

ÄGYPTOLOGISCHE ABHANDLUNGEN

BAND 39

THE REPRESENTATIONS OF STATUARY
IN PRIVATE TOMBS
OF THE OLD KINGDOM

BY

MARIANNE EATON-KRAUSS

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON WOLFGANG HELCK

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

Asiatische Studien

Asiatische Studien. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde. Bern

Badawy, Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhm'ahor

A. Badawy. *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankh-m'ahor at Saqqara.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1978

Borchardt, Annalen

L. Borchardt. *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reiches der Ägyptischen Geschichte.* Berlin 1917

Brunner-Traut, Tanz

E. Brunner-Traut. *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen.* ÄF 6. Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York 1938

Capart, Rue

J. Capart. *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah.* Brussels 1907

Curto, Scavi italiani

S. Curto. *Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza (1903).* Rome 1963

Drenkhahn, Handwerker

R. Drenkhahn. *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im alten Ägypten.* ÄA 31. Wiesbaden 1976

Dunham - Simpson, Mersyankh

D. Dunham - W.K. Simpson. *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G 7530-7540. Giza Mastabas 1.* Boston 1974

Edel, Akazienhaus

E. Edel. *Das Akazienhaus und seine Rolle in den Begräbnisriten des alten Ägyptens.* MÄS 24. Berlin 1970

Fischer, Dendera

H.G. Fischer. *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt.* New York 1968

Fischer, Orientation

H.G. Fischer. *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I: Reversals.* Egyptian Studies II. New York 1977

*Abbreviations used below, but not included in this list are those of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin

Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung VIII. Berlin 1974

Gem-ni-kai I, II

Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai, F.W. von Bissing, ed., I: im Verein mit A.E.P. Weigall; II: in Verbindung mit M. Bollacher und A.E.P. Weigall. Berlin 1905-1911

Hassan, Stöcke

A. Hassan. Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. MÄS 33. Munich/Berlin 1976

Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte

W. Helck. Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr. HdO I.1.5. Leiden/Cologne 1975

James, Khentika

The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, by T.G.H. James, with the collaboration of M.R. Apton. ASE Memoir 30. London 1953

Junker, Bildnis

H. Junker. Das lebenswahre Bildnis in der Rundplastik des Alten Reiches. AnzÖAW 1950:19. Vienna 1950

Junker, Stellung

H. Junker. Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich. SÖAW 233:1. Vienna 1959

Kaplony, Methethi

P. Kaplony. Studien zum Grab des Methethi. Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung 8. Bern 1976

Kuhlmann, Thron

K.P. Kuhlmann. Der Thron im alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens. ADAIK 10. Glückstadt 1977

Leiden Atlas

A.E.J. Holwerda - P.A.A. Boeser - J.H. Holwerda. Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden. Die Denkmäler des Alten Reiches. Atlas. The Hague 1908

Loretz, Gottebenbildlichkeit

O. Loretz. Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen, mit einem Beitrag von E. Hornung: Der Mensch als "Bild Gottes" in Ägypten. Munich 1967

Lutz, *Statues*

H.F. Lutz. *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California*. University of California Publications: Egyptian Archaeology V. Leipzig 1930

Martin, *Hetepka*

G.T. Martin. *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara 1964-1973*. EES Texts from Excavations Memoir 4. London 1979

Mogensen, *Mastaba*

M. Mogensen. *Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*. Copenhagen 1921

Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*

A.M. Moussa - H. Altenmüller. *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*. Old Kingdom Tombs at the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara. AV 5. Mainz 1971

Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*

A.M. Moussa - H. Altenmüller. *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnum-hotep*. Old Kingdom Tombs at the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara. AV 21. Mainz 1977

PKG *Ägypten*

Das Alte Ägypten. Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte 15, C. Vandersleyen, ed. Berlin 1975

Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*

P. Posener-Kriéger. *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (les papyrus d'Abousir)*, Traduction et commentaire. BdE LXV. Cairo 1976

Prelim. Rpt. *Ptahshepses*

Preliminary Report on Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir. Prague 1976

Quibell, *Hesy*

J.E. Quibell. *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-12): The Tomb of Hesy*. Cairo 1913

Reisner, *Mycerinus*

G.A. Reisner. *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*. Cambridge, Mass. 1931

Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus*

T. Säve-Söderbergh. *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*. Horae Soederblomianae III. Uppsala 1953

Schäfer, Bruchstück

H. Schäfer. *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*. Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1902

Seipel, Königinnen

W. Seipel. *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*. Quellen und historische Einordnung. Dissertation Hamburg 1980

Serapis

Serapis. *The American Journal of Egyptology*. Chicago

Shoukry, Privatgrabstatue

M.A. Shoukry. *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich*. ASAE Supplément 15. Cairo 1951

Simpson, Kawab

W.K. Simpson. *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II. G 7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G 7100*. Giza Mastabas 3. Boston 1978

Simpson, Qar and Idu

W.K. Simpson. *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G 7101 and 7102*. Giza Mastabas 2. Boston 1976

Śliwa, Woodworking

G. Śliwa. *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Handicraft: Woodworking*. Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego CCCIV. Prace archeologiczne 21 = Studia z archeologii śródziemnomorskiej 4. Cracow 1975

Steindorff, Ti

G. Steindorff. *Das Grab des Ti*. Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten II. Leipzig 1913

Terrace - Fischer, Treasures

E.L.B. Terrace - H.G. Fischer. *Treasures of the Cairo Museum From Predynastic to Roman Times*. London 1970

van de Walle, Neferirtenef

B. van de Walle. *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*. Brussels 1978

Williams, Per-neb

C.R. Williams. *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb: The Technique and the Color Conventions*. MMA Department of Egyptian Art Publications III. New York 1932

Zayed, Trois études

A. el-H. Zayed. *Trois études d'égyptologie*. Cairo 1956

Preface

As initially conceived, this study was to include all representations of statuary in relief and painting throughout pharaonic history. An initial restriction imposed on the material was to limit consideration to statues depicting the human figure. Subsequently, statues of divinities in human form were excluded - because of the problematic nature of their identification and interpretation, see the *Epilogue* - leaving representations of private and royal statues.

Only after considerable cataloguing work had been done did it become apparent that the scope was still impractical. The next step was to eliminate temple walls as a source of data, concentrating instead on private monuments, primarily private tombs. These representations proved to fall naturally into two groups that were distinguished both chronologically and thematically. The statue representations in private tombs of both the Old and Middle Kingdom depict the tomb owner (and, sometimes, members of his immediate family) while in the New Kingdom, representations of statues of the tomb owner are comparatively rare. By contrast, statues of the king are often shown in the sculptured and painted decoration of New Kingdom private tombs. Comparable representations are not known from the Old and Middle Kingdom. But it was obvious that a study of the types of royal statuary shown in New Kingdom private tombs could not be comprehensive without reference to the analogous depictions on New Kingdom temple walls. Because the earlier material formed a discrete and coherent unit providing information about the role of statuary in the private sphere, the study was limited chronologically to the time prior to the Second Intermediate Period.

The available Middle Kingdom documents are not numerous; there are only fifteen certain statue representations preserved in the decoration of private tombs. Thus the major weight of the study falls in the period of the Old Kingdom, with the Middle Kingdom examples being relegated to an *Appendix*. The *Epilogue* comprises a summary survey of all types of statue representations, from Dynasty I - XXX, rounding out the information presented and providing a starting point for future research.

A preliminary version of this study was accepted by the Faculty of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in October 1978, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy. I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Henry G. Fischer, my *Doktorvater*, without whose support and encouragement the initial study could not have been completed. Dr. Fischer was always

ready to offer specific suggestions for the solution of particular problems, as well as to tender advice of a general nature that contributed significantly to the overall improvement of the manuscript. Also meriting mention in this preface are Bernard V. Bothmer and Donald P. Hansen, both "readers" of the dissertation who offered valuable criticism.

A research sojourn in Egypt from February through April 1974 was funded by the Smithsonian Institution under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc., while from October 1974 through February 1977, my studies in Berlin were sponsored by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. The assistance of both institutions is gratefully acknowledged.

I would also like to thank Andrée Conrad, for her valued editorial assistance; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, who kindly sent me the proofs of the chapter on statue manufacture in advance of the publication of her book on ancient Egyptian craftsmen; Gerhard Fecht, Ägyptologisches Seminar der Freien Universität Berlin, for his unflagging, supportive interest in the completion of the revised study; Jürgen Settgast, Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, who always welcomed me in the museum's library; and, finally, Wolfgang Helck, for the inclusion of my study in this series.

Berlin

September 1983

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The present study is a discussion of the private statuary shown on the walls of private tombs of the Old Kingdom, Dynasties III - VIII inclusive, and of the evidence for the depiction of royal statuary through Dynasty VIII. An *Appendix* devoted to representations of statuary in private tombs during the Middle Kingdom is also included. The objectives of the study are fourfold: (1) descriptive, to characterize the different types of statues represented during the Old Kingdom and to specify the contexts in which they occur; (2) comparative, to discuss the representations in relation to the repertory of surviving contemporaneous statuary; (3) analytical, to investigate the significance of the diverse contexts; and (4) socio-historical, to present the evidence of the representations for the manufacture, transport, and function of statues during the Old Kingdom.

A *Catalogue* including all one-hundred-fifty-seven examples known to me of representations of statuary in Old Kingdom private tombs forms the basis of the study. The representational material has been supplemented with consideration of texts mentioning statues, but not found in direct association with statue representations.

The term "profile" will be used in this study to describe figures that show a convention whereby the near shoulder is drawn in side view and the far shoulder disappears behind it. All other compositional elements are the same as those normally employed for depicting the human figure in ancient Egyptian relief and painting: the eye is drawn frontally in the profile head; the position of the navel is appropriate for a three-quarter view; legs are in profile; two left or two right feet are shown, depending on the orientation of the figure.¹ The Egyptian draftsman employed this profile convention for representations of the tomb owner in *Flachbild* only

¹ Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* (2nd edition, here and below), 314-315, and Schäfer, *Kunst* (4th edition, here and below), 310. Other authors (e.g., Junker, *Giza* XI, 224 and Vandier, *Manuel* III, 3) use the term profile rather indiscriminately. A true profile view of the human figure is not reproduced in ancient Egyptian relief and painting.

when he intended to depict his patron's statue.² However, the oft repeated cliché that statues are invariably drawn in profile³ is not correct. Of the Old Kingdom statue representations presented in the *Catalogue*, only about one third are profile figures.

An observation made by Edgar⁴ suggests that the use of the profile for the representation of a statue is a reflection of the ancient Egyptian sculptor's technique for manufacturing stone statues whereby the front, back, and side views of the statue to be carved were sketched out on the corresponding faces of the raw block. This hypothesis satisfactorily

- 2 Cf. Schäfer, *Kunst*, 313-314. Depictions of cloaked figures are an exception to this rule of thumb. The canonical convention that dictated the use of the profile for the cloaked ruler was established at the beginning of the historical period, being employed, for example, on the Narmer mace head (Smith, *Sculpture*, fig. 31). Because the profile was used for the depiction of such figures, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the representations of the ruler himself from the representation of his statue - see below, Chapter 5, § 108 and § 110.
For the employment of an approximate profile view for the depiction of artisans, peasants, and retainers, see the discussion of Smith, *op.cit.*, 314-316.
- 3 So, e.g., Mogensen, *Mastaba*, 44; Junker, *Giza XI*, 224; Vandier, *Manuel III*, 3; etc. Schäfer's statement regarding the use of the profile for the representation of statues, *Kunst*, 313, is ambiguous. My comment, *JARCE XIII*, 1976, 23 note 6, that Schäfer recognized "the profile although attested in the representation of statues was by no means the rule" and the accompanying citation are simply incorrect. Note that Smith, *Sculpture*, 315, observes "shoulders completely in profile are fairly common in representations of statues."
- 4 C.C. Edgar, *RecTrav XXVII*, 1905, 148 note 1.
Schäfer, *Kunst*, 313-314, was not content with this practical explanation for the employment of the profile for the representation of statues. He felt some deeper reason must lie behind the choice of the profile which, in his opinion, differentiated the representation of a statue from all other depictions of the human figure in relief and painting. He theorized that the ancient Egyptian found the profile view lifeless and thus appropriate for the depiction of the "lifeless" statue. Wolf, *Kunst*, 284, adopted Schäfer's suggestion, adding that the profile view of the human figure was perhaps best described as *nicht belebbar*. This judgment is unacceptable for two reasons. As noted above, only one third of the Old Kingdom representations of statues are drawn in profile. The profile representations occur at random in the same contexts as and in series with statues drawn in accordance with the normal convention for the depiction of the human figure. Secondly, the choice of the profile for some depictions of the living ruler (see note 2) indicates that the profile per se was not considered "lifeless." See also Shoukry's critique of Schäfer's remarks, *Privatgrabstatue*, 109-110.

explains why the profile was employed to depict statuary.⁵ However, a large proportion of statue representations are not drawn in profile but in that combination of frontal and profile views described by the German term *wechselseitig* for which there is no English equivalent.⁶ Also one finds, albeit infrequently, statues drawn in the so-called half-profile view that results when the near shoulder is drawn in profile with the far shoulder "projected flat and not properly foreshortened."⁷ Both of these conventions are those used for the depiction of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting. Why did the draftsman only sometimes choose the profile to depict a statue?

Davies implied that statues were drawn in profile when both arms of the figure assumed the same attitude.⁸ There are, however, several examples of statues not drawn in profile but with both arms in the same position⁹ and some representations of statues depicted in profile but with the arms in different attitudes.¹⁰

A solution that appears quite attractive at first glance is that statues shown being sculptured were properly depicted in profile, reflecting the actual technique of statue manufacture, while finished statues, having been identified with the tomb owner through the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, were depicted using the same conventions as for representations of him elsewhere in the tomb. This tempting hypothesis is not supported by the data compiled below. Statues not drawn in profile occur at random in scenes of statue manufacture,¹¹ and statues drawn in profile are found in other contexts.¹²

5 The frequent depiction of stone statues in profile (see Chapter 3, § 65) lends credence to this hypothesis. It might be suggested that the draftsman's wish to include the back pillar or back slab, structural elements peculiar to stone statuary, dictated the choice of a profile view for the representation of a stone statue. But often these elements are absent from the representations of statues drawn in profile, among them some of the earliest depictions of statues preserved (e.g., Cat. Nos. 1 and 2). And in any case, back pillar and back slab could be included as adjuncts to statues not drawn in profile (several examples among the so-called Horbeit stelae: see L. Habachi, *ASAE* LII, 1954, pl. XXXIVA). Furthermore, wooden statues were also drawn in profile (unequivocally, Cat. No. 28) and at least one stone statue was not (Cat. No. 38).

6 For a detailed discussion of the convention, see Wolf, *Kunst*, 281-284. Smith, *Sculpture*, 309-310.

8 Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, 37; similarly Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 109-111.

9 E.g., Cat. Nos. 6, 19, 42, etc.

10 E.g., Cat. Nos. 81, 99, 134.

11 E.g., Cat. Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and cf. Cat. Nos. 2 and 3, both standing statues of *Mrj.s-nb* III, shown being painted, one in profile, one not.

12 Statue transport: e.g., Cat. Nos. 59, 68, etc.; statue receiving offerings: Cat. Nos. 134 and 135.

The representation of a statue was certainly closely identified with the tomb owner.¹³ While, on the one hand, the representation of a statue in relief and painting was twice removed from its prototype, being the representation of a representation, by its very nature the object depicted stood in an intimate and unique relationship to the prototype.¹⁴ It may be suggested that the frequent use of the *wechselseitig* (and to a lesser extent, the half-profile) convention for the representation of statues resulted from the assimilation of the object to be depicted (i.e., the statue) to its prototype, the tomb owner.

The conventions for representing the "living" tomb owner elsewhere in the tomb have influenced the depictions of statues in other ways as well, accounting for many of the disparities that are apparent between the statues depicted and actual, surviving Egyptian statuary. For example, the orientation of a statue in relief and painting, just as the orientation of other figures depicting the tomb owner, determined the disposition of limbs and attributes.¹⁵ Drawings of striding statues always show the far leg, whether it is the right or the left, advanced.¹⁶ Thus, the standard attitude of Egyptian striding statues, with the left leg advanced is reproduced only when the statue representation faces right. The same principle governs the placement of the walking staff and the scepter: in representations of statues, as in other two-dimensional representations of the tomb owner, the walking staff is held in the far and the scepter in the near hand, whereas in actual statues the walking staff is uniformly grasped by the left hand and the scepter by the right.¹⁷ Another discrepancy between actual statues and the representations involves the position of the leg that is not advanced. In actual statuary, this leg is relatively vertical (more so in stone than in wooden statues); in representations of statues, as in other two-dimensional figures depicting the tomb owner, the near leg is more naturalistically positioned for a striding figure. The seated figure of the tomb owner in relief and painting has similarly affected the depiction of seated statues. For

13 See below, Chapter 3, § 91.

14 Succinctly epitomized by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 56, 66.

15 For this reason, "near" and "far" have been used in this study, in preference to "right" and "left."

16 The modern draftsman responsible for the drawing of the statue representations from the tomb of *K:(.j)-m-rḥw* (Cat. Nos. 34 and 35) reproduced in Schäfer, *Kunst*, fig. 314, has incorrectly drawn the near legs advanced. A comparison of the original (Mogensen, *Mastaba*, pl. IX) with the drawing shows that the statues have their far legs advanced.

17 Note, however, that the standard attitude of the striding figure in sculpture in the round - left leg advanced, walking staff in the left hand - is the consequence of the dominant rightward orientation of ancient Egyptian relief and painting - see Fischer, *Orientation*, § 4.

example, representations of seated statues frequently show the far foot slightly advanced, a graphic convention adopted from depictions of the seated tomb owner¹⁸ that has nothing to do with the position of the feet in actual statuary. Details of costume and regalia in representations of the tomb owner are no less influential upon the representations of statues. It may be asked, therefore, what distinguishes the representation of a statue of the tomb owner from other depictions of him in relief and painting.

As noted above, the profile was employed for the depiction of statuary. A figure that is not drawn in profile is identified as a statue by any one of the following devices: the presence of a base,¹⁹ the associated label "statue" (*twt* or *rpwt* in the period under discussion²⁰) and/or the context.²¹

18 Cf. Schäfer, *Kunst*, 114-115.

19 Not obligatory, as insisted by Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 81 and Junker, *Stellung*, 92.

20 For the word *šzp* and the phrase *šzp r 'nh*, see Chapter 4, § 103.

21 E.g., Cat. No. 25.

Chapter 2: THE TYPES OF STATUES REPRESENTED IN OLD KINGDOM PRIVATE TOMBS

In this chapter, the types of statues depicted (the attitudes of the figures and the variety of costume and regalia shown) are categorized and compared with the surviving repertory of actual statues. Clearly, the number of extant Old Kingdom statues available for comparison comprises only a small proportion of the total production of the sculptor's atelier. Stone statues were regularly broken up and the material put to other uses. Because of wood's susceptibility to destruction by insects and the effects of water, the loss of wooden statuary has been considerable.²² It is a methodological necessity, however, to view the known repertory of actual statues as representative, while recognizing that some statue types²³ as well as many individual features²⁴ have been documented only rarely to date.

§ 1

The type of statue most commonly represented in relief and painting during the Old Kingdom depicted a striding man.²⁵ Approximately two-thirds of the striding male statues whose attributes are preserved hold the walking staff, the attribute most often shown. The figure always grasps the staff in the far hand. In thirty-five cases,²⁶ the near hand holds the 'b' scepter, Gardiner Sign-list S 42. This attitude is well documented in extant wooden statuary.²⁷

22 One conclusion of this study is that the wooden statue was much more common than the number of surviving specimens suggests, see Chapter 3, § 65.

23 E.g., the fragmentary group statue in wood depicting the tomb owner and his son, both striding; see Zayed, *Trois études*, figs. 1-7.

24 E.g., the animal-legged stool of Turin Mus. Suppl. 1896, Curto, *Scavi italiani*, pls. X, XI.

25 For the distribution of types according to context, see Chapter 3, § 45, § 70, § 84, § 85, and § 90.

Because the presence or absence of a base in the representation of a statue is related to the context in which the representation occurs, this element is discussed below, Chapter 3, § 47. Structural elements in the depiction of striding statues (i.e., negative space and the back pillar or slab) are considered in connection with the material of the statues, Chapter 3, § 65. For these elements in the representations of seated statues, see also § 15 and § 16.

26 Cat. Nos. 7, 37, 44 (adult male figure in the group), 45, 55, 68, 75, 78, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 98, 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 118, 121, 123, 124, 126, 132, 138, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 154, and 155.

27 See Vandier, *Manuel III*, 90 § D.

By contrast, the attitude combining a walking staff in one hand and a folded handkerchief in the other, found in twelve representations of statues,²⁸ is not paralleled in extant statuary. However, the combination of these attributes often occurs in two-dimensional depictions of the "living" tomb owner during the Old Kingdom.²⁹ Such depictions, rather than a hypothetical lost statue type, should be the source of the statue representations.³⁰

§ 2

Six representations of statues - Cat. Nos. 15, 81, 109, 110, 139, and 152 - show a striding figure with the walking staff in the far hand and an object of problematic interpretation in the near hand. The attribute also occurs in the composition of the statues Cat. Nos. 116 (far hand lost) and 137 (far hand not shown). The object is short and more or less rectangular in longitudinal section.³¹

The presence of the object in Cat. Nos. 109, 116, 139, and 152 is disputable. Each of these figures is oriented leftwards, and the forward end of the object does not appear to be differentiated from the line defining the back of the kilt. Because the scepter is often drawn as if passing behind the body of a figure facing left,³² it could be argued that the object in the near hand of these figures is the end of the scepter's handle.³³ But Cat. Nos. 109, 139, and 152 show no trace of the scepter's tip that should be drawn projecting from behind the front edge of the kilt. (This area is damaged in Cat. No. 116.) The omission of the detail could be attributable to carelessness on the part of the relief sculptor³⁴; but at least in the case of Cat. No. 139, this alternative is unlikely, since the same reversal has been carried out successfully in the statue representation drawn directly above, Cat. No. 138.

One possible interpretation of the object is that it is the so-called *steinkern*, a very short, cylindrical object with one or both ends rounded

28 Cat. Nos. 36, 61, 63, 67, 83, 94, 95, 99, 111, 113, 114, and 125.

29 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 162-163.

30 The folded handkerchief is documented once as the attribute of a striding figure in an Old Kingdom stone group - see § 4, below.

31 The painting of the object, which might have been expected to provide a clue as to its material, is not preserved in any of the depictions.

32 This drawing "error" has been discussed by Smith, *Sculpture*, 275-276 and by Fischer, *Terrace - Fischer, Treasures*, 38.

33 Tentatively suggested by H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 14 note 39, with specific reference to Cat. No. 139.

34 Indeed, this would seem to be the assumption of van de Walle, with regard to Cat. No. 109 - see van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 74.

that is often shown held in the hands of actual statues.³⁵ In Old Kingdom statuary, the ends of the *Steinkern* are usually almost flush with the hand that holds it. But the object depicted in the statue representations is not so short, and, with the exception of Cat. No. 81, it has flat, rather than rounded, ends. If it is argued that the *Steinkern* is a bolt of cloth,³⁶ one might expect its length to be exaggerated in the representations of statues,³⁷ and that its ends not necessarily be rounded.³⁸ However, the identification of the object in question as a *Steinkern* does not take into account thirteen representations of striding statues with arms held at the sides and hands simply fistled: Cat. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 27, 28, 34, 35, 46, 47, and 79.³⁹ In actual statuary, this attitude is common and well documented in both wood and stone where the hands hold the *Steinkern*.⁴⁰ In the thirteen representations of statues enumerated, its presence must be inferred, even if it is not actually shown. Some draftsmen having been satisfied to leave the contents of the closed hand

35 In the following discussion, the term *Steinkern* has been employed in preference to "emblematic stave" despite its inappropriate application to examples in wooden statuary. The object has been considered in detail most recently by H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 9-21, where it is argued that the object is a bolt of cloth. (Note that Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 135, identify the object shown in Cat. No. 15 as a *Schattenstab* without further comment.)

The earliest certain depiction of the *Steinkern* in the representation of a statue dates from Dynasty XIX. (The object held in the hand of the royal striding statues depicted in TT 48(7) and TT 100(14) is not a *Steinkern* but the *mks* - cf. Hassan, *Stöcke*, 179.) In size and shape the *Steinkern* in the ramesside statue representations is strikingly similar to the object shown in the Old Kingdom examples under discussion. However, in contrast to the *Steinkern* in actual Old Kingdom statuary, the New Kingdom counterpart is relatively long, projecting from the fist both in front and behind, just like the *Steinkern* in the contemporaneous statue representations (cf. Habachi, *Deification*, pls. XIVa-b with XIIIb).

36 So Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 14-21.

37 Otherwise it would have been most difficult to indicate its presence at all, given the small scale of the statue representations in question.

38 Cf. the interchangeability of the ideogram for a bolt of cloth, Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 1975, fig. 15.

39 With three exceptions - Cat. Nos. 19, 47, and 79 - these representations are drawn in profile with only one hand shown. The assumption that the "hidden" hand evinced the same gesture as the visible hand cannot be proved, but two arguments can be presented in its favor. The striding statue type with both hands fistled is well documented in actual Old Kingdom statuary (see the following note). The alternative, that the hand not shown was open or held a handkerchief (or even the scepter), is highly unlikely as those attributes are documented for the depiction of the tomb owner neither in relief and painting nor in sculpture in the round.

40 See Vandier, *Manuel* III, 62 § 1c, 90 § XVIIA. It is usually assumed (so, e.g., by Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 127) that wooden examples of this type imitate stone statues. An empty fistled hand is apparently documented only once in an Old Kingdom striding statue; the figure depicts Neuserre - see B.V. Bothmer, *MDAIK* 30, 1974, 167.

implicit in the representations of statues, it would seem unlikely that others would have depicted the *Steinkern* as the object in Cat. Nos. 15, 81, 110, and 137 - and perhaps in Cat. Nos. 109, 116, 139, and 152 as well. However, this possibility cannot be ruled out, for in later times such inconsistency is documented. The *Steinkern* is often included in the depiction of the statue named *Wsr-m:t-R' Stp-n-R' Mntw nb t:wj* on the so-called Horbeit stelae, but it is sometimes inexplicably omitted and a simply fistted hand shown.⁴¹

If the object shown in the Old Kingdom representations is not the *Steinkern*, is there an alternative?

The best analogy in size and shape is a roll of papyrus, an object depicted in the hands of the tomb owner in relief and painting as early as Dynasty IV,⁴² in alternation with the folded handkerchief. In Cat. No. 132 this identification is corroborated by the costume of the statue that includes the sash, suggesting the statue depicts the tomb owner as a lector priest (see § 37, below). The object of problematic interpretation held in the figure's near hand is in all likelihood a roll of papyrus, the standard attribute of the lector priest.

Provisional acceptance of the identification of the object as a roll of papyrus need not imply the existence of an Old Kingdom statue type undocumented in the repertory of actual statues. Representations of statues with the papyrus roll as an attribute could best be explained as inspired by other depictions in relief and painting of figures holding a roll of papyrus.

§ 3

Cat. No. 144 depicts a striding statue with a walking staff in the far hand and the near arm held at the side with an open hand.⁴³ No actual Old Kingdom statue documents this attitude. The representation is obviously derived from depictions on the jambs of false doors (and elsewhere) in contemporaneous tombs that show the tomb owner in a similar

41 Cf. L. Habachi, *ASAE* LII, 1954, pl. XXXVb with XXXVIII.

42 Smith, *Sculpture*, 276, mentions a depiction of *h'j.f-Mnw* with the attribute. Some of the large figures of *Pth-špss* in sunk relief on the piers in the court of his tomb at Abusir show the tomb owner holding a roll of papyrus, but not clad in the regalia of the lector priest. See also Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. LVIII (below), and cf. also Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 8.

43 Alternatively, the near hand may grasp the kilt edge, a gesture also documented in the depictions of the tomb owner cited in the following note. Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 59 § I.A.a.γ.2 and fig. 18:5; he terms this alternative attitude *exceptionnellement*.

attitude and wearing the same coiffure and costume as shown in Cat. No. 144.⁴⁴

The statue representation Cat. No. 112 shows a figure holding the walking staff in the far hand while the hand of the near arm, held at the side, is closed. The depiction may reflect the wooden statue type exemplified in CG 60, 154, and 370: the closed hand grasps the *Steinkern*.

§ 4

Cat. No. 104 in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir is a colossal striding statue depicted in profile. The figure's visible hand holds the folded handkerchief. In actual Old Kingdom statuary, this attitude is documented only in the principal figure of the limestone group Berkeley 6-19780.⁴⁵ Both figures of Cat. No. 102, a group statue also depicted in the tomb of *Pth-špss*, show the same attitude. Cat. No. 102 may reproduce the appearance of an actual statue included in the funerary equipment of the tomb owner - see further below, § 19. Indeed, all the statues shown in the tomb - Cat. Nos. 36, 37, and 38, as well as Cat. Nos. 101, 102, 103, and 104 - were carefully executed and include many meticulously rendered details that are not merely graphic conventions. The inscription accompanying Cat. No. 104 states that the material of the statues was stone, a fact collaborated by the presence of a back pillar in the representation. The original to which the representation referred may well have been the colossal granite statue whose base with feet and lower legs was found in the tomb's pillared courtyard.⁴⁶

Cat. No. 17 is another statue depicting a man holding a folded handkerchief. Exceptionally, the far hand holds the attribute; the near hand is lost.

44 E.g., James, *Khentika*, pl. VII. The alternation of Cat. Nos. 144 and 145 on the walls of *Njhw*'s *serdab* is also analogous to the complementary relationship of the figure types on false doors. The statue representation of Cat. No. 144 is depicted in half-profile; the same convention is employed for the depiction of the tomb owner in the same attitude and wearing the same kilt and coiffure on false door jambs.

45 The group comprises a man accompanied by his son who is depicted as a child: see Lutz, *Statues*, pl. 22. The adult holds the handkerchief in his right hand; the *Steinkern* is shown in the left.

46 For the base, see J. de Morgan, *Revue archéologique* 3. Sér. XXIV, 1894, 31. The statue would have been much too large to fit into one of the shrines in the chapel; they were intended to accommodate life-size statues.

The transportation scenes, including Cat. No. 104, are oriented toward the tomb's pillared court; i.e., the statues shown being transported were intended to be displayed there. Thus, the find spot of the colossal statue base is consistent with the information provided by the representation.

§ 5

The statue representations Cat. Nos. 57 and 80 show one hand of the striding figure grasping the edge of the projecting-panel kilt while the other arm with open hand is held at the side. In Cat. No. 135, drawn in profile, the hand shown similarly grasps the kilt edge. On analogy with Cat. No. 57, it seems likely that Cat. No. 153, too, may be another example of the type under consideration, but the representation's small scale prohibits certain attribution to the group.

The type shown is documented in the repertory of actual statues at the earliest first at the turn of Dynasty VI⁴⁷ and thus contemporaneous with the earliest representation, Cat. No. 80.⁴⁸

§ 6

Three representations of striding statues, Cat. Nos. 42, 43, and 142, show figures with both arms at the sides and hands open, an attitude not documented to date in the known repertory of actual Old Kingdom statues.⁴⁹ Two, Cat. Nos. 42 and 43, occur in the tomb of 'nḥ-m-ḥr; the third, Cat. No. 142, is found in the nearby tomb of ḡntj-k:Jḥḥj. In relief and painting, this attitude is infrequently employed for the depiction of the "living" tomb owner.⁵⁰ Its occurrence in the mastaba of Nfr-m:t and Jtt at Medum is apparently isolated both geographically and chronologically.⁵¹ At Saqqara, it is found in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, especially on false doors of the later Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.⁵² The

47 By the statues of Mttj - cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 91 § E. Note, however, that Mttj's chronological position is problematic - see below, the introductory remarks to Cat. No. 150. Other Old Kingdom examples of the type - e.g., Hornemann, *Types*, 182-186 - are simply ascribed to "Dynasty VI." Even the dating of CG 236 early in the reign of Pepy II is not without reservations (see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 85, 291). (Cf. Mrr-wj-k:j's statue, Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 147-148, that shows one hand grasping the kilt edge and the other fisted around a Steinkern.)

48 See the discussion, below, of the dating of Cat. Nos. 79 and 80 in the tomb of R'-m-k:.

49 The same attitude was perhaps also depicted in Cat. No. 20, but only one (open) hand is preserved in the representation.

50 Rather, it is reserved for depictions of subsidiary figures, often younger brothers or sons of the tomb owner, and is indicative of their rank. Good examples are Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 26, and Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 88. Cf. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 59 § I.A.a.d.1, who remarks that this attitude attested for the tomb owner is assez rare. The example cited by Vandier - Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. IX - does not show the attitude, however, for only one hand of the figure is empty; the other grasps the kilt edge.

51 The representations of Nfr-m:t are the only examples of the attitude cited by Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 127 note 2.

52 E.g., Quibell, *Excav. Saqq. 1905-1906*, pl. XIV; Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 71:2, 73:1, 74:2, etc. Junker, *Giza XII*, 80, discusses the incidence of the attitude in the mastabas of his concession at Giza: beginning in early Dynasty V, it is documented sporadically on the jambs of false doors; toward the beginning of Dynasty VI, the attitude is also found at Giza at the entrance to the cult chamber.

earliest instance at Saqqara appears to be on the facade of 'nh-m-'-Hr's tomb, where figures of the tomb owner flank the entrance to the mastaba and show him striding into the tomb, open handed, with arms at his sides.⁵³ He wears the projecting-panel kilt and a shoulder-length wig. The costume and coiffure are not reproduced in either of the two statue representations in the tomb that show the same pose, making it unlikely that the statue representations were influenced by the depictions of 'nh-m-'-Hr at the mastaba's entrance.

'nh-m-'-Hr's statue representations, like those of Pth-špss, are rendered in minute detail and exhibit many unusual features. For example, the group statue depicting the tomb owner and his son, Cat. No. 44, is unique among known representations, but it reflects an actual statue type documented by a statue base excavated from a nearby tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery - see below, § 20. The inscriptions accompanying the representations are unusual - see § 48 and § 51. They specify the material of two of the statues depicted, Cat. Nos. 43 and 44, the name of the person represented in the subsidiary figure of Cat. No. 44, and the name of the painter pictured in association with Cat. No. 43. Such attention to circumstantial information supports the conviction that the representations reflect actual statues originally included in 'nh-m-'-Hr's tomb equipment.

The combination of attitude, kilt, and coiffure shown in the statue Cat. No. 42 is unique, but there are at least three statuettes comparable to Cat. No. 43. JE 47758-47760 depict a nude youth with arms and open hands at the sides.⁵⁴ The attitude shown differs from Cat. No. 43 in that the legs of the statuettes are not in the striding position but placed side by side.⁵⁵ The statuettes were excavated from Shaft B

53 Capart, *Rue*, pls. XIX, XXII. The badly weathered inscriptions carved above the figures comprise the various titles and epithets of the tomb owner - see *ibid.*, 27, and Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, 13.

54 *PM* III, 511; J. Capart - M. Werbrouck, *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides*, Brussels 1930, fig. 246; Hornemann, *Types*, 11. The figures may be uncircumcised, as they are called "children" by Capart and Werbrouck, and "boys" by Quibell (cited by James, *Khentika*, 4). The wooden statuette CG 149 of similar type definitely depicted a child, for the youth lock, now lost, was once present.

55 The unusual attitude may have been dictated by technical considerations. A back pillar is not included in the composition of these limestone statuettes. Both arms and legs are worked free, with a support reserved between the palms of the hands and the body.

of the mastaba of *ḡntj-kꜣ:Jḡḡj* that is adjacent to the tomb of
ḡḡ-m-ḡ-ḡr.⁵⁶

Cat. No. 142, a statue depicted in the tomb of *ḡntj-kꜣ:Jḡḡj*, does have later parallels in actual statuary. The striding figure wearing the long, projecting-panel kilt, with arms and open hands at the sides, is a common Middle Kingdom statue type with antecedents in the First Intermediate Period.⁵⁷ Thus the representation in the tomb of *ḡntj-kꜣ* may document an isolated early occurrence of the type. A comparable Old Kingdom statue is CG 144. The figure, a dwarf, wears the same long kilt as Cat. No. 142, but the head is wigless and the feet and legs are not striding but side by side.⁵⁸

§ 7

A closed statue shrine is depicted in Cat. Nos. 69-74, 77, 115, 127, and 130. The shape of the shrine, uniformly tall and narrow, could only accommodate a striding figure. Indeed, the painter's "first draft" of Cat. No. 130 showed a striding figure within the shrine, but in the final version, the doors of the shrine were painted closed over the figure.

§ 8

The seated male statue is the second most common statue type depicted in Old Kingdom relief and painting. In representations of such statues, the

56 The statuettes are inscribed for the *smr wꜣtj Jḡḡj*. James, *Khentika*, 4-5, 14, suggests they do not represent the tomb owner of the same name but a lector priest depicted a single time in the tomb's reliefs and perhaps buried in Shaft B. But none of the objects recovered from the shaft implies that it necessarily contained a burial. The proximity of the shaft to the mastaba's *serdab* is intriguing, especially in connection with a comment in Quibell's notes, cited by James, *op.cit.*, 5: "The various small stone statuettes represent in miniature the statues in the *serdab* of the large mastaba."

Even if the statuettes derive from the burial of the priest, they are nevertheless clearly funerary statuettes and not servant figures.

57 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 227 § P.M.E. II.α.

58 As with JE 47758-47760, the stone between the legs has been removed, and no back pillar is present. The limestone statue represents the dwarf *Hnmw-ḡtp* who bore the titles *jmj-r sšr* and *jmj-r ḡmw-kꜣ*. Whether he possessed a tomb (assumed by Junker, *Giza V*, 11) is not known. In the *Catalogue général*, the statue's provenance is given simply as Saqqara.

The piece has often been classified as a servant figure (e.g., by C. Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, London 1949, No. 52) presumably because of the passive attitude of the hands and the generally subordinate status of dwarfs during the Old Kingdom. But *Hnmw-ḡtp*'s titles do not denote a lowly status. M. Seidel and D. Wildung, in *PKG Ägypten*, 227-228, present a cogent argument for attributing the attitude of both arms and legs to compositional considerations while nevertheless reiterating that the statue should probably be classed as a servant figure.

far foot is regularly shown slightly advanced,⁵⁹ a convention adopted from representations of the seated "living" tomb owner.⁶⁰

§ 9

Arms and hands of seated statues represented in *Flachbild* assume a variety of attitudes; only some of these are documented in extant Old Kingdom statuary.

During the Old Kingdom, the most common type of seated statue shows the hands on the lap of the figure: the left hand is open with palm placed flat on the left thigh while the right hand is closed around the *Steinkern* and held vertically on the right thigh.⁶¹ In Cat. No. 5 which shows the dominant rightward orientation, the far (left) hand rests on the lap while the near (right) hand is fisted. Presuming that the closed hand implies the presence of the *Steinkern* in representations of statues, the attitude depicted in Cat. No. 5 reflects the standard Old Kingdom type of seated male statue.

Cat. Nos. 24 and 82 are drawn in profile with only the near hand shown; in both cases the hand is fisted.⁶² In all likelihood, these representations also depict statues embodying the standard attitude, presuming that the more distinctive, active gesture is shown and that the passive gesture of the far hand is implicit.⁶³

§ 10

Four representations of seated statues drawn in profile, Cat. Nos. 26, 65, 66, and 97, show only the near hand that clutches a folded handkerchief on the lap of the figure. This accessory is well documented in extant Old Kingdom statues depicting seated men.⁶⁴ In actual statues, the right hand holds the handkerchief while the left is open and placed palm downward on the left thigh. Cat. Nos. 26 and 97 hold the handkerchief in the "right"

59 Exceptions are Cat. Nos. 24, 48, 52, 65, and 66, where only one leg and foot are shown. These representations are drawn in profile, but so are Cat. Nos. 26, 54, 82, 96, 97, and 157, all with the far foot drawn slightly advanced. The convention employed to depict the torso and shoulders of a seated statue apparently had no bearing on the manner in which the feet were drawn.

60 Cf. note 18, above.

61 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 65 § B. The frequent variant, described *ibid.*, 65 § C, in which the closed right hand with *Steinkern* is held horizontally on the lap, is not evinced in the representations of statues.

62 The determinative for the word *twt* may also have this form - see Chapter 4, § 97.

63 Of course, this assumption remains an undemonstrable hypothesis. Alternatively, both hands of the figure are to be imagined closed and the rarely documented statue type cited in note 66, below, then depicted in Cat. Nos. 24 and 82.

64 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 163.

hand, but because Cat. Nos. 65 and 66 are oriented leftwards, the accessory appears in the "left" hand.⁶⁵

§ 11

In § 4, it was proposed that the statues represented in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir may reflect the appearance of actual statues included in *Pth-špss'* tomb equipment. Cat. No. 38, a statue incorporated in a workshop scene in the tomb, depicts the seated tomb owner with both hands resting on his lap, the near hand holding a handkerchief and the far hand closed. The type has no exact parallel in the known repertory of actual Old Kingdom statues, but a comparable attitude is documented where the figure has both hands closed.⁶⁶ Possibly Cat. No. 38 documents a similar statue type that has not been preserved.

§ 12

Cat. No. 93, a weathered representation of a seated statue in *Tjj's* tomb, shows the near hand open upon the lap and the far hand, apparently fisted, across the chest of the figure. *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj's* statue Cat. No. 76 depicts the same attitude with the far hand grasping a folded handkerchief; because the figure evinces the dominant rightward orientation, it is the "right" hand that is passive. The determinative for the word *twt* in the inscription accompanying Cat. No. 76 reproduces in miniature the type of the statue representation (cf. Chapter 4, § 98), a fact that might be construed to suggest that such a type existed. In contemporaneous relief and painting, the attitude epitomized in Cat. No. 76 is employed for depicting the "living" tomb owner before an offering table.⁶⁷ Probably such a tableau, rather than an actual statue, served as the source for the statue representation. However, one Old Kingdom statue,

65 As above, § 9, it is assumed that the hand not shown in the representations was understood to be placed flat on the lap. The possible alternative - that both hands held handkerchiefs - is not probable, for that attitude is documented neither in sculpture in the round nor in two-dimensional depictions of the tomb owner.

66 The type seems to have been slightly more common than implied by Vandier, *Manuel III*, 66 § D.b, who cites only two examples, both from Giza and neither of exceptional quality. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 58 note 4, mentions CG 102 (from Saqqara) and CG 219, a pseudo-group (from Abydos). All these statues probably date to the late Old Kingdom.

67 Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 63 § I.B.a.β.2.

The figure uniformly holds the handkerchief in the left hand and the right hand (sometimes reversed) is extended toward the table. (The ancient Egyptians seem to have observed a prohibition against eating with the left hand - cf. Junker, *Giza V*, 162-163.) The right hand may lie upon the lap or be held slightly above it. In the tomb of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* where Cat. No. 76 occurs, the hands of the tomb owner seated before the offering table are shown in the latter position: *Leiden Atlas*, pls. XVII-XVIII.

CG 91, depicts a seated figure in a similar attitude: the now headless figure holds the fist of the right hand without an accessory across the chest and the open left hand flat on the lap.⁶⁸

§ 13

In § 9, it was suggested that the draftsman chose to show the hand displaying the more distinctive gesture when depicting only a single hand of a statue drawn in profile. Cat. Nos. 48, 52, 54, 96, and 157, all drawn in profile, show a seated figure with the visible hand open and placed flat, palm downward, on the lap. Because there is no gesture less distinctive than the passive, open hand, it may be postulated that the hand not shown duplicated the position of the visible one. The resulting statue type is documented in actual Old Kingdom statues dating from Dynasty VI. For example, the male figure of a group excavated from a tomb at Meir adjacent to that where Cat. Nos. 54 and 157 are depicted, evinces the attitude shown in the representations.⁶⁹ Fischer, remarking other examples from the south, suspected that the type may have been "more common in the southern provinces towards the end of Dynasty VI."⁷⁰ Cat. Nos. 48 and 52 from Dynasty VI tombs at Deir el Gebrawi may be considered additional documents in support of Fischer's suggestion.

Cat. No. 96, from the tomb of *Tjj*, is the only known occurrence of the type at Saqqara, and the representation furnishes the earliest evidence for its existence. The type is otherwise documented in the Memphite cemeteries only by statuettes excavated at Giza and dating to Dynasty VI.⁷¹

§ 14

Eight representations of seated statues - Cat. Nos. 9, 10, 84, 92, 93, 117, 122, and 156 - show a figure holding the walking staff in the far hand.⁷² The near hand that rests on the lap may be open, or closed to grasp the handkerchief or scepter.⁷³ None of these attitudes is known in actual statuary, but all are found in depictions of the "living" tomb

68 Cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 64 § III.A.a-b. CG 649, a group representing the tomb owner seated with his son standing at his side, shows both hands of the principal figure closed, the left across the chest. The sculpture was excavated at Deshasheh and is datable to Dynasty VI.

69 See A. Kamal, *ASAE* XV, 1915, 258.

70 *JARCE* II, 1963, 18.

71 Cf. the comments of Vandier, *Manuel III*, 66 § D.c, and Smith, *Sculpture*, 71, who cites another statuette from a walled-up niche associated with G 1903, of "careful but inexperienced" workmanship, and comments that the attitude is not common.

