the whole site sample at Giza is

422
0.33:1. Hence, it appears that a high level of cattle consumption characterizes the SFW area.

As with Feature 21557, long bone fusion data indicate a very early average age of slaughter. I recorded the state of fusion on 70 cattle elements and only three were fused. Unfortunately, I had no distal humerii, proximal radii or scapulae (again, see the discussion below on the absence of fore limb elements), which fuse in the first year of life. The earliest fusing elements I had were the phalanges and the distal metapodials. Forty of these were unfused and only three were fused, indicating that the vast majority of animals died before 18 months of age. And, again as with Feature 21557, many of the elements, the astragalii and distal femurs in particular, were very porous and the compactum very thin. This suggests an even younger age of slaughter for the cattle than 18 months. I estimate the average age of slaughter as in the range of 8-10 months.

In a happy coincidence, on our last working day in another feature from the pottery Mound I identified two proximal radii, both unfused, and a pubis bone, also unfused. The proximal radius fuses at less than one year and the pubis at 6 months. These data support the data provided by the porous, poorly formed astragali and distal femurs and suggest a very young age of slaughter for at least some of the cattle.

The ratio of meat bearing to non-meat bearing fragments is 0.28:1 (after subtracting the 72 seasmoids from the non-meat bearing total). Using a percentage measure, non-meat bearing fragments are 79% of the total limb elements. If whole animals were being butchered into the sample I would expect the percentage to be
about 65%, depending upon fragmentation. Hence, it is likely that we are seeing selective non-inclusion of some meat bearing elements. This conclusion is supported by the near absence of head and axial elements in the sample. The Feature 24462 sample is probably primarily discarded fragments from consumption and the butchering took place away from the consumption area. Again selective removal of some meat bearing elements may have occurred.

Again in 24462, as in 21557, a strong bias in fore limb fragments versus hind limb fragments obtains. The expected ratio of hind to fore limb fragments, if both hind and fore limbs are contributing equally to the sample, is 1.1:1. The observed ratio is 16.2:1. As a reminder, the ratio of hind limb to fore limb fragments for 215567 was 36.1:1. While the bias in 24462 is not as strong as in 21557, it is still highly significant (p≤0.01).

Ovis-Capra – I identified only 94 fragments as sheep or goat. I have already commented on the low numbers of sheep and goat relative to cattle. The ratio of sheep to goats is 1.8:1. This is somewhat lower than the site average of 3:1 but the sample is small. The sheep-goats are young. I recorded the state of fusion for 25 fragments and 19 were unfused. The fused elements were: proximal radius (1), second phalanx (1) distal metapodial (3), and proximal tibia (1). The proximal radius fuses at 4 months and the second phalanx fuses before 12 months. The diatl metapodial at 18 months and the proximal Tibia at 42 months. Hence, we have no evidence of any sheep-goat surviving
beyond 24 months and base on phalanges, most died before one year (12 unfused phalanges versus 1 fused).

Non-meat bearing bone fragments are 77% of the total number of limb fragments. If whole animal were being butchered into the deposit I would expect this percentage to be about 65%. Clearly, meat bearing bones are under-represented.

Sus scrofa – I identified only two pig bones in the sample. This suggests pigs were not important.

Gazella sp. – I identified only one fragment as gazelle. The fragment is probably from the Dorcas gazelle, Gazella dorcas. This was a hunted resource and, again, its occurrence in a SFW sample reinforces the pattern noted to date of a concentration of hunted resources in the BB and SFW areas. People in these areas had preferential access to hunted resources; either, only they had the time to hunt or they received the hunted resources from specialized hunters.

Canis familiaris - The dog is poorly represented in our samples to date. There are very few instances of obvious dog gnawing on bone fragments from the site. Two right maxillae exhibit strong crowding of the premolars due to the shortening of the snout associated with domestication. These are clearly from the dog. Almost too conveniently, there are several instances of dog-gnawed bones in the Pottery Mound samples done to date.

Unidentified Mammal - Table 6.3 provides counts and weights for each body part category of unidentifiable mammal bone. The large elements are probably exclusively
from cattle and the medium elements are probably almost exclusively from sheep and goats (given the low number of pig and gazelle).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Fragments</th>
<th>Count (NISP)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large limb</td>
<td>1022</td>
<td>2318.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium limb</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large rib</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium rib</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large vertebra</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium vertebra</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large skull</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium skull</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large teeth</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium teeth</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>3173</td>
<td>789.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4532</strong></td>
<td><strong>3410.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Counts and weights for unidentifiable mammal fragments presented by body part category for Feature 24462.

**Summary**

The fauna from Feature 24462 of the Pottery Mound (SFW) seems to continue the pattern of 21557. It differs from 21557 in the lower number of cattle and birds and the higher number of fish. This might possibly be due to the deposit into 24462 of “finer grained” materials. By “finer grained”, I mean more floor sweepings that catch smaller lighter bones and from which the majority of larger bones had been removed. If 24462 had a higher percentage mixture of these “finer grained” than were deposited in 21557, which was dominated by coarse grained material, this would explain most of the differences between 24462 and 21557.
The Feature 24462 and 21557 samples are most similar to the other SFW samples: i.e.; Area AA and House 3. The similarities include the high number of cattle, birds and the presence of hunted resources. The differences from the other SFW samples, and indeed from the rest of the site, include the extremely high number of cattle, the very young age of the cattle slaughtered and the occurrence of hind limb fragments almost to the exclusion of fore limb fragments.
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