72 The determinative for *twt* may assume the form of a seated statue with the walking staff - see Chapter 4, § 98.

73 In two cases, Cat. Nos. 9 and 84, the near hand is not preserved.

owner in relief and painting. Thus it might be concluded that none of these representations reflects the appearance of actual statues.⁷⁴

Cat. Nos. 117 and 122 depict a seated figure with the walking staff in the far hand and the scepter in the near hand, an attitude employed to depict the "living" tomb owner at least as early as late Dynasty V at both Giza and Saqqara.⁷⁵ Similarly, the attitude shown in Cat. No. 10 - the accessories are walking staff and handkerchief - is frequently used for depicting the tomb owner in relief and painting.⁷⁶

Cat. No. 56, in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ:ḥnj km* at Meir, is a statue shown in the process of manufacture. The near hand of the figure is open and placed, palm downward, on the lap while the far arm is raised and bent at the elbow as if the hand, as yet empty, were meant to grasp the walking staff. From the context - see Chapter 3, § 53 - it can be deduced that the material of the statue is wood, the only medium technically suitable for the execution of the arm position depicted. It is tempting to interpret the figure as the statue at a stage of manufacture before a separately made walking staff was added.⁷⁷ Cat. No. 156, one of four statues depicted at the entrance to the same tomb's *serdab*, is identical with Cat. No. 56, with the exception that the staff is present in the composition of the former. Is the same statue shown in both scenes?⁷⁸ The representations of statues in *Ppjj-ḥnḥ*'s tomb exhibit many unusual features. The

74 The composition of only one preserved Old Kingdom statue, Bklyn. 39.119 included an attribute held upright on the lap of the figure: Pepy II, seated on the lap of his mother, apparently held an insignia, now lost, in the right hand - see Seidel and Wildung, in *PKG Ägypten*, 228, and cf. the Cairo statue of Khasekhem, JE 32161, where the drilled hole in the closed hand was perhaps intended for the insertion of the flail, *ibid.*, 217.

75 Not only on a small scale, as the determinative for the tomb owner's name at the end of a title sequence (e.g., James, *Khentika*, pls. V-VI; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21) but also on a larger scale (e.g., from Saqqara - or Dahshur? - CG 1536A and at Giza, in the mastaba of *K:-nj-njswt* (Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 20). Cf. also Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 65 § B.a.6.6.

76 Cf. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 65 § B.a.6.4. The attitude may have been shown elsewhere in the tomb containing Cat. No. 10. *LD II*, pl. 51, reproduces a scene showing the tomb owner observing agricultural activities. *Jj-mrjj*, seated on a low-backed chair, holds the walking staff in the far hand, but the gesture of the near hand, which rested on the lap of the figure, is lost.

77 The workshop scene in the tomb of *ḥwj.n-R'* is comparable. It includes the representation of a striding statue, Cat. No. 4, with the far arm bent and extended as if to hold the walking staff that is not present, as in Cat. No. 56. A similar, finished statue in the same sequence, Cat. No. 7, is shown complete with both walking staff and scepter. Cat. No. 25 may be another, similar example, but the drawing published by Lepsius is only a sketch, and the walking staff may have been inadvertently omitted by his draftsman.

78 Seven tombs contain representations of statues in more than one context but only in the tombs of *Mrj.s-ḥnḥ III* and *Ppjj-ḥnḥ:ḥnj km* are identical statues apparently shown in two different contexts.

scenes of statue making include inscriptions identifying the person represented in the statues, a detail found in only one other tomb - see Chapter 3, § 48. Second, *Ppjj-nh*'s tomb includes the unique representation of a small statue in the process of manufacture (Cat. No. 55). Third, the prominence given to the painter in the tomb's decoration and inscriptions is singular.⁷⁹ Cat. No. 54, another representation of a seated statue in the tomb depicting an unusual attitude does in fact reflect a type documented by an actual statue excavated at Meir - see § 13. All the statue representations in the tomb may well refer to actual statues. If so, then Cat. Nos. 56 and 156 may document the existence of a wooden statue type not yet exemplified in the known repertory of actual statues.

§ 15

The seats depicted in the representations of seated statues exhibit some unusual features that are found rarely, if at all, in actual Old Kingdom statuary.

The block seats of Cat. Nos. 33, 59,⁸⁰ and 84 have a simple interior border. The comparable border of actual Old Kingdom statues may be patterned or inscribed, or it may frame an area reserved for inscriptions and/or reliefs.⁸¹ None of these usages is carried over into representations of statues.

In six representations of seated statues, Cat. Nos. 24, 26, 54, 65, 66, and 157, a back slab is present.⁸² This element occurs sporadically in actual Old Kingdom seated statues made of stone.⁸³ The appearance of a high-backed chair is suggested by the drawing of the back slab and border in Cat. No. 26. Two actual Old Kingdom statues show the same feature.⁸⁴ The "chair" of Cat. No. 5 is similarly conceived, but the "chair back" is very low.⁸⁵

79 See H. Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, AnzÖAW 1956:3, 59-79.

80 Cat. No. 59 depicts a seated woman - see § 28, below.

81 See the comments of Fischer, *Dendera*, 103 note 469.

82 In the representations, a true back slab, such as is included in the composition of CG 3, cannot be distinguished from the narrow "back support" of the type shown, e.g., in CG 91.

83 Cf. the comments of Terrace, in Terrace - Fischer, *Treasures*, 41.

84 One of these statues is MMA 98.6.9, see Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. VII. In the second statue, Louvre E 14400, the high-backed chair is indicated in paint, see *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880-1980* (catalogue of a special exhibition on the occasion of the IFAO centenary), Paris 1981, No. 59. The same elements but with the addition of figures in relief between the "chair legs" are found in Bklyn. 37.22E, see Fischer's comments, *op.cit.*, 103.

85 In actual statuary, a seat with a low back similar to that shown in Cat. No. 5 is apparently employed only for statues of kings and only prior to Dynasty IV, see Evers, *Staat*, § 334. But cf. the seat borne in the funerary procession, Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. XVI.

The composition of five representations, Cat. Nos. 92, 93, 96, 97 (all in the tomb of *ṭjj*), and 122, includes the *ḥwt* block throne, a type of seat reserved for royalty in the repertory of actual statuary.⁸⁶ Each of these seats is provided with a low back support, covered with a cloth, a feature also shown in Cat. Nos. 29 and 38 (whose seats evince only a simple border) and in Cat. No. 117 (without border). Like the *ḥwt* design, the low back support with cloth is not found in the repertory of actual private statuary.⁸⁷ In combination with the block-like seat it is the prerogative of kings and their consorts in relief and painting.⁸⁸ Similarly, the seat of Cat. No. 82, with its back support and cloth, is decorated with niching, nearly duplicating the throne form of a determinative for the name of Queen *Ḥtp-ḥr.s* I.⁸⁹ These nine statue representations apparently document the appropriation of royal iconographic features.

§ 16

In representations of seated statues, a narrow space is frequently reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. Only when the painting of the representation is preserved is it possible to determine if the draftsman intended to indicate the presence of "negative space"⁹⁰ in this manner. In two cases, Cat. Nos. 38 and 66, it can be suggested with conviction that negative space is in fact shown. In the tomb of *Pth-špss*, the figure, the seat, and the space between the near leg and the seat of Cat. No. 38 are all painted to imitate red granite. In Cat. No. 66, a seated statue depicted in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp* and *Nj-ḥnj-Hnmw* at Saqqara, the negative space⁹¹ is reserved in contrast to the figure and the seat with back slab that are painted ochre. The unpainted area was probably to be colored black, like the hair and the base of the statue that today also lack traces of pigment.⁹²

86 Terminology after Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 57; see also Evers, *Staat*, § 358-360.

87 In the round, the low back plus cloth makes its initial appearance in the statue depicting Pepy II on the lap of his mother, Bklyn. 39.119 - see *PKG Ägypten*, pl. 144 - confirming Evers' suspicion, *Staat*, § 345, that the seat form under consideration was in use during the Old Kingdom.

88 Cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, 291-292.

89 For the determinative, an inlay decorating the lid of a box from G 7000X, see Reisner, *Giza II*, fig. 40. The niched seat in both cases is obviously related to the New Kingdom *srj* block throne - cf. Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 60.

90 The term "negative space" is retained here, as a translation of the German terms *Füllstein* and *Zwischenraum*, despite its awkwardness.

91 Between the back of the figure and the back slab as well as between the leg and seat.

92 See Fischer's comments regarding the color of negative space, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 12-13

In some representations of seated statues the near leg is shown pressed directly against the front of the seat, with no intermediate space.⁹³ In actual statuary, this convention is apparently diagnostic for the early Old Kingdom,⁹⁴ but in the representations, it has no chronological significance, for the two methods of depicting the relationship between the legs of the figure and the seat, with and without negative space, may be employed for the representation of seated statues in a single tomb.⁹⁵

§ 17

Before proceeding to a discussion of group statues, § 18-20, and statues depicting women, § 21-28, the absence of the scribe statue from the representations deserves comment. The omission is conspicuous, for the scribe statue is one of the common types documented in the known repertory of actual Old Kingdom statues.⁹⁶

The "living" tomb owner is never depicted in his tomb reliefs and paintings as a squatting scribe, although a scribal office is frequently included among his titles.⁹⁷ It is difficult to imagine how such a depiction could be integrated into a composition. The context would present a serious problem. The attitude of the squatting scribe documents the tomb owner's service for some superior authority, but in the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs, the owner himself is the highest ranking person depicted. The scribe's attitude is not in keeping with the rank of the tomb owner evinced in the reliefs and paintings of his tomb.

The close relationship between the depiction of the "living" tomb owner and the representations of statues in the tomb has been repeatedly emphasized in these pages. The fact that the "living" tomb owner is not shown as a squatting scribe adequately accounts for the absence of the statue type from the representations of statuary.⁹⁸

93 Whether the statue is depicted in profile or not has no bearing on the relationship of the leg to the seat.

94 Junker, *Giza IX*, 242.

95 E.g., in the tomb of *Tjj*, cf. Cat. No. 26 with Cat. Nos. 29 and 33.

96 See Vandier, *Manuel III*, 69-72 and Smith, *Sculpture*, 31.

97 Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 5, 1972, 17-18.

Mrr-wj-k: j and *hntj-k: Jhbj* are depicted in their tombs with brush in hand and seated on a chair before an easel provided with a partially unrolled papyrus. For the possibility that these depictions represent the tomb owners in the office of "scribe of the god's book" see the comments of W. Barta, *ZÄS* 97, 1971, 1-7.

98 A more speculative explanation might suggest that the absence of the squatting scribe statue from the depictions is also related to the function of the type. It seems to have served a commemorative purpose whereas the statue types depicted in the tomb are those that played an essential role in the funerary cult and the offering ritual.

§ 18

Representations of statuary including more than a single figure are rare during the Old Kingdom; only three group statues are represented in relief and painting. None of these depicts husband and wife, the most common type of group attested in the repertory of actual statues.⁹⁹

Cat. No. 64, a group statue displayed inside a naos with open doors, is depicted in the Dynasty V tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*. The group is composed of two striding men who hold hands. The figures share a single statue base. No inscriptions identify the men shown, but it may be assumed that both tomb owners are depicted, and not a pseudo-group comprising one of them represented twice.¹⁰⁰ A comparable group statue shows three men holding hands, where the free hand of both flanking figures holds the *Steinkern*.¹⁰¹ (In Cat. No. 64, the free hands are open.) In actual statuary the combination of the gestures of the hands shown in Cat. No. 64 is found in a rock-cut pair statue depicting two women in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III.¹⁰² Two depictions of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* holding hands elsewhere in their tomb¹⁰³ may have influenced the statue representation. If, on the other hand, Cat. No. 64 accurately depicts a pair statue originally included in the tomb equipment, its material must have been wood, for neither back pillar nor negative space between the legs of the figures, who share a base, is shown, and the arms of the figures are drawn as if worked free, with only the hands touching. The preserved painting of the naos clearly designates its material as wood.¹⁰⁴

§ 19

Cat. No. 102, in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir, depicts identical striding figures standing inside a single naos with cavetto cornice. Each figure is drawn in profile with the visible (near) arm at the side and a

99 A representation of such a group statue is first attested in the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Btqt* at Beni Hassan, see *Appendix*, Cat. No. 159.

100 So Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 62, who note that the "living" tomb owners are shown holding hands twice elsewhere in the tomb's reliefs. The familiar gesture of embrace occurs in the composition of pseudo-groups, but the clasping of hands is not documented to date - cf. C. Boreux, *Mélanges*, I, 812 and pl. III:3-4.

101 MFA O6.1882, from G 2009, cited as a parallel by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 62 note 154.

102 Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, pl. XIId. Pair statues composed of a man and a woman holding hands may show the outer hand of each closed around the *Steinkern*, e.g., a group composed of a man and his sister, Junker, *Giza VIII*, pl. IVb. West Berlin 12547 shows the same attitude, but the authenticity of the statue has been challenged by H.G. Fischer, *RdE* 30, 1978, 78-89.

103 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 29 and 35a.

104 Remarked by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 62.

handkerchief held in the hand.¹⁰⁵ Neither figure is provided with a back pillar. A base is also lacking; both figures stand on the floor of the naos. The accompanying inscription identifies the material as granite and the person depicted as the tomb owner.

Comparable statues in the actual Old Kingdom repertory are composed of figures carved in one with a naos. A life-size family group excavated by Schiaparelli at Giza¹⁰⁶ is similar in conception to Cat. No. 102. The decoration of another tomb at Giza includes a rock-cut pseudo-group carved within a frame in imitation of a naos.¹⁰⁷

Should the statues represented in the tomb of *Pth-špss* reflect his actual tomb equipment (see § 4, above), the prototype for Cat. No. 102 was a granite pseudo-group, carved in one with a naos, that once stood in the tomb's pillared court.

§ 20

Cat. No. 44, shown in the tomb of *ḥm-m-ḥr* at Saqqara, is a group composed of a striding figure accompanied by a boy.¹⁰⁸ The principal figure exemplifies a well-documented type in the known repertory of actual statues: the tomb owner holds the walking staff in the far hand and the scepter in the near hand (see § 1, above). The nude boy is also striding and holds his hand before his face, seemingly in the traditional child's attitude with forefinger to the mouth.¹⁰⁹ The type illustrated by the child is relatively rare as a single figure, but as a component of a group, it is frequently documented.¹¹⁰ No gesture serves to relate the two figures; they simply share the same base. The associated inscription identifies the child as the tomb owner's son and specifies the material of the statue as wood. A comparable wooden group was excavated from the area of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery where the mastaba of *ḥm-m-ḥr*

105 This accessory is discussed above, § 4.

106 Turin Mus. Suppl. 1875, exact provenance not known, see Curto, *Scavi italiani*, 97, pl. XXXIIa.

MFA 12.1484, a limestone group composed of the tomb owner depicted twice together with his wife and two small children, is carved in very high relief, rather than in the round, and the surrounding "frame" resembles the opening between the jambs of a false door, rather than a naos, see Smith, *Sculpture*, 53, pl. 21d.

The single striding figure carved in one with a naos is also attested at Giza, cf. e.g., Hassan, *Giza I*, pls. XIII, XIX.

107 A.M. Abu-bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950*, Cairo 1953, pl. LXI (left).

108 The scenes of statue manufacture originally included two group statues but the figure of the child was subsequently erased from Cat. No. 43.

109 See the discussion of this detail in the *Catalogue*.

110 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 75-76.

is located. The statue depicts *Kt-pw-njswt* and his son. The approximately life-size figure of the adult is missing the head and both arms; of the son's smaller figure, only the feet, still attached to the base, are preserved.¹¹¹ In § 6, it was argued that the representations of statuary in 'nh-m-*c*-Hr's mastaba may indeed reflect the appearance of actual statues. Cat. No. 44 may well depict a group statue once included in the tomb equipment of 'nh-m-*c*-Hr.

§ 21

In the tombs of three women, *Mrj.s-c*nh III, *Bw-nfr*, and *Jdwt*, statue representations depicting the female tomb owner are included in the decoration. Five other representations of female statues, Cat. Nos. 6, 30, 40, 50, and 53, occur in workshop scenes in the tombs of men. These statues probably depict the wife of the tomb owner, but none of the five representations is accompanied by an inscription. In the case of Cat. No. 6, the lady depicted in the statue may be the mother of the tomb owner *gwj.n-R'*, a son of Mycerinus. This prince mentions neither wife nor children in the inscriptions of his tomb, but his mother, Queen *g'j-mrr-nbtj* II, seems to have figured prominently in the decoration, as did the mothers of children born to Cheops and Chephren in the tombs of their children.¹¹²

§ 22

Of thirteen representations of female statues - Cat. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 30, 40, 50, 53, 58, 59, 62, 128, and 129 - all but two, Cat. Nos. 1 and 59, depict standing figures. Eight - Cat. Nos. 3, 6, 30, 40, 53, 58, 128, and 129 - show the figure's far leg and foot drawn slightly advanced. This convention, adopted from depictions of "living" women elsewhere in the tomb, may not be interpreted to reflect the striding female statue type that is only occasionally attested in the repertory of actual statues.¹¹³ The convention may have been employed specifically for the legs and feet of statues not drawn in profile, but comparative material to test this hypothesis is very meagre. Cat. Nos. 30 and 40 show a slight stride, but both figures are lost above knee-height, so that it cannot be determined with certainty if they were drawn in profile or not. By contrast, Cat. No. 62, not drawn in profile, does not preserve the legs and feet of the figure for comparison. The two statues of *Jdwt*, Cat.

111 JE 67369, Zayed, *Trois études*, 1-13.

112 Note that the furnishings of the queen's tomb once included a group statue depicting *gwj.n-R'* seated beside his mother, see E. Edel, *MIO* II, 1954, 185-186.

113 For this type, see Vandier, *Manuel* III, 63-64.

Nos. 128 and 129, are not drawn in profile and do show a slightly wider stride than usually encountered in two-dimensional depictions of women. But both figures are adapted from statue representations depicting a striding man, the original owner of the usurped tomb. Two representations, Cat. Nos. 2 and 50, are drawn in profile with only one leg and foot shown. The remaining representations of standing female statues, Cat. Nos. 3, 6, 53, and 58, are not drawn in profile and show the far leg and foot slightly advanced.

§ 23

Cat. No. 6 embodies the classic attitude of the standing female statue during the Old Kingdom: both arms of the figure are held at the sides and the hands are open.¹¹⁴ Cat. No. 2, a statue drawn in profile with only one arm shown, depicts the same type.¹¹⁵

§ 24

Cat. No. 58, depicted in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III at Giza, and Cat. No. 129, shown in Princess *Jdwt*'s mastaba at Saqqara, document an attitude rarely encountered in the repertory of actual Old Kingdom statues¹¹⁶: the standing women, her near arm with open hand held at the side, places the far hand on her breast.¹¹⁷ The same attitude is employed in both tombs for depictions of the "living" tomb owner, suggesting that the statue representations have been influenced by such depictions, rather than by the appearance of actual statues.

§ 25

Cat. No. 3, another standing statue depicted in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III, has both arms at the sides: the far hand is open, but the near hand held an object that is largely effaced. A lotus stem could be recognized in the line that descends from the back of the closed hand, but no trace of a lotus blossom is visible, and elsewhere in the tomb's reliefs the standing figure of the "living" queen never holds the lotus in the hand of a pendant arm.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the object was a folded handkerchief,

114 For the type in actual statuary, see Vandier, *Manuel* III, 63 § B.a and 91 § I.

115 Assuming the position of the arm not shown and its hand were identical with the visible arm and hand.

116 Vandier, *Manuel* III, 64 § C, discusses the type.

117 Because both statue representations are oriented leftwards, they reproduce the disposition of the arms observable in actual statues of the same type: the right hand is placed on the breast and the left hand held at the side.

118 Cf., e.g., Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 3b.

but this attribute is a masculine accessory,¹¹⁹ and neither the handkerchief nor the lotus are attributes documented in actual statues of women during the Old Kingdom.¹²⁰ Thus it seems unlikely that Cat. No. 3 refers to a statue type not preserved in the known repertory.

§ 26

Cat. Nos. 53 and 128 also depict attitudes unknown in the extant repertory of actual Old Kingdom statues. Cat. No. 53 depicts a standing female figure with the near hand open and held at the side while the far hand grasps a papyrus staff.¹²¹ The statue representation is analogous to, and probably derived from, a depiction of the tomb owner's wife with the papyrus staff elsewhere in the reliefs of the tomb.¹²²

In § 22, it was noted that the statue representations in the mastaba of Princess *Jdwt* at Saqqara, Cat. Nos. 128 and 129, have been adapted from representations of striding male statues depicting the tomb's original owner. Cat. No. 128 once depicted a striding man who held the walking staff in the far hand. When the tomb was appropriated for the use of a woman, the lower part of the staff was erased¹²³ and the remainder of the accessory transformed into a long-stemmed lotus blossom. The same substitution occurs frequently in the tomb's reliefs where a male figure has been altered to depict the new, female tomb owner.¹²⁴ Thus Cat. No. 128 cannot be interpreted to refer to an actual statue type.

119 Apparently the handkerchief occurs only once in the depiction of a woman in relief and painting - Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 147; cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 163.

In a scene in her tomb, Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III is shown holding the short baton, another attribute normally associated with the male tomb owner (Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 11). Dunham, *op.cit.*, 19, describes the accessory as "an indeterminate object, perhaps another lotus." But on analogy with similar scenes where the male tomb owner is shown at leisure (e.g., Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. LVI; Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 94) a baton is indeed the object shown. This accessory is discussed by H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 1978, 18-19.

120 During the Old Kingdom, the *Steinkern* is the only object shown in the hands of actual statues of private and royal women - see Staehelin, *Tracht*, 161 and cf. two additional instances: the pair statues of *Jj-m-ḥtp* and his wife and of *Htj* with his sister (respectively, *CAA Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim* 1, 1-8, and Junker, *Giza VIII*, pl. IVb). (West Berlin 12547 is excluded from consideration here as the authenticity of the group is questionable, see note 102 above.) In each case the lady with the *Steinkern* accompanies a man who also grasps the object, suggesting that its presence in the woman's hand resulted from assimilation of the man's gesture (cf. Junker's comment, *op.cit.*, 19).

121 For this accessory, see Hassan, *Stöcke*, 199-200.

122 Cf. *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. VI.

123 The erasure was not carefully executed. The lower tip of the staff is still visible where it rested on the statue base (noted by H.G. Fischer, *JEA* 59, 1973, 45 note 1; cf. H. Altenmüller, in *PKG Ägypten*, 290).

124 See, e.g., Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pls. VII and XI.

§ 27

The remaining representations of standing female statues, Cat. Nos. 30, 40, 50, and 62, are only partially preserved. The positions of the arms and gestures of the hands are lost in Cat. Nos. 30, 40, and 50. In Cat. No. 62, neither hand is preserved. The near arm was held at the side. The position of the far arm is problematic. It was apparently raised and extended at shoulder-height, a gesture inexplicable in terms of the known repertory of actual statues.

§ 28

In the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III, the same seated statue is depicted twice, once in the process of manufacture (Cat. No. 1) and once being transported (Cat. No. 59). The two figures are virtually identical¹²⁵ with the exception of their size in relation to the associated "living" persons: Cat. No. 59 seems larger.¹²⁶ Both statues are depicted in profile with only the near arm and hand shown. Assuming that the arm and hand not shown were in the same position as the near arm and hand, the representations reproduce the classic attitude for the seated female statue during the Old Kingdom: the hands are placed palm downwards on the lap of the figure.¹²⁷

§ 29

Costume and coiffure shown in the representations of statues exhibit considerable variety.¹²⁸ In general, the larger the scale of the representation, the more detailed the rendering of kilt, coiffure, and other accessories. Consequently, the representations of statues in the process of manufacture, because they are relatively small, show fewer details than the representations of statues shown being transported.¹²⁹ And of course, fewer variations are shown in the depictions of statues than are known from the large-scale depictions of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting.

125 Note, however, that few interior details of Cat. No. 59 are preserved, but the seat possesses an interior border not shown in Cat. No. 1.

126 The scale of a representation is directly related to the context in which it occurs, see Chapter 3, § 71. Thus the discrepancy in the sizes of Cat. Nos. 1 and 59 should not be cited as an argument against their identity.

127 Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 67 § C.

128 In the following paragraphs, only those elements peculiar to the representations - i.e., not documented in the known repertory of actual Old Kingdom statuary - receive detailed consideration.

129 For the relationship of scale to context, see Chapter 3, § 46, § 71, and § 87.

The kilt types shown in the representations are those familiar from actual Old Kingdom statuary: the short, narrow kilt, the half-goffered kilt, and the kilt with a projecting panel.¹³⁰ Kilts in the representations of statues are drawn in accordance with the same conventions employed for their depiction elsewhere in *Flachbild*.¹³¹

§ 30

Types of coiffure depicted in the representations are primarily those documented to date in actual Old Kingdom statuary: the short, rounded - or echelon-curl - wig, the shoulder-length, striated wig,¹³² and the close-cropped, natural coiffure.

§ 31

Some exceptional coiffures do occur among the representations. For example, the tripartite wig worn by Cat. No. 82, a seated male statue depicted in the tomb of *R'-špss* at Saqqara, is a type documented only rarely in actual Old Kingdom statues of men.¹³³ Among males, the hair-style is normally restricted to the depiction of divinities. Fischer has suggested that the tripartite wig possibly "bestowed a degree of posthumous divinity" upon its wearer.¹³⁴

The coiffure worn in Cat. No. 81, a second statue depicted in the tomb of *R'-špss*, is unparalleled in the repertory of extant Old Kingdom statuary depicting men. It resembles an echelon-curl wig that is quite long, falling over the shoulders and half way to the waist of the striding figure. In Old Kingdom relief and painting, fecundity deities, Nile gods, and personified estates or nomes - all divine or semi-divine beings - wear a comparable hairstyle.¹³⁵ But the coiffures differ in two respects.

130 In Staehelin's terminology, respectively, *der enge gürtellose Schurz*, *der Galaschurz*, and *der Schurz mit Vorbau* - see *Tracht*, 6-30.

131 Cf., e.g., the projecting-panel kilt worn by a seated statue depicted in the tomb of *R'-špss*, Cat. No. 84, and LD II, pl. 61a, *R'-špss* himself seated wearing the same kilt.

132 Because of the small scale of many of the statue representations, the interior patterning of the echelon-curl and the striated wigs is not always reproduced. The silhouette of each is, however, distinctive, so that each is easily identifiable.

133 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 90-91. For the occurrence of this hairstyle in the representation of a female statue, see § 41, below.

134 JARCE II, 1963, 27-28; cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 90-91.

135 Cf., e.g., E. Edel - S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re*, Tafelband, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin VII, Berlin 1974, pl. 4, and Staehelin, *Tracht*, 180. The "divine" figures in question, like Cat. No. 81, are drawn in an approximation of a profile view. The relationship of the coiffure to the torso of the figures is clearly a function of the profile convention. In this connection, cf. the depiction of the coiffure worn by clapping women in TT 60: Davies - Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. XXIII.

The hairstyle of *R'-špss'* statue is composed of curls while that of the deities is shown either striated or without interior detail. Second, the ear of the figure is covered in Cat. No. 81 while the "divine" coiffure leaves the ear exposed. Despite these disparities, it may be suggested that the coiffure depicted in Cat. No. 81 is related to the comparable hairstyle of the demi-gods, especially as the coiffure of Cat. No. 82 in the same tomb and context may be similarly explained.

§ 32

Nine representations of statues include the depiction of a shoulder-length, flaring coiffure that leaves the ear exposed. Five examples, Cat. Nos. 34, 35, 54, 86, and 157, are representations of male statues. Four, Cat. Nos. 1, 3, 58, and 59,¹³⁶ depict statues of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III. In the statue representations, the coiffure always includes a "tab" in front of the ear. The "living" male tomb owner infrequently wears this coiffure in relief and painting,¹³⁷ but it is not donned by women, nor is it documented in the known repertory of actual statues.¹³⁸

In the reliefs of *Mrj.s-ḥ* III's tomb, the "living" queen wears either a tripartite wig or is shown with her own close-cropped, natural hair. Both coiffures leave the ear exposed. But the rock-cut statues in the tomb show women wearing a flaring, shoulder-length wig that covers the ears.¹³⁹ Perhaps the craftsman who designed the statue representations intended to depict the coiffure of the rock-cut statues, but left the ear exposed, as he had done elsewhere when depicting the queen in the reliefs.

Cat. No. 86, in the tomb of *Sndm-jb:Jntj* at Giza, is the representation of a striding statue wearing the hairstyle in question. All the figures in the register with the statue representation, as well as those in the registers above and below, are shown with the close-cropped, natural coiffure that leaves the ear free. The hairstyle of Cat. No. 86 may be the result of a drawing error made by the ancient craftsman, or

136 Note that the ear of Cat. No. 3 is not preserved, and that the drawing of Cat. No. 58, reproduced here from Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 5, is not accurate with regard to the coiffure, as a comparison with the photos, *ibid.*, pl. Va-b, reveals.

137 To the single example cited by Staehelin, *Tracht*, 89 note 5, may be added CG 1483, 1522, 1536a-b, etc.

138 A shoulder-length, striated coiffure that leaves the ear exposed does occur in Dynasty VI statues (e.g., CG 70, 72, 75, 120, etc.) but no "tab" is present: the long hair is simply pushed back behind the ear.

139 See Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, pls. V1b, X1b-d. *Htp-ḥr.s* II wears the same wig in the pair statue MFA 30.1456; cf. the fragments from the tomb MFA 30.1457 and 30.1461, *ibid.*, pls. XVIIa-b, XVIIId, and XIXa-c, respectively. The tripartite wig is worn by one of the rock-cut statues.

by the modern copyist, under the influence of the adjacent depictions.

In the reliefs of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ km*'s tomb at Meir, the "living" tomb owner, as well as his statues Cat. Nos. 54 and 157, is depicted wearing a shoulder-length, flaring coiffure with the ear exposed.¹⁴⁰ The frequent occurrence of this hairstyle in reliefs at Meir may reflect a local fashion. The possibility cannot be excluded that Cat. Nos. 54 and 157, depicting one and the same statue, accurately reproduce the appearance of an actual statue of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ* that is not preserved.¹⁴¹

Cat. Nos. 34 and 35 are representations of striding male statues from the tomb of *Ki(.j)-m-rḥw* at Saqqara. The representations are exceptional, not only because both statues wear the coiffure considered here. The combination of nudity and a shoulder-length hairstyle is unparalleled in the extant Old Kingdom repertory. In actual statuary, the youthful male nude is depicted with the natural, close-cropped coiffure, or, more often, he wears the echelon-curl wig.¹⁴² In the representations of statues, however, the association of a shoulder-length coiffure and nudity occurs a second time, in Cat. No. 28, the depiction of a striding statue in the tomb of *Tjj*, also at Saqqara. The coiffure of Cat. No. 28 is a striated wig that does not leave the ear exposed, in contrast to the hairstyle of Cat. Nos. 34 and 35. Cat. No. 28 is one of a pair of statues; the second representation, Cat. No. 27, is identical with Cat. No. 28 with the exception of the coiffure. Cat. No. 27 wears the echelon-curl wig. The alternation of the shoulder-length, striated wig and the echelon-curl wig is well attested in two-dimensional representations of the "living" tomb owner since the second half of Dynasty V.¹⁴³ In the case of Cat. No. 28, the draftsman has depicted the striated wig to dissimilate the statue from Cat. No. 27.¹⁴⁴ Thus its occurrence cannot be taken to imply the existence of a statue type not otherwise documented in the known repertory of actual statues.

§ 33

In the representations of statues, figures wearing the projecting-panel kilt together with a shoulder-length wig are documented for the first time in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, Cat. Nos. 63,

¹⁴⁰ Meir V, pls. XXVI, XXIX, etc.

¹⁴¹ The heads of both rock-cut seated statues depicting the tomb owner are lost, Meir V, pls. LIII:3, LXII:2-3. Kamal's description of the statue from the *serdab*, ASAE XV, 1915, 258, does not include details of the costume and coiffure of the figures.

¹⁴² Cf. the iconography of the nude statues listed by Junker, Giza VII, 40-41.

¹⁴³ Staehelin, *Tracht*, 200-201, notes that this type of dissimulation occurs in the depiction of the tomb owner on the jambs of the false door.

¹⁴⁴ For the concept "dissimulation," see the references cited by H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 20 note 28.

64, and 67. The relatively frequent occurrence of this combination of kilt and coiffure in the representations¹⁴⁵ is in marked contrast to its rare documentation in the preserved repertory of actual statues.¹⁴⁶ Toward the end of Dynasty V, the popularity of the short, round, echelon-curl wig for the depiction of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting wanes in favor of the shoulder-length, striated wig, although the former coiffure is never entirely eclipsed.¹⁴⁷ The occurrence of the shoulder-length wig in representations of statues where, on the basis of a comparison with actual statues, its presence is unexpected cannot be interpreted to furnish additional evidence for a statue type seldom encountered in the preserved repertory. Rather, the representations have been influenced by the contemporaneous depictions of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting that evince the increasing popularity of the shoulder-length wig.

§ 34

A similar explanation may be suggested to account for the relatively infrequent occurrence of the half-goffered kilt in the representations of striding statues dating from the end of Dynasty V through Dynasty VI. In the known repertory of actual statues, the half-goffered kilt is the favorite costume for the male statue throughout the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, the projecting-panel kilt becomes the most common costume shown in the depictions of striding statues,¹⁴⁹ beginning toward the end of Dynasty V. The increasing popularity of the projecting-panel kilt at the expense of the half-goffered kilt in the depictions of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting is well documented in contemporaneous tombs.¹⁵⁰ This fact accounts for the increasingly frequent occurrence of the projecting-panel kilt in the representations from the second half of Dynasty V to the end of the Old Kingdom.

§ 35

In actual statuary, the close-cropped, natural coiffure is normally shown together with the projecting-panel kilt. It seldom occurs in combination

145 Sixteen examples: Cat. Nos. 63, 64, 67, 79, 83, 98, 99, 100, 107, 116, 118, 123, 125, 142, 143, and 145. Cat. No. 116 is exceptional, because the statue is clearly intended to depict the tomb owner as a lector priest. The figure wears a shoulder-length wig, the kilt with projecting panel, and a lector's sash, the standard attire of the *hrj-ḥbt* - cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 81.

146 An example is CG 205.

147 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 87, 200-201, with reference to false doors.

148 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 23-24.

149 The projecting-panel kilt is shown with certainty only twice in the representation of a seated statue, viz. Cat. Nos. 84 and 92. A third doubtful example may be Cat. No. 9.

150 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 21.

with the short, narrow kilt or the half-goffered kilt.¹⁵¹ But in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km* at Meir, the combination of close-cropped, natural hair and half-goffered kilt occurs twice in the representations of statues, Cat. Nos. 55 and 156. A third statue type depicted in the tomb, Cat. No. 148, shows the same hairstyle together with a short, narrow kilt. An additional peculiarity of Cat. No. 148 is the presence of a goatee in association with the coiffure in question. A chin beard is much more common in the representations than in actual statuary.¹⁵² In the representations, as well as in actual statuary, the goatee normally does not occur in combination with the close-cropped, natural hairstyle. However, at least one preserved statue showed this combination, the bust of *ḥḥ-ḥ:f*.¹⁵³

§ 36

Nine tombs contain representations of striding statue pairs.¹⁵⁴ In only one case are the statues composing the pair apparently identical.¹⁵⁵ Dissimilation is achieved in the eight remaining pairs by alternating wig types and/or lengthening the kilt.¹⁵⁶

In two cases, the statues of a pair are further dissimilated by physiognomy. Cat. No. 142, one of two statues depicted in the tomb of *ḥntj-k:* at Saqqara, and Cat. No. 144, the complement to Cat. No. 145 from the tomb of *Nḥbw* at Giza, represent portly individuals. Both tombs date to the reign of Pepy I whereas the pairing of a portly statue with a youthful, idealized statue in the extant repertory of actual statuary is

151 One example, cited by Staehelin, *Tracht*, 23, is CG 145.

152 Thirty-five statue representations include a goatee: Cat. Nos. 24, 26, 27, 28, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 113, 114, 117, 118, 123, 141, 145, 146, 147, 148, and 157. For its occurrence in actual statuary, see the comments of Staehelin, *Tracht*, 92.

153 MFA 27.442 - see the description of Smith, *Sculpture*, 39.

154 In the tombs of *R'-m-k:* (Cat. Nos. 79 and 80), *Snḏm-jb:Jntj* (Cat. Nos. 85 and 86), *ḥḥtj-ḥtp* (Cat. Nos. 105 and 106), *Nfr-jrjt.n.f* (Cat. Nos. 108 and 109), *Pth-ḥtp* (Cat. Nos. 113 and 114), *Mrr-wj-k:j* (Cat. Nos. 138 and 139), *ḥntj-k:Jḥḥj* (Cat. Nos. 141 and 142), *Nḥbw* (Cat. Nos. 144 and 145), and *Sḥbw-Pth:Jbbj* (Cat. Nos. 146 and 147).

In two tombs, the dissimilation of a statue pair goes so far as to include the attitude depicted as well as the costume. The pairs represented in the tombs of *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥḥtj* (Cat. Nos. 75 and 76) and *Sḥbw* (Cat. Nos. 117 and 118) are composed of a striding and a seated statue.

155 Lepsius reproduced only one of the two statues represented in the tomb of *Pth-ḥtp*, Cat. Nos. 113 and 114, commenting that the second scene was the same as that illustrated.

156 The length of the kilt, rather than the type, seems to be the decisive factor. A short kilt was apparently associated with a more youthful appearance, cf. the remarks of H.G. Fischer, *JNES* 18, 1959, 244-245.

apparently limited to Dynasty V.¹⁵⁷ The portly figure of a pair embodies the ideal of mature bureaucratic ease.¹⁵⁸

§ 37

The lector's sash, an item of attire designating the wearer as a *hrj-ḥbt*, is only rarely documented in the repertory of actual statues.¹⁵⁹ It is included in the costume of a single statue representation, Cat. No. 116.

§ 38

Four representations of statues, Cat. Nos. 132, 133, 136, and 149, depict male figures wearing sandals, an item of costume not attested in actual Old Kingdom statuary.¹⁶⁰ In relief and painting, the "living" tomb owner is often shown wearing sandals when he is depicted at the tomb's entrance as if departing from it, or when he is shown in association with an activity taking place out-of-doors. Thus sandals seem to be connected in the conventional imagery with the wish of the tomb owner to be able to leave the tomb at will. Accordingly, sandals were an essential item of the funerary equipment, as confirmed by their occurrence in the frieze of objects and their mention in the Coffin Texts.¹⁶¹ Imitation sandals have been found in the burial chamber in association with the mummy.¹⁶²

Cat. Nos. 132 and 133, striding statues depicted in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ* and *Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, occur in a scene illustrating the funeral where the statues are shown instead of the mummy - see Chapter 3, § 83. It may be suggested that the figures wear sandals because the statues replace the mummy that would have been provided with them.¹⁶³ A similar logic may account for the inclusion of sandals in Cat. No. 136, a statue depicted in an offering scene in the mastaba of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:ṯtj* at Giza.¹⁶⁴ But this explanation is not appropriate for Cat. No. 149, the representation of a statue in the tomb of *Ḥzjj-R'* at Saqqara, because

157 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 183-184.

158 So H.G. Fischer, *JNES* 18, 1959, 244-245; *idem.*, *JARCE* II, 1963, 18-23.

159 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 80-84, cites the unique example CG 25.

160 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 98, who contrasts the representation Cat. No. 136. For the earliest occurrence of sandals in stone statuary documented to date, see the late Middle Kingdom statue published by A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, 93-97, pl. 32.

161 Cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 98-100.

162 See Staehelin, *Tracht*, 98 note 7; H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 1978, 27.

163 The feet of the only other Old Kingdom representation of a statue in the same context, Cat. No. 131, are not preserved for comparison.

164 *Sšm-nfr* is depicted wearing sandals elsewhere in the tomb's reliefs but only in those contexts where a sandal-wearing tomb owner normally appears, viz. on the jambs of the entrance to the chapel and in the scene of viewing agricultural activities (see Junker, *Giza* XI, figs. 73a-b and 74b, respectively).

the context of the representation is quite different. The occurrence of sandals in this, the earliest preserved representation of a statue in *Flachbild*, remains enigmatic.

§ 39

Representations of nude statues are found in five tombs. Cat. Nos. 27, 28, 34, and 35 have been discussed above, in § 32, in connection with the combination of nudity and coiffure documented in these representations. The nude statue depicting the tomb owner in *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*'s mastaba at Saqqara, Cat. No. 43, was also treated above, in § 6, where the attitude of the figure was considered. A sixth nude statue represented in relief, Cat. No. 46, in the tomb of *Kr-jrr*, also at Saqqara, is only partially preserved.

The two remaining depictions of nude statues are Cat. Nos. 154 and 155, shown together in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km*, Meir. Both statues depict an uncircumcised male¹⁶⁵ with the close-cropped, natural hairstyle, and the attitude of both statues is also the same: the striding figures hold the walking staff in the far, and the scepter in the near hand. Although no Old Kingdom statue exactly duplicates the combination of attitude and coiffure shown, such a statue would be consonant with the known repertory of actual statues.¹⁶⁶

The production of a nude statue type was perhaps not so limited as the number of published actual statues would seem to indicate.¹⁶⁷ A find such as the group of nine wooden statues from an unplundered *serdab* at Saqqara¹⁶⁸ arouses the suspicion that the type was more common; the nude statue(s?) from the tomb has never been properly published. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it may parallel the type of Cat. Nos. 154 and 155.

§ 40

The costume of female statues in the representations is completely preserved in only two cases, Cat. Nos. 6 and 128. Presumably, all the remaining depictions of female statues once showed a long, close-fitting dress. The lower hem of such a garment is indicated in the partially preserved representations Cat. Nos. 30, 40, and 53.

¹⁶⁵ Since none of the "living" nude men in *Ppjj-ḥḥ*'s tomb is shown circumcised, the fact that Cat. Nos. 154 and 155 depict uncircumcised males cannot be interpreted to indicate that the statue representations depict children or uncircumcised youths.

¹⁶⁶ The close-cropped, natural coiffure occurs together with nudity in actual striding statues made of stone (e.g., CG 23) but is not yet documented in a nude striding statue with the attributes of walking staff and scepter.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Junker's list, *Giza VII*, 40-41.

¹⁶⁸ *PM III*, 638; see A. el-H. Zayed, *ASAE LV*, 1958, 136 and pls. VII-XVII.

Cat. No. 6, the representation of a female statue in the tomb of *Hwj.n-R'* at Giza, and Cat. No. 128, a statue depicting Princess *Jdwt* in her tomb at Saqqara, show a close-fitting dress with a strap over each shoulder. This is the typical costume reproduced in actual Old Kingdom statues of women.¹⁶⁹ In the statue representation, a single breast is drawn in profile, as if it were not concealed by a strap. The same convention is employed for the two-dimensional depictions of "living" women wearing the same garment.¹⁷⁰ The second statue representation in *Jdwt*'s tomb, Cat. No. 129, probably once showed the same dress; a horizontal relief-line below the breast, indicating the garment's upper edge, is present, but no trace of the shoulder straps has been preserved.

§ 41

The coiffures of female statues in relief and painting are preserved in eight cases. The hairstyle shown in four representations of statues in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III has been discussed above, § 32, in connection with the incidence of the same hairstyle in the representations of male statues. The fifth statue represented in the tomb, Cat. No. 2, wears the close-cropped, natural hairstyle, a coiffure frequently found in actual statues of women¹⁷¹ and documented in a statue excavated from *Mrj.s-ḥ* III's tomb.¹⁷²

Cat. No. 6, the statue of a woman depicted in *Hwj.n-R'*'s tomb, shows the tripartite wig, a coiffure documented in actual Old Kingdom statues depicting goddesses as well as queens. The presence of the tripartite wig in the case of Cat. No. 6 may be interpreted to support the suggestion made in § 21 that the statue depicts the tomb owner's mother, Queen *g'j-mrr-nbtj* II. Presumably, the tripartite wig could not properly be depicted in a statue of the tomb owner's wife as she would have been the spouse of a prince and not entitled to the prerogatives of a queen. But in relief and painting, the tripartite wig is not restricted to depictions of queens and goddesses.¹⁷³ Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that Cat. No. 6 reflects the conventions in effect for figures of "living" noblewomen in relief and painting, rather than an actual statue depicting a queen.

The *Kugelzopf* coiffure of Cat. No. 128, a statue depicting Princess *Jdwt* in her tomb at Saqqara, is not documented to date in the statue

¹⁶⁹ Staehelin, *Tracht*, 166-170.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 166.

¹⁷¹ Staehelin, *Tracht*, 178-179.

¹⁷² MFA 30.1456; Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, pl. XVII:a-b. The same coiffure is probably depicted in Cat. No. 62, the weathered representation of a statue of Queen *Bw-nfr* in her tomb at Giza. The outline of the figure's head as reproduced in the published drawing would seem to exclude any other hairstyle.

¹⁷³ Staehelin, *Tracht*, 180-181.

repertory of the Old Kingdom.¹⁷⁴ To create the coiffure, the hair was apparently drawn up, tied together at the back of the head, and then braided with a weight in the form of a grooved disk worked into the end of the braid.¹⁷⁵ The coiffure is most often associated with female dancers in Old Kingdom relief and painting.¹⁷⁶ In *Jdwt's* mastaba, the princess is regularly shown wearing the *Kugelzopf* hairstyle.¹⁷⁷ These depictions of the "living" tomb owner have influenced the choice of the coiffure for the statue Cat. No. 128.

The hairstyle of Cat. No. 50, a female statue depicted in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el Gebrawi, is unusual. The hair is apparently drawn together at the nape of the neck to lie in a thick cluster on the back of the figure. The form is reminiscent of the tripartite wig's appearance in statues of Middle Kingdom women.¹⁷⁸ But the Middle Kingdom tripartite wig is characterized by the presence of curled lappets, and in two-dimensional depictions of the coiffure, one lappet is included, but the hair over the back is not shown.¹⁷⁹

Possibly the element shown at the back of Cat. No. 50 is not part of the coiffure but the representation of a counterweight.¹⁸⁰ This accessory is seldom shown in Old Kingdom relief and painting, but it does occur once with certainty in the representation of a statue, Cat. No. 100 - see § 42, below. An even less likely alternative is that a scarf is shown.¹⁸¹

§ 42

The elements of costume remaining to be considered are the fillet and jewelry.

The costume of Cat. No. 78, a statue in the tomb of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj*, includes a fillet incorporating two papyrus umbels in the knot at the back of the head, and stiff streamers.¹⁸² The accessory is familiar

174 Dr. Fischer has called my attention to an unpublished First Intermediate Period statue from Naga ed Deir, JE 27756, that evinces this coiffure.

175 Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 23-24.

176 Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 24; Staehelin, *Tracht*, 181.

177 The original male owner of the usurped tomb was often shown with the close-cropped, natural coiffure in the reliefs. When the mastaba was appropriated for the princess' use, the male figures were transformed into women by alterations in costume and regalia, cf. § 22 and § 26, above. Why the coiffure was altered by the addition of a braid is, however, puzzling, since the close-cropped, natural hair was a style appropriate for both sexes (cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 84-85, 178-179).

178 Cf. Evers, *Staat*, § 185; Vandier, *Manuel III*, 257-258.

179 E.g., *El Bersheh I*, frontis.

180 For this accessory, see Staehelin, *Tracht*, 120-122.

181 Cf. Staehelin's description of a depiction of *Kt.j-gmj.n.j's* wife, *Tracht*, 125.

182 The fillet has been studied in detail by E.E. Kerrn, *Acta Orientalia* XXIV, 1959, 161-188; cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 146-154.

from depictions of the "living" tomb owner in *Flachbild*, but this particular type of fillet, with its papyrus umbel "bow-knot," is not documented in actual Old Kingdom statues.¹⁸³

A second statue representation, Cat. No. 143, depicts the male tomb owner's statue wearing three lotus blossoms in the hair, a type of head-gear belonging in the first instance to the parure of women.¹⁸⁴ Equally remarkable is the depiction of a shoulder-length wig in Cat. No. 143, for the combination of a long wig and fillet is only rarely attested.¹⁸⁵

The most common piece of jewelry depicted in the representations of statues is the broad collar. Approximately one third of the representations, including both male and female statues, show this accessory. The popularity of the broad collar in the representations reflects its frequent occurrence in actual Old Kingdom sculpture in the round.¹⁸⁶

The jewelry worn by Cat. No. 100 in the tomb of *Htp-kꜣ(.j)* at Saqqara includes a particularly detailed depiction of the broad collar complete with counterweight. Both are edged with drop beads. The presence of the counterweight may be a specific reference to actual statuary, for this element is frequently depicted in paint at the back of the broad collar in actual statues, but it is not included in two-dimensional depictions of the "living" tomb owner during the Old Kingdom.¹⁸⁷ The costume of Cat. No. 147 also apparently includes a counterweight but executed in outline only. Cat. No. 147, like Cat. No. 100, is drawn in half-profile.

Cat. No. 100 also evinces an amulet on a beaded cord, an accessory documented a second time by Cat. No. 36, in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir. In Cat. No. 36, the amulet on a simple cord is the sole neck ornament.¹⁸⁸ The necklace with the amulet in *Htp-kꜣ(.j)*'s statue representation lies over the broad collar, as is normally the case when both are depicted together worn by the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting.¹⁸⁹ By contrast, the cord with amulet is usually depicted in actual statues as if worn under the broad collar, as, for example, in CG 210, a statue whose neck ornaments otherwise closely resemble those shown in Cat. No. 100.

183 A plain diadem with uraeus is shown in West Berlin 14396, a battered head from a royal statue. The sculpture surely predates the Middle Kingdom (see Evers, *Staat*, § 103), but the Dynasty IV date assigned by H. Schäfer, *ZAS* 41, 1904, 62-65, seems too early.

184 The "flower cap" in Kern's terminology, *Acta Orientalia* XXIV, 1959, 166; cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 150-151.

185 Kern, *Acta Orientalia* XXIV, 1959, 166; Staehelin, *Tracht*, 153.

186 Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 84; cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 113-116.

187 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 120.

188 In both representations, the amulet has the drop-like form discussed by Staehelin, *Tracht*, 101-103.

189 Cf., e.g., Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti* III, pl. CXLIX.

Htp-k(.j)'s statue is also the only representation whose costume includes bracelets, one at each wrist. The bracelets shown are the typical broad "cuffs" worn by both men and women in relief and painting, as well as in actual statues.¹⁹⁰

190 E.g., CG 91: see Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 84, and cf. Staehelin, *Tracht*, 140-143.

Chapter 3: THE CONTEXTS OF THE STATUE REPRESENTATIONS

The following discussion attempts to characterize and analyze the contexts in which representations of statues occur. The concluding section, § 91, summarizes the evidence of the representations for the function of the statue in the private funerary cult during the Old Kingdom.

§ 43

Klebs, Montet, Junker, and, most recently, Drenkhahn have collected and commented on scenes of statue manufacture in some detail.¹⁹¹ In her study of daily life during the Old Kingdom as reflected in tomb decoration, Klebs included a summary description of the types of statues represented in the workshop scenes,¹⁹² while Montet, who was primarily concerned with the occupation of the sculptor and the reading of his title,¹⁹³ limited his remarks regarding the depiction of statues to a brief paragraph. The synopses of Klebs and Montet have been outdated in the interim by the publication of eight tombs whose decoration includes scenes of statue manufacture, almost doubling the number of representations available for study.

Because Junker was seeking documentation for the economic and social status of sculptor and painter in ancient Egypt, he was selective in collecting and presenting data¹⁹⁴: he included only those representations of statue manufacture that contributed information relevant to his thesis. Junker attempted to demonstrate that the "artists" of the Old Kingdom "besonders geachtet wurden, eben weil man die Kunst hochschätzte."¹⁹⁵ Concerning himself with the craftsman and not his product, Junker made no comments on the statues represented in the scenes.

Drenkhahn, too, was primarily interested in the artisan and his status.¹⁹⁶ Her chapter on scenes of statue making in relief and painting

191 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 3-6, dealt with some scenes of statue manufacture in connection with a description of the techniques of ancient Egyptian statuary, concluding that the reliefs and paintings provide only limited information on the various stages of the process. Smith, *Sculpture*, 105-106, also briefly considered some representations of statue manufacture.

192 Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 80-82.

193 Montet, *Scènes*, 288-295. For the transliteration *qstj* and the translation "sculptor" used here, see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 62, and § 50, below.

194 Junker, *Stellung*.

195 Junker, *Stellung*, 97.

196 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 52-72.

is a well-founded refutation of Junker's thesis, reaffirming the older view that sculptor and painter ranked with other craftsmen in the social hierarchy.¹⁹⁷ In accordance with her special interest, Drenkhahn's comments regarding the statues depicted in the workshop scenes are of a general nature. Some modifications of her conclusions are suggested below, § 51, § 53, § 54, and in the comments to Cat. Nos. 43 and 44.

The following paragraphs consider the workshop scenes with particular reference to the types of statues shown and whom they depict, the scale of the statue, the accompanying inscriptions, and finally the material. The data comprise fifty-seven statue representations in twenty Old Kingdom tombs.¹⁹⁸

§ 44

The statues shown in the process of manufacture rarely bare a label identifying the person they depict (see § 48, below), but presumably it is the tomb owner, with only a few exceptions. In the group statue Cat. No. 44, the child accompanying the adult is identified by an inscription as the tomb owner's son (see § 48). In five tombs, a single statue depicting a woman is included in a workshop scene alongside statues of the male tomb owner. In four cases, Cat. Nos. 30, 40, 50, and 53, the logical candidate for the woman depicted in the statue is the tomb owner's wife. In § 21, the possibility was discussed that the remaining statue of a woman, Cat. No. 6, depicts the tomb owner's mother.

Only statues of the tomb owner, who is regularly identified by an associated inscription, are shown in every other context for statue representations during the Old Kingdom.

§ 45

The types of statues depicted in the workshop scenes include a wide variety of attitudes representative of the range discussed above, in

197 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 65-69, 159-161. Cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, 351-365, and J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 233-249.

198 Giza: *Mrj.s-ḥnḥ* III, *Hwj.n-Rḥ*, *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*, *Jj-mrjj*, *Yḥ.j.f-ywfw* II, *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, *Sndm-jb:Mḥj*, *Wp-m-nfrt* ('s son *Jbj*), *Sḥnḥ.n-Pth*
 Abusir: *Pth-špss*
 Saqqara: *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Tjj*, *K(.j)-m-rḥw*, *Mrr-wj-k(.j)*, *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*, *K(.j)-jrr*
 Deshasheh: *Jntj*
 Meir: *Ppjj-ḥnḥ:Hnj km*
 Deir el Gebrawi: *Jbj*, *Dḥw:Šm(.j)*
 Smith, *Sculpture*, 353, implies that scenes of craftsmen at work "including figures of artists" are to be found in the first, "earlier" tomb of *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*, LG 12. LD Text I, 30-32, does not describe any such scenes nor does Reisner, *Giza I*, 350-353, include the tomb in his discussion of scenes of craftsmen at work in early rock-cut tombs. Elsewhere, Reisner, *op.cit.*, 310, comments with regard to LG 12, "decorations weathered."

Chapter 2, § 1 - § 14. The costume, however, shows little detail and less variety than is attested in other contexts. The lack of detail may be connected with an attempt to convey an impression of the unfinished state of the statue (see § 49, below), but it is more probably attributable to the small scale of the workshop scenes. Scenes of statue manufacture, like others depicting craftsmen at work, are confined to narrow registers, usually no taller than approximately one-fourth of the decorated wall surface. By contrast, scenes of statue transport and tableaux showing statues receiving offerings are allotted more space.

§ 46

The striding, or, in the case of female figures, standing statue is approximately life-size when compared to the craftsmen shown working on it, and the seated statue may be somewhat larger. The compositional principle governing the size of statues in the workshop scenes is the same applied to the depiction of other human figures in the same scene: the figure all but fills the register. Consequently, the statue, whether erect or seated, and the associated standing craftsman are approximately isoecephalic.¹⁹⁹

Junker remarked that in almost all representations of good quality, the statue is slightly taller than the attendant craftsman.²⁰⁰ However, a careful examination of the data assembled in the *Catalogue* confirms Junker's observation only in the cases of Cat. Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6. His remark is only seemingly true in the cases of Cat. Nos. 19, 20, 28, and 44, for in these instances, either the statue stands on a base so that it appears taller than the craftsman when in fact both figures are the same size, or the craftsman leans into his work and thus appears to be shorter than the statue. In Cat. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25, 27, 36, 37, 42, 43, and 47, the statue and craftsman are approximately the same size while the statues Cat. Nos. 7, 17, 23, 34, 35, 49, 50, and 53 are somewhat smaller than the associated craftsman.

Because the size of the statue is the result of a convention governing the size of all the figures in the register, obviously the representations of statues in the process of manufacture cannot provide information about the scale of actual Old Kingdom statues.

Cat. No. 55, a statue depicted in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ km* at Meir, is exceptional, because it is only about one-third the size of the associated craftsman. In this scene that shows the painter *Jrj* applying color to the small statue, the craftsman responsible for the layout

199 The shrine in which Cat. No. 7 stands almost fills the height of the register; the statue it houses is accordingly somewhat under life-size.

200 Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, AnzÖAW 1956:3, 63.

of the tomb's decoration - perhaps *Jrj* himself - obviously intended to emphasize the importance of the craftsman. To show the painter markedly taller than the statue of the tomb owner would apparently have been too great a break with tradition. The craftsman solved his dilemma quite neatly; the figure of the painter is indeed considerably larger-scaled than the statue, but because *Jrj* sits on the ground with the statue standing before him, both figures are approximately isocephalic.²⁰¹

§ 47

A statue base is omitted from nine representations of statues in workshop scenes: Cat. Nos. 10, 21, 22, 23, 25, 47, 51, 53, and 54.²⁰² Each of these figures stands directly on the register line. Presumably, the statue base might be dispensed with in scenes of statue manufacture, because the context of the representations and the action of the associated craftsman left no doubt that a statue and not a "living" person was depicted. In every other context, statues are provided with some type of basis²⁰³ so that the feet of the figure are never in contact with the register line.

The original painting of the statue base is not often preserved. The bases of five statues shown being made in the tomb of *Tjj*, Cat. Nos. 27, 28, 31, 32, and 33, were once painted black, the color most often documented for the base of actual Old Kingdom statues.²⁰⁴ Four of these representations, Cat. Nos. 27, 28, 31, and 32, were painted red-brown, in contrast to the black painting of their bases. The action of the workmen associated with Cat. Nos. 27 and 28 is preserved; the men apply an adze and chisel to Cat. No. 28 while two others polish Cat. No. 27. According to the context, neither statue is "finished." Nevertheless, the original painting was probably in imitation of the polychrome appearance of finished statues, but the possibility cannot be absolutely ruled out that the red-brown color of the figures was intended to designate their material as coniferous wood.²⁰⁵ In the case of Cat. No. 33, the black painting probably does indeed refer to the material of the sculpture, and not to the actual appearance of a painted statue, because the legs and seat of the figure also bear traces of black pigment.

201 So Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, AnzÖAW 1956:3, 63.

202 Cat. No. 57 also lacks a base; the statuette stands on a "shelf" in a shrine that is being painted.

203 This may be a statue base or the floor of a shrine or even the sledge used for the transport of the statue.

204 Cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 99. The black painting of the statue base in actual statues was apparently in imitation of the color of earth (see H.G. Fischer, *JEA* 59, 1973, 45) and does not denote "absence" as when black is the color of negative space.

205 So H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 18 note 5. For the use of painting to indicate material, see § 59 - § 63, below.

The base, seat and figure of Cat. No. 38 in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir are painted pink speckled with dark red to imitate granite. The bases of two other statues depicted in the workshop scene in the same tomb, Cat. Nos. 36 and 37, are red-brown, as were the bases of Cat. No. 13, in the tomb of *Nj-ḥm-ḥnmw* and *ḥnmw-ḥtp*, and of Cat. Nos. 42, 43, and 44, in the tomb of *ḥm-m-ḥr*. In the case of Cat. No. 13, the red-brown painting is probably intended to indicate that wood was the material of the entire statue, because the figure and even the kilt were once uniformly painted this color. The same is true of Cat. No. 50, in the tomb of *Jbj*, whose base is painted red, like the body of the statue.

The preserved painting of the statue base in contexts other than statue manufacture may be mentioned here. The bases of four statues, Cat. Nos. 68, 99, 148, and 150, were painted black, while in the case of the statue representations from *Nḥbw's serdab*, Cat. Nos. 144 and 145, red-brown and black alternate as the color of the base, serving to dissimilate the statues in the series.

§ 48

Inscriptions accompanying workshop scenes seldom refer to the statue depicted. Three statues shown being made in the tomb of *Tjj*, Cat. Nos. 26, 27, and 28, are labelled *twt*, "statue," while Cat. Nos. 43 and 44 in the tomb of *ḥm-m-ḥr* bear inscriptions in the form *twt n X, X* designating the material of the statue.²⁰⁶ In four instances, Cat. Nos. 23, 48, 49, and 52, the inscription accompanying a craftsman makes indirect reference to the associated statue, again employing the word *twt*.²⁰⁷ In all these examples, a determinative is not included in the writing, because, as usual, the statue representation itself serves this function - cf. Chapter 4, § 95, below.

The person depicted in a statue shown being made is not, as a rule, identified by an inscription, in contrast to the statues represented in other contexts where normally the name of the tomb owner, often supplemented by one or more titles, accompanies the representation. In only three workshop scenes is the person depicted in a statue identified by name.

The child in the group statue Cat. No. 44 is labelled *Jšfj*, and thus identified as the eldest son of *ḥm-m-ḥr*, the tomb owner and the person evidently depicted in the adult figure. The label was necessary, for Cat. No. 43, a second group statue originally shown beside Cat. No. 44, depicted the tomb owner with another son.

²⁰⁶ The same type of inscription occurs in connection with six representations of statues in scenes of statue transport, see § 64, below.

²⁰⁷ The damaged inscription that once described the action of the painter applying color to Cat. No. 51 may have contained the same type of reference.

Two statues of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km* shown in the process of manufacture, Cat. Nos. 55 and 56, bear labels in the form *twt n title, name*. This formula is often found in association with representations of statues in transport scenes, but in a scene of statue manufacture, it occurs only in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ*. The attendant craftsman of Cat. No. 55, the painter *Jrj*, is identified by a series of titles, as well as both his names, while the figures of both sculptors of Cat. No. 56 in an adjacent vignette are likewise provided with name and title.²⁰⁸ In a third scene of statue manufacture shown in the same room but on another wall, neither the statue, Cat. No. 54, nor the artisan is identified by name, suggesting that the unusually detailed labelling of Cat. Nos. 55 and 56 resulted from an attempt to balance the equally detailed identification of the associated craftsmen in those vignettes.

§ 49

A series of scenes depicting various stages in the process of statue manufacture may be shown in a single tomb, but the same statue is not depicted in successive stages of completion.²⁰⁹ In four cases, Cat. Nos. 4, 14, 36, and 45, two craftsmen involved in two different and presumably successive phases of statue manufacture work on a single statue. In general, the underlying intention seems to have been to introduce as much variety as possible into the vignettes, variety in the attitude (and to a lesser extent, in costume) of the statues, and variety in the activities and postures of the workmen.

The statues are customarily shown finished, regardless of the type of tool or action associated with the representation.²¹⁰ As suggested in § 14 and note 77, the exceptional omission of the walking staff from the compositions of Cat. Nos. 4, 25, and 56 may have been intended to indicate the unfinished state of the statues. The case of Cat. Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14, statue representations in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-ḥnmw* and *ḥnmw-ḥtp*, is quite exceptional. All four statues are shown being sculptured; none is provided with facial features. There can be no doubt that these details were purposefully omitted from the statue representations, because the scenes are otherwise obviously finished, and the facial features of the workmen are clearly rendered in relief. In the

208 Craftsmen are named in scenes of statue manufacture in six other tombs: *Mrj.s-ḥḥ* III (Cat. Nos. 1-3), *Pth-špss* (Cat. Nos. 36-38), *Mrj-wj-k(.f)* (Cat. Nos. 40 and 41), *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* (Cat. No. 43), *Jbj* (Cat. Nos. 49 and 50), and *Dw:šm:j* (Cat. No. 51).

209 So Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 56; cf. also the introductory remarks to the description of Cat. Nos. 11-15 in the Catalogue.

210 The paradoxical completeness of Old Kingdom statues represented in the process of manufacture has been noted by Vandier, *Manuel* III, 3; cf. also the comment of H. Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas* III, 64.

last vignette of the series, a painter applies the finishing touches to Cat. No. 15, a statue provided with facial features and therefore designated "finished."

§ 50

Drenkhahn has examined in detail the titles of the artisans depicted in scenes of statue manufacture.²¹¹ She concluded that the $\overline{\text{hmwtjw}}$ were comparatively unskilled assistants responsible for the preliminary preparation of the raw material (wood or stone) and the final polishing of the statue, whereas the actual carving was the exclusive province of the $\overline{\text{qstjw}}$.²¹² Accordingly, in these pages $\overline{\text{qstj}}$ is rendered "sculptor" and $\overline{\text{hmwtj}}$ "craftsman." In scenes of statue manufacture, $\overline{\text{zš}}$ is of course appropriately translated "painter."²¹³

§ 51

Were the different phases of statue manufacture divided not only between the $\overline{\text{qstjw}}$ and $\overline{\text{hmwtjw}}$ but also among the $\overline{\text{qstjw}}$?²¹⁴ One sculptor might be assigned the preliminary roughing out of the figure; another specialized in modelling the face, and so forth. But in the tomb of $\overline{\text{nh-m-ḥr}}$ at Saqqara, an overseer of sculptors applies his chisel to Cat. No. 42 and polishes Cat. No. 45. Because the presence of two overseers of sculptors is unlikely, it can be suggested that the same person is depicted in both scenes.²¹⁵ As Drenkhahn has remarked, the workshop scenes in $\overline{\text{nh-m-ḥr}}$'s tomb are exceptional, for the craftsmen are shown at work in an architectural setting: a building (or courtyard) divided into ateliers is depicted. Junker believed that the tableau reflects the actual appearance of an Old Kingdom estate workshop. In his opinion, the

211 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 60-71.

212 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 59-62, 65-66. R. Anthes, *MDAIK* 10, 1941, 103-106, argued that the $\overline{\text{hmwtjw}}$ were sculptors working in hard stone as opposed to the $\overline{\text{qstjw}}$, sculptors in softer stone and wood. Drenkhahn's hypothesis is preferable for two reasons. Although it is true that the $\overline{\text{qstjw}}$ are sometimes shown performing the same 'unskilled' tasks as the $\overline{\text{hmwtjw}}$ (e.g., polishing a statue), the reverse is not the case; a $\overline{\text{hmwtj}}$ is never shown wielding an adze or chisel. Second, Anthes' interpretation of the $\overline{\text{hmwtjw}}$ in scenes of statue manufacture as sculptors in hard stone does not adequately account for the employment of the same designation for workmen in other contexts with the generic meaning 'craftsman.' Drenkhahn's translation 'craftsman' is applicable to all contexts where $\overline{\text{hmwtj}}$ occurs.

213 Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 69-71.

214 Implicit in the comments of Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 157-159. Cf. the observation of R. Engelbach, *ASAE* XXIX, 1929, 23-24, regarding the progress of relief work on a sarcophagus of the Late Period.

215 Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 157, who notes that in the same tomb, an $\overline{\text{jmj-r jz}}$ is shown in connection with two phases of the leatherworking process and an $\overline{\text{jmj-r hmwtjw}}$ bores out a stone vessel in one vignette and polishes another in the next. Note, however, that two different $\overline{\text{shd qstjw}}$ are depicted in the tomb of $\overline{\text{Ptḥ-špss}}$ at Abusir in one scene of statue manufacture, see Cat. No. 36.

vignettes showing artisans at work in other Old Kingdom tombs were not arranged with reference to the physical organization of actual workshops.²¹⁶ If the craft scenes in the tomb of 'nh-m-*ḥr* be interpreted as accurately reflecting actual practice, then the representations mitigate against there being a division of labor among sculptors.

The scenes of statue manufacture in Pth-špss' tomb at Abusir furnish unambiguous evidence that a single sculptor might be involved in more than one phase of statue production. The shd qstjw Pth-špss polishes Cat. No. 36 and applies an adze to Cat. No. 37.

In all the remaining workshop scenes of the Old Kingdom, it cannot be determined with certainty if a single artisan is shown more than once, because the workmen are not normally characterized as individuals. They are seldom identified by name, and the titles they bear are not distinctive.

§ 52

The Old Kingdom craft scenes depict the production of funerary equipment essential for the proper burial of the tomb owner and for his continued existence in the afterlife. Assuming that the Old Kingdom Egyptian preferred stone over all other materials for his statues, then the vast majority of statues depicted should be stone figures.²¹⁷

Five possible sources are examined below for information regarding the material of the statues shown in the workshop scenes. In § 53, the association of statue-making tableaux with other vignettes showing artisans at work is considered with the idea that artisans employing the same material might be shown together, regardless of the end product. As will be seen, however, proximity proves to be an unreliable criterion for the determination of material. Second, in § 54 - § 58, the type of tool employed by the craftsman is examined, assuming that certain tools can be considered diagnostic for a particular material. Third, in § 59 - § 63, the information provided by the preserved painting of a statue representation is evaluated, since a particular color may have been intended to designate a specific material. The inscriptions also provide information concerning material in some cases. The evidence from this source is analyzed in § 64. Finally, in § 65, the attitude and structural elements of the statues shown are examined with the assumption that they, too, might provide a clue for the determination of material.

Exceptionally, the following discussion of material, § 59 - § 65, is not limited to the statues depicted in scenes of statue manufacture but includes pertinent evidence from the representations of statues in other contexts as well.

²¹⁶ Junker, *Stellung*, 35-36.

²¹⁷ Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 59, with note 26.

§ 53

Statue making is shown beside the manufacture of stone vessels in the tombs of *Nb(.j)-m-ṯḥt*, *Ḳj-mrj(?)*, *Ṭjj*, *Kṯ(.j)-m-rḥw*, *Sndm-jb:Jntj* and *Ppjj-ṯnh:Ḥnj km*. In the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kṯ.j*, the manufacture of statues is depicted directly above the drilling of stone vases,²¹⁸ and in the tombs of *Mrj.s-ṯnh* III and *Ḥwj.n-Rṯ*, statue manufacture is shown in association with the polishing of a sarcophagus whose material should be stone.²¹⁹ Perhaps the association of statue making with the manufacture of stone vases and sarcophagi resulted because all these products were made of the same material, viz. stone.²²⁰ If so, it might be concluded that a sculptors' workshop did not exist during the Old Kingdom, but that sculptors in stone shared quarters with other artisans producing stone items while sculptors in wood worked alongside carpenters.

During the New Kingdom, evidence for the segregation of sculptors according to the raw material of their products is provided by the craft scenes in the tomb of *Rḥ-mj-Rṯ*: a wooden statue is polished in the carpenters' workshop while the creation of three colossal granite statues is depicted in juxtaposition with the manufacture of an offering table in the same material.²²¹ The production of metal statues is documented for the first time in workshop scenes of the Dynasty XVIII; they are always shown being made by smiths in connection with the manufacture of other metal products.²²² But as Drenkhahn has noted, the New Kingdom representations of workshops are basically quite different from those of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The latter refer to the production of objects primarily intended for the funerary equipment of the tomb owner in a private estate workshop. By contrast, the New Kingdom scenes show temple workshops where all manner of objects were produced in quantity at the behest of the ruler.²²³

If the Old Kingdom representations reveal anything about the organization of a sculptors' workshop - admittedly a questionable hypothesis,²²⁴ then it is that sculptors shared a single atelier regardless of the

218 Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 59-60.

219 Drenkhahn's comments, *Handwerker*, 104 note 21, that the sarcophagi of members of the royal family such as Queen *Mrj.s-ṯnh* III and *Ḥwj.n-Rṯ* should be made of stone is confirmed by the preserved painting of the item in the case of the queen: the red and black stippling indicates that the material is granite - see Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 12. Note, however, that the sarcophagus is shown in the same register with the activities of carpenters. In *Wp-m-nfrt*'s tomb, Cat. Nos. 23 and 24 are also being made next to the polishing of a sarcophagus, but its material is probably wood - see Drenkhahn, *op.cit.*, 104.

220 So Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 60.

221 Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls. LV and LX, respectively.

222 Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 24-25 for the various examples in context.

223 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 2-3.

224 So Junker, *Stellung*, 35-36.

material of their product, for in at least four tombs - those of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Wp-m-nfrt*, *Tjj*, and *Pth-špss* - wood and stone statues are shown being made in a single series.

It is noteworthy that carpenters at work are depicted beside craftsmen making items in stone in the tombs of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III, *Mrr-wj-kḥ.j*, *Jbj*, and *ḏw:šmḥ.j*, and in the tomb of *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*, the sanding of a wooden bed is depicted in the same register with statue making and the manufacture of stone vases.²²⁵

Exceptionally, craftsmen making wooden products are segregated from the other artisans in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnh:ḥnj km* at Meir. Carpenters at work are shown at the west end of the north wall, Room A, while scenes of smithery, the making of stone vessels, and the manufacture of various beaded objects occupy the west wall of the same room. A craftsman is depicted polishing a seated statue made of stone, Cat. No. 54 (see § 65, below), beside the scene of stone vessel manufacture. Two other statues, Cat. Nos. 55 and 56, are represented in a single register above the vignettes showing the manufacture of wooden objects. The register with Cat. Nos. 55 and 56 includes two depictions of the painter *Jrj* at work, a vignette showing his colleague painting a vase, and two sculptors carving the statue Cat. No. 56. The preserved painting of Cat. No. 55 would seem to indicate that the material of the statue is wood - see § 60, below. Because all the objects shown at the west end of the north wall, with the exception of the vase,²²⁶ are made of wood, Cat. No. 56 is probably a wooden statue. The identification of the material as wood accords with the attitude depicted: a seated statue with raised arm could not have been carved from stone.

The tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr* at Saqqara contains the only Old Kingdom depiction of craft scenes interpretable as reflecting accurately the physical relationship of ateliers in an estate workshop, see § 51, above. At least one and probably two (see Cat. Nos. 43 and 44) of the four statues is described as made of wood by an associated inscription. The draftsman who designed the representations may well have intentionally separated the vignettes showing stone vessel manufacture from those depicting sculptors and painter at work.

225 See the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 8 and 9.

226 The tall vase is a ceramic waterpot with stopper - cf. Gardiner Sign-list W 14. For the vessel type, see H. Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 1934, 71-74. The preserved painting of the vessel is orange (*Meir* V, 28), a color intended to reproduce the coloring of the ceramic original, cf. Balcz, *op.cit.*, 74. The painting of stone vessels is shown in *Ppjj-ḥnh*'s tomb on the east wall of room A, *Meir* V, pl. XXI.

§ 54

Sculptors in scenes of statue manufacture are most often shown plying the adze or wielding chisel and mallet while their assistants, the *ḥmwtjw*, polish the surface of a statue with a small, often egg-shaped stone. Other tools shown in the hands of artisans making statues are the ax and the maul. (Because both stone and wooden statues were painted, the activity of a painter in the workshop scenes provides no information regarding the material of the statue depicted.)

The adze, the precursor of the plane, is associated primarily with woodworking.²²⁷ Whether the adze was employed exclusively for woodworking in ancient Egypt is an unresolved problem. Williams believed that an adze could have been used for shaving down the background when cutting raised relief in limestone.²²⁸ Clarke and Engelbach did not exclude the possibility that a stonemason's adze may have existed, but they noted, "Though carpenter's adzes, and models of them, are well known, none has yet been found which is known to have been used in stone-dressing."²²⁹

In craft scenes other than statue manufacture, the adze occurs exclusively in connection with the manufacture of products made of wood.²³⁰ Carpenters and shipwrights are frequently depicted using the tool. Furthermore, the adze is employed as one of the determinatives in the Old Kingdom word for "joiner," *fnḥ*,²³¹ affirming the tool's association with woodworking. An adze in the hands of a sculptor suggests that wood is the material of the statue which he shapes.²³²

Seven scenes of statue making include artisans with an adze. In the tomb of *ḥwḥ.n-R'*, a workman applies his adze to the shrine in which Cat. No. 7, a striding statue with walking staff and scepter, stands. One of the sculptors carving Cat. No. 28, a striding statue depicted in

227 See Śliwa, *Woodworking*, 24-26.

228 Williams, *Per-Neb*, 16-17.

229 Clarke - Engelbach, *Masonry*, 224.

230 The representations are not necessarily reliable for determining if a particular tool was used in actuality by certain craftsmen only in connection with a specific material. A case in point is the saw, a tool shown in the representations of workshop scenes only in association with woodworking. Careful examination of actual statues has shown that the saw was also used on stone - see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 116-118. But the issue at hand is not whether a particular tool was actually used in the manufacture of a certain product, but what was selected as characteristic for inclusion in the representations. Since Drenkhahn assumes that the statues in the representations are primarily made of stone, she would have sculptors using the adze to carve limestone - see *Handwerker*, 60. But her assumption, based on the context of the scenes of statue making, is dubious, see § 53.

231 See Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 124-125.

232 See P. Kaplony, *Asiatische Studien* 20, 1966, 109, whose remarks imply that the adze was associated exclusively with the manufacture of wooden statuary.

the tomb of *Tjj*, uses an adze.²³³ Three sculptors work upon each of two striding statues with walking staff and scepter, Cat. Nos. 36 and 37, in the tomb of *Pth-šps*; in both cases, one of the workmen uses an adze. In the tomb of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*, the overseer of sculptors does not use his adze to shape Cat. Nos. 42 and 45, but in both cases, the tool is at hand, should he need it. One of the two craftsmen shown together with the seated statue Cat. No. 52 in the tomb of *Dw:šm:j* plies an adze.

The statues depicted in all seven cases could well have been executed in wood; none of the representations includes a back pillar, or, in the case of Cat. No. 52, a back slab, and all the attitudes are paralleled in the extant repertory of actual statues made of wood.²³⁴

§ 55

As used by present-day sculptors, the chisel is appropriate for working both soft stone and wood.²³⁵ In the Dynasty VI tombs of *Dw:šm:j* at Deir el Gebrawi and *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km* at Meir, stonemasons are depicted with chisel and hammer in hand. The men are labelled *hrtjw-ntr*, "necropolis stonemasons." The hammer used in these vignettes is a heavy piriform maul.²³⁶ Carpenters and joiners²³⁷ as well as shipwrights²³⁸ are depicted in Old Kingdom craft scenes using a different type of hammer to drive their chisels: a thick club analogous in appearance to the fuller's mallet (Gardiner Sign-list U 36). The hammer used by sculptors in scenes of statue manufacture during the Old Kingdom is the same as that employed by craftsmen making wooden objects.

In eight Old Kingdom representations of statue making, wood is in all likelihood the material of the statue being formed with a chisel. Cat. Nos. 28, 42, 45, and 54 are representations already discussed in the preceding section where it was suggested that the statues are wooden because the associated artisan(s) holds or plies the adze. Two sculptors using chisels carve Cat. No. 56, a seated statue depicted in the tomb of

233 The accompanying inscription describing the action of the workman also suggests that the material of the statue is wood, see below, § 64, as does the absence of negative space between the legs of the figure, see § 65.

234 CG 380 is a slightly under life-size seated statue made of wood similar to Cat. No. 52.

235 See Lucas, *Materials*, 68. Both Lucas, *ibid.*, and A. Zuber, *Techniques et civilisations* 5, 1956, 173-175, deny the possibility of using copper or bronze chisels for carving hard stones. For the carpenter's chisel, see Śliwa, *Woodworking*, 29-30.

236 For this tool that makes its first appearance in connection with representations of statue manufacture in the Middle Kingdom (Appendix, Cat. No. 160), see Hayes, *Scepter I*, 289-290, and Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 57.

237 Examples are tabulated by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 98-99, 102-103, 107-108, 111, 119.

238 Cf. e.g., *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. XVI, and Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti II*, pl. CXXIX.

Ppjj-ḥnh:Ḥnj km; in § 14 and § 53, it was suggested that the statue reflects the appearance of a wooden original. Sculptors with mallet and chisel carve Cat. No. 13 in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* and Cat. No. 50 in the tomb of *Jbj*. The preserved painting of both representations indicates that the statues are made of wood, see § 61, below. A sculptor also applies his chisel to Cat. No. 23 in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt*; the accompanying inscription implies that this statue, too, is made of wood, see § 64, below. None of these eight statues shown being sculptured with the aid of mallet and chisel possesses a back pillar, and the attitudes depicted are documented in the repertory of actual wooden statues.

Hammer and chisel are shown in association with nine other scenes of statue manufacture. In three cases, Cat. Nos. 4, 6, and 25, the attitude of the figure indicates that the material of the statue is wood, rather than stone, see § 65, below. The remaining six statues shown being made by workmen using hammer and chisel or the chisel alone, Cat. Nos. 1, 13, 14, 19, 29, and 34, depict attitudes that could have been carved in either stone or wood.

§ 56

In the tomb of *Tjj*, two craftsmen use heavy mauls on Cat. No. 26. The tool, composed of a blunt stone head hafted by leather thongs to two wooden rods serving as the handle, is associated exclusively with stone working²³⁹; in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el Gebrawi, it is shown in the hands of a stonemason.²⁴⁰ The back slab included in the composition of Cat. No. 26 confirms that a stone statue is depicted, see § 65, below.

The tool used by one of two artisans working on Cat. No. 11 has been described as an ax.²⁴¹ The implement's handle is, however, quite short, like the handles of the mauls used on Cat. No. 26, and it is wielded similarly, suggesting that it, too, is a stonemason's maul, provided with

239 Cf. the comments of Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 64. Actual examples of the tool are described and illustrated by Hayes, *Scepter I*, 290, and fig. 192.

240 *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. XVI. Davies, *ibid.*, 21, associated the workman and his comrades with the scene of ship building in the register above, suggesting that the activity shown is the shaping of a wooden balk. But this interpretation ignores the inscriptions that identify the workmen as *ḥrtjw-ntr*, "necropolis stonemasons." Both Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 117, and A. Zuber, *Techniques et civilisations* 5, 1956, 171, describe the scene as probably depicting stonecutters. The vignette in *Jbj*'s tomb is apparently analogous to a scene in the reliefs of *Ppjj-ḥnh*'s tomb at Meir, *Meir V*, pl. XXI. Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, AnzÖAW 1956:3, 71, suggests that the latter tableau commemorates the necropolis workmen, also designated *ḥrtjw-ntr* by associated labels, who were responsible for the cutting of the tomb. Cf. the comments of H.G. Fischer, *BMMA XVII*, 1959, 146.

241 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 52. The same tool is simply held by another craftsman associated with Cat. No. 11.

a pointed rather than rounded head.²⁴² The second alternative is preferable, since Cat. No. 11 depicts a striding statue with back pillar, a statue type documented in the known repertory of actual statues by numerous stone examples, see § 65, below.

§ 57

The ax is obviously a tool appropriate only to the manufacture of wooden objects.²⁴³ A single scene of statue making includes an artisan using this tool: a workman swings his ax above Cat. No. 12, shown in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*.²⁴⁴ Accordingly, the material of the statue is wood.

§ 58

Before the painter applied color to the statue, a craftsman smoothed the surface of the figure with a "rubber." This phase of statue manufacture is often depicted in the representations.²⁴⁵ Stone "rubbers" being used to sand down the surface of wood as well as to polish stone,²⁴⁶ their occurrence in a scene of statue making provides no information concerning the material of the statue.

§ 59

The preserved painting of the statues represented seldom furnishes data regarding the material of the statue, for the painting customarily reproduces the polychrome appearance of finished Old Kingdom statuary. The various elements of costume, the accessories, and the exposed areas of the body usually display the conventional coloring. Cat. Nos. 98 and 99, both depicting striding statues being transported in the tomb of *ḥjj*, exemplify the norm. The material of each statue is mentioned in the associated inscription: Cat. No. 98 is made of acacia while Cat. No. 99 is an ebony statue, see below, § 64. Regardless of their material, both figures were painted the same red-brown shade, in conformity with the color convention for men's skin.

In some instances, preserved painting is indeed intended to indicate a particular material, but a specific identification is not always possible, because the ancient Egyptian color conventions for designating various types of stone and wood have not been the subject of detailed

242 Cf. Hayes' description of mauls, *Scepter I*, 290.

243 Śliwa, *Woodworking*, 22-24; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 119, 121, 123.

244 Drenkhahn's identification of the tool as an ax, *Handwerker*, 57, is preferable to the excavators' interpretation discussed below in detail, note 630.

245 E.g., Cat. Nos. 4, 11, 24, etc.

246 Śliwa, *Woodworking*, 37-38.

study to date.²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, in some representations of statues, the significance of the painting is unmistakable. For example, Cat. No. 38, a seated statue depicted in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir, is colored pink with dark red stippling to designate granite as its material.²⁴⁸

§ 60

The figure of a statue depicted in the paintings from *Mttj*'s tomb, Cat. No. 150, is painted black overlaying yellow, a common convention employed to designate a type of (imported?) wood.²⁴⁹ Some examples of Cat. Nos. 144 and 145, statues depicted in series on the walls of *Nhbw*'s *serdab*, are similarly colored.²⁵⁰

Presumably on the basis of preserved color, the material of Cat. No. 55, a statue shown in a vignette of statue manufacture in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnh:Ḥnj km*, has been described as ebony.²⁵¹ The published drawing of the statue representation shows black streaks on the torso, arms, and legs of the figure. Probably the modern draftsman has used black streaking to designate the same type of painting as shown in Cat. Nos. 144, 145, and 150.

In relief and painting, a variety of wooden objects were painted black overlaying yellow.²⁵² According to the evidence provided by the inscriptions of *Nfr-ḥtp-ḥwt-Ḥr*'s compartment list, ebony was employed for many of the same items: boxes, beds, chairs, and even a case for scribal

247 Williams, *Per-Neb*, 38-74, and Smith, *Sculpture*, 257-263, discuss the coloring of wood and stone objects in relief and painting in passing. For stone vases, see H. Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 1932, 76-79.

248 Some elements of actual limestone statues such as the seat and the back pillar or slab (e.g., CG 22, 91, 94, 101, etc.) are painted in the same manner to imitate granite; see Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 89, 99. For the rare painting of the body of an actual statue to imitate granite, documented in two Middle Kingdom limestone figures from Assiut, see D. Dunham, *Worcester Art Museum Annual* III, 1937-1938, 9-16.

249 Cf. the similar painting of seats of actual statues in CG 100 and the statue Junker, *Giza IX*, 241-242, pl. 8a. (Junker believed the painting was intended to reproduce the appearance of graining.)

250 The painting of other examples of Cat. Nos. 144 (red-brown or yellow) and 145 (red-brown, yellow, or ochre) denotes skin color and not material, see H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 21-22. In one and the same series of statue representations, different criteria may be in operation simultaneously for the determination of coloring. For the range of variation possible in skin color of actual statues, compare the preserved painting of the statues of *Mttj*: pale red in Bklyn. 51.1, "terra cotta" in Bklyn. 50.77, and red-brown in Kansas City 51-1.

251 Meir V, 28. Cf. H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 22 note 38.

252 Good examples (boxes, furniture and the handles of tools and weapons) are found in the paintings of *Ḥzjj-R'*'s tomb, Quibell, *Hesy*, pls. XI-XXI.

equipment.²⁵³ Contradictory evidence comes from the tomb of *D'w:Šm:j* at Deir el Gebrawi where a carrying chair labelled "ebony" is painted yellow.²⁵⁴

Quibell identified some objects painted black overlaying yellow as made of "ebony"²⁵⁵ but others as made of "superior variegated wood."²⁵⁶ Williams preferred the designation "wood, imported southern(?)" apparently reserving "ebony" for wooden objects painted black with no trace of yellow.²⁵⁷ Fischer's description of the preserved painting in the case of *Njbw's* statue representations as "reproducing the grained surface of dark wood"²⁵⁸ is adopted here.

Each of the statues painted black overlaying yellow in the representations depicts a type documented in the repertory of actual wooden statues.

§ 61

Cat. No. 50 is a standing female statue depicted in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el Gebrawi. The entire statue, including the base, is painted red, the same color used in the adjacent scenes to designated wooden items.²⁵⁹

The base of Cat. No. 52, a seated male statue shown in the tomb of *D'w:Šm:j*, is also painted red, but the figure itself is red-brown. Whether the red painting of the base is intended to specify wood as the material of the statue is moot.²⁶⁰

In the tomb of *Nj-nj-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, Cat. Nos. 12 and 13 bear traces of red-brown paint not only on the bodies of the figures but also on the kilts and bases. Because the entire statue was once apparently uniformly painted one color, the painting probably does not refer to male skin color but may well be intended to reproduce the color of coniferous wood.

These four statue representations all depict attitudes paralleled by actual Old Kingdom statues carved in wood.

253 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. II.

254 Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. X.

255 E.g., two headrests: *Hesy*, 17 (description of pl. XIV).

256 *Hesy*, 27.

257 *Per-Neb*, 45, 47, 86 (index, under "wood").

258 JARCE II, 1963, 22.

259 For red painting to imitate (coniferous) wood, see Williams, *Per-Neb*, 47, and cf. Junker's discussion of the use of red painting in limestone mastabas to imitate wooden architectural elements, *Giza XII*, 41-42.

260 Note that a shrine depicted in the same tomb, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. X, is painted red-grained and bears a label describing the material as *w'n*, "coniferous wood."

§ 62

Cat. No. 33, a seated statue in the tomb of *Tjj*, was painted black. Objects depicted in relief and painting and colored black may refer to originals made of ebony.²⁶¹ At least one other statue depicted in the same tomb, Cat. No. 99, was made of ebony as the associated inscription states, but it is a striding figure, and, as noted above, in § 59, the preserved red-brown painting of the body reproduces the polychrome appearance of a finished statue, rather than the color of the material.

Because stone objects represented in relief (in particular, stone vessels) are also sometimes painted black in imitation of dark stone,²⁶² the possibility that Cat. No. 33 depicts a stone statue cannot be excluded. Indeed, dark stone, specifically dark granite,²⁶³ is a likely candidate for the material of Cat. No. 33. Dark granite, ranging in color from grey-green to black, is documented with relative frequency in the known repertory of private statuary beginning in later Dynasty V. It was chosen for seated statues,²⁶⁴ as well as for scribe statues,²⁶⁵ but rarely for striding statues.²⁶⁶

Although one of the *serdabs* in the tomb of *Tjj* was found to be empty, the second contained not only CG 20 but also the fragmentary remains of perhaps as many as twenty other statues. Unfortunately, no information is available concerning the material of the fragments and their present whereabouts is not known. The material of CG 20 is limestone.²⁶⁷

261 Williams, *Per-Neb*, 47.

262 Blue, black, and grey were seemingly used interchangeably in painting to denote dark stones, see Williams, *Per-Neb*, 50-52. Cf. also the color of the pyramidion in painted examples of Gardiner Sign-list O 24, the pyramid hieroglyph: it may be blue or grey (cf. the references to such hieroglyphs listed by A. Hassan, *MDAIK* 28, 1973, 154-155). Similarly, the broad black dado often painted at the base of walls of Old Kingdom private tomb chapels may be intended to simulate the dark stone dado of the royal funerary temple.

263 Old Kingdom private statues made of other dark stones are rare - e.g., the basalt base fragment cited by Smith, *Sculpture*, 31 (3) and Hildesheim 3184, also basalt (CAA - *Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim* 4, 113-118). Junker, *Giza X*, 101-102, describes fragments of an approximately life-size seated statue in hard, dark stone (either granite or basalt) excavated from a private tomb at Giza, but the fragments may represent the scattered remains of a royal statue.

264 E.g., CG 85, 136, 141(?), 161, 165, etc. These statues are all considerably under life-size.

265 E.g., CG 57, 58, 59, 80, etc.

266 E.g., CG 172.

267 The statue fragments CG 305 and 313 that may derive from the tomb are also limestone, see Steindorff, *Ti*, 5-6; so, too, the limestone statue MMA 51.37, probably commissioned by *Tjj*'s grandson, that may or may not come from the tomb, cf. H. Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 180 note 1.

§ 63

A pair of identical seated statues, Cat. Nos. 65 and 66, are shown being transported in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*. Cat. No. 65 evinces only traces of the original blue painting. By contrast, the figure of Cat. No. 66, the seat, and the back slab are painted ochre,²⁶⁸ while the hair, base, and negative space, as well as the kilt and handkerchief, were left unpainted, in conformity with the Old Kingdom color conventions (cf. § 16, above). The painting of both Cat. Nos. 65 and 66 was obviously intended to denote the material of the statues. The ochre color of Cat. No. 66 is reminiscent of the appearance of quartzite, a hard stone actually employed albeit seldom for private statuary during the Old Kingdom.²⁶⁹ Blue, like black and grey, was customarily employed to imitate the appearance of dark stones. Thus the blue painting of Cat. No. 65 was intended to specify grey granite or diorite as its material.²⁷⁰ The type of statue depicted in both instances is in conformity with an execution in stone.²⁷¹

§ 64

An inscription specifying the material of the statue accompanies only seven representations.²⁷²

268 In actual statues made of hard stone whose color approximates reddish skin color, the same elements might be left unpainted. For such instances of partial polychromy, see P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik I: Ägypten*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmensis/Stockholm Studies in History of Art III.1, Stockholm 1958, 11-13.

269 See H.G. Fischer, *AJA* 66, 1962, 65 note 2. Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 64, suggest (red) granite, but the dark stippling customarily used for the imitation of granite as in Cat. No. 38 is not present.

270 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 64, suggest the latter alternative.

271 The material of analogous actual statues is typically limestone. A back slab like that shown in Cat. Nos. 65 and 66 is not normally included in the composition of known Old Kingdom seated statues made of hard stone such as granite. Note, however, that the back slab or pillar and seat of limestone seated statues are sometimes painted to imitate red granite; an example is CG 101. Thus hard stones were apparently considered appropriate for statues of this type.

272 Cf. the list compiled by Montet, *Scènes*, 289-290.

The selection of a specific material for actual Old Kingdom statues was probably made according to well-established criteria, see further below, § 65. But it is not obvious why the material of the statue is mentioned in the inscriptions accompanying only seven representations of statues. It might be suggested that the material was specifically stated in seven instances because the painting of the representation provided no clue to material. But only in the cases of Cat. Nos. 98 and 99 is this suggestion supported by evidence of preserved color. Although the material of the statues is not the same, the bodies of both were painted the usual red-brown color. Without the associated labels, the material of the statues would not be apparent.

Cat. No. 83, depicted in the tomb of *R'-špss*, is stated to be made of *ḥt-ḥ:s[w?]*, "imported wood,"²⁷³ while Cat. Nos. 98 and 99, both shown being transported in the tomb of *Tjj*, are described as made of acacia and ebony, respectively. In the scenes of statue manufacture in the tomb of *ḥm-m-ḥr*, the material of Cat. No. 44 is given as *ksbt*-wood. In the same tomb, Cat. No. 43 is stated to be made of *špnn*, a material known to date only from this label. On analogy with Cat. No. 44, a type of wood is likely.²⁷⁴ All five statues are striding figures without back pillars, and the attitudes shown are paralleled in the extant repertory of actual wooden statues.

The inscriptions accompanying Cat. Nos. 102 and 104, striding statues represented in transit in *Pth-špss'* tomb, identify their material as granite. The presence of a back pillar confirms that Cat. No. 104 is indeed a stone statue, and Cat. No. 102 probably depicts a granite pseudo-group carved in one with a naos, as postulated in § 19, above.

The conversation of the sculptors depicted in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt* may be interpreted to imply that wood is the material of Cat. No. 23, in contrast to Cat. No. 24, made of stone. The former depicts a striding figure without a back pillar, an attitude documented in the extant repertory of actual statues made of wood.

The activity of an artisan working on Cat. No. 28, a striding statue in the tomb of *Tjj*, is described in the associated text as *nḏr*, "smoothing." In the workshop scenes, *nḏr* is regularly employed to characterize the work of carpenters and joiners²⁷⁵ as well as shipwrights.²⁷⁶ In association with Cat. No. 28, the caption reinforces the suggestion made in § 54 that the material of the statue is wood.

srḏ describes the activity of artisans in connection with Cat. Nos. 19, 48, and 50. The word, that may be translated "forming" or "shaping," contains no implicit reference to a specific material, nor is it used in association with a particular tool.²⁷⁷ The same is true of *sn'c*, "polishing," the activity shown in connection with Cat. No. 27.²⁷⁸

273 Montet, *Scènes*, 290, identified the word that he transliterated *ḥ:s* as a type of tree. Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 143, suggested "Wüstenholz." The translation adopted here follows P. Posener-Krieger, *BeiträgeBf* 12, 1971, 76, who noted eight occurrences of the material in the Abusir Papyri; cf. also P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 1972, 69-70.

274 The suggestion that both *ksbt* and *špnn* refer to substances other than the material of the statues is rejected in the *Catalogue*, in the notes to Cat. Nos. 43 and 44.

275 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 100, 101, 107, etc.

276 E.g., Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti II*, pl. CXXIX.

277 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 57, translated "Schlagen, (zurecht)schlagen." The term is also found in association with metal working, *ibid.*, 33.

278 For "polishing/sanding" wooden beds see Drenkhahn's tabulation, *Handwerker*, 99-100, but also for "polishing" carnelian, *ibid.*, 48. Note that the polishing of stone vases is not described by *sn'c*, but in one case, three finished vessels are labelled *sn'c 'iwt*, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. XIII.

§ 65

In § 53 - § 64, material was identified on the basis of criteria other than the statue representations themselves. In each case, the material of the statue determined according to external data was found to be in agreement with the internal evidence provided by the statue representation. Thus, in the absence of external criteria, the depiction itself may furnish reliable data for determination of material.

The striding statues Cat. Nos. 11 and 101 have back pillars²⁷⁹ while a back slab is present in the composition of the seated statues Cat. Nos. 24, 54, and 157.²⁸⁰ Because the presence of these structural elements is diagnostic for stone statues,²⁸¹ the material of Cat. Nos. 11, 24, 54, 101, and 157 is stone.

The arm of an adze-wielding artisan is visible between the legs of the striding statue Cat. No. 28; i.e., no negative space is present where it would be expected were the statue made of stone.²⁸² The absence of negative space, a structural device peculiar to stone statuary, further confirms the identification of the material as wood, made above, § 54, on the basis of the tools used by the craftsmen. Similarly, the legs of the craftsman associated with Cat. No. 31 are visible behind the legs of the figure. Accordingly, Cat. No. 31 is also a wooden statue.

Fifty-two representations of striding statues without back pillar that were not considered above depict a figure extending the far arm to grasp the walking staff.²⁸³ In actual statuary, this attitude was executed only in wood.

As many as twenty-four of the remaining representations depicting striding male statues²⁸⁴ document attitudes that could have been sculptured in either stone or wood. These representations might depict wooden statues imitating stone types, a well-documented phenomenon in actual Old Kingdom statuary,²⁸⁵ but it is equally possible that the back pillar has been inadvertently omitted from these compositions.

279 So also Cat. No. 104, discussed above, § 64.

280 So also Cat. Nos. 26, 65, and 66, discussed above, § 56 and § 63.

281 For the occurrence of the back pillar and slab in actual Old Kingdom statuary, see Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 102-103 and cf. Fischer's comments, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 11.

282 Remarked by H. Schäfer, in *Wresz.*, *Atlas* III, 64.

283 Cat. Nos. 4, 15, 25, 32, 39, 41, 61, 63, 67, 68, 75, 78, 81, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 118, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 146, 147, 148, 152, 154, and 155.

284 Cat. Nos. 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 34, 35, 46, 47, 49, 57, 64(?), 79, 80, 85, 86, 116, 120(?), 135, 136(?), 137, and 142. Standing statues of women which might have been made of wood or stone are Cat. Nos. 2, 3, 6, 30, 40, 50, 58, and 129.

285 Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 90 § A. Note that the material of Cat. Nos. 23, 27, and 28 is wood, see § 54 and § 64; these statues exemplify representations of wooden statues that imitate stone types.

The material of the remaining representations depicting seated figures without the walking staff²⁸⁶ may be either stone or wood, for, on the one hand, large-scale seated statues were carved from wood during the Old Kingdom,²⁸⁷ but, on the other hand, a back slab or back pillar was not a mandatory element in the composition of seated statues made of stone.²⁸⁸

The material of about one-third of the statues represented in relief and painting remains in doubt. But it is certain that over half of the undamaged representations depict wooden statues. Even if the evidence of attitude be disregarded, the representations of wooden statues would still outnumber those positively identifiable as stone statues by about two to one. These findings indicate that the production of wooden statues during the Old Kingdom was more significant than is suggested by the relatively modest number of surviving specimens. More importantly, doubt is cast on the validity of the claim that the ancient Egyptian preferred stone, the harder the better, to wood for his statues.²⁸⁹ The representation of both wooden and stone statues within a single tomb - e.g., in the tombs of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Tjj*, *Wp-m-nfrt*, and *Pth-šps* - implies that wooden statues were as highly regarded as stone statues.²⁹⁰ In some tombs, such as that of *ḥtj-ḥtp*, only wooden statues are depicted in the representations, suggesting that wooden statues were sufficient to satisfy the cult needs of the tomb owner.²⁹¹

286 Cat. Nos. 1 (female), 5, 18(?), 29(?), 33(?), 48, 52, 59 (female), 76, 82, 93, 96, and 97.

287 E.g. CG 380.

288 E.g. CG 21, 25, etc.; see also § 15, above.

289 Note that limestone was sometimes painted to imitate wood. False doors or parts of them may be painted red or yellow in imitation of wood, see Junker, *Giza VII*, 241-242 and cf. MMA 12.183.8, published by H.G. Fischer, *JARCE II*, 1963, frontis. So also some architectural elements in limestone mastabas, cf. Junker, *Giza XII*, 41-42, and even parts of stone statues, e.g., the back pillar, see Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 1975, 11. The painting of limestone to imitate granite is customarily explained as the result of the tomb owner's wish that his tomb goods be made of costly, durable stone (see, e.g., Hayes, *Scepter I*, 104). Of course, the painting of limestone to imitate wood cannot be similarly explained.

290 Only rarely has a single Old Kingdom tomb yielded both wooden and stone statuary, but this situation is undoubtedly attributable to accident of preservation. An example of a mastaba whose equipment originally included statues in a variety of materials is the tomb of *Snb* at Giza. The famous limestone group JE 51280 was found in one *serdab*; from a second *serdab* Junker removed fragments of a striding figure made of wood, and the base of a granite statue inscribed for the tomb owner was also recovered from the debris (see Junker, *Giza V*, 121-122). Similarly, the *serdab* of *Nj-ḥnḥ-R'*'s tomb at Giza yielded "Reste von Holzbildern" as well as a limestone "squatting" statue of the tomb owner, see Junker, *Giza XI*, 88 - contra Kaplony, *Methethi*, 55, who states that no *serdab* contained statues made of both stone and wood.

291 There are several cases where all the known statues deriving from a particular tomb were made of wood. Examples are the statues of *Mjtrj* (see Hayes, *Scepter I*, 110-112), of another *ḥtj-ḥtp* (see Zayed, *ASAE* LV, 1958, 136) and of *Mttj* (see Kaplony, *Methethi*, 55-70).

It is often taken for granted that wood was an inexpensive and readily available commodity whereas stone was obtainable only from quarrying operations monopolized by the court. This description of the economic factors involved in acquiring a statue made of wood or stone is acceptable only with certain qualifications. On the one hand, the quarrying of hard stones (granite in particular) and their transport to the residence remained a royal prerogative through the end of the Old Kingdom.²⁹² However, beginning in later Dynasty V and into Dynasty VI, the number of small-scale statues of private persons carved in granite sharply increases probably as the result of the appropriation of small, amorphous granite chunks discarded in the neighborhood of the royal funerary temples and sculptors' workshops²⁹³ or even through "confiscation" of larger statues that were broken up to furnish material for smaller figures. Thus a private person's granite statue cannot always be taken as indicative of royal favor. Similarly, the limestone quarries at Tura seem to have become directly accessible to private persons in the later Old Kingdom.²⁹⁴ On the other hand, ebony and cedar were clearly obtainable only through the royal monopoly of foreign trade.²⁹⁵ As its name implies, *ḥt-ḥꜥw*["imported wood,"] also belongs to this category.

Why a particular material was chosen for a specific statue is not always obvious. Probably several fundamentally different criteria were involved in the selection. Each of the materials chosen had its particular qualifications and reference. For example, granite was valued for its durability; simultaneously, a granite statue could document royal favor. Similarly, ebony, cedar, and presumably *ḥt-ḥꜥs*["?"] were obtainable only by the king's grace. But the choice of other materials was perhaps based on less mundane considerations. One of the statues commissioned by *Tjj*, Cat. No. 98, was made of acacia. The abundance and accessibility of acacia wood in ancient Egypt is well attested.²⁹⁶ Presumably the

292 See, in general, Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 126-130.

293 So Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 89-90.

294 So Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 88-89.

295 The importation of cedar during the Old Kingdom is discussed by Helck, *Beziehungen*, 25-28. Ebony was obtained via Yam - cf. *Ḥr-ḥꜥj.f*'s autobiographical account of his third expedition to that region, *Urk.* I, 126-127. For wood and its accessibility in Egypt, see C. Müller, "Holz und Holzverarbeitung," *LÄ* II, 1264-1266.

296 Lucas, *Materials*, 442; W. Helck, "Akazie," *LÄ* I, 113.

acquisition of a statue carved from acacia required no royal dispensation. Possibly the tomb owner required a statue of acacia because of the material's ritual connotation.²⁹⁷

§ 66

Klebs,²⁹⁸ Montet,²⁹⁹ Shoukry,³⁰⁰ and Kees³⁰¹ have discussed some scenes of statue transport occurring in Old Kingdom tombs, epitomizing the ceremony and the associated rites. In his study of the funerary ritual, Settgast also considered some scenes of statue transport,³⁰² establishing that there were two fundamentally different types of vignettes: scenes depicting "actual" statue transport and tableaux where the statue or closed statue shrine appears in lieu of the sarcophagus.

The following discussion of statue transport scenes is primarily concerned with the statue representations themselves and the texts associated with them, two areas not dealt with in the studies cited. Seventy-three representations, Cat. Nos. 58 - 130, in twenty-four tombs provide the data for analysis.³⁰³

297 For the "acacia house" and its association with the funerary cult, see Edel, *Akazienhaus*, 19-21.

No group of actual wooden statues belonging to a single person has been scientifically examined to determine if all are made of the same or different types of wood, but note that the five statues of *Mttj* seem to have been made of at least three types of wood (contra Kaplony, *Methethi*, 55). The material of *Blkyn*. 51.1 may be ebony (so J.D. Cooney, *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* XV, 1953, 4) while B.V. Bothmer, *BMFA* XLVI, 1948, 30, writes, with regard to MFA 47.1455: "The statue is of cedar or some other coniferous wood; the wood of the base has a coarser grain and is probably of local origin."

298 Klebs, *Reliefs* I, 42.

299 Montet, *Scènes*, 385-388.

300 Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 292-293.

301 Kees, *Totenglauben* (2nd ed., 1956, here and below), 124-126.

302 Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 8-9, 16-23, 65-67.

303 Giza: *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III, *Dbh.n(.j)*, *Bw-nfr*, *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, *Hnmw-ntj*, *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Rḥ*, *Jdw*

Abusir: *Pth-špss*

Saqqara: *Nj-ḥnh-Hmnw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj*, *Rḥ-m-kḥ*, *Rḥ-špss*, *Tjj*, *Ḥtp-kḥ(.j)*, *ḥtj-ḥtp*, *Kḥ(.j)-gmj.n.j*, *Nfr-jrjt.n.f*, *Mrr-wj-kḥ.j*, *Pth-ḥtp*, *Sdbw:Jbbj*, *Nj-ḥnh-njswt*, *Mrj*, *Jdwt*

Dahshur: *Snfw-jnj-jšt.f*

The decoration of the tomb of *Tp-m-ḥnh* at Abusir (*PM* III, 343-344) is known to have included a scene of statue transport. A scene illustrating the dragging of statues to the tomb was shown on the east wall of the chapel. Borchardt, *Ne-user-reḥ*, 122, summarily describes only one of the statues represented, "ein Sitzbild des Toten in einem Kapellchen auf Schlittenkufen." (Junker, *Giza* V, 11, incorrectly assigns this scene to the tomb of *Wsr-kḥ.f-ḥnh*.)

Quibell, *Excav. Saqq. 1907-1908*, 26, reports scenes of statue transport on the thicknesses of the entryway to the tomb of *Nj-kḥ-w-ḥr* at Saqqara. The badly weathered scene on the north side is described simply as men dragging a statue. On the south side, in the upper register, two bulls and six men tow a statue. (The tableau was probably similar in content and appearance to the transport scene in the tomb of *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj*, Cat. No. 78.) In the lower register, a statue

§ 67

Normally the orientation of the scene of statue transport is the same as that of other processions depicted in the reliefs and paintings: in conformity with the associated texts describing the goal of the procession as the tomb, the statue faces into the chapel with its back to the tomb's entrance.

The orientation of statue transport in two tombs is exceptional. In the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III, the two statues being transported, Cat. Nos. 58 and 59, face toward the entrance of the tomb. The immediate proximity of statue transport and statue manufacture, both shown together in the same register, is also unusual. The decoration in its entirety is experimental, for G 7530-7540 is one of the earliest rock-cut tombs provided with extensive relief decoration³⁰⁴; scenes of craftsmen at work and statue transport are documented for the first time in *Mrj.s-ḥ* III's tomb. In such circumstances, anomalies like the unusual orientation of the statue transport scene are not unexpected.

The scene of statue transport in the tomb of *Pth-šps* at Abusir is oriented not toward the chapel with its statue shrines but toward the pillared courtyard. However, the orientation of the statues is consistent with other information provided by the representations and the finds of statuary in the courtyard, suggesting that the statues shown were actually intended for exhibition in the court and not for the statue niches in the chapel.³⁰⁵

§ 68

During the Old Kingdom, only statues of the tomb owner are depicted in scenes of statue transport.³⁰⁶ Normally the statues are conveyed overland, but in the tomb of *Tjj*, the transfer of seven statues by boat, Cat. Nos. 87-93, precedes and supplements the scenes of statue transport by

in a shrine is censured.

Another now inaccessible scene of statue transport at Saqqara was to be found in Mariette's mastaba C 1 - see Mariette, *Mastabas*, 114. The transport scenes in the tomb of *Nb-ḳw-ḥr* - see *PM* III, 627(2) - would seem to include unusual features that I have reserved for detailed consideration at a later date.

The relief fragment Berlin 14105, mentioned by Klebs, *Reliefs* I, 42, as possibly showing a scene of statue transport, actually depicts the conveying of a shrine.

Finally, a relief fragment should be noted that S. Adam, *ASAE* LVI, 1959, 217, pl. XIIA, found reused in the foundation of a drain at Ezbet Rushdi. A figure at the left edge of the fragment carries a fan and a small strip of cloth like a man associated with Cat. No. 96, suggesting that the block may have once belonged to a similar scene.

For the technical aspects of statue transport, see H. Chevrier, *RdE* 22, 1970, 23-25.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Junker, *Giza* III, 61-62, 66; Reisner, *Giza* I, 350-351.

³⁰⁵ See § 4, and note 46, above.

³⁰⁶ Subsequently, the tomb owner's wife might be depicted in a statue shown dragged to the tomb - e.g., Cat. No. 166, in the *Appendix*.

land, Cat. Nos. 94-99. The transport of a closed statue shrine by boat is also sometimes depicted, see further below, § 81.

A sledge is regularly included in the scenes of overland transport. In the tomb of *ḥtj-ḥtp*, the statue bases of Cat. Nos. 105 and 106 are depicted securely trussed to the sledges. Frequently, however, no separate base is shown. For the purpose of the representations, presumably the sledge might function simultaneously as a statue base.

§ 69

The decoration of six tombs includes representations of statues in scenes of both manufacture and transport,³⁰⁷ but only in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III is the same statue apparently shown in both contexts.³⁰⁸

§ 70

The statues represented in scenes of transport show the same variety of attitude as depicted in scenes of manufacture. The only type included in a vignette of statue making but absent from scenes of transport is the nude striding statue. The absence of this type may be due to accident of preservation, for in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥ:ḥnj km*, two nude striding figures, Cat. Nos. 154 and 155, are included in the group of statues depicted at the entrance to the tomb's *serdab*. The tableau shows the display of the statues prior to their introduction into the *serdab*, but subsequent to their transport, an activity not included in the reliefs of *Ppjj-ḥ*'s tomb.

Of course, the statues depicted in scenes of transport are finished, and, as implied above, § 45, the costume is more detailed than in the workshop scenes. The curls and strands of wigs are often rendered in relief (e.g., Cat. Nos. 64, 76, 79, etc.), the structure of the broad collar may be indicated (e.g., Cat. Nos. 64, 76, 100, etc.), and the pleating of the half-goffered kilt is sometimes meticulously reproduced (Cat. Nos. 68 and 82).

307 *Mrj.s-ḥ* III, *Nj-ḥ:ḥnmw/ḥnmw-ḥtp*, *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, *Tjj*, *Pth-špss*, *Mrr-wj-ki.j*.

308 Cat. Nos. 1 and 59. Either the scene of manufacture or of transport is not completely preserved in the tombs of *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, *Tjj*, and *Mrr-wj-ki.j*. In the tombs of *Pth-špss* and *Nj-ḥ:ḥnmw* and *ḥnmw-ḥtp* the statues shown in the two contexts are different. Two statues shown being made in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥ:ḥnj km* at Meir are in all likelihood depicted a second time, but the context is not statue transport. Cat. Nos. 156 and 157 are included in a vignette showing a group of four statues already arrived at the tomb; no sledges are present. For all practical purposes, these statues are identical with Cat. Nos. 56 and 54, respectively, depicted in the tomb's scenes of statue manufacture.

§ 71

In general, the statues depicted in transport scenes are life-size, or in the case of seated figures, somewhat larger.³⁰⁹ But in some cases, the scale of the statues is markedly over life-size.³¹⁰ With the exception of the earliest tableau containing a "colossal" statue, Cat. No. 59,³¹¹ the scenes in which seemingly over life-size statues occur are composed on the same pattern: one or two sub-registers of offerings fill the space above the heads of the smaller-scaled crew members who drag the statue.

In only one case can it be demonstrated that the tomb owner actually possessed a statue comparable in size to the statue depicted. In the courtyard of the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir, de Morgan found the base with the lower part of the legs and feet of a colossal striding statue made of granite.³¹² The existence of this fragment suggests that the scale of Cat. Nos. 101-104 may accurately reflect the size of actual statues made for *Pth-špss*.

In the remaining cases, the size of the statues depicted cannot be reconciled with what is known of the respective tombs and their contents. For example, there seems to be no suitable location for the placement of the colossal seated statue Cat. No. 59 within the precinct of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III's tomb. Similarly, the position and orientation of the scenes of statue transport in the tomb of *R'-špss* at Saqqara imply that the four colossal statues depicted, Cat. Nos. 81-84, were destined for the pillared court with its three niches. Neither the number of the statues shown nor their size is appropriate to the space provided. Furthermore, Cat. No. 83, a colossal striding statue, is described in the associated inscription as made of wood, but it is doubtful that wood was used for such large statues during the Old Kingdom.³¹³

The remaining tombs with representations of the transport of colossal statues also provide no evidence that the statues depicted refer to actual statuary of the tomb owner.

309 Cf. the compositional principle discussed above, § 46. In the transport scenes, the head of the statue is almost always on a higher level than those of the associated figures, because the statue is elevated on a sledge.

310 In the tombs of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III (Cat. No. 59), *R'-špss* (Cat. Nos. 81-84), *Tjj* (Cat. Nos. 94, 95, 98, and 99), *Htp-k:(.j)* (Cat. No. 100), *Pth-špss* (Cat. Nos. 101-104), *Pth-htp* (Cat. Nos. 113-114), and *ḥnh-m-ḥ-R'* (Cat. No. 124).

311 In spite of the limited space available to him, the designer of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III's statue transport scene doubly emphasized the large scale of the queen's seated statue, Cat. No. 59. First, he drew the statue larger than the same seated statue in the manufacture scene at the other end of the register (Cat. No. 1). Then he reduced the height of all the retainers who stand between Cat. No. 59 and a second statue being transported, Cat. No. 58.

312 See § 4 and note 46, above.

313 All that remained of *R'-špss'* actual statues were fragments recovered from the plundered *serdab*, see Quibell, *Excav. Saqq. 1907-1908*, 23.

In the scenes of statue transport, the accompanying inscriptions normally identify the statue with the tomb owner, see § 79 below. It is likely that the "colossal" statues are depicted on a much larger scale than the associated retainers not because the representations refer to actual statues in such a format, but because they are identified with the tomb owner himself who is almost invariably depicted on a much larger scale than other persons included in the tomb's reliefs and paintings.³¹⁴

§ 72

The inscriptions that accompany the scenes of statue transport may be divided into three groups: (1) texts describing the primary action taking place, § 73 - § 76; (2) captions characterizing subsidiary action and/or specifying the actors by title and/or name, § 77 and § 78; (3) labels identifying the statue, § 79.³¹⁵

§ 73

The basic form of the text describing the activity of statue transport is *šms twt*,³¹⁶ "escorting the statue." This bald statement may be elaborated by the addition of phrases that specify the goal of the procession, *r jz*, "to the tomb,"³¹⁷ and/or actors who accomplish the task, the crew, *jzt*.³¹⁸

The unique variant *šms twtw nfr m ḥtp m ḥtp ḥr ntr* 's, "escorting the statues well, in peace, in peace with the great god," occurs only in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* in association with Cat. Nos. 63, 65, and 66. In the tomb of *Tjj*, the verb *šḥp*, "bringing," alternates with *šms*. "Towing," *jth*, replaces *šms* in the tomb of *Snḏm-jb:Jntj* (Cat. No. 86), while *st* is the verb used in connection with the transport of Cat. No. 126, in *Mrj*'s tomb.

314 Note, however, that the size of a "colossal" statue does not approach the scale employed for representations of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting. For unusual depictions of the "living" tomb owner on the same scale as his retainers, see below, note 737.

315 For inscriptions associated with transport scenes in which a closed statue shrine appears, see § 81, below.

316 *Rpwt*, "female statue," replaces *twt* in Cat. No. 62.

317 E.g., Cat. Nos. 62, 64, 67, 79, 81, etc. The goal of the procession may be further specified by the addition of *n ḥrt-ntr* (cf. e.g., Cat. Nos. 67, 81, and the text associated with Cat. Nos. 94-99). Note the exceptional variant, Cat. No. 100, where *jst.f nt ḥrt-ntr*, "his property of the necropolis," occurs. In the texts of Cat. Nos. 108 and 109, the tomb is specified as belonging to its owner, as also in the case of Cat. No. 126.

318 Often the men are designated *jzt nt pr-ḏt*, "crew of the estate" - e.g., Cat. Nos. 76, 81, 83, etc. (*Pr-ḏt*, "estate," is discussed by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 136-137.) Twice the crew towing a statue is labelled *jzt n(t) pr-mrḥt(?)*, Cat. Nos. 60 and 62.

In the tomb of *Tjj*, an inscription describing the scene of statue transport by land identifies the men responsible for towing *ḥmw-k*.

The character of the action is essentially different in the representation of statue transport in *Hnmw-ntj*'s tomb; the text reads "receiving" (*šzp*) the statue.

§ 74

The transport of Cat. No. 78 in the tomb of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* is labelled *šms jn ngꜥw dšrw*, "escorting by red bulls." Three dancers and a woman whose action is described as mourning, *ḥꜣjt* lead the procession. Parallels for this scene make it certain that an episode of the funerary ritual is shown and that the statue here appears in place of the sarcophagus.³¹⁹

§ 75

The texts accompanying Cat. No. 94 in the tomb of *Tjj*, Cat. No. 107 in the tomb of *Kꜣ(.j)-gmj.n.j* and Cat. Nos. 110-112 in *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*'s tomb are exceptional, because the inscriptions refer directly to the statues being transported. In each case, the text implies the identification of the statue with the tomb owner.

The inscription of Cat. No. 94 is an exhortation reading *ḥꜣꜣꜣ nfr ḥr wꜣwt nfrwt m jmꜣḥw ḥr nꜣr ꜣꜣ*, "travel well upon the goodly ways as one revered with the great god!" The text is obviously related to the often expressed desire of the tomb owner to "travel upon the goodly ways..."³²⁰ The identification of the statue with the tomb owner himself is implied.

In the tomb of *Kꜣ(.j)-gmj.n.j*, the inscription accompanying Cat. No. 107 expresses the wish "may Anubis transfigure (*sꜣḥ*) you there!" The rite of *sꜣḥ*, "transfiguration," is elsewhere performed for the exclusive benefit of the deceased.³²¹

The inscription associated with Cat. Nos. 110-112 in *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*'s tomb concludes *m ḥtp m ḥtp jn zmt jmnt ꜣwj.s r.s*, "welcome, welcome, says the western desert, her arms (outstretched) to them (i.e., the statues)." The text is paralleled by two inscriptions in the subterranean apartments of *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*'s tomb where the tomb owner himself is welcomed to the necropolis by the western desert.³²²

319 Cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 17-23; see also note 303, above, for an unpublished scene of similar type.

320 For the wish, see Junker, *Giza II*, 57-59; idem., *Giza VII*, 208-210; J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 13, 1954, 250-251; Barta, *Opferformel*, 17 ("Bitte 12"), 303.

321 For *sꜣḥ*, see E. Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 1943, 18-19; Barta, *Opferformel*, 29 ("Bitte 26"), 305. So, too, elsewhere in the tomb of *Kꜣ(.j)-gmj.n.j*, *Gem-ni-kai II*, pl. XXIX.

322 See Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 143; cf., also, in general, the remarks of Wilson, *JNES* 13, 1954, 250.

§ 76

In the inscriptions describing the action depicted in statue transport scenes, *twt* or *twtw* may be further specified by the addition of the tomb owner's name, sometimes augmented by one or more titles.³²³ The labels accompanying the transportation of Cat. Nos. 75, 117, and 118 include epithets initiated by *jmḥw*, as well as the tomb owner's name and titles. Once, Cat. No. 83, the material of the statue is mentioned.

§ 77

Subsidiary captions associated with scenes of transport may describe the activities of specific figures and/or identify them by name and/or title (see § 78). "Pouring water" (in front of the sledge), *stjt mw*,³²⁴ and "burning incense," *kṣp sntr*,³²⁵ are the two most common labels affixed to the actions of subsidiary figures. Other secondary inscriptions may take the form of exhortations to encourage the crew. *šms nfr*, "escort well!" occurs in connection with the transport of Cat. No. 76, while the crews dragging Cat. Nos. 97-99 are urged to "proceed well!" *ḥpj nfr*. Only once does a subsidiary inscription refer to the statue: *ḥrj nfr*, "be at peace and well!" is written beside Cat. No. 76.

§ 78

The man who pours water in front of the sledge is designated *ḥrp jzt*, "director of the crew," in the tombs of *Tjj* (Cat. Nos. 94, 96, 97, and 98) and *Pth-špss* (Cat. Nos. 102 and 104). This official, whose full title was apparently *ḥrp jzt n pr-ḏt*, also occurs in scenes of statue transport in the tomb of *R'-špss* where he pulls on the tow ropes attached to Cat. Nos. 81, 83, and 84. In the same tomb, an "inspector of the crew," *shḏ jzt*, helps tow Cat. No. 83.³²⁶

The *zš pr-ḥḏ Pth-ḥ'j.f* heads up the procession transporting Cat. No. 99 in the tomb of *Tjj*. A man named *šhm* who bears the same title proffers incense to Cat. No. 64, in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*.

The individual members of the crew are singled out for mention in the tomb of *Sḥbw*. The crew towing Cat. Nos. 117 and 118 includes two men labelled *jmj-r ššr*, "overseer of cloth,"³²⁷ and two sons of the tomb owner. All these persons are further specified by the addition of their names. The presence of the sons of the tomb owner may indicate that in

323 E.g., Cat. Nos. 76, 85, 86, 95, 97, etc.

324 E.g., Cat. Nos. 63, 68, 81, 94, 95, etc.

325 E.g., Cat. Nos. 61, 67, 81, 83, etc. In association with Cat. No. 76, the phrase *rdjt sntr* occurs as a variant. For the significance of censng in these scenes, see further below, § 80.

326 For the simple designation of an official as *shḏ* in connection with Cat. Nos. 108 and 109, see note 329, below.

327 So, too, the man named *Jfn* who censng Cat. No. 125.

this case, the crew was a temporary institution, formed solely for the task of conveying the statues to the tomb. The presence of the tomb owner's son is documented in connection with statue transport in one other tomb: the eldest son of *Htp-k:(.j)* brings up the rear of the procession transporting Cat. No. 100. Otherwise, those men³²⁸ who come into direct contact with the statue are often funerary priests,³²⁹ but other officials are also represented.³³⁰

§ 79

In the earliest scenes of transport, in the tombs of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III, *Dbḥ.n(.j)*, and *Bw-nfr*, the persons depicted in the statues are not identified. The figures are also unlabelled in the earliest transport scenes at Saqqara, in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*. Subsequently, however, the person shown in the statue being conveyed to the tomb is often identified by an associated inscription, exceptions being Cat. Nos. 79, 80, 100, 105, 107, 110-112, 119-124, and 126. Cat. Nos. 79 and 80 in the tomb of *R'-m-k:* are designated simply *twt*, as is Cat. No. 105 in the tomb of *ḥtj-ḥtp*, but a second statue in the latter tomb, Cat. No. 106, is clearly labelled *smr-w'tj ḥtj-ḥtp*. In the texts accompanying Cat. Nos. 100, 107, and 110-112, pronouns refer to the statues but the figures themselves are without labels. In the tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥ-R'* (Cat. Nos. 119-124), a legible inscription is visible only in connection with one of six statues: Cat. No. 124 is labelled simply *twt*.

In the texts describing the activity of transport, *twt* or *twtw* may be qualified by the addition of the tomb owner's name, with or without titles, cf. § 76, above. The labels written directly above or beside the representations are more informative. They consist of the name and title(s) of the tomb owner. These inscriptions are analogous to the labels identifying the "living" tomb owner elsewhere in the reliefs and paintings. In six cases, Cat. Nos. 75, 82, 106, 125, 128, and 129, the name and titles are the only inscriptions accompanying the representations. In the tomb of *R'-špss*, Cat. Nos. 81, 83, and 84 are identified as statues by other associated texts, but the tomb owner's name and titles have been

328 In the tomb of *Dbḥ.n(.j)*, a woman stands immediately in front of the statue Cat. No. 60 that is being transported to the tomb.

329 Censing the statue: *ḥm-k:* with Cat. Nos. 76 and 110; *šḥd ḥmw-k:* (with or without other titles) in front of Cat. Nos. 63, 65, 67, 68, and 87. (Cf. the tomb owner's son designated *hrj-ḥbt* who censes Cat. No. 114.)

Steadying the image: *šḥd ḥmw-k:* with Cat. No. 63; *ḥm-k:* with Cat. No. 95. On analogy, the *šḥd* associated with Cat. Nos. 108 and 109 should also be a priest, rather than an "inspector of the crew."

330 Censing: *zš pr-ḥd* (Cat. No. 64); *jmj-r šn'* (Cat. Nos. 113 and 114); *sdwtj-ntr zš mdit* (Cat. No. 118); *ḥrp zh* (Cat. No. 128); *jmj-r sšr* (Cat. No. 125). In association with Cat. No. 129, the person censing the statue is designated by name only.

repeated in direct proximity to the figures. The same is true for Cat. Nos. 98 and 99 in *Tjj*'s tomb and Cat. Nos. 102 and 104 in the tomb of *Pth-špss*.³³¹

In the tombs of *Htp-hr-ḥtj*, *R'-špss*, *Tjj*, and *Pth-špss*, more than two statues are depicted in transit. The selection of titles accompanying the representations vary from figure to figure, just as the titles found in connection with depictions of the "living" tomb owner.³³² The series of representations of statues being transported in the tomb of *Tjj* may serve as an example. Each time *Tjj* is named in the inscriptions associated with a representation, *smr-w'tj* heads the title sequence. The following titles and epithets vary:

Cat. No. 94: *smr-w'tj ḥrp ḥ'*

Cat. No. 95: *//////////ḥrj-ḥbt'*

Cat. No. 96: *smr-w'tj hrj-sšt: n pr-dw:t mrj nb.f*

Cat. No. 97: *smr-w'tj jrj nfr-ḥ:t////'mrj' nb.f r' nb*

Cat. No. 98: *smr-w'tj hrj-sšt: n pr-dw:t* (above the statue: *smr-w'tj jrj nfr-ḥ:t*)

Cat. No. 99: *smr-w'tj nj-mrwt jrj nfr-ḥ:t mrj nb.f* (above the statue: *smr-w'tj mrjj n nb.f*)

When only two statues are shown being transported, the titles borne by both statues are apparently the same,³³³ but the figures themselves are differentiated by attitude or costume.

§ 80

The subsidiary activity regularly associated with statue transport is censuring.³³⁴ The officiant may be a priest, but other officials are also represented.³³⁵ The incense burner is a simple footed cup held in one

331 These four inscriptions specify the material of the statues. *Twt n X* is followed by the name and title(s) of the tomb owner. The labels are not to be read "statue made of X of N" but "statue made of X; N," as the arrangement of the hieroglyphs above Cat. No. 99 shows, for the description of material is clearly segregated from the name.

332 Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 95-96, notes that actual statues belonging to one person may be inscribed with different titles. This practice is related to the tomb owner's desire to possess several different statues. H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 20, and also *Apollo*, Sept. 1965, 15, has suggested that the several statues in turn embodied the various *ḥprw* of the tomb owner.

333 In the tombs of *Sndm-jb:Jntj* (Cat. Nos. 85 and 86), *Nfr-jrjt.n.f* (Cat. Nos. 108 and 109), and *Pth-ḥtp* (Cat. Nos. 113 and 144), as well as in the tomb of *Jdwt* (Cat. Nos. 128 and 129). The titles of Cat. Nos. 117 and 118 in the tomb of *S:bw* are the same, but the epithets of the tomb owner are different.

334 E.g., Cat. Nos. 58, 59, 61, 63, etc.

335 Cf. notes 329 and 330, above.

hand; its lid may be carried or held by the officiant.³³⁶ The priests censuring Cat. Nos. 63, 64, and 65 hold the cup in the far hand, a fan in the near hand to propel the smoke to the statue's face, and the lid of the censer under the near arm. A brazier atop a tall, perforated stand serves as incense burner in the case of Cat. No. 66.

The ritual significance of censuring seems to have been manifold.³³⁷ The presence of *sntr* at the head of the offering list documents the role of censuring for purification as an essential preliminary to the offering ritual effected for the benefit of the deceased.³³⁸ The scenes of statue transport often include sub-registers filled with a variety of food offerings³³⁹; obviously, a meal was planned for the statue.³⁴⁰ In all likelihood, censuring of the statue was intended to effect its purification prior to the presentation of offerings.

In connection with the transport of Cat. No. 96 in *Tjj*'s tomb, an attendant fans the seated statue, a task he might perform equally well for the benefit of the "living" tomb owner.³⁴¹ The small handkerchief carried by the same retainer may also be intended for the statue's use.³⁴²

§ 81

In five tombs, a closed statue shrine replaces the sarcophagus in the scenes of the funeral that depict the transport of the mummy. To such tableaux in the tombs of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* (Cat. No. 77), *Pth-ḥtp* (Cat. No. 115), *Jdw* (Cat. No. 127), and *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* (Cat. No. 130), all previously discussed by Settgast,³⁴³ may now be added two series shown in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnj-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* (Cat. Nos. 69-74). In every case the form of the statue shrine could accommodate only a striding statue, cf. § 7,

336 Cf. A.M. Blackman, *ZÄS* 50, 1912, 66-68.

337 Censuring has not been the subject of special study since the articles of A.M. Blackman, *ZÄS* 50, 1912, 69-75, and H. Bonnet, *ZÄS* 67, 1931, 20-28. The suggestion that the envelopment of the statue in incense facilitated union with the *kꜥ* (so Blackman, *op.cit.*, 74-75, and Bonnet, *op.cit.*, 22-23) is an interpretation not supported by representational evidence. The relationship between the statue and the *kꜥ* is a much discussed problem; the representations of statues do not furnish information pertinent to its solution.

338 Cf. Barta, *Opferliste*, 28-29, 69.

339 E.g., Cat. Nos. 62, 75, 78, 81, 82, etc.

340 The meal is presented to the statue upon arrival at the tomb, see §88, below.

341 Noted by Junker, *Giza* XI, 229 note 1. For the palmiform fan employed, cf. the examples cited by H.G. Fischer, "Fächer und Wedel," *LÄ* II, 81.

342 So Junker, *Giza* XI, 229 note 1. For this type of little handkerchief, see Staehelin, *Tracht*, 163. However, the retainer himself might need the small piece of cloth in connection with his job - cf. the crew member steadying Cat. No. 75 who has placed such a "handkerchief" between his hand and the statue's shoulder, presumably to protect the surface of the image.

343 *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 8-9, 16-20, 65-67.

above. The name and titles of the tomb owner are written above three of these shrines, Cat. Nos. 69, 70, and 77. The contents of the shrine are never labelled *twt*.³⁴⁴

In five instances, Cat. Nos. 69, 70, 77, 127, and 130, the closed shrine replaces the sarcophagus for the journey to the necropolis on the west bank. Thrice, Cat. Nos. 71, 72, and 115, the voyage to Sais on the *wrt* canal is the subject of the scene where the shrine appears in lieu of the sarcophagus. Cat. Nos. 73 and 74 are shrines atop sledges being drawn by two bulls. The vignettes are identical in form with the canonical scene depicting the towing of the coffin. The implication of these scenes is that in certain contexts, the statue might effectively function as a replacement for the mummy of the deceased.

§ 82

Scenes depicting statues in a ritual context are few³⁴⁵; only thirteen examples in seven Old Kingdom tombs are available for consideration.³⁴⁶ The representations may be divided into two groups: (1) tableaux depicting the concluding episode of the funeral where the statue replaces the mummy, § 83 - § 84; (2) vignettes showing the Old Kingdom offering ritual *per se*, enacted before the statue, § 85 - § 89. In all these scenes, the recipient of ritual attention is a striding statue.

§ 83

Cat. No. 131, in the tomb of *Dbḥ.n(.j)*, and Cat. Nos. 132 and 133, both in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, are representations of statues depicted as the object of the concluding ceremony of the funeral.

The scene showing the rites atop the mastaba in the tomb of *Dbḥ.n(.j)* has been repeatedly discussed. Schäfer was the first to describe the tableau in detail.³⁴⁷ According to his interpretation, the scene depicts a stage of the solemnities after the sarcophagus with the mummy has been placed in the substructure of the tomb; the statue, Cat. No. 131, receives offerings before it, too, is lowered into the burial chamber.³⁴⁸

344 For the inscriptions accompanying these scenes, see the individual catalogue entries.

345 These vignettes are to be distinguished from those scenes discussed above, § 80, where the statue is transported (primary action) and simultaneously censed (secondary action).

346 Giza: *Dbḥ.n(.j)*, *Sṣm-nfr/Sṣm-nfr:Ttj* complex.

Saqqara: *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Smḥ-wj-Pth:Jtwš*, *Mrr-wj-k(.j)*, *Ḥntj-k(.j):Jḥḥj*, *Jj-nfrt*.

One inaccessible vignette may also be cited. In the tomb of *Nj-k(.j)-w-Ḥr* at Saqqara, the censing of a statue in a shrine is shown, see note 303, above.

347 ZÄS 41, 1904, 65-67.

348 As Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 23 note 4, has remarked, archaeological evidence for the placement of statues of the tomb owner in the burial chamber dates only from the later Old Kingdom.

Klebs modified Schäfer's description, suggesting that the statue was to be introduced via a shaft from the roof into the *serdab*,³⁴⁹ while Reisner³⁵⁰ and Smith³⁵¹ were content to describe the scene simply as depicting ceremonies at the tomb when *Dbḥ.n(.j)* was buried.

Junker made frequent reference to the scene. He was of the opinion that the statue replaced the sarcophagus with the mummy in the context of the *Bestattungsfeier*.³⁵² The findings of Settgast's study support Junker's estimation of the scene's content.³⁵³ In particular, the presence of the dancers and embalmer is paralleled in other scenes of the funerary rites.³⁵⁴

The analogous scenes in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḡ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* provide confirmation that the statue indeed functions as the deceased in Cat. No. 131.³⁵⁵ The tomb contains a complete series of the representations of the funerary ritual for each tomb owner. For the journey to the west, the voyage to Sais, and the towing of the coffin, a closed statue shrine replaces the sarcophagus, discussed above, in § 81. The concluding episode of the funeral takes place on the roof of the tomb, with the statues Cat. Nos. 132 and 133 replacing the mummy as the focal point of the ceremonies depicted.

In all likelihood, Cat. No. 143, shown in the tomb of *Jj-nfṛt*, should be similarly interpreted. The inclusion of the offering scene in the midst of other episodes of the funeral (*Sargschlittenzug* and the voyage to Sais) is comparable to the similar juxtaposition in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḡ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*.

349 Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 44; so also Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 284-286; cf. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 125-126.

350 *BMFA XXXII*, 1934, 9.

351 *Sculpture*, 171.

352 Giza III, 70; see further, below, note 355.

J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, 213, discussed the scene in connection with *Urk. I*, 190 C (which he translated: "Taking a stand upon the roof; invocation offering is made to him; his hand is grasped by his *ka's* and his fathers"), implying the identification of the statue with the deceased.

353 *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 23.

354 Note, too, the participation of the acacia maidens and their role in the funeral, see Edel, *Akazienhaus*, 9-18.

355 But they also furnish evidence to refute another of Junker's theses, viz. that Cat. No. 131 records an actual event that took place at the burial of *Dbḥ.n(.j)*. In Giza III, 70, Junker hypothesized: "Da der Sohn das Grab vollendete, wäre es möglich, daß es sich um die Wiedergabe wirklicher Vorgänge handelte." He restated the theory in Giza IV, 57. In the tomb of *Nj-ḥḡ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Cat. Nos. 132 and 133 are statues depicted in the same context as Cat. No. 131. There is no reason to suspect that the former tomb was completed after the deaths of both men. Thus the scenes do not record actual episodes of the funeral.

§ 84

When the statue appears in lieu of the mummified corpse in scenes of the funeral, a striding figure is shown. As noted above, § 7 and § 81, the form of the closed statue shrine in similar contexts implies the presence of a striding statue. A striding, rather than a seated, figure may have been chosen because the mummified body, wrapped and outfitted to resemble the living tomb owner as closely as possible,³⁵⁶ had the same appearance. (The mummy itself, in contrast to the coffin, was not depicted in Old Kingdom relief and painting.³⁵⁷)

§ 85

The Old Kingdom offering ritual is performed before a statue in the decoration of the tombs of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:Țtj*, *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*, *ȥntj-kꜣ:ȥȥj*, and *Smnȥ-wj-Pth:ȥtwš*. In each case, the focus of the ceremony is a striding statue.³⁵⁸

§ 86

The statues receiving offerings in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*, Cat. Nos. 138, 139, and 140, face toward the tomb's entrance, an orientation implying that the statues have been set up in their allotted places within the tomb precinct. Originally the orientation of the statues receiving offerings in the tomb of *ȥntj-kꜣ:ȥȥj*, Cat. Nos. 141 and 142, was the same as in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*, but a subsequent alteration in the tomb plan and the cutting of a new entrance to the mastaba reversed the arrangement so that the statues now face into the tomb.

Cat. Nos. 135, 136, and 137, in the tomb complex of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:Țtj*, face into the tomb, the usual orientation for statues being

356 See the comments of Smith, *Sculpture*, 23-24, and cf. E. Wente, *JARCE* VI, 1967, 174, with reference to the mummy of *Nfr*, see Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 40.

357 Junker, *Giza IV*, 57, would account for the omission by suggesting that the body was considered "unclean." There seems to be no concrete evidence, however, to support this hypothesis.

The close association of the embalmed corpse and the statue is further suggested by the use of Gardiner Sign-list A 53 as a determinative for *twt*, beginning in the early Middle Kingdom. The earliest occurrence of this determinative in association with *twt* (see below, note 396) is contemporary with the first shawabtys, and, presumably, with the first mummies wrapped in the characteristic form associated with the word "mummy" in popular literature (cf., e.g., the mummy of *Wꜥh*, a contemporary of Monthuhotep-Seankhkare, Hayes, *Scepter I*, 303-304).

358 Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 171-172, and 283, has suggested that actual seated statues depict the tomb owner before the offering table while actual striding statues embody the tomb owner's wish to be able to effect those activities shown accomplished by the striding figure of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting. This hypothesis is not supported by the representations, because they consistently depict the offering ritual performed for the benefit of striding statues.

transported. The absence of the crew indicates that the transfer of the statues to the tomb had been completed, but the presence of a sledge under Cat. No. 136, as well as the orientation of all the figures, suggests that the statues shown have not yet been installed in their final positions within the precinct.

The original disposition of the relief with a fragmentary statue representation from the tomb of *Smnḥ-wj-Pth:Jtwš*, Cat. No. 134, is not known.

§ 87

The statues Cat. Nos. 134, 135, 136, and 140 are depicted on a very large scale. Cat. Nos. 135 and 136 are approximately one third actual life-size, Cat. No. 140 is larger, and Cat. No. 134 is actual life-size. These are by far the largest representations of statues; their size is obviously related to the role of the statue in the context depicted. Like the "living" tomb owner elsewhere in the reliefs and paintings, the statue is the recipient of sustenance.

§ 88

The scene including Cat. No. 140, in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kṣ.j*, is the most detailed representation of the rites. Retainers advance to add their contribution to offerings already piled up before the statue. Priests (labelled *ḥm-kṣ*), dancers, and acrobats participate in the ceremony. The importance of the statue is emphasized not only by its "colossal" scale but also by its elevation upon a platform above seven steps.³⁵⁹ *Mrr-wj-kṣ.j*, accompanied by his wife, watches the festivities in his honor.³⁶⁰

Elsewhere in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kṣ.j*, the same ceremony is pictured in an abbreviated form with Cat. Nos. 138 and 139 as the recipients of offerings. Similarly, in the tomb complex of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:Ttj*, Cat. No. 135, and probably Cat. Nos. 136 and 137 as well, receives offerings in the presence of the tomb owner. Cat. No. 134 was also part of the same type of scene. A label for the statue is preserved only in two cases. The inscription accompanying Cat. No. 135 clearly designates the figure as a statue of the tomb owner while the text associated with Cat. No. 134 specifically refers to the function of the image as a receiver of offerings, see Chapter 4, § 103.

359 It is likely that the representation makes direct reference to the rock-cut statue of the tomb owner in the chapel, room 13A, and to "the actual ceremonies which Mereruka intended should take place... before the statue enshrined above the altar" (Duell, *Mereruka*, 17). The actual statue stands within a niche carved in imitation of a shrine, as shown in the representation, and is approached by five steps.

360 This scene, as well as Cat. Nos. 138 and 139 in the same tomb, parallels the tableau in the tomb of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:Ttj*, but Junker noted none of the scenes in *Mrr-wj-kṣ.j*'s tomb in connection with his discussion of the former vignette, see further, below.

Junker devoted a lengthy discussion to an interpretation of scenes where the "living" tomb owner was depicted together with his statues.³⁶¹ He was able to demonstrate that the scene of statue transport by boat in *Tj*'s tomb, Cat. Nos. 87-93, also took place in the presence of a large-scale figure of the "living" tomb owner.³⁶² To these examples should be added the entire series of statue transport by land in the same tomb, Cat. Nos. 94-99, as Wild has shown.³⁶³ He, too, believed the scene documented the presence of the "living" tomb owner on the occasion of the actual transport of statues to the tomb.

ḥtj-ḥtp also observes the transport of his statues, Cat. Nos. 105 and 106, to the tomb, as does *Mrr-wj-kḥ.j* (Cat. Nos. 110-112).

Junker supposed that some statues of the tomb owner were transported to the tomb and the *serdab* closed prior to the death and burial of the tomb owner.³⁶⁴ He suggested that Cat. No. 135 might depict the "dedication" of a statue on such an occasion.³⁶⁵ Junker interpreted these representations as providing evidence for a statue cult of private persons during their lifetime, but his hypothesis is not substantiated by other documents.³⁶⁶

If the compositions under consideration do not reflect actual practice, how can they be explained? In Old Kingdom relief and painting, the "living" tomb owner, depicted as a large-scale figure, appears regularly as an observer of activities effected for his benefit. Such compositions may well have exercised an influence on the representations of the offering ritual before statues and depictions of statue transport where the "living" tomb owner passively observes the scene.³⁶⁷

361 Junker, *Giza XI*, 226-233.

362 Junker, *Giza XI*, 229-231; see also H. Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 178-183.

363 *Mél. Mar.*, 183-187.

364 Junker, *Giza XI*, 228-229: the *serdab* "lag oft so tief in dem Bau, daß es ganz wesentlich leichter und sicherer war, sie vorher zu verschließen und das Dach der Mastaba in einem Stück herzustellen, statt über dem *Serdab* jeweils eine große Lücke zu lassen." Junker's reasoning is not supported by archaeological evidence. Building activity was certainly carried out at the tomb after the funeral, for the burial chamber had to be closed, the shaft filled, and its mouth concealed. The workmen employed for these tasks could have sealed the *serdab* as well and set the remaining roofing blocks in place.

365 Evidence from other sources for a "dedication" ceremony for private tomb statuary is not forthcoming. (E. Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, 35-36, has suggested that *msjt* in inscriptions associated with royal statuary, intended for temples of the gods, may be read *weißen*, see Chapter 5, § 109.)

366 But P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 37, 1968, 6 (and also *Methethi*, 34) would construe the text of Toronto 953.116.1 to document the receipt of funerary offerings by private persons during their lifetime. Such an interpretation is unfounded.

367 See, in particular, the statue transport observed by *Mrr-wj-kḥ.j*. The register showing statue transport (Cat. Nos. 110-112) is interposed in the midst of the craft scenes that include the manufacture of the

§ 89

The two remaining representations of statues in a cult context occur in the tomb of *Ḥntj-kꜣ:j:Jḥḥj*. Cat. No. 142 is censured as a preliminary to an offering ritual while an officiant is about to wring the necks of two ducks in front of Cat. No. 141. Both statues bear labels identifying them as the tomb owner.

§ 90

At least three Dynasty VI tombs once included *serdabs* whose walls were decorated with representations of statues in series.³⁶⁸ Only striding statues are shown. Within a single series, the representations are distinguished from each other by attributes, costume, painting, and/ or accompanying title and name.³⁶⁹ The purpose of these depictions is at once apparent: the statues shown should supplement and augment the actual statues enclosed within the statue chamber.

§ 91

In the workshop scenes, the statue is one of several items of funerary equipment shown in the process of manufacture. Any indication of a special status for the image or for the craftsmen engaged in its production derives from the inherent, but as yet potential, special relationship of the statue to the tomb owner.³⁷⁰

The statue depicted in the transport scenes has undergone a significant transformation. It has assumed the identity of the tomb owner (see § 79) and is capable of functioning in the cult (see § 80). Presumably, this fundamental change in the character of the statue has been affected

statues Cat. Nos. 39-41. A large-scale figure of the "living" tomb owner observing craftsmen at work is not at all unusual.

368 Giza: *Nḥbw, Sꜣbw:Jbbj*

Meir: *Ppjj-ḥnḥ:Ḥnj km*

Two additional tombs may belong to this group. J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 42, 1973, 398, mentioned the discovery of a tomb by an expedition under the direction of Yoyotte that "contenait les restes d'un serdab décoré de peintures." To my knowledge, no further information concerning this tomb at Giza has been subsequently published. A dealer in Göttingen published the photograph of a very faded painting in a sale catalogue that shows six figures accompanied by titles (*Galerie Ägyptischer Kunst Göttingen*, Oct. 1975, No. 10). An offering formula invoking Anubis is associated with the figures, recalling the combination of repeated figures and offering formulae familiar from the group of architraves discussed by Fischer, *Dendera*, 59-60. In default of a better photograph or other additional information, the fragment is not included here.

For isolated representations of statues in other contexts, see the Catalogue, Cat. Nos. 149 - 153. Cat. Nos. 154 - 157, representations of statues at the entrance to the *serdab* in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ:Ḥnj km* at Meir, have been discussed above, note 308 and § 70.

369 Regarding the motivation for such dissimulation, see note 332, above.

370 So also Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 56, 66, 160-161.

by the performance of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.³⁷¹ Texts accompanying three scenes of statue transport imply the virtual identity of the statue and the person it depicts, the deceased tomb owner (see § 75).

Upon closer examination, one scene of statue transport proved to be an episode of the funeral with the statue replacing the coffin (see § 74). In two other tombs, the statue is depicted instead of the mummy for the final rites at the tomb (see § 83) while in five tombs, a closed statue shrine replaces the coffin in scenes of the funeral (see § 81). The fact that the statue or closed statue shrine might be depicted in some contexts where the mummy or coffin is expected is not to be interpreted to imply that the statue was a "substitute body." The inference is not only incorrect³⁷² but lacking in the subtleties implicit in a careful analysis of the representations.

Statues shown in a ritual context other than the funeral are the recipients of offerings. The statue may be censed to effect its purification as a prerequisite to the offering ceremony (see § 89 and cf. § 80) or the offering ceremony itself may be illustrated (see § 85 - § 89). The evidence of the representations for the ritual function of the statue in the Old Kingdom funerary cult is in conformity with the suggestion, made on the basis of textual data, that the statue was intended to serve as the receiver of offerings, see further below, Chapter 4, § 103.

371 For the statue ritual, the oldest ceremony with which the Opening of the Mouth can be associated, see Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 2-4.

372 Cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 297-301.

Chapter 4: OLD KINGDOM WORDS FOR STATUE AND THEIR DETERMINATIVES

§ 92

In Old Kingdom inscriptions, only two words occur with the generic meaning "statue": *twt* and *rpwt*.³⁷³

§ 93

The etymology of *twt*, "statue," "likeness," "image,"³⁷⁴ is not clear. Hornung's succinct comments regarding the relationship of the substantive to the verb(s) *twt* may be quoted in full:

Als Verbum erscheint *twt* seit dem Alten Reich einerseits in der Bedeutung "gleichen, gleichkommen, ähnlich sein", andererseits als "vollständig, vollkommen sein", vielleicht identisch mit dem ebenso alten *twt* "versammeln, versammelt sein". Da wir nicht genau wissen, ob diese zwei oder drei Verba ursprünglich identisch waren, bleibt die Frage nach der Grundbedeutung des Nomens offen.³⁷⁵

The noun is masculine, and in the period under discussion, it refers exclusively to statues of men. This qualification with respect to gender is apparently the only limitation of the word's application; *twt* is employed to describe male statues depicting a god, king, or private man, regardless of the image's size, material, or attitude.³⁷⁶


373 For the possibility that a word *mꜥ(j?)* with the meaning "sphinx (statue)" was in use during the Old Kingdom, see W. Spiegelberg, in Quibell, *Excav. Saqq. 1907-1908*, 88 (= *Urk. I*, 185:2; *Wb II*, 12) and H. Goedicke, *Fs Grapow*, 96.

374 *Twt* with the meaning "gezeichnetes oder gemaltes Bild" (*Wb V*, 256, A.II) first occurs subsequent to the Old Kingdom, see E. Hornung, in Loretz, *Gottesebenbildlichkeit*, 144. For the suggestion that *twt* in the inscription of the boundary stela of Sesostri III may be translated "Vorbild," see P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 35, 1966, 403-412, and, contra, W. Barta, *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 51-54.

375 Hornung, in Loretz, *Gottesebenbildlichkeit*, 144. Sethe, *Pyr. Übers. V*, 33, preferred "Einheit" as the fundamental meaning of the verb *twt* from which the noun is derived, while J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, Mainz 1976, 186, implies a derivation from *twt*, "gleich, ähnlich sein." For the use of the verb *stwt*, "made in the likeness of," during the Old Kingdom, see H.G. Fischer, *JARCE II*, 1963, 28.

376 Cf. *Wb V*, 255: *twt*, A.I: "Statue als Rundbild, u. viell. eigtl. Männerstatue." See also Hornung, in Loretz, *Gottesebenbildlichkeit*, 144.

§ 94

The writing  is first documented in the tomb of *Mtn*.³⁷⁷ *N twt*, "for the statue," is written below the *serdab* slit in the north wall.³⁷⁸ Junker suggested that the phrase should be taken to specify the object of a censuring ceremony depicted,³⁷⁹ but no such rite is associated with the inscription: on the north wall of *Mtn*'s chapel above the *serdab* slit, one officiant stands holding a wash basin and a spouted jug in front of a striding figure of the tomb owner while a priest kneels beneath the inscription *sh wpjt-r sp 4*, "transfiguration; opening of the mouth; four times."³⁸⁰

Shoukry believed the phrase "for the statue" made reference to the offering formula (which begins to the right of the slit and continues at the left) and to the offerings pictured above and below.³⁸¹ According to

377 Ideographic writings occur as early as the Archaic Period, but because the hieroglyphs depict royal statues, discussion of them is reserved for consideration in Chapter 5, § 107, § 109, and § 110.

E.J. Brovarski, *Serapis* 4, 1977-78, 1-2, has argued that a statue ideogram to be read *twt* is present on a wooden label bearing the name of Hor-Aha, excavated by Petrie at Abydos, *RT* II, pls. III:2, XI:1. According to Brovarski, the inscription should read "fashioning and opening the mouth of a statue of Anubis." The hieroglyph he would read *twt* depicts a bearded figure, kneeling (or squatting?), with both arms behind its back. Numerous parallels are available; in each case, the figure depicts a bound captive. A statue ideogram (or determinative) of this type is unknown. Furthermore, comparable entries on the Palermo Stone that document the creation of statues show an ideogram depicting the specific statue type in question; in the case of statues of animal deities, the animal itself is pictured to serve as an ideogram; see, e.g., the reference to the creation (or dedication?) of an Anubis statue, Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 17. Thus the conventional interpretation of the label, that it documents a nubian campaign under Hor-Aha, is to be preferred to Brovarski's alternative.

378 *LD* II, pl. 5.

379 Junker, *Giza* I, 58, 101.



380 So described by Junker himself, *Giza* II, 42. Could Junker have conflated the *Mtn* inscription and a scene in the tomb of *Tjj* where, to the right and left of the *serdab* slit, the reliefs show an officiant offering incense? (The associated inscriptions read *kꜣp sntr n Tjj*; see, most recently, Seidel - Wildung, in *PKG Ägypten*, 225.) Subsequently, Junker, *Giza* III, 24, did not repeat this interpretation but simply described the decoration of the *serdab*'s outer wall and noted the presence of the inscription, without commentary.

381 Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 271-275, 300. Barta, *Opferformel*, 277, also considered *n twt* an addition to the offering formula. Shoukry, *ibid.*, believed the striding figure pictured in relief above the slit might represent a statue for which the offerings were intended. However, the figure is not designated a statue by the presence of a base, by the context, or by an inscription. Furthermore, as Shoukry himself noted, the statue of *Mtn* excavated from the *serdab* (Berlin West 1106) depicts a seated, not a striding figure. (For the suggestion made by Shoukry in this connection that the seated figure on the south wall of *Mtn*'s chamber also depicts a statue, see note 431, below.)



The reference to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony in the associated text should not be taken to indicate that the figure is the representation of a statue. *Wpjt-r* may be used to designate an offering ritual or part of the embalming ceremony, as well as a statue ritual. In connection with the occurrence of the phrase in the tomb of *Mtn*,

his interpretation, the addition of the phrase to the formula makes it clear that the specified benefits were intended for the statue. Because the recipient of the offerings is normally named at the end of the formula,³⁸² the insertion of *n twt* in the midst of the list of festivals is problematic for Shoukry's interpretation. A plausible alternative is that the phrase is not to be associated with the offerings, but simply serves to describe the purpose of the *serdab* slit.³⁸³

§ 95

During the Old Kingdom, the graphically transposed orthography  is much more common than .³⁸⁴ Usually, no determinative accompanies the alphabetic writing when *twt* occurs in inscriptions associated with representations of statues, because the representation itself serves this function.³⁸⁵

§ 96


The plural is preserved in three variant writings.³⁸⁶ The plural genitive adjective  indicates that  in the inscription accompanying

Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 6-7, comments: "nach den dabei erwähnten und dargestellten Opfergaben scheint es sich um das *wp.t-r* als Opferzeremonie zu handeln."



382 Barta, *Opferformel*, 11.

383 This suggestion is based on the fact that one function of the *serdab* slit was to permit access to the statue. At least two additional functions of the slit are confirmed by other inscriptional evidence: (1) the slit permitted incense to enter into the *serdab* (see the representation in the tomb of *Tjj*, cited above, note 380); (2) it enabled visitors to the tomb to glimpse the statue(s) enclosed within (see CG 1566= *Urk.* I, 10, and H.G. Fischer, *CdE* XLIII, 1968, 305). For a discussion of the *serdab* slit, see A.M. Blackman, *JEA* 3, 1916, 250-254, and cf. Junker, *Giza* III, 119-122.

384 The ratio is approximately four to one.

The writing  in the tomb of *R'-špss*, associated with Cat. Nos. 81, 83, and 84, is otherwise undocumented during the Old Kingdom.

385 See B. van de Walle, *Fs Grapow*, 370, who cites additional literature. Exceptionally, a determinative does follow *twt* (singular) in the texts accompanying the scenes of statue transport in the tombs of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* (Cat. No. 76), *R'-m-k* (Cat. Nos. 79 and 80), *R'-špss* (Cat. Nos. 81 and 83), and *Nfr-jrjt.n.f* (Cat. No. 108, and perhaps Cat. No. 109 as well). For the use of determinatives to write the plural, see § 96.

386 , a writing occurring only once during the Old Kingdom, in the text associated with Cat. No. 86, is probably the full writing of the singular. The inscription, in the tomb of *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, is the only Old Kingdom example of this writing for the singular among the *Wb* Zetteln. Subsequent to the Old Kingdom, both *twtw* and *twtj* are documented variants of *twt*. It seems less likely that  is a unique Old Kingdom variant orthography for the plural. Plurals indicated simply by the addition of the ending *w* are not common, see Edel, *Altägypt. Gramm.*, § 272. The inscription of Cat. No. 86 does accompany a scene showing the transport of a single statue. Note, however, the captions of Cat. Nos. 63 and 67 that are to be read "escorting the statues" although only one statue is shown in each case. So also Cat. Nos. 95-99.

scenes of statue transport in the tombs of *Tjj* (Cat. Nos. 95-99) and *Pth-špss* (Cat. No. 102) is plural.³⁸⁷ *Twt* plus determinative plus plural strokes first occurs quite late in the Old Kingdom.³⁸⁸

The plural may also be indicated by three determinatives. This writing occurs in inscriptions directly associated with scenes of statue transport in three tombs,³⁸⁹ in the imprecation inscription in the tomb of *Pḥn-wj-k:(.j)*,³⁹⁰ and in the remuneration text inscribed on *Mmj*'s statue.³⁹¹ The plural writing in the inscription describing the scenes of statue transport in *Tjj*'s tomb is unique: three different determinatives are used, each a miniature statue representation.³⁹² The writing is the result of dissimilation.³⁹³

§ 97

Considerable variation is shown in the ideograms that supplement the singular and plural writings of *tw*.³⁹⁴ Indeed, variants are almost as

387 Cf. Edel, *Altägypt. Gramm.*, § 325.

388 Dynasty VIII: *Urk.* I, 304:18 (see further below, note 409). So also *Urk.* I, 267:12, the inscription of *Mrjj* I at Hagarsa. (Fischer, *Dendera*, 130 note 574, dates *Mrjj* I to the Herakleopolitan Period.) The passage describes the pious acts of a son on the occasion of his father's death. J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, 202, translates: "I inscribed his tomb and erected his statues, as does a conscientious heir, beloved of his father, who buries his father, his arm being strong" - cf. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 39-40.

389 Those of *Nj-nḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* (Cat. Nos. 63-68), *Tjj* (see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 94-99), and *Sḥbw* (Cat. Nos. 117 and 118).

390 *Urk.* I, 49:2. The tomb owner was active during the reign of Neferirkare (cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 72, 290). The text, inscribed in a vertical column flanking one of three statue niches, comprises an injunction against whoever might approach the statues in an impure state. Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 1945, 5, reads the beginning of the text: "wer an diese meine Statuen in unreinem Zustand herantreten wird..."; cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 302.

391 *Urk.* I, 225:8. The seated statue bearing the text was excavated at Giza and is datable to Dynasty V (see the references cited in *PM* III, 110). J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 244, translated the passage: "The Royal Priest Memi. He says: I had these statues made by a sculptor, who was satisfied with the payment for it and what I did for him." (Cf. W. Helck, *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 66.)

392 Initially noted by J. Capart, *L'art égyptien, études et histoire, I: Introduction générale, Ancien et moyen empires*, Brussels 1924, 229-230; cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 171. Two striding statues of different type and a seated statue are shown.

393 So B. van de Walle, *Fs Grapow*, 370. See further below, § 99.

394 Note that the ideogram functions as a determinative in the writing of both the singular and the plural, even if it is often redundant and if it is sometimes repeated to express the plural. The following discussion comprises primarily a consideration of the attitudes of the figures. Because of the small scale of the ideograms, they were often rendered simply in outline; only rarely were details of costume shown. When present, such details are noted. The "dedicatory text" of CG 1652, the fragment of a false door belonging to *M:(.j)-nfr*, is not included among the Old Kingdom inscriptions mentioning statues discussed here. The translation of H.G. Fischer, *CdE* XLIII, 1968, 310-312, is to be preferred to an interpretation of

numerous as occurrences. In those inscriptions that were carefully executed and are well preserved, the determinatives are clearly recognizable as statue representations in miniature.³⁹⁵

As Gardiner has remarked, the form of the determinative Sign-list A 22 may vary considerably.³⁹⁶ But only in one case during the period in question, Cat. No. 76, does the determinative in an inscription accompanying a representation resemble in detail the appearance of the statue depicted. Often the determinative for *twt* in an inscription associated with a statue representation evinces only a generic relationship to the figure type it accompanies. For example, in the tomb of *R'-m-kz*, the determinative takes the form of a striding statue with walking staff and scepter. Both striding statues shown in the tomb, Cat. Nos. 79 and 80, lack these attributes.³⁹⁷

The disparity between the determinative and the statue depicted is marked in the tomb of *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*. Cat. Nos. 63, 64, 67, and 68 are striding figures, but the determinatives for *twt* in the accompanying inscriptions are seated figures.³⁹⁸ All the determinatives in the texts captioning the scenes of statue transport in the tomb represent seated statues of the same type, but not all are executed with the same degree of attention to detail. The most carefully carved and best preserved determinatives occur in the inscriptions associated with Cat. Nos. 63 and 64, where the visible hand of the seated figure is closed and

the text to include the phrase "necropolis of the statues" as proposed by Kaplony, *Beitr. Inschriften*, 95.

395 This is almost always the case when determinatives occur in inscriptions accompanying a representation. However, the determinative occurring with the writing in the inscription associated with Cat. No. 81 is unusual, because it apparently does not depict a statue; rather, a variant of Gardiner Sign-list A 1 seems to be shown. Similarly, the determinative in the inscription of Cat. No. 83 in the same tomb lacks a base. Lepsius' copy of these texts may well be inaccurate.

396 Gardiner, *EG*, 444.

Gardiner Sign-list A 53 is first documented as a determinative for *twt* in the Middle Kingdom. It supplants A 22 as the more common determinative only subsequent to the New Kingdom. Dr. Fischer calls my attention to the early occurrence of A 53 in the inscription on a fragment of CG 20512, the stela of Intef II, see most recently, D. Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*, AV 17, Mainz 1976, pl. 44(bb), and cf. the restoration *TPPI*, § 16. Another early example of A 53 shows the mummiform figure holding a *wis* scepter, see *TPPI*, § 33(9), and cf. H.G. Fischer's comments, *MMJ* 13, 1979, 22-23. Note the similarity of appearance between A 53 and the shawabty whose standard form developed during the Middle Kingdom.

397 The miniature statues of the determinatives both wear shoulder-length wigs and the half-goffered kilt; neither statue representation duplicates this costume.

398 These are unique, because they are the only determinatives included in the inscriptions of private persons that represent statues drawn in profile. The seated statue determinatives in the tomb are "appropriate" only in the cases of Cat. Nos. 65 and 66, representations of seated statues.

rests upright on the lap.³⁹⁹ The block-like seat has a low back with a cloth laid over it (cf. § 15, above).

§ 98

In general, determinatives depicting seated statues show figures not drawn in profile, with the arms and hands in a variety of attitudes. The far hand may grasp the walking staff⁴⁰⁰ while the near hand is open and apparently placed flat on the lap⁴⁰¹ or across the chest.⁴⁰² Alternatively, the near hand may hold a handkerchief on the lap.⁴⁰³ The determinative for *twt* in the inscription accompanying Cat. No. 76 seemingly reproduces in miniature the attitude of the statue shown being transported: the seated figure holds the hand of the far arm across the chest while the hand of the near arm rests on the lap.⁴⁰⁴

§ 99

Determinatives in the form of striding statues also occur in different attitudes. The type exemplified by Gardiner Sign-list A 22, a striding figure with walking staff and scepter, occurs in the inscription accompanying scenes of statue transport in the tomb of *R'-m-k*, Cat. Nos. 79 and 80.⁴⁰⁵

Two different types of striding statues are included in the dissimilated determinative for *twt* in the tomb of *Tjj*. One figure grasps the walking staff in the far hand; the near arm with closed hand is held at the side.⁴⁰⁶ The second determinative shows a figure with both arms at

399 In the determinatives accompanying Cat. Nos. 65 and 66, arms and hands are not distinguished from the torso of the figures, giving them a mummiform appearance.

400 E.g., the inscription in *Tjj*'s tomb, discussed below, note 403 and § 99. This attitude is not documented in the repertory of actual statues, see § 14, above.

401 In the inscription accompanying Cat. Nos. 117 and 118.

402 *Urk.* I, 49:1.

403 In the inscription describing the scenes of statue transport in the tomb of *Tjj*, see Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. LVII, and the photograph, Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 61. The seat is a detailed block, but it lacks the cloth laid over the low back, as shown in four representations of statues in *Tjj*'s tomb, Cat. Nos. 92, 93, 96 and 97.

404 The determinative is unfortunately damaged so that an exact description of the gestures of the hands is not possible. The determinative and the statue representation evince the same type of seat (a simple block) and the same wig type.

A comparable attitude is probably depicted in the determinative in *Urk.* I, 49:2. Lepsius' drawing, *LD* II, pl. 46, which Sethe used, gives scarcely more than the figure in outline.

405 So also, but lacking a base, in *Urk.* I, 267:12, a text dating to Dynasty VIII or later.

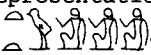
The presence of a base for the same determinative in the inscription of Cat. No. 108 cannot be confirmed because the bottom third of the figure is lost.

406 Perhaps also to be identified in the determinative accompanying *twt* in association with Cat. No. 83.

the sides, the hands closed.⁴⁰⁷ The costume of the two figures is also different. The former wears a short, round wig and the projecting-panel kilt; the latter, a shoulder-length wig and the half-goffered kilt.⁴⁰⁸

The Coptos decree dealing with the funerary endowment of the vizier Jdj (Coptos R)⁴⁰⁹ includes two references to his statues "die in irgend-einem Tempel oder irgendeinem Heiligtum sind."⁴¹⁰ The determinative accompanying the writing *twt* depicts a striding figure with arms at the sides.

§ 100

In at least one instance, the determinative is clearly not in the form of a miniature statue representation. The remuneration text on *Mmj*'s statue includes the writing ⁴¹¹ The same ideogram, a variant of Gardiner Sign-list A 1, occurs elsewhere in the text as a determinative for *qstj*.

407 Van de Walle's description and sketch of this determinative, *Fs Grapow*, 370, are inaccurate, as a comparison with the photograph, Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 61, shows. The same determinative is apparently employed in the inscription on the east wall of the first room in the tomb of *Dh.n(.j)*. It cannot be determined with certainty that the hands of the figures are closed. Lepsius' copy of the text, *LD II*, pl. 37, on which *Urk. I*, 20:9, 13, is based, shows open hands and no bases for the figures. But the presence of bases is verifiable on the photograph published by Hassan, *Giza IV*, pl. XLVIII (so also his facsimile, *ibid.*, fig. 118). The gesture of the hands is not distinctive. The reading of *Urk. I*, 20:9 is discussed below, § 103. *Urk. I*, 20:13 may have included a reference to the *w'bt* and concluded, according to Edel's translation, *ZAS* 83, 1958, 16, "zusammen mit den beiden mir gehörigen Statuen, deren eine [aus...und deren andere aus...besteht (?o.ä.)]."

The attitude showing both arms with closed hands at the sides was discussed above, in § 2.

408 Capart, *L'art égyptien*, 229-230, suggested that the two determinatives refer in their costume to the two basic types of Old Kingdom striding statues. Analogous dissimilation in the representations of statues has been considered above, § 32 and § 36.

409 *Urk. I*, 304-306 = Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 214-225 with fig. 28; Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 23-24. The issuing ruler is customarily assigned to Dynasty VIII, but Goedicke, *op.cit.*, 215, places him in the Herakleopolitan Period. (For ease of reference, I have adopted Goedicke's system of citing the decrees.) Another, earlier royal decree, Abydos III (see below, § 102 and § 114) also includes the mention of a statue of a vizier set up in a temple. The statue depicted *D'w*, the uncle of Pepy II. The text of the decree established offerings for the statue that was to be found in the precinct of the Khentamentiū temple at Abydos. The determinative that once followed *tw[t]* is lost. Goedicke, *op.cit.*, fig. 7 (after *Urk. I*, 279:18), restores a seated figure.

410 Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 214.

411 *Urk. I*, 225, see note 391, above.

§ 101

The feminine counterpart of *twt* is *rpwt*.⁴¹² *Rpwt* with the meaning "statue of a woman" is documented, albeit rarely, prior to the Middle Kingdom.⁴¹³ The relationship of *rpwt* "female statue" to the words *rpwt/rpyt* "vornehme Frau"⁴¹⁴ and *rpwt/rpyt* a goddess in a carrying chair (ultimately the Greek *Triphis*),⁴¹⁵ has been most recently discussed by Ward. Accordingly, *rpwt* should be a *nisbe* form derived from an as yet unattested word **rp* "carrying chair."⁴¹⁶ Ward postulates that *rpwt* originally referred to a female statue borne in a carrying chair,⁴¹⁷ and "from this original sense, the word ultimately came to designate a female image of any kind."⁴¹⁸

§ 102

Rpwt occurs only once in an inscription accompanying the representation of a statue⁴¹⁹; in the tomb of *Bw-nfr*, the text written above the scene showing the transport of the queen's statue, Cat. No. 62, begins *šms rpwt*⁴²⁰ *r jz*.

The second Old Kingdom occurrence of *rpwt* is found in an edict of Pepy II from Abydos, Abydos III.⁴²¹ The text established festival offerings for statues set up in the temple of Khentamentiū; among them were statues of two queens of Pepy I, the mothers of Merenre and Pepy II.⁴²²

412 "Whenever *rpyt* signifies an image or statue, it is always that of a female, the corresponding word for image of a male being *twt*" - A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 1945, 109 note 4.

The complementary relationship of the two terms is neatly expressed by their apposition in the inscription of Louvre C 14, see the translation of the passage suggested by W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C 14)*, *MÄS* 22, Berlin 1970, 104.

413 *Wb* II, 415, *rpwt* II, is to be emended accordingly.

414 *Wb* II, 415, *rpwt* I.

415 *Wb* II, 415.

416 W.A. Ward, *SAK* 5, 1977, 268, contra *Wb* II, 414.

417 *SAK* 5, 1977, 268; cf. P. Kaplony, *Asiatische Studien* 20, 1966, 111 note 25 and 122 note 57.

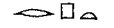
418 *SAK* 5, 1977, 266. As far as can be determined, *rpwt*, "female statue," is not limited in application to any particular statue type. In the occurrences of the word discussed below, it is used once in association with a standing figure and once in connection with seated statues.

419 Six Old Kingdom tombs contain scenes of statue manufacture including representations of statues of women. None of these scenes has preserved captions for the female figures. In the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-nḥ* III, the scene of statue transport with Cat. Nos. 58 and 59 has no explanatory text whereas the statues of *Jdwt* shown being conveyed, Cat. Nos. 128 and 129, are simply identified as the tomb owner.

420 The writing is graphically transposed and does not include a determinative.

421 *Urk.* I, 278-280 = Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 81-86, with fig. 7. See also further below, § 114.

422 For these queens who bore the same name, see Seipel, *Königinnen*, 266-279.

Rpwt is written  with a determinative in the form of a seated female figure. The seat is apparently a throne with a cloth laid over the low back, see § 15, above. The figure, drawn in profile, is rendered in outline only, with the arms and hands not distinguished from the torso. The headgear of both figures is not clear from the only published photograph of the stela.⁴²³ The projection from the forehead may be the uraeus. One of the figures clearly evinces a horizontal projection from the back of the head as well as at the forehead. Perhaps the vulture headdress was shown, an element of regalia appropriate for a queen mother and documented in actual Old Kingdom statuary as early as Dynasty IV.⁴²⁴

§ 103

The word *šzp* is first used with certainty for "statue" beginning in the Middle Kingdom.⁴²⁵ From that time onward, *šzp* might be employed to designate a specific statue type, the sphinx,⁴²⁶ but its generic application is also documented, and at least since Dynasty XVIII, *šzp* and *twt* were used synonymously in the expression *šzp/twt* 'nh, "living image," discussed below.

In Old Kingdom inscriptions, *šzp* occurs three times in association with statuary. The biographical text of *Dbh.n(.j)* includes a reference to a *twt n šzp r* 'nh.⁴²⁷ The representation of a statue from the tomb of *Jtwš*, Cat. No. 134, is designated *šzp r* 'nh, while CG 45, a statue of 'nh-jrj.s bears an inscription describing it as a *šzp* 'nh.

423 Abydos II, pl. XXI. *Urk. I*, 278-280, after Petrie's publication, omits an indication of distinctive regalia while Goedicke's drawing, *Königl. Dokumente*, fig. 7, renders details schematically.

424 Cf. U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieghin Expedition in Ägypten I, Leipzig 1912, 102-103. Bklyn. 39.119 (*PKG Ägypten*, pl. 144) is an actual statue depicting one of the queens in question wearing the vulture headdress. The same headdress does occur in the regalia of the ideogram employed to determine the names of Old Kingdom queens, viz. in the edict concerning the cults of Queens 'nh-n.s-Mrj-R' and Nt, Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 158-160 with fig. 15 = *Urk. I*, 307. (Sethe's rendering of the headdresses in the determinatives as sun disk plus cow horns is inaccurate, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 33 note 139. P. Kaplony's comments, *Orientalia* 41, 1972, 60-61, are to be emended accordingly.)

425 See *Wb IV*, 536.

426 *Wb IV*, 536; see Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 94-95, contra Hornung, in Loretz, *Gottesebildlichkeit*, 142. The earliest occurrence of *šzp* with the meaning "sphinx" is apparently to be found in the rock inscription recorded by G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammat*, Paris 1957, No. 61:14.

427 *Urk. I*, 20:9. H.G. Fischer, *JARCE II*, 1963, 27, cites the inscription as the earliest example of *šzp* "in the sense of 'statue.'" The passage deals with the statues granted *Dbh.n(.j)* by royal favor. Sethe restored *jnj n* to immediately precede the lower half of the column. (The entire upper half of columns 12-18 was never carved by the Old Kingdom relief sculptor.) Relying on Junker's interpretation of the phrase *šzp r* 'nh (see further, below), Hassan, *Giza IV*, 169, translated: "...[bringing] for me a statue which is done after life very greatly

Fischer has convincingly argued for the derivation of *šzp* "statue" from the verb *šzp* "to receive,"⁴²⁸ suggesting that *šzp* might be translated "receiver" in the inscriptions of *Jtwš* and CG 45. Staehelin has noted that a fourth inscription, in the tomb of *Mtn*, supports this interpretation⁴²⁹: *šzp* 'nh is written beneath the chair on which *Mtn* sits to receive the benefits of an offering ceremony. Whether the inscription be interpreted to describe the tomb owner ("einer, der Leben empfängt")⁴³⁰ or the ceremony in progress ("receiving life") the meaning is the same.⁴³¹

The *Jtwš* inscription, *šzp* r 'nh, is paralleled by that accompanying Cat. No. 135, *tw* r 'nh, suggesting to Junker that *šzp* already had the meaning "statue" during the Old Kingdom.⁴³²

The phrase r 'nh that qualifies the noun in both cases, as well as in the *Dbh.n(.j)* inscription, has been variously interpreted. *Wb* reads *šzp* r 'nh "nach dem Leben gearbeitet."⁴³³ Drawing attention to the "portrait" quality of both the *Jtwš* (Cat. No. 134) and *Sšm-nfr* (Cat. No. 135) representations, Junker suggested that the accompanying texts be read "Statue nach dem Leben" or "lebenswahre Statue."⁴³⁴ While it cannot be denied that the statues depicted in both reliefs do show individualized physiognomy,⁴³⁵ it is nevertheless questionable whether the accompanying texts

(i.e. very life-like)." Cf. also the translation of Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 74: "eine 'Porträt'-Statue größer als sehr groß," and of E. Brovarski, *Orientalia*, 46, 1977, 112, "a very great life-like statue."

428 *JARCE* II, 1963, 24-27.

429 *Tracht*, 190.

430 So Staehelin, *Tracht*, 190.

431 Because *šzp* occurs in relation to statuary in the *Dbh.n(.j)* inscription and on CG 45, Staehelin, *Tracht*, 191, suggests that the relief representation of *Mtn* designated *šzp* 'nh may be the representation of a statue. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 275, also believed the figure might be a statue. (Indeed, he went even further to suggest, *op.cit.*, 283, that perhaps all relief representations of the tomb owner seated before a table of offerings should be understood as "im Geiste ein Bild der Statue beim Mahl.") However, none of the criteria established in Chapter 1 for the identification of a statue representation is satisfied by the depiction in question: no base is present, nor is the figure depicted in profile. Both the context and the inscription are appropriate for a figure of the tomb owner himself as the object of an offering ritual.

It may be noted that the portly physique of *Mtn* graphically embodies the desired state resulting from the ceremony in progress. So also the well-nourished figures depicting statues of *Jtwš*, Cat. No. 134, and *Sšm-nfr*, Cat. No. 135.

432 Junker, *Bildnis*, 403-404; so also H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 27.

433 *Wb* IV, 534, but see further, below, note 447.

434 *Bildnis*, 403-405; *idem.*, *Giza* XI, 224-225. Proponents of Junker's interpretation include, most recently, C. Vandersleyen, "Porträt," *LÄ* IV, 1079 note 5, and D. Wildung, "Privatplastik," *LÄ* IV, 1117. Cf. also P. Kaplony, *Asiatische Studien* 20, 1966, 125, who believes the phrase was the expression "mit dem man schon im Alten Reich das Ideal des Kunsthandwerkers bezeichnet." But if so, why does it not occur in association with scenes of statue manufacture?

435 Often noted, e.g., Smith, *Sculpture*, 304, and Wolf, *Kunst*, 198; implicit, too, in C. Aldred's comment, *LÄ* I, 797.

make reference to the appearance of the figures. However, a much later text has been similarly interpreted. In the tomb of *Qnj-Jmn*, TT 93, a series of royal statues bears a label reading, in part, *jrj m šzp r 'nh*.⁴³⁶ Gardiner read *šzp r 'nh* "life-like(?) image,"⁴³⁷ while Davies suggested "life-size" for *r 'nh*.⁴³⁸

A different interpretation of these texts is suggested by an analysis of *šzp*'s meaning and use. It seems clear that *šzp* and *twt* are not simply synonymous, regardless of context. *šzp* never occurs in the inscriptions associated with the scenes of statue manufacture⁴³⁹ or transport where *twt* is regularly employed. The single Old Kingdom representation of a statue labelled *šzp*, Cat. No. 134, is only partially preserved. But the large scale of the representation on the one hand and the parallelism of the statue type and inscription with Cat. No. 135 on the other make it a virtual certainty that the statue depicted was the object of an offering ceremony (see § 87 and § 88, above).

The restricted application of *šzp*, taken in conjunction with the etymology proposed by Fischer, suggests that the word may well refer specifically to the completed statue's capability of performing its intended function in the cult, viz. receiving offerings.⁴⁴⁰ Thus it might be expected that the phrase *šzp r 'nh* (and *twt r 'nh* as well) embodies a statement about the function of the statue, rather than a description of its appearance.⁴⁴¹

Twt 'nh and *šzp 'nh* are epithets encountered with frequency from the New Kingdom.⁴⁴² They customarily designate the king as the "living image" of a particular deity.⁴⁴³ As Hornung has inferred, such epithets make reference to the ability of the bearer to *function* as the divine prototype and do not describe a physical resemblance of the bearer to the god.⁴⁴⁴ Junker was the first to suggest a relationship between *šzp/twt*

436 Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pls. XV-XVI.

437 Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 94.

438 *Ken-Amun*, 25.

439 Gardiner's description, *Sinuhe*, 94, of the *Qnj-Jmn* vignette as showing "statues of pharaoh in course of completion" is incorrect. All the objects illustrated are surely finished and arrayed for inspection.

440 Note that one of the two translations of CG 45's text suggested by Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 27, "he is(?) a receiver of life," describes the statue's function.

441 Tentatively postulated by Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 27.

442 Cf. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 27.

An early example of the orthography for *šzp 'nh* that employs only a sphinx hieroglyph and the ankh sign (cf. the Ptolemaic writing cited by Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 94) was copied by Cronstrand in the Hypostyle Hall - see B. George - B. Peterson, *Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836-1837*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 3, Stockholm 1979, 39.

443 See *Wb* IV, 536; *Wb* V, 256.

444 In Loretz, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 151-156.

‘*nḥ* and *šzp/twt r ‘nḥ*.⁴⁴⁵ A plausible inference is that *r ‘nḥ* refers to or qualifies the function of the statue, a proposal made by Fischer and suggested by the inscription on MMA 33.2.2, a Dynasty XIX statue, reading in part "(this) image was made for him to receive life (*r šzp ‘nḥ*)..."⁴⁴⁶ In the *Wb Zettel*n, "um zu leben" is suggested for *r ‘nḥ*.⁴⁴⁷ This translation would apply equally well in each context, with *šzp* and *twt* both read "image" or "statue." If this suggestion be accepted, a translation of the *Dbḥ.n(.j)* inscription might read "(bringing) for me a statue for receiving in order to live very effectively."⁴⁴⁸

§ 104

Old Kingdom inscriptions that include reference to a statue without employing *twt*, *rpwt*, or *šzp* form a discrete group.⁴⁴⁹ To it belong dedicatory texts, as well as the inscription around the *serdab* slit of the false door CG 1566.

Several Old Kingdom statues bear inscriptions naming the person, other than the statue owner, responsible for their manufacture.⁴⁵⁰ A son may provide a statue for his father⁴⁵¹ or mother,⁴⁵² and a wife for her husband.⁴⁵³ In one instance, the *snt ḏt*, "sister of the (funerary) estate," commissioned a statue.⁴⁵⁴

The text of CG 1566 has been interpreted to make reference to the statue (or statues) that once occupied the *serdab* behind it.⁴⁵⁵ The text reads: "All ye people who shall see this (the statue(s)) ye shall praise god on account of this."⁴⁵⁶

445 *Bildnis*, 404.

446 *JARCE* II, 1963, 27.

447 The *Zettel* in question records the inscription in the tomb of *Qnj-Jmn* cited above. The translation entered on the card reads "[Statue u. a.] gemacht als lebenswahres(?) Bild [eigtl. '...um zu leben']". The translation suggested in brackets was not used in the final entry, *Wb* IV, 534.

Note that H. Brunner, reviewing Junker's *Giza XII*, in *OLZ* 53, 1958, 299, rendered *twt r ‘nḥ* a "zum Leben bestimmte Statue."

448 ‘*nḥ* in the sense of continued existence after death, cf. *Wb* I, 193.

449 In these inscriptions, the independent demonstrative pronouns *nn* and *nw* are used to refer to the statue. Apparently *sw* also occurs once, in the text of CG 190.

450 Cf. Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 96. For the grammatical form of such texts, see the references cited by H.G. Fischer, *BiOr* XXXI, 1974, 69.

451 E.g., a statue in Leiden, see H.G. Fischer, *OMRO* XLI, 1960, 4-5; CG 67, etc.

452 E.g., CG 107/312, a group statue depicting the striding dedicator beside his seated mother. Borchardt describes the woman as the wife, but the inscription explicitly mentions the mother, see Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 96, 149.

453 Both CG 190 and 376 are groups depicting husband and wife with the inscriptions naming the woman as dedicator.

454 JE 37716, see H.G. Fischer, *MIO* VII, 1960, 301-302.

455 See Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 302, and H.G. Fischer, *CdE* XLIII, 1968, 305.

456 After Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, 302.


§ 105

The earliest certain representation of a statue depicting a king dates to the reign of Den.⁴⁵⁷ A jar sealing excavated by Petrie at Abydos bears the impression of a cylinder seal whose design incorporates three royal figures.⁴⁵⁸ Each stands on a base⁴⁵⁹ and is described by the accompanying hieroglyphs as made of gold.⁴⁶⁰ Borchardt was the first to suggest that these figures are representations of statues.⁴⁶¹

The first statue follows a *serekh* with the Horus name of the king and the gold hieroglyph.⁴⁶² The striding figure wears the white crown⁴⁶³ and sports a beard. Other details of costume are not evident. A walking staff is shown in the far hand; the near hand grasps the mace.⁴⁶⁴

457 For the possibility that a royal statue is represented in a seal impression dating to the reign of Djer, see note 484, below.

458 RT II, pl. VII:5-6. A fragmentary impression of the same seal was found the previous season. For a facsimile of the design, see Kaplony, *Innschriften*, fig. 364. The originals are lost - see Kaplony, *op.cit.*, 806 note 729.

459 As far as can be determined from Petrie's photograph, the bases have a simple rectangular form, as shown in Kaplony's facsimile. Borchardt, *Annalen*, fig. 6, gave the base of the first statue a  shaped form.

460 Borchardt, *Annalen*, 36 note 4, believed the statues were cast in gold. More probably, they were gilded (so Kaplony, *Innschriften*, 1142).

461 Borchardt, *Annalen*, 36 note 4. For subsequent identification of the figures as representations of statues, see, e.g., G. Godron, *ASAE* LIV 1957, 195 note 4, and Kaplony, *Innschriften*, 1142; *idem.*, *Beitr. Innschriften*, 62-63. W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 94, 1967, 147 note 47, describes only the striding figure as a statue representation, shown. "neben Kampfszenen des Königs mit einem Nilpferd."

F.W. von Bissing, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte von den Ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Eroberung durch die Araber, Systematisches Handbuch II: Erläuterung*, Berlin 1934, 17, believed that reliefs, rather than statues, were shown. Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus*, 16 note 1, who states both alternatives and comments: "In any case, the accompanying hieroglyphs make it clear that the seal-impressions depict originals made of gold."

462 The selection of the striding statue to begin the following description is not arbitrary; the figure is accompanied by the Horus name and therefore stands at the beginning of the series.

463 The line depending from the white crown to the shoulder of the figure as reproduced in Borchardt's drawing is probably not part of the seal's design. A comparison with the photograph of the original shows that this line is present in only one impression and thus probably a crack or scratch in the impression, rather than a relief line cut in the original cylinder.

464 The attribute is shown "passing behind" the figure, a common drawing "error" found in figures oriented leftwards. Its occurrence here is curious, for the figure as carved on the seal would have faced to the right. Note, however, that the harpoon in the second composition also "passes behind" the figure.

The second statue depicts a group composed of the king, identified with Horus, harpooning a hippopotamus.⁴⁶⁵ Den, shown wearing the red crown and with a beard, stands in a papyrus skiff in the traditional pose of the harpooner. The hippopotamus "emerges" from the statue base. The two figures are related by means of the cord held in the king's hand, attached to the harpoon that has already met its target.⁴⁶⁶ Kaplony compares two gilded statuettes from the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁴⁶⁷

No actual statues or statuettes are preserved that are comparable to the third statue depicted in the impression. The bearded king, accompanied by his throne name,⁴⁶⁸ and wearing the red crown and the *šndjt-kilt*,⁴⁶⁹ wrestles with a hippopotamus.

Borchardt made the plausible suggestion that the impression's design and the entry on the Palermo Stone for year x + 8 of Den refer to the same event, a royal hippopotamus hunt.⁴⁷⁰

§ 106

A second cylinder seal impression, excavated from the tomb of *Hm:-k:* at Saqqara, may bear two more representations of royal statues depicting Den.⁴⁷¹ The figures are identified by a *serekh* with the king's Horus name; each is shown in the attitude of the so-called *Opfertanz*. Both carry the flail in the near hand; the far hand of one figure is lost

465 So Borchardt, *Annalen*, 36 note 4; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus*, 17, and G. Godron, *ASAE* LIV, 1957, 197; contra Petrie, *RT* II, 25, and P.E. Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* 1914, 152, who identify the animal as a crocodile.

466 Kaplony, *Inschriften*, 1142, reads the text accompanying the group "Horus der Harpunierer aus Gold; Schiff der beiden Herrinnen (Herren)." But cf. the comments of G. Godron, *ASAE* LIV, 1957, 197-198.

467 *Inschriften*, 1142. The statuettes bear the Handlist numbers 275c and 275e. The omission of the hippopotamus from their composition was in all likelihood dictated by the general prohibition against representations of beings whose presence in the tomb threatened the existence of the king in the afterlife - see the remarks of I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, New York 1976, 146.

468 Read *Zmtj* by Kaplony, *Inschriften*, 390-391.

469 The pendant middle section of the kilt is shown.

470 Borchardt, *Annalen*, 36 note 4. Both P.E. Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* 1914, 152, and Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, 74, also relate the impression and the Palermo Stone entry, without recognizing, however, that statues are shown in the impression. Borchardt, *ibid.*, would also see representations of statues in the royal figures depicted on fragmentary ivory labels illustrated by Petrie, *RT* I, pl. XIV:7-9. However, none of the figures can be identified as a statue. Only the upper part of one of the figures is preserved while the other two stand on what are surely register lines, not statue bases, cf. Godron, *ASAE* LIV, 1957, 195 note 4.

471 Emery, *Hemaka*, 64, fig. 26; cf. Kaplony's facsimile, *Inschriften*, fig. 211.

while that of the second appears to be simply fisted.⁴⁷² One figure wears the red crown and is depicted in association with the Apis bull; the second, wearing the white crown, performs before an enthroned baboon.

The impression was the subject of two studies appearing in 1938. Both Kees⁴⁷³ and Blackman⁴⁷⁴ interpreted the design to depict two episodes of the *sed* festival, viz. an occasion of the running of the Apis and a cult ceremony enacted before the deity Hedj-wer.⁴⁷⁵ Kaplony would relate the subject of the impression to a partially preserved entry on a Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone that makes mention of a festival honoring Hedj-wer in the reign of Den.⁴⁷⁶

Kees, Blackman, and Kaplony did not find the presence of a relief line beneath the feet of the royal figures noteworthy. However, during the Archaic Period, human figures on cylinder seals are not customarily provided with a "ground line."⁴⁷⁷ If the line were meant to indicate the "ground," it should be continued beneath the animals as well. Probably, the line represents a statue base, for the only comparable element occurs in the impression discussed immediately above, where statues are indeed depicted.⁴⁷⁸

No actual statues depicting the king in the attitude shown have been preserved, but similar statues are represented in painting during the reign of Thutmosis III. In the tomb of *Rḥ-mj-R'*, two comparable statues are depicted.⁴⁷⁹ The attitude of the figures is the same as on the Den impression, but the attributes are different. The king holds a bundle of staves in the near hand and an ibis in the far hand; in Kees' terminology the figure executes the *Vogellauf*.⁴⁸⁰ Thutmosis III wears the *atef* crown and the *šndjt* kilt. The surviving polychromy may be interpreted to indicate originals "executed in wood and covered with black resin, save

472 A.M. Blackman, *StudAeg* I, 1938, 5, writes: "In his right hand the king should, according to parallel representations, be holding the *mks*.... Either the *mks* was not indicated by the engraver of the seal, or, as is more likely, it has been quite, or almost entirely, obliterated on the clay impression."

473 *NGWG* III, 1938-9, 21-30.

474 *StudAeg* I, 1938, 4-9.

475 Cf., also, e.g., W.K. Simpson, *Orientalia* 26, 1957, 139, who follows this description of the "events" shown.

476 Kaplony, *Beitr. Inschriften*, 98. He also suggests that the statue of a baboon inscribed with the name of Queen *Mryt-Nt* from the Michaelidis Collection was dedicated on the occasion of the festival's celebration. (Note that the dating of the statue to the Archaic Period has been questioned, however - *BMA* IX, 1967-1968, 78-79.)

477 Cf., e.g., Kaplony, *Inschriften*, figs. 45, 46, 191, 283, etc. Ground lines do occasionally appear beneath hieroglyphs depicting quadrupeds and birds in later times (cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 18, 135, 178, 179). But these examples are obviously not comparable to the figures in the impression.

478 Apparently following the same reasoning, G. Godron, *ASAE* LIV, 1957, 195 note 4, suggests "il s'agit probablement de deux statues."


479 Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII.

480 Kees, *Opfertanz*, 4-5.

for the kilts and other appurtenances, which are gilded."⁴⁸¹ Both Davies⁴⁸² and Vandier⁴⁸³ suggest that the representations in *Rh-mj-R*'s tomb reflect a statue type included in the king's funerary equipment. If the interpretation of the royal figures in the decorative scheme of Den's seal as representations of statues is correct, the impression would provide additional, as well as the earliest, evidence for the existence of a statue type not documented to date in the surviving repertory of actual statuary.⁴⁸⁴

§ 107

Six stone vessels inscribed with the name of Den's successor Andjib bear representations of statues. In each case, the statue representation, like the associated hieroglyphs, was simply incised into the surface on the outside of the vessel.

Four of the vases - three from Saqqara and one from Abydos - form a group bearing identical inscriptions.⁴⁸⁵ The text is completely preserved only once⁴⁸⁶: a *serekh* with the Horus name of the king is followed by the statue representation, in turn followed by the name of a locality. Below the *serekh* is written "union of the South and the North." Lacau and Lauer interpret the text to indicate that the vessels were allotted "au culte d'un Horus royal, dans une ville déterminée, à l'occasion de la cérémonie 'reunion des deux terres,'" and read "statue de l'Horus  (comme roi

481 Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, 37.

482 *Rekh-mi-Re*, 37.

483 Manuel III, 374.

484 A unique sealing excavated by Petrie from the area of Djer's tomb at Abydos may bear a representation of a statue depicting a king in a similar attitude. Unfortunately, Petrie, *RT II*, pl. V:17, published only a photograph of the sealing while Kaplony, *Inschriften Suppl.*, 23-24, characterized his own description of the design as "provisorisch."

The photograph, like Kaplony's drawing, *op.cit.*, fig. 1032:3, seems to show the figure of a running king partially overlapped by an elaborately detailed *zh* shrine. But the sketch in the *Journal d'Entrée* (reproduced by Kaplony, *op.cit.*, fig. 1032:2) separates these elements. With the original in hand, Kaplony was able to draw only the contours of the impression and to indicate the relative position of a shrine (*op.cit.*, fig. 1032:1). No trace of a *serekh* nor recognizable elements of a royal name are preserved.

The relief line below the figure may represent a statue base. Alternatively, it may be an architectural element, for it is not certain that a single cylinder was responsible for all the decorative elements preserved in the impression.

485 Cf. P. Kaplony's '*nd-ib II* group, nos. 84-87, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 2. All are schist bowls. Three derive from the subterranean galleries of the Step Pyramid (*PD IV:1*, pl. 7:31-33; *IV:2*, 17-19). For the fourth bowl, from Abydos, see Kaplony, *op.cit.*, 14, fig. 29.

486 *PD IV:1*, pl. 7:33.

de Basse-Egypte)."⁴⁸⁷ Their interpretation of the inscription plausibly implies that the statue representations are ideograms to be read *twt*.⁴⁸⁸

The representations on the three vessels from Saqqara are also identical, apparently depicting the same statue.⁴⁸⁹ The striding figure stands on a base. The near hand grasps the mace; the *mks* staff is held in the far hand.⁴⁹⁰ The costume of the king includes the red crown,⁴⁹¹ a ceremonial beard, and a kilt.⁴⁹² Only the regalia differentiate these from the statue representation on the bowl from Abydos. The latter wears the white crown, and the animal tail has been added to the royal costume.

The vessels with their inscriptions document the existence of at least two statues of Andjib at the locality named, one depicting him as king of Upper Egypt and one showing him as king of Lower Egypt, "chacune avait son culte séparé et son matériel de culte, dont nos vases faisaient partie...."⁴⁹³

The inscription on a fifth vessel, a large alabaster cup, includes the representation of a statue that is essentially identical with the figure on the Abydos bowl.⁴⁹⁴ Four vertical lines running from just below the waistband down the front of the kilt may be intended to depict a beaded sporran. A *serekh* with the Horus name of the king is incised in front of the statue. The inscription is to be read "statue of the Horus Andjib," with the statue representation again understood as an ideogram.

The sixth representation of a statue dating to the reign of Andjib is preserved on the fragment of a schist vessel discovered north of the Step Pyramid.⁴⁹⁵ The incision is very rough, and the complete inscription is not preserved, for in front of the statue representation only part of a

487 PD IV:2, 18. P. Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 14 note 3, suggested reading the city name "Stadt der Abwehr" and tentatively proposed an identification with Memphis.

488 Support for this interpretation is forthcoming from the reading of the statue representations as ideograms in the entries on the Palermo Stone, see further below, § 109.

489 Note that Kaplony is not convinced that a statue is depicted. His caption of the group "Krönung, Königsstatuen(?)" clearly reflects doubt. Furthermore, his description of the Abydos vessel, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 14, includes reference only to a "Königsfigur mit ober-ägyptischer Krone."

490 For this attribute, see H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 1979, 24-25.

491 The crown is cross-hatched - cf. the patterning of the same crown worn by Narmer on the Narmer palette.

492 Each figure has a single or double line at the waist, but the hem of the kilt was indicated in only one case, PD IV:1, pl. 7:32.

493 PD IV:2, 18-19.

494 PD IV:1, pl. 7:30; IV:2, 16-17. Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 2, 'nd-ib group III, no. 88, does not doubt that the figure represents a statue.

495 PD IV:1, Planche 3:3, publishes a drawing of the inscription. For a photograph of the fragment, see B. Gunn, *ASAE* XXVIII, 1928, pl. I:6. This inscription is Kaplony's 'nd-ib group IV, no. 89, "Königsstatue mit Harpune," *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 2.

bird and an unidentifiable sign remain, while the ideogram is followed rather than preceded by the *serekh*, in contrast to the arrangement of the inscriptions on the vessels just discussed above. The striding figure stands on a base and holds a harpoon pointed downward in the near hand and a long, unidentified object, probably also a weapon,⁴⁹⁶ in the other. The costume of the figure included a kilt whose hem is indicated. Lacau and Lauer caution that it is not certain that the statue depicts the king, because the head of the figure with distinctive regalia is lost.⁴⁹⁷ But there is no obvious alternative, especially as a statue of a king as harpooner is documented from the preceding reign. In all likelihood, the associated *serekh*, despite its irregular placement, should identify the figure depicted in the statue as Andjib.⁴⁹⁸

§ 108

Relief fragments excavated by Schiaparelli at Heliopolis include a partially preserved representation of Djoser enthroned, accompanied by three royal ladies.⁴⁹⁹ Whether the subject is a statue or a depiction of the king himself, surrounded by the female members of his household, the composition is remarkable for its complexity.

The figures are grouped together on a base or platform. The legs and feet of the king are completely enveloped in a long garment. Probably the projection on the king's lap is his hand. The lower tip of the flail that must have been held in the near hand is preserved.⁵⁰⁰ The female figures, depicted on a comparatively small scale, are grouped around the king's feet.⁵⁰¹ Each apparently sits on the base with her legs tucked up, half beneath, half beside her.⁵⁰² The nearest figure clasps the leg of the king.⁵⁰³ She wears a short, round wig. The two remaining figures are partially hidden behind the feet of the king. The nearer of the two crosses her arms over her breasts. Her coiffure and the enveloping garment with its peaked shoulders are identical with the costume of Queen *Htp-hr.s* II in a relief in the tomb of her daughter, *Mrj.s-ḥnḫ* III.⁵⁰⁴ The third

496 So, tentatively, B. Gunn, *ASAE* XXVIII, 1928, 158, and *PD* IV:2, 19.

497 *PD* IV:2, 19.

498 Cf. P. Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 2, "Königsstatue mit Harpune"; *PD* IV:2, 19.

499 Smith, *Sculpture*, fig. 48, is not a facsimile.

For the identification of these ladies, see Seipel, *Königinnen*, 68-85.

500 For a comparable royal figure showing the same elements in approximately the same configuration, see, e.g., von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, Bl. 10:24.

501 Cf. Smith's description, *Sculpture*, 134

502 Cf. the posture of a woman seated at the feet of her spouse or father in sculpture in the round, shown, e.g., in Louvre E.12627, Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. II:1.

503 As in Louvre E.12627, cited in the preceding note.

504 Cf. Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 7. For the garment, see the comments of Staehelin, *Tracht*, 171-175.

lady holds her far arm across her body, placing the open hand on her breast. Her near arm is held at her side.

The theme of Djoser's Heliopolis reliefs seems to have been the celebration of the *sed* festival.⁵⁰⁵ The closest parallels for the figure of the enthroned king are found in later Old Kingdom depictions of the "jubilee."⁵⁰⁶ In each case, the bottom part of the throne is extended in front to form a foot rest. Often the throne and foot rest are drawn as if they were a single structure, but sometimes the foot rest is "detached" from the throne and shown as a low platform beneath it.⁵⁰⁷ The earliest indisputable representations of seated royal statues in relief and painting date to Dynasty XVIII; some of them have seats and bases depicted in exactly the same manner.⁵⁰⁸ They are distinguishable as representations of statues because the figure is drawn in profile, or the associated text describes them as statues, or because the context permits no other interpretation. None of these criteria is satisfied by Djoser's Heliopolis relief.⁵⁰⁹ Thus, the earliest certain representation of a royal statue in relief and painting remains the depiction of a statue of Sahure from his pyramid precinct, discussed below, in § 111.

§ 109

Other representations of statues depicting kings of Dynasties I - III are not known from contemporaneous documents.⁵¹⁰ However, the Palermo Stone and the associated Cairo fragments attest the manufacture of several royal

⁵⁰⁵ So Smith, *Sculpture*, 133.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g., in the "Kleine Festdarstellung" of Neuserre, von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, Bl. 6, 10, etc.


⁵⁰⁷ E.g., Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pl. 42. In actual seated statues of the Old Kingdom, the seat and foot rest or base are normally sculptured as a unit but may be differentiated by painting.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf., e.g., Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pl. XVII; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Private Tombs at Thebes I, Oxford 1957, pl. XXXVII (seated statues of Queen Tj; the composition of seated statues of Amenhotep III in the same series includes a proper foot rest).

⁵⁰⁹ If a statue is depicted, the only actual statue dating to the Old Kingdom that is remotely comparable is the fragmentary group depicting Redjedef and a royal lady, cited above in note 502.

Discussing the group statue from Kom el Hisn that depicts Amenemhet III wearing the *sed*-festival cloak and accompanied by two princesses, K.-H. Priese, *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 217, writes: "Die Begleitung des Königs durch zwei Prinzessinnen erinnert hier an die Sedfestreliefs des Djoser aus Heliopolis, wo zu Füßen des Königs drei weibliche Angehörige stehen."


⁵¹⁰ Borchardt's suggestion that two depictions of a king on fragmentary labels represent statues has been discussed above, note 470. Kaplony's interpretation of the label illustrated by Petrie, *RT* I, pl. XV:16 to refer to royal statuary - *Beitr. Inschriften*, 118-120 - is supported neither by compositional elements nor by the associated text.

statues, among them a statue of Khasekhemui.⁵¹¹ Sethe interpreted the entry in question to read "Schaffen (aus) Kupfer (die Königsstatue) *Hoch-ist ḡ'j-šhm.wj.*"⁵¹² Wildung's suggestion that the statue representation may be construed as an ideogram and read *twf*⁵¹³ is supported by the existence of an entry from the reign of Sahure, discussed below, where an analogous figure is accompanied by the writing ⁵¹⁴.

The representation of Khasekhemui's statue depicts a striding⁵¹⁵ figure holding the flail in the near hand and the *mks* in the far hand. The figure stands directly on the line that demarcates the bottom of the year compartment.⁵¹⁶ The king's costume consists of a short, narrow kilt and the white crown. The creation, or dedication, of the statue, whose name may well refer to its size, was obviously an event of importance, as its selection for the year entry on the Palermo Stone attests.⁵¹⁷

511 For the purposes of the following discussion, it is immaterial whether the fragments belong to one (so W. Helck, *MDAIK* 26, 1970, 83) or more (most recently, J.L. de Cenival, *BSFE* 44, 1965, 17) monuments, and whether the stone (or stones) is a copy dating to Dynasty XXV (as Helck, *op.cit.*, 83-85, argues) or a Dynasty V "original" (see the comments of H.G. Fischer, R. Caminos - H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*, New York 1976, 48).

512 *ZÄS* 53, 1917, 50-53. The same article appeared in an English version, *JEA* 1, 1914, 233-235. Following Sethe's lead, *msj* in this and analogous texts is usually rendered "to model" or "to create" a statue. P. Kaplony, *Asiatische Studien* 20, 1966, 107-108, designates *msj* the terminus technicus for "das handwerkliche Herstellen von Statuen." Note, however, that *msj* does not occur in association with any scene of statue making.

The hieroglyph  occurs in connection with two scenes on an ebony label excavated from the tomb of *Hm-i-kr* - Emery, *Hemaka*, pls. 17A, 18A. Both scenes show animal images and a standard, as well as a mummy(?), in procession, cf. Emery's description, *op.cit.*, 36-38. The label, taken in conjunction with the inscriptions associated with two relief depictions of Djoser from the Step Pyramid complex led S. Schott, *NAWG* 1956:4, 74, to suggest that *msj* in such contexts as the entries on the Palermo Stone should be translated "bringen," while E. Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, 35, argues that the term designates a ceremony, perhaps the dedication of the statue. She translates the Palermo Stone entry mentioning the statue of Khasekhemui "Weihung der kupfernen Statue (namens) 'Hoch ist Cha-sechemui'."

513 *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 52 note 3.

514 Cf. *Urk.* I, 243:1-2 and the drawing published by E. Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, 35.

515 Or running? - implied by Wildung's description of the original reflected in the representation, *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 52.

516 So also the statue determinative mentioned above, note 514. The ideogram depicting a statue of Sneferu on the Palermo Stone includes a base, see further below.

517 Sethe, *ZÄS* 53, 1917, 52; *idem.*, *JEA* 1, 1914, 235, suggested that the statue may have been comparable to the copper statue of Pepy I from Hierakonpolis (see *PKG Ägypten*, pl. 145b). Note that the event commemorated may not have occurred during the reign of Khasekhemui himself, but in the thirteenth year of the following reign, according to Kaiser's reconstruction of the Palermo Stone fragments, *ZÄS* 86, 1961, 46. Wildung, *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 53, follows Kaiser's lead and suggests the statue was created on the occasion of the celebration of a posthumous *sed* festival for Khasekhemui that served to legitimize the reign of Nebka, the founder of Dynasty III. But cf. W.S. Smith,

Two Cairo fragments of the Palermo Stone preserve references to three statues of Sneferu. The only complete entry mentions the manufacture, or dedication, of a statue that took place in the same year as a fourth running of the Apis.⁵¹⁸ E. Schott reads the entry "Weihung der goldenen Statue (namens) 'Neb-Maat ist der Zupackende der Götter'."⁵¹⁹ The ideogram shows a striding figure, on a base, that holds a walking staff in the far hand and a mace in the near hand. The costume consists of the double crown and a short, narrow kilt.

On the basis of a comparison with the Khasekhemui entry discussed above, Sethe restored a second entry naming Sneferu to read "[aus Erz bilden] die Königsstatue 'Hoch ist Snefru'."⁵²⁰ Like the Khasekhemui ideogram, the striding figure stands directly on the line demarcating the bottom of the compartment. The attributes are flail and *mks*. The king wore a short, narrow kilt and an animal tail; the head of the figure is lost.

Very little is preserved of the third entry referring to a statue of Sneferu.⁵²¹ The occasion is once again the creation or dedication of a statue, but neither the material nor the complete name of the statue (that was compounded with the Horus name of the king) is preserved. The lower half of the ideogram is lost; the figure wears the double crown.

The entries from the reign of Cheops may include two references to royal statues. A statue ideogram followed by the number 14⁵²² probably recorded an occasion analogous to the manufacture or dedication of six (fine gold?) statues of Sahure during the latter's reign, see further below. Cheops' striding figure is identical with the one completely preserved statue ideogram of Sneferu described above. E. Schott would restore a second entry to read "Weihung der Mundöffnung [der goldenen Statue] (namens) 'Der Horus der Götter ist Chnum[-chu-ef]'."⁵²³ No trace of an ideogram is preserved.

The last certain reference on the Palermo Stone to royal statuary belongs to the reign of Sahure.⁵²⁴ E. Schott suggests that the year text might be translated "Weihung der Mundöffnung für 6 Statuen (namens)

CAH, 3rd ed. (here and below) I:2, 147, who prefers to assign the year in question and the event to the reign of Khasekhemui.

518 *Urk.* I, 237:11-12; cf. the drawing of E. Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, 32.

According to Kaiser, *ZÄS* 86, 1961, 47 note 5, the assignment of these events to the reign of Sneferu is not certain.

519 *GM* 3, 1972, 35.

520 *Urk.* I, 236:3.

521 *Urk.* I, 237:17.

522 *Urk.* I, 238:2.

523 *GM* 3, 1972, 35; cf. *Urk.* I, 238:11-16.

524 *Urk.* I, 243:1-2; cf. Schott's drawing, *GM* 3, 1972, 35. Perhaps *Urk.* I, 248:6-7(c) also referred to the creation or dedication of a royal statue, but according to Schott, *op.cit.*, 36, the text is too damaged for even a tentative reconstruction.

['Schön ist der unterägyptische König] Sahure' aus Feingold...."⁵²⁵ For the first time, the entry includes the writing *twt*; thus the accompanying figure may be appropriately described as a determinative.⁵²⁶ The figure is essentially identical with the ideogram depicting a statue of Khasekhemui; only the headgear is different. The figure wears the red crown.⁵²⁷

In spite of their small size and a minimum of detail, these ideograms provide valuable information to supplement what is known of actual royal statuary prior to the end of the Old Kingdom. The significance of the docket referring to the copper statue of Khasekhemui has long been recognized.⁵²⁸ Like the statues of Pepy I and a son from Hierakonpolis, all the royal statues mentioned on the Palermo Stone were created for dedication in temples of various gods. The character of the events selected for recording in the annals argues for this interpretation⁵²⁹ as does the (restored) heading above the entry mentioning the six statues of King Sahure.⁵³⁰

Whether the ideograms accurately reflect the appearance of actual statues is problematic. In Chapter 4, § 97, the frequent, disconcerting disparity between the representation of a private statue and the appearance of the determinative for *twt* in the accompanying inscription was noted. Probably the royal ideograms, too, depict a contemporaneous statue type but not necessarily a specific statue.

Significantly, all these figures serving as ideograms on the Palermo Stone depict striding statues. The attitude is not to be associated with the destination of the statues (i.e., temples of the gods) nor with a specific function in the cult, but rather, I believe, with the material of which they were made. The only preserved statues in metal from the Old Kingdom, the statues of Pepy I and a son from Hierakonpolis, depict striding figures. Similarly, in the Coptos decree concerned with a copper statue of Pepy II (Coptos G, see below, § 114) *twt* was also determined by a striding figure.

525 *GM* 3, 1972, 35-36. She suggests that the material might have been further specified by the naming of its source, as in *Urk.* I, 246:4, where fine gold from Punt is mentioned.

526 So also *Urk.* I, 247:15-16, where a statue of the god Ihy is mentioned.

527 Note that Schott, *GM* 3, 1972, 36, recognizes the bee hieroglyph above the cartouche.

528 Cf., e.g., the remarks of Wolf, *Kunst*, 177; C. Aldred, "Bildhauer und Bildhauerei," *LA* I, 800; etc.

529 See von Beckerath, 2. *Zwischenzeit*, 11, contra Helck, *Manetho*, 1-2.

530 The name of the deity for whose cult the statues were intended is lost. For the standard formula employed, see S. Taufik, *MDAIK* 27, 1971, 227-234.

§ 110

Wildung has construed the determinatives occurring in association with the titulary of kings, as e.g. on the Palermo Stone, as representations of statues. In each case, the figure in question depicts a seated king often, but not always, shown wearing the so-called *ḥb-sd* cloak. Wildung interprets "das so sorgfältig ausgeführte Bild des sitzenden Königs nicht als gewöhnliches Determinativ hinter dem Namen...." Rather, the figure

"bezeichnet eine spezielle Erscheinungsform des Königs, nämlich den verstorbenen Herrscher auf einer dem Irdischen enthobenen Stufe der Göttlichkeit. Als deren äußeres Bild dient die in dem Schriftzeichen des sitzenden Königs dargestellte Statue. Wie aus den Dekreten und verschiedenen Titeln hervorgeht, ist diese Statue das äußere Objekt der für den toten König vollzogenen kultischen Handlungen."⁵³¹

The determinative may follow the king's Horus name, as on the Palermo Stone⁵³² or his cartouche, as in the royal edicts.⁵³³ It is also documented as the final sign in the complete protocol of the king.⁵³⁴

Priese has taken exception to Wildung's interpretation of these figures.⁵³⁵ He observes that the determinative does indeed occur in an Abydos decree of Pepy II (Abydos III) with reference to a statue of the

531 *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 42, 110-111.

532 See Wildung, *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 42-43.

The association of the Horus name of the king with a determinative in the form of a seated royal figure is expressed in the composition of at least two Old Kingdom statues. W. Barta, *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 53-54, recognized that the alabaster statue of Pepy I (Bklyn. 39.120) is actually a depiction of the king's Horus name. The combination of Horus name and a seated determinative as exemplified in the headings of the Palermo Stone has been transposed into three dimensions in the composition of the statue. A headless statue depicting Chephren (CG 9) preserves an identical composition, see the reconstruction of the statue and the comments of Fischer, *Orientation*, § 16 with fig. 31.

533 W. Barta, *ZÄS* 98, 1970, 7, describes the same figures simply as determinatives. Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, does not comment on the figures, nor does W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenurkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, *MÄS* 31, Berlin 1974, 104-106.

534 On the stelae of Sneferu from Dahshur, see A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur I: The Bent Pyramid*, Cairo 1959, pl. XLIII. S. Schott, *NAWG* 1956:4, 71, considers these figures, as well as those in the decrees and on the Palermo Stone, to be determinatives. In the following discussion, it has not proved practical to include reference to Kaplony's study of Old Kingdom cylinder seals whose first volume *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches*, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 2, appeared in Brussels in 1977.

535 *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 217-218.

king, but the statue depicts the *living* ruler.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, the figure serves to designate the name of the living king in the decrees of Neferirkare (Coptos C and Coptos J) and *not* his statues. Priese concludes: "Es ist also weder überall ein Kultbild gedacht, noch an den toten, vergöttlichten Herrscher."⁵³⁷

The figure following the cartouche of the king and the writing *twt* in Abydos III, a decree of Pepy II, is clearly a statue determinative (see § 114, below). The text of a second decree that established offerings for a statue of Pepy II in the Min Temple at Coptos also once included a statue determinative, again following the writing *twt*.⁵³⁸ But none of the other occurrences of a "detailed determinative" in the royal decrees of the Old Kingdom can be proven to depict "den besonderen Aspekt des in der Statue verehrten, vergöttlichten toten Herrschers," as Wildung has suggested.⁵³⁹ Nor can the enthroned figure accompanying the protocol of Sneferu on the stelae from Dahshur be assumed to depict a statue. The king is shown enveloped in the *sed* festival cloak. The figure is identical in type with the figure of Djoser on the Heliopolis relief fragment discussed above, in § 108. Because the lower part of the throne is extended in front to form a foot rest, the figure looks like the representation of a statue, and this impression is enhanced by the profile rendering customarily employed to depict the king in relief and painting when he wears the "jubilee" cloak. If these criteria (*viz.*, the presence of a "base" and the use of the profile) be accepted as decisive, then every depiction of an enthroned ruler in the course of the *hḥ-sd* must also be considered the representation of a statue. Because the alternation of the king himself with his statue as the focus of the festival is unlikely, it is preferable to interpret these figures simply as the conventional depiction of the enthroned ruler wearing the *sed* festival cloak. The figure of Sneferu on the stelae conforms to this type, as do the determinatives following the Horus names of Djer and Nynetjer on the Palermo Stone.⁵⁴⁰

536 That particular figure is unquestionably a determinative depicting a statue, because it follows the writing *twt*, see § 114, below.

537 *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 218. The possibility that the determinative might have originated as the representation of a statue cannot be disproved. But I would relate the form of the determinative to the depictions of the enthroned king, discussed above, in § 108. In any case, the "detailed determinative" clearly does not have a phonetic value as Wildung, *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 44, proposes, as an alternative reading of the Palermo Stone headings, nor does it refer specifically to the deceased ruler.

538 Apparently the determinative was a *striding*, not a seated, figure - cf. *Urk.* I, 294:11, and Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 133(23); see further below, § 114.

539 *Rolle Äg. Könige* I, 43.

540 Cf. the figure following Neferirkare's Horus name, *Urk.* I, 246:11, that combines the form of Gardiner Sign-list A 44 and 46 to depict a squatting, bearded figure wearing the double crown and holding the flail. The figure is obviously a determinative.

The same objections apply to Wildung's interpretation of the inscription preserved on a fragmentary alabaster vessel excavated by Petrie at Coptos.⁵⁴¹ The cartouche of Cheops is followed by the "detailed determinative." On the basis of this document, Wildung considers it likely that Cheops built a temple at Coptos where his own statue as well as the local deity received offerings.⁵⁴² The seated figure following the cartouche cannot be proved to represent a statue; it is simply a determinative of the type under consideration.⁵⁴³

An inscription where a "detailed determinative" cannot possibly refer to a statue of the king renders the filiation of Chephren's son *Jwn-R'*. The text, carved on the drum over the entrance to *Jwn-R'*'s rock-cut tomb at Giza, includes the information that he is the eldest son of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Chephren, of his body.⁵⁴⁴ The enthroned royal figure placed behind the cartouche wears the white crown and grasps the flail; it functions simply as a determinative.

Another "detailed determinative" follows the cartouche of a King Imhotep in an inscription in Wadi Hammamat that has been dated to Dynasty VIII.⁵⁴⁵ According to Wildung, "ganz deutlich um eine Statue handelt es sich bei der Anordnung Kartusche - ausführliches Determinativ."⁵⁴⁶ Schenkel renders the passage in question "Ich habe diese Arbeit für '*Jjw-m-ḥtp*' ausgeführt."⁵⁴⁷ Here, once again, the seated royal figure functions simply as a determinative.

The situation is different, however, in the case of three private Old Kingdom inscriptions where a "detailed determinative" occurs as an element in the title of the tomb owner. In all three cases, the figure may be interpreted as an ideogram to be read *wtw*. *Ḥtp-ḥr.s*, the possessor of a tomb at Saqqara, was a priestess of Cheops.⁵⁴⁸ In the lady's titles, the king's cartouche is followed by a determinative in the form of a seated

541 W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London 1896, pl. XXI:3; the piece is now in the University College collection.

542 *Rolle äg. Könige I*, 174.

543 Even if the figure were the depiction of a statue, the inscription would not necessarily document the existence of a temple housing the image at Coptos; cf. the inscription on a vessel found at Abydos that mentions a statue of Andjib at a different locality, discussed above, in § 107.

544 Hassan, *Giza VI*:3, 33-34, fig. 26. Dr. Fischer called my attention to this example.

545 Wadi Hammamat no. 206; Couyat - Montet, *Inscr. du Ouadi Hammamat*, pl. XXXIX = *Urk. I*, 148-149. For Gundlach's assignment of the inscription to Dynasty VIII, see Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 27 § 17.

546 *Rolle äg. Könige I*, 52 note 4.

547 *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 27-28.

548 Mariette, *Mastabas*, 90-91. The exact location of the tomb at Saqqara is not known. Its assignment to mid-Dynasty IV was made apparently on the basis of Cheops' mention in the inscriptions. The same reasoning was also responsible for the dating of *Tntj*, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 87-89, to the same period. However, the composition of *Ḥtp-ḥr.s*

king who holds the flail. The figure is enveloped in the *hb-sd* cloak and wears the white crown.⁵⁴⁹ If the determinative were read as an ideogram with the value *twt*, *Htp-hr.s'* title might be translated "priestess of the statue of Cheops."⁵⁵⁰ The same arrangement of cartouche + detailed determinative occurs in the title sequence of *Sn-nw-*'nh**, the owner of another Saqqara mastaba.⁵⁵¹ *Sn-nw-*'nh** was affiliated with the sun temple of Userkaf and was also *w**'b*** priest of that king. The title of interest occurs thrice in the inscriptions on the false door.⁵⁵² In two cases, the determinative has the form of a seated king wearing the white crown and holding the flail, as in *Htp-hr.s'* title, but the third determinative, as drawn by Mariette's draftsman, resembles the *špz* hieroglyph, Gardiner Sign-list A 50. The title may be read "priest of the statue of Userkaf."

This interpretation of *Htp-hr.s'* and *Sn-nw-*'nh**'s priestly titles is supported by the occurrence of an analogous title in the inscriptions of *Njswt-ntr* in his mastaba at Giza.⁵⁵³ Among the several offices held by *Njswt-ntr* in connection with Chephren's pyramid, the tomb owner was Junker read "Priester des Chephren, Priester der Königsstatue [des Chephren]."⁵⁵⁴ The reading of the seated figure as an ideogram is assured by the repetition of the title *hm-ntr*.⁵⁵⁵ The seated figure differs from that in *Htp-hr.s'* inscription only in the insignia, for the king holds a crook, as well as the flail.



§ 111

The only depiction of the king in Old Kingdom relief and painting that can be identified with certainty as the representation of a statue derives

offering stela, with two figures of the tomb owner facing each other over two offering tables, conforms to a type documented with relative frequency beginning only in Dynasty V (cf. Hassan, *Giza V*, 145-146) while Baer, *Rank and Title*, 295, notes that *Tntj*'s title sequence would fit his period Vb. Thus, probably both these functionaries associated with the cult of Cheops date to Dynasty V.

549 Wildung, *Rolle Äg. Könige I*, 152 note 4, describes the determinative as depicting a seated statue of the king. On the basis of the figure, *op.cit.*, 155, he concludes that seated statues served as the focus of the royal funerary cult in Cheops' valley and/or pyramid temple.

550 Junker, *Giza VI*, 11 note 2, reads "Priester [sic] der *njswt*-Statue des Cheops." He comments "aber hier könnte das Bild auch als Deutezeichen gefaßt werden?"

551 Mariette, *Mastabas*, 319; dated by Baer, *Rank and Title*, 125-126, 293, to the end of Dynasty VI.

552 See Mariette, *Mastabas*, 319.

553 Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 30. The mastaba dates to early Dynasty V, cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96-97, 292.

554 *Giza III*, 175; cf. *Giza VI*, 11: "Priester des Chephren und Priester der mit der oberägyptischen Krone geschmückten Statue des Chephren." Because there is no compelling reason to associate the king's nomen with Upper Egyptian kingship alone, I prefer to read the ideogram simply "statue" - cf. Gardiner, Sign-list A 43.

555 So Junker, *Giza VI*, 11 note 2.

from the pyramid complex of Sahure.⁵⁵⁶ The relief fragment preserves only the head of the statue, complete with back pillar. The king wears the white crown, the ceremonial beard (painted brown), and a broad collar (colored green). The figure itself is painted red-brown and the cosmetic about the eyes, green. According to the published drawing of the fragment traces of a vertical element painted green were present in front of the king's face. Perhaps a figure once stood before the statue to proffer a *wis* scepter.⁵⁵⁷

The original position of the fragment in the decorative scheme of the king's funerary complex is not known.⁵⁵⁸ Because contemporaneous comparative material is entirely lacking, any suggestion as to the context of the representation would be speculative.⁵⁵⁹

§ 112

In the Abusir papyri, royal statues are mentioned with certainty in three documents.⁵⁶⁰ All three are duty tables, schedules "compiled, at least in theory, in order to allot for each day the tasks of each member of the temple staff on duty."⁵⁶¹ One of these tables is preserved in only two small fragments, one of which bears part of a heading including the writing *t[w]t*.⁵⁶²

The two remaining tables refer to the same monthly festival, celebrated in honor of the statues of the deceased king, that took place on the first

556 Borchardt, *Sahure II*, 51 with pl. 38, bottom right; formerly in the Egyptological Institute, University of Strasbourg, No. 1910, now lost, see *PM III*, 332.

557 For the green coloring of the same scepter elsewhere in Sahure's reliefs, see Borchardt, *Sahure II*, pls. 23 and 31.

558 Borchardt, *Sahure II*, 2, 50.

559 In the tableaux depicting craftsmen at work from the Unas causeway at Saqqara, see S. Hassan, *ASAE XXXVIII*, 1938, pl. XCVI, sculptors making statues may have been included, but to date no fragment of relief has been excavated that might be interpreted to belong to such a scene. The transport of a royal statue is first documented in reliefs from a royal funerary monument in Dynasty XVIII, see the *Epilogue*.

560 The "detailed determinative" occurs in association with the cartouche of a king on three fragments, as well as in a letter dating to the reign of Isesy, *pHier.BM (Posener-Kriéger - Cenival)*, pls. 45:H, 53:A, 72:A, and 80:A, respectively. Wildung, *Rolle äg. Könige I*, 95-96, interpreted the first of these (the only document then accessible to him) to refer to "einer Stiftung für eine Kultstatue des genannten Königs." Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 359-360, 477-478, and 452-465, has studied these documents, with the exception of the fragment pl. 45:H. Her translation in each case implies that she understands the seated figure simply as a determinative. P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 1972, 75, remarks "Ob in 45H. 53. 72A. Königsstatuen gemeint sind, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.... Bei den sicheren Belegen für *twtw* [in the Abusir papyri] erscheint vor den Sitzfiguren des Königs die phonetische Gruppe *twt*, aber kein Königsname (Ringname)."

561 *pHier.BM (Posener-Kriéger - Cenival)*, xiii.

562 Cairo P.58063 frame 9 = *pHier.BM (Posener-Kriéger - Cenival)*, pl. 5:B₂.

day of the lunar month.⁵⁶³ Five rites are mentioned: unveiling, purifying, clothing, adorning, and censuring.⁵⁶⁴ The recipients of these ministrations were seated statues of the king, for each of the determinatives following *twt* in the better preserved document depicts the king seated upon a throne and provided with different regalia. Two show a bearded figure drawn in profile, enveloped in a cloak and holding the flail. One of these wears the white crown; the other, the red crown. The third determinative is not drawn in profile. The figure wears a beard, a headcloth with uraeus, and a kilt. Both arms are bent at the elbows; the hands grasp crook and flail.⁵⁶⁵ The three different determinatives clearly exemplify dissimulation.⁵⁶⁶

The second duty table bears the heading *ntjw r jrjt-jjt n twtw hrw n hb*, "those responsible for the accomplishment of the rite for the statues on the day of the festival."⁵⁶⁷ Only two determinatives following *twt* are preserved.⁵⁶⁸ They are essentially identical with the first two in the other document, with the exception that the second figure grasps the crook as well as the flail.

The designation of a particular day as a monthly festival specifically for the benefit of the royal statues is noteworthy. A "routine" daily statue ritual apparently consisted simply in "une onction rapide."⁵⁶⁹ The occurrence of seated statues as determinatives in the papyri is probably not significant, but the preserved data is so limited in this regard as to prohibit definitive statement. The evidence of actual excavated royal statues, supplemented by the texts discussed in this chapter, confirms that both seated and striding statues of the king were appropriate for temples of the gods, as well as for the royal funerary precinct.

§ 113

A stela of unknown provenance commemorating the celebration of the first *sed* festival of Pepy II may preserve the representation of a statue of that king.⁵⁷⁰ In the upper half of the obverse, the ruler is shown twice enthroned under the "jubilee" baldachin. Two pairs of goddesses were shown below, each figure accompanied by an appropriate text describing her

563 See Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 52-57, 544-549.

564 Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 53-54.

565 Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 55, 544-545, refers to this statue as depicting the king "en Osiris."

566 Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 55.

567 Cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 52.

568 Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 55, 544-545, would relate these statues of different type to the five shrines characterizing the focus of the royal funerary cult in the pyramid temple.

569 Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, 53.

570 CG 1747 = *Urk.* I, 114. Drawings of the stela have been published by P. Kaplony, *BiOr* XXVIII, 1971, 47, and by E. Schott, *GM* 9, 1974, 33.

gift to the king.⁵⁷¹ On the reverse, the same goddesses face the king. The lower legs and feet of his striding figure are not preserved. Pepy II holds the walking staff in the far hand and the mace in the near hand. The king's costume consists of the white crown, a short, narrow kilt with sporran and a dagger thrust through the belt, and an animal tail.⁵⁷² The king is identified by his Horus name, praenomen, and the epithets *ntr nfr* and *nb tswj*. *Dj 'nh dd w's* is written below the *serekh*. Across the top of the stela, a horizontal text reads *ḏm msjt wpjt-r m ḥwt nb Wr-nfr-R' n sp-tp ḥb-sd*, "fine gold; creation/dedication and opening of the mouth in the gold house in the temple *Wr-nfr-R'* on the first occasion of the *sed* festival."⁵⁷³

Both Kaplony⁵⁷⁴ and Schott⁵⁷⁵ imply that a statue is the unexpressed subject of the text. A comparison with similar texts referring to royal statuary on the Palermo Stone (see § 109, above) suggests the possibility that the subject of the text is in fact expressed, as an ideogram in the large-scale figure of the king, but this interpretation cannot be accepted as a certainty, since the lower part of the stela is lost where the base should have been shown, had a statue been depicted.

§ 114

Two Old Kingdom royal decrees are concerned with the establishment of offerings for statues depicting Pepy II that were set up in temples of the gods.⁵⁷⁶

The Abydos edict of Pepy II, Abydos III, has already been cited above, Chapter 4, § 102 and note 409. The text mentions statues of two queen mothers and of the vizier *ḏw*, as well as a statue of the king. All the statues were to be found in the temple of Khentamentiū at Abydos.⁵⁷⁷

571 Only the head and shoulders of one goddess are preserved. For these deities, cf. the comments of P. Kaplony, *BiOr* XXVIII, 1971, 48, with those of E. Schott, *GM* 9, 1974, 34.

572 Cf. the same combination of kilt, sporran, dagger, and animal tail worn, for example, by Djoser, Firth - Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pls. 17, 40.

573 The reading of the name *Wr-nfr-R'* is confirmed by a stone vase inscription published by P. Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 39-40, with fig. 95.

574 *BiOr* XXVIII, 1971, 48.

575 *GM* 9, 1974, 36. Kees, in von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* III, 50 note 5, described the stela's inscription as referring to a "goldene Gruppe zum 1. Sedfest Phiops' II. für ein Rêheiligtum."

576 In a discussion of the content of Abydos III and Coptos G, Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 85, comments that they attest the worship of the king during his lifetime, alongside other gods in their temples. According to Goedicke, the documents reflect the divine status of the living king, a conception of kingship that he believes developed in the course of Dynasty VI. However, it has been argued above, in § 109 that the Palermo Stone entries testify to the creation of royal statues destined for sanctuaries of the gods much earlier.

577 *Urk.* I, 279-280 = Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 81-86, with fig. 7.

In the inscription, the statues are listed according to the relative rank of the person depicted; the statue of the king is given precedence, of course. In second position, the statue of his mother is cited, followed in turn by the statue depicting the mother of Merenre. The statue of *p'w*, vizier and uncle of the king, is mentioned last.⁵⁷⁸

The king's praenomen is followed by the writing *twt* and a determinative in the form of a seated figure holding the flail. The sketchy execution of the determinative provides no additional information with regard to costume or regalia.

A second statue of Pepy II is mentioned in a decree from Coptos, Coptos G,⁵⁷⁹ whose dating is not established with certainty. The edict is usually placed in Dynasty VIII,⁵⁸⁰ but Goedicke argues for a date late in the reign of Pepy II.⁵⁸¹ Coptos G deals with the renewal of an endowment to provide offerings for a royal statue erected within the precinct of the Min Temple.⁵⁸² The statue is mentioned twice⁵⁸³: in the "docket" and in the text proper. Each time, the citation reads *nj-swt-bjt Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ twt mꜣ'-ḥrw*. In the text, a determinative was included between *twt* and *mꜣ'-ḥrw*; it depicted a striding figure with a staff in the far hand.⁵⁸⁴ *mꜣ'-ḥrw* probably refers to the statue and not to the king himself. Goedicke suggests that the statue was named "triumphierend ist Nefer-kare'."⁵⁸⁵ The material of the figure is specified as "asiatic copper," colored paste(?), and gold.⁵⁸⁶

578 Note that each statue received the same ration (an eighth of a slaughtered steer and a jug of milk) on festival days - see Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 85; cf. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 83-84.

579 *Urk. I*, 293-295 = Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 128-136, with fig. 10; Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 12-14.

580 Cf. most recently, Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 12.

581 Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 135-136.

582 The erection of the statue had taken place some time prior to the issuance of the decree, so H. Satzinger, *WZKM* 63/64, 1972, 246.

583 Not thrice. The seated figure associated with the cartouche in line 3 is a "detailed determinative," not the depiction of a statue. See also note 585, below.

584 So restored by Sethe, *Urk. I*, 294:11; cf. Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 133(23).

585 Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 129, 136. He remarks, *op.cit.*, 129 note 5, "nicht ersichtlich ist, ob es sich hier um einen Darstellungstyp handelt - man könnte an eine Königsstatue mit niedergeworfenen Feinden denken - oder ob die Bezeichnung auf den König zu beziehen ist." Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 84, translates the name of the statue "*Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ-ist-gerechtfertigt*". Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 13, reads "statue des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten '*Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*', des Gerechtfertigten." If *mꜣ'-ḥrw* were an epithet of the king, one would expect it to be present also following the cartouche and determinative in line 3. Its absence there is further evidence that the cartouche with determinative is simply a writing of the royal name.

586 So Goedicke, *Könlgl. Dokumente*, 128, 133(23). He notes that the description "erinnert stark an die Kupferstatue von Pepi I. aus Hierakonpolis." Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 84, describes the statue as "aus Erz, angetan mit goldenem Schurz."

CATALOGUE

The *Catalogue* is divided into five sections, according to the contexts of the representations. The entries are arranged chronologically, by tomb. The dating of each tomb and the location of the representation in it are discussed in a brief introductory paragraph, and this is followed by a detailed description of the statue that is depicted and a characterization of the associated context. Figures within a register are "read" in conformity with the convention governing the reading of hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁵⁸⁷ The scale of a statue represented is described in relation to the other human figures shown in association with it.

Representations of Statues in Workshop Scenes

The rock-cut tombs of Queen *Mrj.s-ꜥnh* III, of her son *Nb(.j)-m-ꜥht*, and of Mycerinus' son *ḥwj.n-Rꜥ* contain the earliest known representations of statues in the process of manufacture. The architectural similarity of these tombs was remarked by Reisner who classified the plan of *Nb(.j)-m-ꜥht* as Type RC(ii), dating slightly later than the tombs of RC(i) to which the plans of *Mrj.s-ꜥnh* III and *ḥwj.n-Rꜥ* belong.⁵⁸⁸

The chronological position of *Mrj.s-ꜥnh* III has been most recently discussed by Seipel who opts for dating the death and burial of the queen to the beginning of Mycerinus' reign.⁵⁸⁹ Reisner initially suggested that the tomb might date as late as the beginning of Dynasty V,⁵⁹⁰ but

587 See Gardiner, *EG*, § 16. The orientation of the statue representation is the determining factor, not that of the persons associated with it.

588 *Giza I*, 220, 224-227, 247. Note, however, that to the classification of *ḥwj.n-Rꜥ*'s tomb as Type RC(id), Reisner, *op.cit.*, 226, added the comment "perhaps intended to be of Type RC(ii)."

589 *Königinen*, 143-160. So also Dunham, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 3, 8. Like Seipel, Dunham argues for an early date on the basis of the skeletal remains.

590 *BMFA XXV*, 1927, 74. Cf. Junker's acceptance of this dating, *Giza II*, 31, and *Giza III*, 62.

he subsequently revised his opinion, assigning the tomb instead to the first year of Shepseskaf.⁵⁹¹ This would now seem to be the latest date possible.⁵⁹²

The close correspondence of the workshop and banquet scenes in the tombs of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III and *Hwj.n-R*^c led Simpson to suggest that the decoration was the work of the same craftsmen, or, alternatively, that the scenes in the tomb of the prince were copied from those in the tomb of the queen.⁵⁹³ Thus the tombs may be considered roughly contemporary.⁵⁹⁴

591 According to Dunham, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 8, who cites an unpublished manuscript authored jointly by Reisner and Smith. Smith, *Sculpture*, 166, also preferred a date in the reign of Shepseskaf.

592 The offering list recorded on the south wall of the west room, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 9, belongs to Barta's type A, *Opferliste*, 47-50, and not to his transitional group. One of the offerings A/58-A/63 is missing in the list. (It cannot be determined which item is omitted since the list is severely damaged at this point.) At the end of the list, there are two additional compartments; one contained the name of a variety of trussed fowl (determinative Gardiner Sign-list G 54 preserved) while the other may have been left empty. The determinatives and quantities are not separated from the hieroglyphs within the individual compartments. This arrangement may indicate that the list of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III is slightly earlier than *Dbh.n(.j)*'s (cf. Barta, *op.cit.*, 50, and Hassan, *Giza VI:2*, 62) whose tomb was begun at the order of Mycerinus. Simpson, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 2, implies an end-of-Dynasty-IV/ beginning-of-Dynasty-V date for the decoration of the tomb.

593 Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 2, 4-5. According to Smith, *Sculpture*, 352, and Simpson, *op.cit.*, the craftsman *Jnj-kṯ.f* who is cited by name in the tombs of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III and *Nb(.j)-m-ṯḥt* is the same person and responsible, at least in part, for the decoration of both chapels. Hassan, *Giza IV*, 138 note 1, would identify the *Jnj-kṯ.f* represented in the latter tomb with the sculptor *Jnj-kṯ.f*, son of *Rwd-kṯ(.j)*. (This father and son shared a tomb in the Chephren cemetery, central field, *PM III*, 247.) Noting that the name *Jnj-kṯ.f* is quite common, Smith, *Sculpture*, 353, suggests that Hassan's sculptor was perhaps a nephew or grandson of the man named in the tomb of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III.

In the tomb of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III, the *qstj Jnj-kṯ.f* is shown at work on a statue of the queen, Cat. No. 1. In the tomb of *Nb(.j)-m-ṯḥt*, *Jnj-kṯ.f* is depicted standing beside the *zš qdwt Smr-kṯ(.j)*. Both men are designated *mḥnk* of the tomb owner. *Jnj-kṯ.f*'s title may be restored to read *jmj-r kṯt* - cf. *Urk.* I, 16 note b, and J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 238 note 21. (Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 69 note 79, has shown that *mḥnk* is customarily followed by an indication of profession; thus Wilson's alternative suggestion, *op.cit.*, 238, is precluded.) The postulated identity of the two *Jnj-kṯ.f*'s assumes a promotion from sculptor to overseer of works in the time elapsed between the decoration of the two tombs.

Jnj-kṯ.f, son of *Rwd-kṯ(.j)*, bears the titles *qstj*, *qstj wḥbt*, and *hkr njswt*, see Hassan, *Giza VI:3*, 125, but not *jmj-r kṯt*.

594 According to Reisner, *BMFA XXV*, 1927, 74, the "tomb [of *Hwj.n-R*^c] was made after the construction of the pyramid and the temples of Mycerinus." This dating was accepted by Junker, *Giza II*, 35. Subsequently, Reisner, *Giza I*, 310, was less precise in his comments on the dating of the tomb.

Hwj.n-R^c may have died at a relatively young age; neither wife nor children are mentioned in his tomb inscriptions. But this inference should not be interpreted to support the hypothesis that the prince necessarily predeceased his father Mycerinus. Smith, *CAH I:2*, 176,

Because *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*'s tomb is more developed architecturally and in its decorative scheme,⁵⁹⁵ it may be securely dated to the beginning of Dynasty V.⁵⁹⁶

G 7530-7540: The Tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III

The tomb contains two representations of statues, Cat. Nos. 1 and 2, in the workshop scenes carved on the east wall, southern half, of the main room.⁵⁹⁷ On the south wall, isolated from the workshop scenes, a third statue, Cat. No. 3, is depicted in association with the presentation of the funerary equipment.⁵⁹⁸ In all likelihood, all three statues depict the tomb owner herself, Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III.⁵⁹⁹

Cat. No. 1 (Plate I)

The statue reproduces the classic attitude of the seated female statue of the Old Kingdom, see Chapter 2, § 28. Although the lower front part of the representation is lost, the height of the preserved line indicating the ankles and feet of the figure shows that the simple block seat has the usual projection in front on which the feet rested. This construction in extant statuary serves as combined seat and base of the

made the suggestion based on two assumptions: (1) the prince was the son of Mycerinus' chief queen; (2) as bearer of the title "king's eldest son of his body," *ḥwj.n-R'* should have succeeded Mycerinus, had he outlived him. But neither assumption is well founded. *ḥwj.n-R'*'s mother, Queen *ḥ'j-mrr-nbtj*, was not buried in one of the three queen's pyramids in the Mycerinus precinct - see E. Edel, *MIO* I, 1953, 333-336; idem., *MIO* II, 1954, 183-188. Thus it is unlikely that she should be properly considered a chief queen of Mycerinus. Second, the significance of the title *z: njswt smsw n ḥt.f* is by no means clarified. As long ago as 1935, W. Federn, *WZKM* 42, 1935, 190-192, doubted that the title referred exclusively to filiation by birth; cf. the recent dissertations of B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s: njswt "Königssohn"*, Bonn 1976, 96-98, and M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titulatur und Herkunft bei den ägyptischen "Königssöhnen" des alten Reiches*, Berlin 1977, 138-141.

595 For example, the craft scenes include men stringing beads, pictured together with their products, for the first time.

596 Cf. also Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 227.

597 *PM* III, 197(2); Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 12 and fig. 5.

598 *PM* III, 197(3); Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 16 and fig. 8.

Reisner, *Giza* I, 351, considered the scene picturing the funerary equipment as "clearly a continuation of the craftsmen scene in regs. 3-5 of the east wall." He remarked that the statue-painting vignette is farthest removed from the east wall and separated from the remainder of the scenes by a vertical line. This line is visible neither in the photograph nor the drawing, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, pl. IXd and fig. 8.

599 The possibility cannot be absolutely excluded that one or more of the statues might represent *Mrj.s-ḥ* III's mother, Queen *Ḥtp-ḥr.s* II, for she plays an important role in the decoration of the tomb and she is documented in the pair statuette MFA 30.1456, recovered from the debris, as well as perhaps in some of the rock-cut statues (see Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 20).

statue.⁶⁰⁰ Cat. No. 1 has been supplied with what appears to be a second, larger base that is clearly differentiated from the seat and projects behind it.⁶⁰¹ The statue is drawn in profile and is slightly over life-size.

Presumably, the lady wears a long, close-fitting shift with shoulder straps, although neither neckline nor hem is indicated in relief.⁶⁰² The garment was probably once rendered in paint on plaster, now lost from the representation. The undetailed, shoulder-length wig leaves the ear of the figure uncovered.

The sculptor, whose title *qstj* and name *Jnj-k:f* are written above his head, leans into his work to direct a chisel(?) to the statue's chest.⁶⁰³ He steadies himself with his free hand against the lower arm of the figure.

Cat. No. 2 (Plate I)

The attitude depicted, a standing figure with feet placed together, arms held at the sides,⁶⁰⁴ is typical of standing statues of women during the Old Kingdom, see Chapter 2, § 23. The statue is drawn in profile; it is slightly over life-size. The base is drawn as if elevated in front of the figure, but perhaps the raised portion should be understood as a platform for the painter who stands upon it.⁶⁰⁵

As in Cat. No. 1, no garments are indicated in relief.⁶⁰⁶ The queen wears no jewelry and appears in her own natural, close-cropped coiffure.

A painter applies a brush to the statue's chest. In the near hand, he holds a shell-shaped palette. The accompanying inscription, added in ink, read *qdw t [sic] R'-h:jj*, "the draftsman, *R'-h:jj*."⁶⁰⁷

600 See Evers, *Staat*, § 317 and § 343.

601 A double base occurs neither in other representations of statues nor in extant statuary. The second "base" may be a sledge, necessary for the subsequent transport of the statue from the workshop to the tomb. In *Mrj.s-nh* III's tomb, scenes of statue transport follow directly the depictions of statue manufacture in the same register, a unique juxtaposition of the sequence in the Old Kingdom, see Chapter 3, § 67. (In the tomb of *Mrr-wj-k:j*, the transport of Cat. Nos. 110-112 is represented on the same wall as the workshop scenes but is separated from the vignettes of statue manufacture with Cat. Nos. 39-41 by two registers filled with carpenters at work.)

602 The slightly curved, vertical line visible across the lap of the statue directly below the hand is a scratch and does not indicate a detail of costume.

603 Smith, *Sculpture*, 106, notes that the position of the sculptor's arm has been altered: "He would appear to be using a long, pointed tool, but he may originally have been tapping a chisel with a mallet before the alteration in the figure was made."

604 The only hand that would have been visible in the profile figure is lost. It was probably shown open and held flat against the figure's side.

605 This interpretation of the structure was suggested to me by Dr. Fischer.

606 In all likelihood, originally painted and now lost.

607 The text is now illegible; see Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 12, who give Reisner's reading "the painter Rehay"; cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, 351.

Cat. No. 3 (Plate I)

The standing statue is not drawn in profile, but in that combination of characteristic views usually employed for depicting the human figure in two dimensions. The right leg is slightly advanced. Both arms of the statue are at the sides; the far hand is open. The near hand holds a largely effaced object discussed in Chapter 2, § 25. The statue is somewhat over life-size and possesses a massive base.

The wig depicted is identical with that shown in Cat. No. 1. Regarding the clothing worn, the same comments made above, Cat. Nos. 1 and 2, apply here. A broad necklace, to which the painter applies color, is faintly indicated in relief.

The painter, identified by his title *zš qdwt* and his name *R'-h:jj*, stands upon the statue base. In his near hand, he holds a shell-shaped palette.

MQ 1: The Tomb of Prince *ḥwj.n-R'*

The four representations of statues in the tomb of *ḥwj.n-R'* are contained within a single register on the east wall of room A, south of the tomb's entrance.⁶⁰⁸ The adjoining scenes, to the left, show a sarcophagus being polished and the manufacture of stone vessels. In two registers above, boats are being made.⁶⁰⁹ In the register below, metal work and rope making(?)⁶¹⁰ are depicted. None of the statues shown in this tomb is drawn in profile.

Cat. No. 4 (Plate XXVII)

The life-size statue is depicted in the traditional striding posture employed for Old Kingdom male statues. The near arm with closed hand is held at the side. The far arm is bent sharply at the elbow, the usual position for the arm whose hand grasps the walking staff, but this attribute is not present, see note 77, above. The statue stands on a base.

608 *PM* III, 294(1). Only one of the representations, Cat. No. 7, has been previously illustrated, and that only in part, see Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 49b. Reisner, *Giza I*, 351, briefly described the craft scenes depicted in the tomb. The craft scenes are not well preserved; in many cases details are lost. Because the tomb is presently inaccessible, the following descriptions are necessarily tentative.

609 This is the only activity to which specific reference is made in the vertical column of inscription that accompanies a large-scale figure of the tomb owner to describe what he watches - see Reisner, *Giza I*, 351. In the corresponding registers in the tomb of *Mrj.s-ḥnh* III, the queen is shown boating, cf. Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 5.

610 The one recognizable object included in the products of the workmen is apparently a net like Gardiner Sing-list T 24.

The figure wears a short, round wig, a broad collar, and a short, narrow kilt with the rolled edge and knot at the waist indicated in relief.⁶¹¹

Two craftsmen simultaneously work on the statue. To the right, a sculptor wields mallet and chisel; at the left, a second sculptor, sitting on a hassock, grasps the statue's advanced leg with one hand while applying a polishing stone with his other hand to the figure's kilt.

Cat. No. 5 (Plate XXVIII)

The life-size statue depicts a seated man. There is a space reserved between the near leg of the figure and the front of the seat. The far leg is slightly advanced. The far hand rests, palm downward, on the lap; the near hand, also laid on the lap, is closed. The low-backed seat is formed in one with the base; its structure is indicated in relief in a manner similar to the same feature in Cat. No. 26, see Chapter 2, § 15.

The figure wears a short, narrow kilt, a broad collar, and a shoulder-length wig.

To the right of the statue, a painter leans forward, balancing himself with his left hand against the lap of the figure.⁶¹² He touches his brush to the statue's shoulder.

Cat. No. 6 (Plate XXVII)

The third statue represented in the reliefs of *Hwj.n-R'*'s tomb depicts a standing woman in the standard Old Kingdom attitude. (In Chapter 2, § 21, it was suggested that the statue may depict the tomb owner's mother.) A base is included in the representation of the life-size statue.

The figure wears a form-fitting shift with two shoulder straps. In conformity with the conventions for depicting this garment in relief and painting, a single breast is drawn as if not covered with a strap. A tripartite wig completes the lady's costume.

A sculptor who stands to the right of the statue is about to deal a heavy blow with his mallet and chisel to the far shoulder of the figure.⁶¹³

611 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 7, designates this kilt "der enge glatte, gürtellose Schurz." The phrase "short, narrow kilt" is used below to describe the garment. When the rolled edge and rounded knot at the waist are indicated in relief and/or paint, as in Cat. No. 4, the word "detailed" is added to the description.

612 Alternatively, he may hold a shell-shaped palette in his left hand on the lap of the statue.

613 The attitude is similar to that of the sculptor working on Cat. No. 19.

Cat. No. 7 (Plate XXVII)

The statue is approximately three-quarters life-size. The attitude is typical for Old Kingdom statues of striding men made of wood: the walking staff is held in the far hand and the scepter in the near hand (see Chapter 2, § 1).

The figure wears a detailed short, narrow kilt, a broad collar, and a shoulder-length wig.

The statue is exhibited inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. A sledge serves as the floor of the shrine and as a statue base. Both doors of the shrine stand open to provide a clear view of the statue. At the left, a carpenter applies his adze to a door leaf that he holds fast with his free hand. To the right, his assistant, with one foot on the sledge's up-turned front edge, uses both hands to steady the second leaf.

LG 86: The Tomb of Prince *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*

The craft scenes in the tomb of *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt*⁶¹⁴ are sculptured on the east wall, south part, of the inner chapel, room II.⁶¹⁵ The manufacture of two statues was illustrated in the middle register, together with the boring out of stone vessels to the left and the sanding of a wooden bed⁶¹⁶ at the right.

Cat. No. 8 (Plate II)

In Lepsius' drawing, the statue is lost above knee-height, but when Hassan recorded the scene, the representation was no longer even partially preserved. The life-size figure was depicted striding. Lepsius' copy shows the statue standing directly on the register line, without base.

The action of one attendant craftsman is partially preserved; he raises a club-like mallet over his shoulder. The gesture of his companion, on the other side of the statue, is lost.

614 *PM* III, 231(6); cf. *LD* II, pl. 13, with Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 81. According to Hassan, *op.cit.*, 128, the reliefs were "painted in bright shades of red, grey, yellow and also black." But no comments regarding preserved color are included in the publications. The tomb was not accessible to me.

615 Room I of the rock-cut tomb is decorated with agricultural scenes, fishing, and fowling. The elaboration of these scenes has resulted in the displacement of the craft scenes to the inner room, the most common location in later tombs.

616 Hassan, *Giza* IV, 142, describes the item as a leonine couch and the activity as polishing. Reisner, *Giza* I, 351, refers to the manufacture of a wooden bed; cf. *PM* III, 231, where the register is said to comprise vase-makers, sculptors, and carpenters. A similar vignette is included among the craft scenes in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-kḥ* where the accompanying inscription reads *snḥ tḥt* and the craftsmen are labelled *mdh*, "carpenter," cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 98-100.

Cat. No. 9 (Plate II)

The statue depicts a seated man; it is slightly over life-size and not drawn in profile. A space is reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat; the far leg is slightly advanced. The simple, block-like seat and the base that projects behind as well as in front are drawn as a single unit.⁶¹⁷ In the far hand, the figure grasps the walking staff whose lower end rests on the statue base. Lepsius' draftsman drew the near hand closed and held on the lap of the figure while Hassan's facsimile shows the near arm more sharply bent at the elbow and pulled back, with the gesture of the hand lost.

The type of kilt worn by the figure is not clear. Lepsius' drawing seems to reproduce the appearance of a short, narrow kilt, but Hassan's facsimile may be interpreted as showing the kilt with projecting panel.⁶¹⁸ According to Hassan, the figure wears a short, round wig, but Lepsius shows a short wig that stands away from the back of the figure's neck.

A craftsman stands to the right of the statue, his far foot hidden behind the statue base. His activity is not clear. In Lepsius' drawing his hands are fisted, but Hassan drew the hands open. Neither publication shows any tool in association with the craftsman.

G 6020: The Tomb of *Jj-mrjj*

The scenes of statue manufacture in the tomb of *Jj-mrjj*⁶¹⁹ date to the first half of Dynasty V.⁶²⁰ The craft scenes cover the south wall of the chapel's anteroom.⁶²¹

617 Cf. Evers, *Staat*, § 316. The seat and base in Cat. No. 9 are not differentiated, as may be the case in actual statuary.

618 Cf. Cat. Nos. 84 and 92, depictions of seated statues wearing the same kilt, and note 681, below.

619 G 6020 = LG 16: *PM* III, 171(3). The tomb, first recorded by Lepsius, is to be included in the Harvard/Boston Giza Mastaba series, see K.R. Weeks, *NARCE* 86, July 1973, 20-30. The description of the statue representation is based on *LD* II, 49b, supplemented by my own observations made during a visit to the tomb in April 1974.

620 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 287, dates the tomb early in Dynasty V, perhaps to the reign of Neferirkare, contra Reisner, *Giza* I, 363, who assigned the tomb to the reign of Neuserre. K.R. Weeks, *NARCE* 86, July 1973, 24, reports a title series from the inner room of the tomb, not copied by Lepsius, that confirms Reisner's dating, for *Jj-mrjj* was active in the priesthood of Neuserre.

621 Reisner, *Giza* I, 364-365, gives a synopsis of the scenes. In the bottom register, the pressing of oil(?) and filling of jars complete the decoration of the wall. The juxtaposition recalls the insertion of a wine (or oil?) pressing scene in the craft scenes in the tomb of *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt* (cf. Reisner, *op.cit.*, 351). The tombs of *Nb(.j)-m-ḥt* and *Jj-mrjj* are the only ones at Giza whose reliefs show these occupations that are properly (and elsewhere) associated with agricultural pursuits alongside the work of craftsmen.

Cat. No. 10 (Plate II)

The statue depicts a seated man. The representation is only partially preserved: the head and shoulders of the figure are lost, and the upper torso is damaged. The life-size figure was not drawn in profile. The statue has no base; the simple block-like seat sits directly on the register line. The far leg of the figure is slightly advanced, and a space between the legs and the seat is reserved. This area and the legs of the figure bear traces of the original red-brown paint.

The near hand holds a folded handkerchief on the lap of the figure.⁶²² The far hand grasps the walking staff whose lower end rests on the register line.

The kilt worn by the figure is short and narrow.

With his far hand, a painter applies a brush to the statue's face, but the action of the near hand is not clear. Lepsius shows the hand fistled, but an examination of the representation in situ gives the impression that the painter simply touches the walking staff held by the statue.

The Tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*

The double tomb of the royal manicurists *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* apparently contains the earliest representations of statue manufacture at Saqqara. Both tomb owners were active in the priesthoods of the sun temple and the pyramid of Neuserre. According to the excavators, the tomb is datable at the latest to the reign of Menkauhor.⁶²³

The craft scenes which include many unconventional details occupy the south end of the east wall in the rock-cut room giving access to the offering chapel.⁶²⁴ The manufacture of statuary all but fills the uppermost register; at the far right end, two painters apply color to a *ḥn*, and an overseer is shown about to hand over an account of the work to a large figure of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw*. The second register is devoted to the activities of smiths. Below them, carpenters turn out a variety of wooden objects, and, at the right hand end of the register, the preparation of broad collars is depicted in three vignettes. The texts accompanying the large-scale figures of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* (right) and *Hnmw-ḥtp* (left) refer only generally to the activities of craftsmen and do not mention any of the specific occupations shown. The contention that in the scenes

622 Note that the thumb is visible in front of the folded handkerchief, as if the hand were simply fistled.

623 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 44-45.

624 *PM* III, 643(19); Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 133-138, pls. 61-65. Only one of the vignettes of statue manufacture, with Cat. No. 11, has been illustrated in a line drawing. My visit to the tomb in April 1974 was kindly facilitated by Ahmed Moussa.

of statue manufacture "die verschiedenen Phasen der Statuenherstellung in chronologischer Reihenfolge gegeben werden"⁶²⁵ is strictly speaking incorrect,⁶²⁶ for the excavators have misunderstood the first vignette, with Cat. No. 11. A unique feature overlooked in earlier descriptions of the statues is that the figures being sculptured, Cat. Nos. 11-14, lack any indication of facial features. This omission was surely intentional. The draftsman who designed the series meant to indicate that these statues are unfinished. By contrast, the last statue in the series, Cat. No. 15, is provided with facial features, indicating that it has been completed by the sculptor and turned over to the painter, see Chapter 3, § 49. The assertion that a single statue type is shown in the series⁶²⁷ is contradicted by the representations themselves, for they show different attitudes and accessories.

Cat. No. 11 (Plate II)

The life-size statue depicts a striding man. The figure is drawn in profile. Only the near arm with closed hand is shown; it is held at the figure's side. A back pillar is present, set slightly back from the edge of the base and indicated as separate from it by a relief line. The bottom edge of the short, round wig worn by the figure rests directly on top of the back pillar.

The costume of the statue includes a detailed short, narrow kilt.

Three workmen are associated with the statue. At the right, a seated sculptor uses both hands to direct a short-handled tool with pointed head to the face of the statue. It is probably a pointed maul, appropriate for sculpturing a stone statue, see Chapter 3, § 56. To the left of the statue, a workman polishes the back pillar with a rubbing stone.⁶²⁸ A third workman stands nearby with one hand raised to his mouth, as if to shout to his colleagues. He holds the same tool as used by the first sculptor.

625 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134; so also H. Altenmüller, *Antike Welt* 5:2, 1974, 34; idem., *PKG Ägypten*, 287-288.

626 Already remarked by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 57.

627 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134; cf. H. Altenmüller, *PKG Ägypten*, 288.

628 H. Altenmüller, *PKG Ägypten*, 288, captioned the scene "Auftragen der Meßpunkte bei der Statuenherstellung." According to Altenmüller, the scene in the tomb of *Nj-nḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* is "die früheste bisher bekannte Überlieferung dieses Vorgangs," when on the rough (wooden!) block, "die einzelnen Meßpunkte des altägyptischen Formenkanons aufgetragen werden," an interpretation retained by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134, with specific reference to the workman at the statue's back. To my knowledge, this first phase of the sculptor's work on a stone statue is never included among scenes of statue manufacture, and there is no need to postulate its occurrence here. For analogous depictions of craftsmen using rubbing stones, see Cat. Nos. 35, 36, 38, 47, and 54.

Cat. No. 12

The striding statue, drawn in profile, lies on its back so that the base is perpendicular to the register line.⁶²⁹ Only the near arm with closed hand is shown; it is held at the side of the figure. The upper part of the statue representation, including the head, is lost.

The hem line of a narrow kilt is indicated in relief just above the knees of the figure. Both kilt and arm of the statue bear traces of the original red-brown painting. To the left of the statue, a workman uses both hands to wield a long-handled ax.⁶³⁰ To the right, an overseer gestures toward the prone statue. The accompanying inscription *jdr jšt.k m ht.f šn.t(j)* is best understood as giving the overseer's instructions to the workman: "Take away your 'possession' from his [the statue's] body, it being [already] round."⁶³¹

Cat. No. 13

The life-size, striding statue is drawn in profile. It stands on a low base. The visible (near) arm is held at the side, the hand closed. The figure wears a short, narrow kilt and a short wig that flares outward slightly in back. Traces of red-brown color are visible on the body of the figure, the kilt, and the base.

In front of the statue, a sculptor, sitting on a block or hassock, works with chisel and mallet on the chest of the figure. A second

629 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134, are uncertain as to the presence of a back pillar. Nevertheless, they do not hesitate to describe the material of the statue, like Cat. No. 11, as wood. My examination of the representation in situ convinced me that no back pillar is present.

630 So Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 57; see Chapter 3, § 57. Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134, are of the opinion that the craftsman "hält mit beiden Händen den langen Stiel einer Kelle(?), aus deren halbrunden Schale er eine Flüssigkeit über die Bauchregion der Statue ausgiesst." The purpose of this activity is supposedly to impregnate the wood, the material of the statue. The excavators bring two arguments against the identification of the tool as an ax: (1) the "blade" is painted red, not blue, the appropriate color for metal; (2) the bindings necessary to attach the blade to the handle are not indicated as in another vignette in the tomb where an ax is surely shown. They admit, however, that the attitude of the men wielding axes is identical with that shown here. The area where the binding should be shown is, in fact, damaged. As to the preserved color, the red-brown painting of the blade may well have been simply carried over from the figure that was painted the same color. And in any case, there do exist depictions of axes with blades painted red; for example those shown among the tools in the tomb of H_zjj-R' have "dull red" as well as "bluish" blades, see Quibell, *Hesy*, 21-22.

631 *jšt*, "possession," in the sense of the workman's tool. Like Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134, I understand *jdr* to be an imperative and the text to be the command of the overseer. They translate, however, "Nimm deine Speise weg von seinem Leib, der rund ist!" Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 57, who reads "Weggenommen wird deine Materie von seinem Leib, so daß er rund wird."

sculptor who half kneels behind the statue employs the same tools to shape the lower back of the figure.⁶³²

Cat. No. 14

The life-size striding statue is identical in attitude with Cat. No. 13. It, too, is drawn in profile and stands on a low base. The figure wears the same wig as Cat. No. 13, but its narrow kilt (detailed) is shorter.

The tools of the seated sculptor to the left are chisel and mallet. The sculptor sitting with his ankles crossed on a simple seat in front of the statue directs his tool to the abdomen of the figure. With the right hand he grasps, pushes, or turns the handle at its upper end.⁶³³

Cat. No. 15

The life-size, striding statue is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds the walking staff. The excavators describe the object held in the near hand at the side of the figure as a *Schattenstab*,⁶³⁴ an attribute whose occurrence in the representations of statues was discussed in Chapter 2, § 2.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt⁶³⁵ and a shoulder-length wig that retains traces of its original black painting.

To the right, a painter labelled *zš qdwt* applies his brush to the wig of the statue. In the near hand, he holds a shell-shaped palette. Containers for his various pigments and a water jug, arranged on two low tables one above the other, stand ready at hand.

⁶³² Note that the postures of the workmen are lively and rendered with great care. The problem of depicting complicated actions of the arms in relation to the torso of the figures has been ingeniously solved. Particularly noteworthy is the representation of a left-handed sculptor, since depictions of left-handed artisans are normally avoided in relief and painting.

⁶³³ Altenmüller, *PKG Ägypten*, 288, suggests that the boring out of the statue's navel is shown, an interpretation subsequently restated by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 134. Cf. the drill used by jewelers drilling beads(?), Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. XIII, and cf. Drenkhahn's comments, *Handwerker*, 48.

⁶³⁴ Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 135.

⁶³⁵ Staehelin's *Galaschurz*, *Tracht*, 11-30. The half-goffered kilt is characterized by the rounded edge of the overlapped section of cloth. (In extant statuary, this portion is normally shown pleated, a detail infrequently reproduced in representations of statues, see, e.g., Cat. No. 68.) A second diagnostic feature of the half-goffered kilt is the vertical tab with squared corners projecting above the belt. Both are present in Cat. No. 15. If either is shown in a statue representation, the garment is identified below as the half-goffered kilt. (In the representations, the belt alone is rarely distinguishable from the rolled upper edge of the short, narrow kilt.)

G 7150: The Tomb of *ḥ'j.f-ḥwfw* II

The reliefs in this built mastaba are "poorly executed and badly preserved."⁶³⁶ A terminus post quem for the career of the tomb owner is furnished by the occurrence of an estate name compounded with that of Neuserre.⁶³⁷ The craft scenes are confined to a single register, at the bottom of the west wall of the chapel.⁶³⁸ The left end of the register, including the statue from one vignette of statue manufacture, is lost. Adjacent to the scenes of statue making two men are occupied with stringing beads.⁶³⁹ Further to the right, it seems that carpenters at work are shown; one man applies an adze to a large *djed* pillar.

Cat. No. 16 (Plate III)

All that remains of this vignette is the greater part of a sculptor's figure, facing to the left. With the far hand, he swung a mallet; the near hand presumably held a chisel.

Cat. No. 17 (Plate III)

The approximately life-size striding statue is not drawn in profile. A statue base is present.⁶⁴⁰ Both arms are held at the sides of the figure. The near hand is lost; the object held in the far hand is apparently a folded handkerchief.

The statue's costume includes a shoulder-length wig and a detailed short, narrow kilt. A relief line at the neck of the figure indicates the presence of a broad collar.

The associated craftsman is, in all likelihood, a painter who holds a brush or spatula in his far hand.⁶⁴¹

G 2370: The Tomb of *Sndj-jb:Jntj*

The reliefs of the *Sndm-jb* family's stone built mastaba group⁶⁴² once included at least eight representations of statues, five of them in the

636 Simpson, *Kawab*, 21.

637 On the basis of the title sequence, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 292, would place *ḥ'j.f-ḥwfw* II squarely in the reign of Neuserre, whereas Simpson, *Kawab*, 21, assigns the tomb simply to the latter part of Dynasty V.

638 Simpson, *Kawab*, 26, pl. XLVa and fig. 50.

639 These are the only artisans mentioned in *PM* III, 191(7) where they are described as jewelers.

640 Simpson, *Kawab*, 26, refers to this element as "a low platform."

641 Note that there is some confusion in the depiction of the artisan's limbs - a "right" hand is attached to the far "left" arm. For the implement, cf. the painter associated with Cat. No. 44.

642 *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, G 2370 = LG 27, *PM* III, 85-87; *Sndm-jb:Mhj*, G 2378 = LG 26, *PM* III, 87-89; *Hnmw-ntj*, G 2374, *PM* III, 87. The group is to be published by E. Brovarski in the Harvard/Boston Giza Mastaba series. The architectural relationship of the chapels to one another is briefly described by Smith, *Sculpture*, 200.

process of manufacture.⁶⁴³ *Sndm-jb:Jntj*'s chapel was built after his death by his son *Sndm-jb:Mhj* who served both Djedkare and Unas.⁶⁴⁴ The craft scenes occupy five registers on the north wall of the antechamber located behind the entrance portico. One statue is shown together with the drilling of stone vases in the third register; below, in the bottom register, the manufacture of two statues is illustrated.⁶⁴⁵ The reliefs are carved in nummulithic stone⁶⁴⁶ and badly weathered.

Cat. No. 18 (Plate XXVIII)



The statue representation depicted a life-size, seated figure. The damaged condition of the wall makes it impossible to determine with certainty if a man or a woman is represented, but in all likelihood, the tomb owner was depicted in the statue, for representations of female statues in tombs of men consistently depict standing figures, see Chapter 2, § 21 and § 22. Because the lower front part of the statue is lost, the presence of a base cannot be confirmed.⁶⁴⁷

The action of the associated craftsman is lost.

Cat. No. 19 (Plate XXVIII)

The life-size statue depicts a striding man. The statue is not drawn in profile. Both arms are at the sides of the figure and the hands are closed with no attributes evident. A statue base is present.

The representation of the statue is completed in outline only, as are the figures of the craftsmen who work upon it. Probably the details were executed in paint on a thin layer of plaster, now lost. In spite of the lack of interior detail, it is clear from the outlines that the figure wore a short, round wig and the half-goffered kilt.⁶⁴⁸

Both sculptors, shown to the right and left of the statue, use mallet and chisel to work on the figure. The inscription above the statue reads  "forming/shaping the statue"; the sculptor to the left bears the title  "overseer of sculptors."⁶⁴⁹

643 For the scenes of statue transport in the tombs of *Sndm-jb:Jntj* and *Hnmw-ntj*, see Cat. Nos. 85, 86, and 116.

644 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 126-127, 293. *Sndm-jb:Jntj* and his son *Mhj* were both *jmj-r k:t nbt nt njswt*; both also held the title of vizier, see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 116, 137.

645 The following descriptions of the statue representations are based primarily on the photograph MFA A 6003, Plate XXVIII, and with reference to the drawing *LD Ergbd.*, pl. XIX. Lepsius' draftsman did not recognize that a statue was shown beside vase making in the third register. Thus *PM* III, 86(6)-(7), notes only the two statues in the bottom register.

646 For the technique of the reliefs, see Smith, *Sculpture*, 200.

647 The proportional height of the lap of the figure above the register line would allow for a low statue base.

648 The tab with squared corners is visible in outline, cf. note 635 above.

649 The hieroglyphs were not copied by Lepsius' draftsman and can be read only with difficulty from the photograph.

Cat. No. 20 (Plate XXVIII)

The statue is not drawn in profile; it depicts a striding male figure standing on a low base. The arms are held at the sides. The near hand is open; the gesture of the far hand is not identifiable.⁶⁵⁰ The torso of the figure is damaged. The head, now lost, was still present in Lepsius' day; his drawing shows the figure with the close-cropped, natural coiffure.

The action of the sculptor to the left of the statue is unclear. He holds no tools.⁶⁵¹

G 2378: The Tomb of *Sndm-jb:Mhj*

The craft scenes in the tomb of *Sndm-jb:Jntj*'s son *Mhj* cover the east wall of the hall lying between the forecourt of the tomb and its chapel.⁶⁵² The activities of sculptors are shown in the upper register. In Lepsius' sketch, two statues can be clearly recognized.⁶⁵³ In the second register metal workers ply their trade, while below, potters form jars in various shapes⁶⁵⁴ at the right end of the register, and, at the left, dwarfs string beads.

Cat. No. 21 (Plate III)

The life-size statue, drawn in profile, depicts a striding man. The figure stands directly on the register line, without benefit of a base. The visible (near) arm is held at the side. Whether the hand was fistled or open cannot be determined from the sketch.

The outline of the figure's head would seem to indicate the presence of the close-cropped, natural coiffure. The hem of a short, narrow kilt is shown.

A sculptor stands behind the statue. The tools he once held in his hands are lost, but his gestures are appropriate for sculpturing with chisel and mallet.

650 These observations are made on the basis of the photograph, rather than with reference to the drawing reproduced by Lepsius.

651 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 52, comments "steht vor Standbild."

652 Perhaps the name of the craftsman was once written above his head. The faint traces of a *h*tp sign are still visible in the photograph. *PM* III, 88(6). (Seen in relation to the internal layout of the entire chapel, this position is identical to the placement of the same scene in the tomb of *Mhj*'s father.)

653 *LD* Text I, 52 (below). Possibly as many as five statues were originally included, but only two are identifiable with certainty. Because Lepsius' sketch is simply a summary rendering of the severely damaged scene, Cat. Nos. 21 and 22 are necessarily brief.

654 Junker, *Giza* III, 44, characterized the activity "Anfertigen von Töpfen"; *PM* III, 88(6), describes the craftsmen as "vase makers" rather than as "potters."

Cat. No. 22 (Plate III)

The striding male statue is depicted in profile. The head and arm(s) of the figure are apparently not preserved. The statue is slightly over life-size. A base is lacking; like Cat. No. 21, the figure stands directly on the register line.

The costume includes a short, narrow kilt.

In front of the statue, a sculptor once worked the chest of the figure with mallet and chisel.

The Chapel of *Wp-m-nfrrt's* Son *Jbj*

The tomb of *Wp-m-nfrrt*, located in the Chephren cemetery at Giza, dates toward the end of Dynasty V.⁶⁵⁵ The offering room of *Wp-m-nfrrt's* eldest son *Jbj* seems to be a later addition.⁶⁵⁶ In contrast to the decoration of his father's offering room, simply cut into the local stone, *Jbj's* chapel is completely cased with Tura limestone, but only the southern part of the east wall was carved with reliefs. The remaining wall surfaces have been left undecorated. The craft scenes occupy the left half of four registers.⁶⁵⁷ The uppermost register contains scenes of metal working. In the second register, craftsmen work on two statues and a sarcophagus.⁶⁵⁸ Carpenters and their activities are depicted in the third register while below, in the bottom register, dwarfs manufacture beaded jewelry. The inscriptions accompanying the representations of statue making comprise the conversation of the sculptors.

Cat. No. 23 (Plate III)

The statue, drawn in profile, is slightly under life-size. It depicts a striding man. The visible (near) arm with closed hand is held at the side. The statue lacks a base.

The figure wears a short, narrow kilt (its hem is rendered in relief) and a shoulder-length, flaring wig.

655 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 289.

656 Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 66.

657 *PM* III, 282(6) - Hassan, *Giza* II, 192-199, fig. 219 and pl. LXXVI. To the right, the four registers contain epitomes of baking and brewing which, as Junker, *Giza* III, 53, noted, are properly to be considered separate from the workshop scenes. The remainder of the decoration is given over to the text of *Wp-m-nfrrt's* testament and the accompanying representations. The painter *R'-h:j* who served as one of the fifteen witnesses to the will is not to be identified with the painter of the same name documented in the tomb of *Mrj.s-^cnh* III - see Smith, *Sculpture*, 351-352.

658 The scenes of statue manufacture are oriented left to right, but, according to J. Weinstein, *JARCE* XI, 1974, 23-24, the tableaux of metal working above are to be read from right to left.

The sculptor works with chisel and mallet on the chest of the statue. The accompanying inscription reads *šbd w' r nn n hrww dr wdj(.j) '(.j) m twt pn ntj m-'(.j)*, "it has been one month up until these days since I [first] put my hand to this statue which is in my charge."⁶⁵⁹

Cat. No. 24 (Plate III)

The approximately life-size statue depicts a seated man. The figure is drawn in profile. The visible (near) hand is closed and rests on the lap. The block-like seat has a high back slab reaching almost to the height of the middle of the wig. As usual, the seat has a projection in front that serves as a foot rest and base. Only one leg of the figure is shown, and a small space is reserved between it and the front of the seat.

The figure wears a detailed short, narrow kilt and a short, round wig. A goatee is also present.

The craftsman applies a polishing stone to the forehead of the statue.⁶⁶⁰ The inscription gives his reply to the remarks of his comrade, *twt whj <r>*⁶⁶¹ *rh.t.k k:t n : dd.k n(.j) jw ht mj 't*, "you are an ignorant concerning your estimation of the work; indeed, you wouldn't say to me 'wood is like stone'!"⁶⁶² This ironic remark implies that Cat. No. 23 is made of wood.

G 2342: The Tomb of *S'nh.n-Pth*

S'nh.n-Pth built a stone mastaba at Giza to the east of the "cemetery in echelon," at the edge of the Western Cemetery.⁶⁶³ The tomb lies directly south of the *Sndm-jb* family complex. Reisner classifies the plan of the tomb's four-room chapel with that of *Sndm-jb:Jntj*'s mastaba.⁶⁶⁴ Because additional dating criteria are lacking, only an approximate date of late Dynasty V - early Dynasty VI may be assigned to the tomb. The relief decoration is severely weathered, and only the lower half of one wall has

659 After E. Edel, *Beiträge* 8, 1969, 6. He comments, "'Hand anlegen an' ist also ungefähr gleichbedeutend mit 'anfangen mit'." Cf. also Hassan, *Giza II*, 194.

660 While admitting that polishing may well be the activity depicted, Smith, *Sculpture*, 106, alternatively suggested that the tool may be a sharp, pointed stone used for the execution of fine details.

661 Supplied at Dr. Fischer's suggestion. So, also, implicit in the translation of Hassan, *Giza II*, 195.

662 After Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 819. Cf. Hassan, *Giza II*, 195, and also W. Guglielmi, in *Word und Bild: Symposium des Fachbereichs Altertums- und Kulturwissenschaften zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen*, Munich 1979, 192, whose translation of both captions supports the interpretation suggested here. (Note, however, that Guglielmi describes the material of Cat. No. 23 as stone.)

663 The tomb also bears the numbers G 5520 and LG 28 - see *PM III*, 164.

664 Reisner, *Giza I*, 264-265.

been published.⁶⁶⁵ Large-scale figures of the tomb owner and his wife stand in the center. To the left, two craft scenes in one register are preserved: a carpenter uses an ax or adze, and two sculptors work on a statue.

Cat. No. 25 (Plate III)

A striding man is depicted in the statue which is not drawn in profile. The figure is life-size; it does not possess a base. The near arm with closed hand is held at the side; the far arm is bent at the elbow and extended, as if the closed hand were to hold the walking staff, but the attribute is not shown in Lepsius' sketch.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a short, narrow kilt.

To the left, a sculptor labelled *qstj* wields chisel and mallet. His comrade, to the right, is also labelled *qstj*. He holds a chisel in one hand, but the action of the other is lost.

The Tomb of *Tjj*

The mastaba of *Tjj* at Saqqara is apparently contemporary with the Giza tombs of *Sndm-jb:Mhj* and *Wp-m-nfrt*.⁶⁶⁶ The craft scenes are sculptured on the south wall, east end, of the inner hall.⁶⁶⁷ Metal work and jewelry production were the crafts shown in the uppermost register. The second register is almost entirely given over to the illustration of statue manufacture⁶⁶⁸: at the right end of the register, two craftsmen bore out stone vessels. Originally eight life-size statues were included. Only three are completely preserved today; five, Cat. Nos. 29-33, are lost above knee height. One of those statues, Cat. No. 30, depicted a woman. Below, in the third register, carpenters produce a variety of objects for *Tjj*'s funerary equipment. Only the activities at the left end of the bottom register can properly be considered to belong to the craft scenes. Two artisans involved in the manufacture of a staff, a leather worker, and a man drilling a hole through a cylinder seal are shown. To the right, a "market scene" fills the remainder of the register.

665 The following description is based on the sketch in *LD Text I*, 59.

666 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152, 295, contra, e.g., W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 106 note 1, who suggests that *Tjj* died early in the reign of Neuserre.

667 For an overall impression of the craft scenes, see Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. 132-134 and Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti III*, pls. CLXXIII-CLXXIV.

668 *PM III*, 473(36). The descriptions given below, Cat. Nos. 26-33, are made with reference to Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti III*, pl. CLXXIII. Data concerning preserved color were recorded in situ, April 1974.

Cat. No. 26 (Plate IV)

The life-size statue is drawn in profile; it depicts a seated man. The far leg of the figure is shown advanced, and the near leg is pressed against the front of the seat. The visible (near) hand holds the folded handkerchief on the figure's lap. The seat is provided with the usual projection for the feet, but it also possesses a high back slab, a feature documented infrequently in the representations, as well as in the extant repertory of actual statues, see Chapter 2, § 15. The combination of the back slab with an interior border in relief on the side of the seat suggests the appearance of a high-backed chair.

The figure's costume includes the detailed short, narrow kilt and a shoulder-length, striated wig that rests on top of the back-slab. A goatee with horizontal striations is also present.

The carefully detailed representation (note the rendering of eyelid, nipple, and toenails in relief) clearly depicts a highly finished product. But both craftsmen associated with the statue wield heavy stonemason's mauls with both hands, an activity appropriate to one of the earliest stages in the manufacture of a hard stone statue.⁶⁶⁹

The statue is labelled *twt* and the craftsman to the left *ḥmwtj*. Above the craftsman to the right is written *jrjt kꜣt jn ḥmwtj*, "execution of work by the craftsman."

Cat. No. 27 (Plate IV)

The figure, drawn in profile, represents a striding male statue. Only the near arm with closed hand is shown, held at the side of the figure. The statue stands on a low base that bears traces of black paint.

The nude figure depicts a circumcised adult who wears an echelon curl wig. A goatee is also present.

A kneeling sculptor is depicted to the right and at the left of the statue.⁶⁷⁰ The action of each is described in the identical inscriptions written above each man, *snꜣ jn qstj*, "polishing by the sculptor." Above the statue *twt* is written.

Cat. No. 28 (Plate IV)

The statue is identical with Cat. No. 27, with the exception of the wig. Here the figure wears the shoulder-length, striated wig, as in Cat. No. 26. The figure was painted red-brown and the base, black.

669 See Chapter 3, § 56. Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 64, comments, "Aus dem Werkzeug ist mit Sicherheit zu schließen, daß die Statue aus Granit oder einem anderen harten Steine zu denken ist."

670 Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 64, describes the action of both artisans as "glätten mit Steinen," but no rubbing stones are in evidence.

In front of the statue, a sculptor labelled *qstj* works with mallet and chisel on the advanced leg of the figure. Behind, a kneeling craftsman grasps the advanced leg of the statue with his left hand; his left arm is visible between the statue's legs. The sculptor's tool is an adze. The action of the sculptor is labelled *nḏr*, "smoothing"⁶⁷¹; the statue is labelled *twt*.

Cat. No. 29 (Plate V)

The statue depicted a seated man; it is now lost above knee height. The far leg of the figure is slightly advanced, and there is a space reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. The seat itself possesses a low back with a cloth laid over it.⁶⁷² An interior border is indicated in relief on the side of the seat. At the front, the usual projection serves as a foot rest and base.

Because the upper part of the statue representation is lost, it cannot be determined with certainty if the figure was drawn in profile or not. A sculptor sitting on a stool behind the figure swings a mallet back over his shoulder. The inscription accompanying him reads *jrjt kꜣt jn qstj*, "execution of work by the sculptor."

Cat. No. 30 (Plate V)

A statue of a standing woman was shown; it is preserved only to knee height. The far leg is slightly advanced. As with Cat. No. 29, it cannot be determined if the figure was drawn in profile or not. A statue base, painted black, is present.

The hem line of a long, close-fitting shift is indicated in relief. The action of the craftsman is lost.⁶⁷³

Cat. Nos. 31-32 (Plate V)

Both statues depicted striding men with walking staff held in the far hand. In both compositions, the lower end of the walking staff, planted on the base, is preserved. It is impossible to determine if the figures were drawn in profile or not due to the loss of the upper part of the

671 Schäfer, in Wresz., Atlas III, 64, would interpret *nḏr* to identify the craftsman as a "Dechsler," rather than as a description of the activity shown.

672 Observed by Schäfer, in Wresz., Atlas III, 64.

673 Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 80, would identify the craftsmen associated with Cat. Nos. 30, 32, and 33 as painters, in contrast to a sculptor in association with Cat. No. 31. She commented that the attitude of painters during Dynasty V is so typical, that they may be immediately recognized: "Sie sitzen bei ihrer leichten Arbeit auf hohen Stühlen mit untergeschlagenen oder hochgezogenen Beinen und sehen zierlicher und leichtfüßiger aus als Bildhauer und Steinarbeiter." Note, however, that painters at work are often shown standing, and in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, sculptors are depicted in the attitude Klebs considered typical for painters.

representations. If Cat. No. 31 were not drawn in profile, the small, rectangular form, visible to the left of the statue's knees, might represent one of the ends of a folded handkerchief, held in the near hand. Both figures are painted red-brown; the bases are black.

The craftsmen associated with both representations are shown seated on stools. Their actions are lost. The legs of the craftsman working on Cat. No. 31 are visible between the legs of the statue, suggesting that its material is wood.⁶⁷⁴

Cat. No. 33 (Plate V)

A seated statue similar to Cat. No. 26 is shown. The figure itself is lost above waist height. The seat possesses an interior border. The legs and the base retain the original black paint which is almost entirely lost from the seat.

The action of the craftsman sitting in front of the statue is lost.

The Tomb of *K:(.j)-m-rḥw*

K:(.j)-m-rḥw, the owner of a modest mastaba at Saqqara, was a priest of Neuserre. He apparently died toward the end of Dynasty V.⁶⁷⁵ The reliefs of his one-room corridor-type chapel are divided between the Cairo Museum and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. The craft scenes are in Cairo.⁶⁷⁶ They filled the bottom register on the east wall of the chapel. At the left, carpenters prepare furniture for the tomb equipment, and two dwarfs string beads. Above both groups of craftsmen, the products of their work are illustrated. In the middle of the register, smiths are engaged in three different phases of their work. At the right, two pairs of sculptors work on statues, and craftsmen manufacture stone vases. No inscriptions accompany the representations of statue making.

Cat. Nos. 34-35 (Plate VI)

The identical figures are slightly under life-size. The statues they depict reproduce the attitude of Cat. Nos. 27 and 28 in the tomb of *Tjj*. Both statues are drawn in profile; each possesses a base.

Like Cat. Nos. 27 and 28, both figures depict a nude, circumcised adult. Both wear a flaring shoulder-length coiffure that leaves the ear exposed.

674 Observed by Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 64.

675 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 142, 265-266, and 294.

676 *PM III*, 486(2) = CG 1534. Mogensen's drawing, *Mastaba*, fig. 44, reproduced for convenience here, Plate VI, is not a facsimile.

Two sculptors with mallet and chisel work on Cat. No. 34 while Cat. No. 35 receives its final polish from two craftsmen.⁶⁷⁷

The Tomb of *Pth-špss*

The large mastaba of *Pth-špss* at Abusir underwent three major stages of construction.⁶⁷⁸ The extensive relief decoration of the tomb is probably datable to the end of Dynasty V.⁶⁷⁹ The craft scenes are to be found in the offering room on the north side of the east wall.⁶⁸⁰ In the uppermost register, carpenters' activities are illustrated, while the second and third registers contain scenes of metal working. Statue manufacture is shown in the bottom register.

Cat. No. 36

The figure depicts a life-size striding statue, not drawn in profile. A walking staff is shown in the far hand and a folded handkerchief in the near hand. A statue base is present.

The costume includes a detailed projecting-panel kilt⁶⁸¹ and a short, round wig. The figure wears an amulet on a cord around the neck.

Three sculptors are shown in association with the statue. The man at the left who polishes the statue's arm is identified by name, *Wšš-kš(.j)*, and by his title, *šḥd qstjw*. His squatting companion, also at the left, is about to use an adze. The third sculptor, the *šḥd qstjw Pth-špss*, stands to the right of the statue and uses a rubbing stone to smooth the statue's shoulder.

677 Smith, *Sculpture*, 106, alternatively suggests that the activity shown might be the execution of details with a sharp, pointed stone.

678 V. Fiala, *Prelim. Rpt. Ptahshepses*, 57-60.

679 According to Baer, *Rank and Title*, 290, who assigns *Pth-špss* to his period VD. Baer, *op.cit.*, 76, notes, however, that the career of the tomb owner, a royal hairdresser who married a daughter of Neuserre, is problematic.

680 PM III, 342(11). The following descriptions, Cat. Nos. 36-38, are based on data recorded during a visit to the tomb in April 1974 and with reference to a drawing of the scenes kindly provided for my study by Dr. M. Verner who is preparing the final publication of the tomb's relief decoration. Dr. Verner, *Prelim. Rpt. Ptahshepses*, 64-65, has briefly characterized the scenes of statue manufacture.

681 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 9, terms this kilt "Schurz mit glattem Vorbau." The garment is designated "kilt with projecting panel" or "projecting-panel kilt" below. If the overlapped front edge, the rolled edge at the waist, and the knot are indicated in relief or paint, the word "detailed" is added to the description.

Cat. No. 37

The life-size statue depicts a striding man. It is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a scepter, painted green, in the near hand, and the walking staff in the far hand. A statue base is included in the representation.

The figure wears a short, round wig and the kilt with projecting panel. Both the figure and the statue base are painted red-brown.

Three craftsmen work on the statue. The figure of the sculptor at the right is damaged so that his activity remains unclear.⁶⁸² At the left, two sculptors, one standing and one squatting, wield adzes. The standing sculptor is the *shd qstjw Pth-špss*; his companion is labelled *qstj Jrj.n-Rc*.⁶⁸³

Cat. No. 38

The figure depicts a slightly over life-size seated statue. It is not drawn in profile. The far leg and foot of the figure are slightly advanced, and a space is reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. The seat is identical to that shown in Cat. No. 29. The cloth laid over the low back is white whereas the figure, its coiffure, the seat, the base, and the *Füllstein* are painted pink with dark red stippling to imitate granite. Both hands of the figure rest on the lap; the near hand holds a folded handkerchief (white) and the far hand is fisted.

The figure wears the short, narrow kilt (white) and a shoulder-length wig.

Three craftsmen apply polishing stones to the statue. The craftsman at the right who works on the statue's shoulder is labelled *shd hmwjtjw*⁶⁸⁴ *Mmj*; his crouching companion who polishes the seat is named *Jrj.n-Hnmw*.⁶⁸⁵ The name of the third craftsman is probably to be read *S:bj*.⁶⁸⁶

The Tomb of *Mrr-wj-k: j*

The vizier *Mrr-wj-k: j* built a family mastaba in the cemetery adjacent to the pyramid of Teti. The decoration of the tomb was probably completed before the death of that king.⁶⁸⁷ Craft scenes once covered the east wall

682 A secondary inscription, scratched into the space between the legs of the sculptor and those of the statue, apparently comprises a proper name. Smith, *Sculpture*, 353, found the signs illegible; in the tomb, I was unable to decipher the name.

683 Both these names have been read by Smith, *Sculpture*, 353.

684 This title occurs only in the tomb of *Pth-špss* - cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 66.

685 Both names were read by Smith, *Sculpture*, 353.

686 The second sign is surely not *nfr*, as Smith, *Sculpture*, 353, read, but in all likelihood a clumsily carved cow's skin, Gardiner Sign-list F 28.

687 Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 82, 290; Duell, *Mereruka*, 3, 5.

of room A III.⁶⁸⁸ Six registers are partially preserved. The uppermost, containing the scenes of statue manufacture, is very fragmentary; once at least three statues, two striding male figures and a single standing female figure, were included. The representations are preserved only to knee height. At the left end of register 2, two craftsmen bore out stone vessels. The remainder of the second register and register 3 are taken up with the activities of carpenters manufacturing funerary equipment. The fourth register includes a depiction of the transport of three statues.⁶⁸⁹ In register 5, smiths manufacture vessels and stands, and in the bottom register jewelers at work and their products are shown.

Cat. No. 39 (Plate VI)

The figure depicted a life-size statue of a striding man. It was probably not drawn in profile, although it is impossible to determine with certainty that such was the case, because the upper part of the representation is lost.⁶⁹⁰ The far hand held the walking staff; its lower end is preserved. The near hand is lost. A sledge serves as the statue base. The figure stands under an open baldachin.⁶⁹¹

The costume included a knee-length kilt with projecting panel.

The action of the craftsman who stands to the left is lost.

Cat. No. 40 (Plate VI)

The life-size statue depicted a standing woman with her far leg slightly advanced. Whether the figure was drawn in profile or not is moot, see Chapter 2, § 22. A statue base is differentiated from the register line in front but merges with it behind the figure.

688 PM III, 528(20) = Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 29-30.

689 See Cat. Nos. 110-112. Duell, *Mereruka*, 17, suggested that the statues are being dragged along a street between the shops of the various craftsmen on the estate of the tomb owner.

690 The relationship of walking staff and the statue's legs to the poles of the baldachin is closely paralleled by Cat. No. 111, a statue being transported in register 4. Cat. No. 111 is not represented in profile, but neither are the depictions identical. If Cat. No. 39 had held a handkerchief in the near hand, as does Cat. No. 111, the longer end would be visible, even given the representations fragmentary state of preservation.

691 Cf. the structure sheltering the statues being dragged in register 4, Cat. Nos. 110-112. It is identical in form to the baldachin under which the sarcophagus is shown in representations of the funeral, see Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 21, and cf. D. Arnold, "Baldachin," *LÄ* I, 607-608. No extant example of such a light, open structure is preserved from the Old Kingdom. A stone naos whose form imitates an open baldachin was excavated at Edfu, see Shoukry, *Privatgrabstatue*, fig. 66. Shoukry, *op.cit.*, 231, states: "Es besteht kein Zweifel daran, dass es sich damit um eine direkte Entlehnung des naosartigen Behälters der Statue im Gottestempel handelt." For other types of Old Kingdom statue shrines, see the comments of Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 36, with note 1.

The lady wore a long, close-fitting shift whose hem line is indicated in relief.

The *jmj-r qstjw pr-ḥ: Dḥm*, "overseer of the sculptors of the palace,"⁶⁹² *Dḥm*, "stands in front of the statue.

Cat. No. 41 (Plate VI)

The life-size statue depicted a striding man who held the walking staff in the far hand. Both the figure and the associated craftsman stand directly on the register line.

A relief line parallel to the register line at knee height would seem to indicate that the figure wore a projecting-panel kilt.

Between the legs of the statue and those of the craftsman, the latter's name, *Jdw*, is written.

The Tomb of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*

ḥḥ-m-ḥr, a contemporary of *Mrr-wj-k: j*, apparently served as vizier toward the end of the reign of Teti. However, the decoration of his tomb at Saqqara is dated by Baer somewhat later, to the reign of Pepy I.⁶⁹³ The craft scenes fill two registers on the south wall of room II.⁶⁹⁴ The contents of the register above are lost. To the right of the first register, a smithy is depicted in two sub-registers; to the left, sculptors and painters work on statues. The bottom register is divided at its left end into two sub-registers of unequal height. In both, the production of beaded jewelry is shown. To the right, leatherworkers ply their craft, and four artisans manufacture stone vessels. The craft vignettes are depicted in an architectural setting characterized in part by the presence of lotiform columns.

Cat. No. 42 (Plate VI)

A life-size striding statue is shown; it is not drawn in profile. Both arms of the figure are held at the sides, and the hands are open, an unusual attitude discussed in Chapter 2, § 6. A statue base bearing traces of red-brown paint is present.

The figure wears a short, round wig, a broad collar, and the half-goffered kilt.

692 The title is discussed by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker* 67-68; cf. also Smith, *Sculpture*, 353.

693 Rank and Title, 64, 241; cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 139.

694 PM III, 513(7). See, most recently, Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ḥankh-mḥor*, 22-23, fig. 32 and pl. 35. A drawing published by Junker, *Stellung*, fig. 1, inaccurate in some details, is to be added to the references in PM III. Data concerning preserved color were recorded in situ, April 1974.

In front of the statue, an overseer of sculptors, *jmj-r qstjw*, stands on the statue base and applies his chisel to the statue's shoulder, tapping it with the palm of his open hand. He carries an adze slung over his shoulder.⁶⁹⁵

Cat. No. 43 (Plate VI)

The attitude of the statue is identical with Cat. No. 42. It, too, is not drawn in profile. A statue base with traces of red-brown paint is included in the representation.

Originally, a group statue depicting the tomb owner and a small figure (certainly a son, cf. Cat. No. 44) was shown. The figure of the boy was subsequently erased.⁶⁹⁶ The type of statue first shown is not documented in the extant Old Kingdom repertory, for children are not depicted in the company of their nude father.⁶⁹⁷

The large figure is nude⁶⁹⁸ and wears a short, round wig with rows of echelon curls indicated in relief.

A craftsman applies paint with a "brush" to the statue's wig. His near hand holds a dish or shell serving as a palette. He is the *zš w'bt rsj Msj*, "the scribe of the southern *w'bt*, *Msj*."⁶⁹⁹ *Twt n*⁷⁰⁰ *špnn*, "statue of *špnn*-wood(?)"⁷⁰¹ is written above the statue.

695 Capart, *Rue*, 33, commented that the sculptor "a passé sur l'épaule son herminette, outil au moyen duquel s'exécute le gros oeuvre et qui nous indique que la statue est en bois."

696 Noted by Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 60, without further comment. Capart, *Rue*, 33, was of the opinion that the small figure of Cat. No. 44 should also have been erased but was "overlooked," for he believed that it was *Jšfj* whose figure was removed here and elsewhere in the reliefs. However, it is clear that it must have been another son of the tomb owner - see Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhm'ahor*, 22, 40. In the tomb, the figure of the second son has been erased several times, with varying degrees of thoroughness, as a comparison of Badawy, *op.cit.*, pls. 41 and 68 demonstrates.

697 Cf. the list of statues depicting nude men compiled by Junker, *Giza VII*, 40-41.

698 Badawy's drawing shows a circumcised adult.

699 J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 234, translated "Painter of the [Southern Mortuary Workshop]"; see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 147-151, and E. Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46, 1977, 114-115, for discussions of the term *w'bt*.

700 And not *twt n(t) špnn*, as Badawy transliterates.

701 Cf. Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 60: "Statue aus *špnn*-Holz". Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhm'ahor*, 22, translates simply "statue of shepenen," commenting that this material is not identified. J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 234, reads "a statue of *špnn*-(wood?)." Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 58-59, suggests that this text and the analogous inscription accompanying Cat. No. 44 refer to the activity of the craftsman. She believes *špnn* and *ksbt* could designate vegetable substances used by the painter, either as ground for color, or as pigment. But the orientation of both inscriptions relates them to the statue, not to the craftsman. The same form, *twt n X*, is found in association with representations of statues in transport scenes, e.g., Cat. Nos. 98 and 99, where *X* is surely the material of the statue. Thus *špnn* should designate the material of Cat. No. 43. Obviously,

Cat. No. 44 (Plate VI)

The life-size group is composed of a striding man and a child identified by the accompanying inscription as the tomb owner's son. The two figures share a base that still bears traces of red-brown paint, and neither is drawn in profile. The man holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The child stands, with the far leg advanced, to his father's left.⁷⁰² The child's near arm with open hand is held at the side of the figure. The far hand is open and shown raised, directly in front of the figure's face. Presumably, the draftsman intended to depict the traditional child's gesture, forefinger to the mouth, but the raised hand is open, instead of closed, as in actual statues of this type.⁷⁰³ Because the child faces rightward, the left hand is raised to the mouth, and not the right as in actual statuary.⁷⁰⁴

The adult wears a kilt with projecting panel and a broad collar. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair. The nude boy is uncircumcised. He wears the youth lock.⁷⁰⁵

The craftsman, labelled simply *zš*, uses a broad spatula⁷⁰⁶ to apply color to the statue's kilt. In the left hand, he holds a dish or shell as a palette. A painter's brush is stuck behind his ear. In front of the child is written the name of the tomb owner's eldest son *Jšfj*. The inscription *twt n ksbt*, "statue of *ksbt*-wood," accompanies the statue representation.⁷⁰⁷

The translation "Mohnpflanze/Mohnkörner" (*Wb* IV, 444-445; cf. W. Vycichl, *ZÄS* 85, 1960, 78) is not suitable for the context. The determinative for *špnn* makes it clear that a plant, not a mineral, is meant. On analogy with Cat. No. 44, *špnn* probably designates a type of tree.

702 According to Schäfer, in *Wresz.*, *Atlas III*, 60 note 1, "die Knabenfigur wird wohl rechts zu denken sein, weil links der Platz durch den vorgestellten linken Fuß besetzt ist." Such a correction is unnecessary. In at least one actual statue, as in the representation, the son's figure is placed behind the father's advanced left leg, see Zayed, *Trois études*, fig. 6.

703 Note, however, that Schäfer, in *Wresz.*, *Atlas III*, 60, emphasizes that the usual attitude is *not* shown. In an appendix (unnumbered page) he writes: "Die Handhaltung der Knabenfigur ließ sich auch vor dem Original nicht ganz klären. Es sieht aus, als führe er einen länglichen Gegenstand zwischen Zeigefinger und Daumen an Mund oder Nase, während die drei anderen Finger aufragen." Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhn'ahor*, 22, describes the figure as "fit in below the father's skirt, to which it raises its left arm." His drawing, as a comparison with the photograph shows, is inaccurate, placing the thumb on the wrong side of the hand.

704 Cf. the comments of Fischer, *Orientation*, 8, regarding the child hieroglyph, Gardiner Sign-list A 17.

705 See Schäfer, in *Wresz.*, *Atlas III*, 60. Badawy's drawing inaccurately shows the ear of the figure covered and two long strands of hair.

706 This tool is rarely shown in the hands of the painter, but it is included in the writing of the title discussed by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 62-65.

707 So Schäfer, in *Wresz.*, *Atlas III*, 60; J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 6, 1947, 234; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhn'ahor*, 22; cf. *Wb* V, 141. For Drenkhahn's suggestion as to the interpretation of this inscription, see the comments in note 701, above.

Cat. No. 45 (Plate VI)

The representation is only partially preserved. The figure depicted a life-size, striding statue. Because the adjoining block is lost, only the elements of the composition that project beyond the figure to the right can be described. The front edge of the base, the end of a scepter that was held in the near hand, and the walking staff in the far hand are preserved. The relative position of these attributes insures that the statue was not drawn in profile.

It can be deduced that the figure wore a narrow kilt, for had the projecting-panel kilt been shown, its lower front edge would have been present on the preserved block.⁷⁰⁸

In front of the statue, a standing sculptor labelled *jmj-r qstjw* apparently polishes the upper arm or shoulder of the figure.⁷⁰⁹ The object held in his near hand that grasps the walking staff of the statue is an adze. A second sculptor used a mallet and chisel on the statue base.

The Tomb of *Ks-jrr*

The tomb of *Ks-jrr* is located at the southeast corner of the Djoser precinct at Saqqara. The largely unpublished mastaba⁷¹⁰ is datable to the first half of Dynasty VI.⁷¹¹ The craft scenes are carved on the east wall of the second room.⁷¹² In the bottom register, smiths weigh ingots, and an attendant scribe presents his account to a large-scale figure of the tomb owner at the left end of the register. To the right in the register above, statue making is shown.⁷¹³ Jewelers at work and a scribe presenting his account are included in the same register.

Cat. No. 46

The life-size statue depicts a striding nude man.⁷¹⁴ It is drawn in profile. The visible (near) arm with closed hand is held at the side. A statue base is present.

708 Cf. Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 60.

709 So Schäfer, in Wresz., *Atlas III*, 60. Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and 'Ankhn'ahor*, 22, states that the activity is painting, clearly in contradiction of the label identifying the craftsman as a sculptor.

710 *PM III*, 631-632.

711 The funerary estate names are compounded with the names of Unas and Teti, see Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 428-429. Smith, *Sculpture*, 205, assigns the tomb to early Dynasty VI.

712 *PM III*, 631(9). These are only partially published, see J.-P. Lauer, *Saqqara. The Royal Cemetery of Memphis: Excavations and Discoveries since 1850*, London 1976, pl. 68.

713 Because the tomb was inaccessible to me, the following description is necessarily based on the photograph published by Lauer where only a single statue is visible.

714 Whether the figure represents a circumcised adult or not is moot.

The head of the figure is not preserved.

The craftsman who sits on a tall stool behind the statue is apparently a painter, for in his right hand, he holds a brush. Above his head [] is visible; his title is perhaps to be restored to read *zš w'bt*.

The Tomb of *Jntj*

The nomarch *Jntj* chose to excavate his tomb not in the residence cemeteries at Saqqara or Giza but in the province at Deshasha. Baer dates *Jntj*'s title sequence to the interval between the end of the reign of Merenre and year 15 of Pepy II.⁷¹⁵ The severely damaged scenes of craftsmen at work filled four registers on the wall to the left of the tomb's entrance.⁷¹⁶ In the uppermost register, boat building was shown together with the polishing of a statue and the painting of a *hn*. The second register probably was devoted to the carpenter's craft and the third to smithery. In the bottom register, dwarfs make jewelry, and leather workers manufacture sandals.

Cat. No. 47 (Plate VII)

The figure depicts a life-size, striding statue; it is not drawn in profile. Both arms with closed hands are held at the sides. A statue base is lacking.

Because the representation is preserved in outline only, no description of coiffure or costume can be given.

The seated craftsman uses a polishing stone on the far arm of the statue. The meagre traces of an inscription written above the craftsman are not decipherable.

The Tomb of *Jbj*

Jbj, overlord of the Anteopolite Nome, also chose to be buried in the province. He possessed a rock-cut tomb decorated with paintings on plaster at Deir el Gebrawi. *Jbj*'s death seems to have occurred toward the middle of Pepy II's reign.⁷¹⁷ Scenes of craftsmen at work are illustrated in five of the six registers on the north wall, east half, of the tomb's large hall.⁷¹⁸ In the uppermost register, a sculptor and several carpenters apply the finishing touches to their products. At the far right end of this register, three craftsmen manufacture stone vessels. The second

715 *Rank and Title*, 279, 288. Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 11 note 51, and 66 (after Smith, *Sculpture*, 219-220, who assigned the decoration of the tomb to mid-Dynasty VI at the earliest).

716 *PM* IV, 121(1); *Deshasheh*, pl. XIII.

717 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 56, 278, 288.

718 *PM* IV, 244(12-13); Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi* I, pls. XIII-XVI.

register contains depictions of three different crafts: at the right, jewelers and their products are depicted, in the middle sculptors and painters work on statues of a woman, a lion, and a man, and at the left, carpenters prepare funerary equipment. Register 3 is allotted to smiths. Shipwrights are busy in register 4. In register 5, scribes (at the right) record the progress of the craftsmen (at the left) who wield mauls and chisels.⁷¹⁹ The bottom register is devoted to representations of the wife and children of the tomb owner and to a scene of feeding fowl.

Cat. No. 48 (Plate VII)

The life-size statue depicts a seated man in profile, the visible (near) hand open and laid flat on the figure's lap.⁷²⁰ It would seem that only the near foot and leg are shown with a small space reserved between the leg and the front of the seat. The drab-colored⁷²¹ seat is a simple block set slightly forward on a large base.⁷²²

The figure, which was painted,⁷²³ wears the short, close-cropped natural coiffure. No garments are evident.

The sculptor applies a chisel to the figure. The sculptor's other hand was raised as if to wield a mallet, but the tool was either not drawn or is not preserved. The inscription accompanying the representation reads *srđ m twt jn qstj*, "shaping the statue by the sculptor." Behind the sculptor, a squatting comrade holds a goose. The associated text, *jw :pd pn đd: wrt*, may be translated "this bird is very fat!"⁷²⁴

Cat. No. 49 (Plate VII)

The striding statue is slightly under life-size. It was apparently drawn in profile. The arm(s) and head are missing.⁷²⁵ The statue base and the tall stool on which the painter sits are drawn as a single unit.

719 Cf. Chapter 3, note 240.

720 Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 82, described the statue as well as that represented in Cat. No. 52 as "anscheinend weibliche" figures. The attitude of both Cat. Nos. 48 and 52 which might be considered appropriate for a seated female figure has been discussed in Chapter 2, § 13. The rather full modelling of the chest in Cat. No. 48 is paralleled by the representation of another seated male statue drawn in profile, Cat. No. 26. The inscription associated with Cat. No. 48 includes the word *twt*, used only with reference to male statues, see Chapter 4, § 93.

721 The background is blue. Drab, according to the list of abbreviations, Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, viii, may indicate simply the absence of color.

722 Cf. the similar arrangement of these elements in Cat. No. 9.

723 The letters "fl" are written on the figure. This abbreviation is not listed, Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, viii. Other items labelled "fl" in *Jbj's* tomb include a brazier(?) and a group of bulls, *op.cit.*, pl. XI.

724 Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, 19, suggests that the bird is the sculptor's wage. Cf. a similar juxtaposition in association with Cat. No. 57, noted by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 140.

725 It is difficult to suggest a reconstruction of the attitude of the arms. If the near arm had been depicted at the side of the figure, the line indicating the upper edge of the kilt would have been only partially visible, but the facsimile shows an uninterrupted line.

The figure wears a detailed short, narrow kilt. The skin of the figure is painted red.

The painter applied his brush to the face of the statue. His activity is labelled *tzj hr twt*, "affixing the face of the statue."⁷²⁶ The *mḥnk zš Msj.n.j(?)* observes the progress of the work.

Cat. No. 50 (Plate VII)

The figure is approximately three-quarters life-size. It depicts the standing statue of a woman, drawn in profile. Only the near leg and foot are shown. Presumably, the near arm of the figure was held at the side, but it is not drawn in the facsimile. A statue base is present. Both the figure and the base were painted red, as were other wooden objects shown in this register and that above.⁷²⁷

For the coiffure worn by the figure, see the discussion in Chapter 2, § 41.

The sculptor's work with mallet and chisel is labelled *srđ jn qstj*, "shaping by the sculptor." His name *Snj* is written between him and the statue.

The Tomb of *ḏw:šmꜥj*

ḏw:šmꜥj, successor of his father *Jbj* as nomarch, died in the second half of Pepy II's reign.⁷²⁸ He and his son *ḏw* share a rock-cut tomb at Deir el Gebrawi that was cut and decorated at the son's order.⁷²⁹ The craft scenes are found on the north wall, east end, of the hall, as in the tomb of *Jbj*, but the arrangement of the activities in five registers is different.⁷³⁰ The crafts shown in the uppermost register include the fabrication of jewelry, to the right, and, at the left, at least two statues in the process of manufacture. A third, finished statue stands at the end of the register. In the second register at the left, carpenters are depicted at work. The figure of a single scribe who records the progress of the work is preserved at the right. In register 3, carpenters sand a bed at the left, and at the right, the manufacture of stone vases was depicted. The completed vessels are displayed in a stand at the end of

726 So H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* XIII, 1976, 13, 16. Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, 19, translated "adorning(?) the face of the statue."

727 The female figures in the tomb are sometimes painted an orange tint instead of the usual yellow, but here the color is red, see Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, 19.

728 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 157, 278, 295.

729 *Urk.* I, 146-147.

730 *PM* IV, 245(8); Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. X. A fault has resulted in a considerable loss of paintings from the wall. (For reasons of economy the width of the gap is not given to scale in the facsimile.)

the register. In the right half of register 4, smiths at work were shown, while at the left, carpenters use adzes and ax to manufacture the funerary equipment. In the bottom register, shipwrights work on two small vessels.

Cat. No. 51 (Plate VII)

Only the foot, painted red, of a life-size statue is preserved. The figure stood directly on the register line, without a statue base.

The attitude of the craftsman duplicates that of a painter applying a brush to a statue in the tomb of *Jbj*, Cat. No. 49. Above the vignette, *////////'j'n zš Wšdj*, "...by the painter *Wšdj*" can still be read.

Cat. No. 52 (Plate VII)

The damaged representation of a life-size statue is identical in type with Cat. No. 48. The figure was once painted,⁷³¹ as was the base (red) and the block-like seat (drab).

The head is lost; no garments are in evidence.

Two craftsmen work on the statue. Behind it, a sculptor wields an adze; in front, his companion uses mallet and chisel. The accompanying inscription reads *nšd 't'[wt j]n qstj*, "adorning(?) the statue by the sculptor."⁷³²

Cat. No. 53 (Plate VII)

The life-size figure depicts a standing female statue, not drawn in profile. The near arm with open hand is at the side; the far hand holds a papyrus staff (painted green).⁷³³ A statue base is lacking.

Klebs⁷³⁴ and Junker⁷³⁵ thought that the figure does not represent a statue but rather the tomb owner's wife on a visit to the sculptor's atelier. Both based this judgment on the absence of a statue base. But as noted in Chapter 3, § 47, the omission of a statue base from representations of statues in workshop scenes is not unusual. No craftsman is associated with the figure, an admittedly unique circumstance.⁷³⁶ But the depiction of the tomb owner, or in this case, a female relative, on such a small scale in direct association with the activities of artisans

731 The color is "fl" - see note 723, above.

732 Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi* II, 11, read "the sculptor carving a statue(?) (tut?)."

733 Hassan, *Stöcke*, 200, describes the accessory as a *wšd*-staff and would distinguish it from the papyrus staff carried by the tomb owner's wife represented elsewhere in the tomb, Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi* II, pl. VI.

734 *Reliefs* I, 81 note 1.

735 *Stellung*, 91-92.

736 Duly noted by Junker, *Stellung*, 92.

at work would be quite exceptional.⁷³⁷ Davies,⁷³⁸ Hassan,⁷³⁹ and Drenkhahn⁷⁴⁰ describe the figure as a statue, without further comment.

The figure (painted orange) wears a long, close-fitting shift with shoulder strap (restored). The dress is painted green. The coiffure seems to be the close-cropped, natural hair.

As already remarked, there is no craftsman associated with the representation.

The Tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km*

The rock-cut tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj km* at Meir dates toward the end of Pepy II's reign.⁷⁴¹ Five of the six chambers are decorated with painted relief. The craft scenes are divided into two groups on separate walls of room A.⁷⁴² On the west wall, *Ppjj-ḥḥ*, accompanied by various retainers, observes craftsmen at work in three registers.⁷⁴³ In the uppermost register, beadwork objects - bracelets, belts, and collars - are made. The middle register shows smiths at work. The manufacture of stone vessels and of one statue, Cat. No. 54, is depicted below. The remaining scenes of crafts are depicted on the north wall.⁷⁴⁴ To the west of the doorway through the north wall, four registers contain depictions of carpenters at work. Directly above the doorway, two sculptors carve a statue, Cat. No. 56. To the left and right of this scene, the painter *Jrj* is shown, respectively, in association with a statue Cat. No. 55 and a statuette Cat. No. 57. Exceptionally, two of the statue representations bear labels identifying them as depicting the tomb owner, see Chapter 3, § 48.

Cat. No. 54 (Plate VIII)

The figure depicts a seated statue, approximately three-quarters life-size drawn in profile with both legs shown. The far leg is slightly advanced

737 Dr. Fischer remarks that a parallel might be cited for the depiction of a small-scale figure of the tomb owner among artisans, namely Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti II*, pl.CXXIX: *Tjj* inspecting the activities of shipwrights. *Tjj* and the workmen are drawn to the same scale, but the presence of an inscription identifying him by title and name clearly differentiates the tomb owner from the workmen. No such inscription occurs in association with Cat. No. 53. Other unusual Old Kingdom instances where the tomb owner is drawn to the same scale as his associated retainers are discussed by Smith, *Sculpture*, 300-301.

738 *Deir el Gebrawi II*, 11.

739 *Stöckel*, 200.

740 *Handwerker*, 53.

741 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, 278, 289.

742 The tomb was published by Blackman and Apted subsequent to *PM IV*, 247, 249. For other representations of statuary in the tomb, see Cat. Nos. 153-157.

743 *Meir V*, pls. XVI, XVII.

744 *Meir V*, pls. XVIII, XIX.

and a space is reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. The seat itself is a simple block with a tall back-slab. A statue base is lacking. The visible (near) hand of the figure is open and laid flat on the lap.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt. A long wig that leaves the figure's ear exposed is drawn as if cut into the back-slab.

A craftsman who polishes the chest of the figure is labelled *ḥmwtj*.⁷⁴⁵

Cat. No. 55 (Plate VIII)

The striding statue is approximately one-third life-size. It is not drawn in profile. A typical attitude for wooden statues, walking staff in the far hand, scepter in the near hand, is depicted. A very low statue base is present.⁷⁴⁶

The costume consists of the half-goffered kilt. The coiffure is the natural, close-cropped hair. In the facsimile, the exposed parts of the body show random black streaking which is probably intended to indicate the material of the statue, see Chapter 3, § 60.

To the right, a squatting craftsman paints the statue.⁷⁴⁷ He is the *ḥrj-ḥbt zš pr md:t-nṯr pr-ʿt jm:ḥw Jḥjj-m-z:-Ppjj rn.f nfr Jrj*, "the lector priest, scribe of the house of the god's book of the palace, one revered, *Jḥjj-m-z:-Ppjj*, whose good name is *Jrj*."⁷⁴⁸ Above and in front of the statue is written *twt n jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr Ḥnnjt km*, "the statue of the overseer of priests, *Ḥnnjt km*."⁷⁴⁹

745 Blackman - Apted, *Meir V*, 25, write: "a fifth man, labelled *craftsman*, is polishing a limestone statue." The criteria for their judgment that the statue is made of limestone are not given. The statue is clearly a stone type, see Chapter 3, § 65. However, the comment may have been occasioned by the painting of the representation, but the publication does not consistently provide data concerning the presence or absence of color.

746 The line delineating the base is drawn into the register line.

747 The brush which should have been shown in the painter's hand has been forgotten.

748 For this painter, see H. Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, Anz.ÖAW 1956:3. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 144, translates his title "Maler an der göttlichen Bibliothek des Palastes."

749 According to the facsimile, *twt* was prefaced by the effaced hieroglyph Gardiner Sign-list Y 3, the scribe's outfit. Dr. Fischer notes that if the word were intended to describe the activity shown, the hieroglyph should be reversed, to evidence the same orientation as the painter. He adds: "But in addition to being reversed, it is a little distant from the titles and the name of the painter. Perhaps it was introduced mistakenly and erased."

For *Ḥnnjt km* as a variant of the tomb owner's name, see *Meir V*, 24.

Cat. No. 56 (Plate VIII)

A seated statue, approximately life-size,⁷⁵⁰ is depicted. It is not drawn in profile. The position of the legs is identical with those of Cat. No. 54. The near hand rests flat on the figure's lap. The far arm with closed hand is bent at the elbow and extended as if to hold the walking staff, but the attribute is not shown, see Chapter 2, § 14. The simple block seat has the usual projection in front, for the feet of the figure, that also serves as the statue base.

The figure's natural hair is close cropped. No garments are discernible.⁷⁵¹

Two sculptors work on the statue. To the left, the [jmj-]r qstjw [J]t:w wields chisel and mallet. Above the statue is written twt n smr-w'tj jmj-r hmw-ntr Hnnjt km. The sculptor behind the statue uses a chisel; he is the qstj Shk-m-h:t.

Cat. No. 57 (Plate VIII)

A finished statuette is shown standing inside a shrine-like chest that is being painted. The striding figure holds the near arm with open hand at the side. The far hand apparently grasps the edge of the kilt's projecting panel.⁷⁵² The statuette is not drawn in profile, and a statue base is not shown.

The figure wears the close-cropped, natural coiffure and the kilt with projecting panel.

The hrj-hbt zš pr md:t-ntr pr-': jm:hw Jhjj-m-z:-Ppjj rn.f nfr Jrj paints the chest. His comrade, the zš Zššn, is depicted on a much smaller scale, decorating a vase (see Chapter 3, note 226). Meat, bread, vegetables, and a jug of beer are displayed in a sub-register above Zššn. These items represent the wage of the craftsmen (cf. Cat. No. 48). The accompanying inscription reads //////////t hnqt n zšw-qdwt qstjw, "...bread and beer for the draftsmen and sculptors."

750 The estimate of size is based on a comparison of the statue with the overseer of sculptors depicted at the left. The sculptor at the right is considerably smaller than his superior and the statue.

751 Meir V, 28, describes the statue as "apparently naked."

752 It would seem that both hands are open and held at the sides, but a comparison with other, large-scale representations of similar type, e.g., Cat. No. 135, shows that the attitude described by Vandier, Manuel III, 91 § E is intended.

Representations of Statues Being Transported

G 7530-7540: The Tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-ḥ* III

In the tomb of *Mrj.s-ḥ* III, the transport of two statues is illustrated in the same register as the manufacture of the statues Cat. Nos. 1 and 2.⁷⁵³ The unusual orientation - the two statues being transported are dragged toward the entrance of the tomb and away from the offering room - was discussed in Chapter 3, § 67.

Cat. No. 58 (Plate I)

The figure depicts a life-size standing statue with the far leg slightly advanced. It is not drawn in profile. The near arm with open hand is held at the side. The far hand is open and rests on the breast of the figure. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. The sledge used for the transport of the statue serves as the statue base.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig that leaves the ear exposed. As with Cat. Nos. 1 and 2 in the same tomb, the lady's dress was not indicated in relief but presumably in paint on plaster, now lost from the representation.

Three men pull on the rope attached to the sledge,⁷⁵⁴ an officiant censes the image, and a fifth retainer steadies the shrine during transport.

Cat. No. 59 (Plate I)

The statue is well over life-size. It depicts a seated figure, apparently identical in attitude with Cat. No. 1, a statue shown being made at the left end of the same register. The statue is drawn in profile. The block-like seat has an interior border; the sledge serves as a statue base.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig that leaves the ear exposed.

Three retainers drag the statue. The attitude and gestures of a fourth man standing in front of the statue are identical with those of the officiant censing Cat. No. 58, but the censer he held is lost.⁷⁵⁵

753 *PM* III, 197(2); Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 5. Regarding the juxtaposition of manufacture and transport, see note 601 above. The dating of the tomb and the location of the transport scene were discussed above, in the introductory paragraph for Cat. Nos. 1-3.

754 Dunham, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 12, would associate the third man with the representation of statue manufacture to the left. But the rope he holds is best understood as the continuation of that held by the two retainers at the right. Thus the crews dragging both Cat. Nos. 58 and 59 would be composed of the same number of men.

755 Dunham, Dunham - Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 12, states that the fourth retainer "holds out an ill-defined object."

LG 90: The Tomb of *Dbḥ.n(.j)*

Dbḥ.n(.j)'s rock-cut tomb at Giza was begun at the order of Mycerinus,⁷⁵⁶ but the completion of the tomb's decoration and the excavation of shaft and burial chamber may be somewhat younger.⁷⁵⁷ The scenes of statue transport are shown on the south wall of the tomb's second room.⁷⁵⁸

Cat. No. 60 (Plate IX)

The statue representation itself is lost.⁷⁵⁹ The preserved elements of the scene comprise the five men dragging the sledge, and, standing on it, a woman who faced the statue.⁷⁶⁰ The lady is labelled *nwt*, "watcher."⁷⁶¹ Junker suggested that the inscription describing the activity of the men be restored to read *šms twt jn jzt nt pr-mrḥt(?)*, "escorting the statue by the crew of the *pr-mrḥt(?)*."⁷⁶² The entire vignette is labelled *////////jrw n.f m w'bt r jz*, "which was done for him from the *w'bt* to the tomb."⁷⁶³

Cat. No. 61 (Plate IX)

The figure depicts a life-size striding statue. It is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds the walking staff and the near hand, a folded handkerchief. A statue base and sledge are included in the representation.

The costume of the figure is not preserved.

An officiant stands in front of the statue. His activity is described in the accompanying inscription as *kꜣp snṯr*, "burning incense." Five retainers drag the statue⁷⁶⁴; a sixth pours water in front of the sledge.

⁷⁵⁶ See *Urk.* I, 18.

⁷⁵⁷ Indeed, Barta, *Opferliste*, 47, has suggested that the completed tomb could be as late as the reign of Userkaf. Cf. also Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 19 note 6.

⁷⁵⁸ *PM* III, 236(5); Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 122. *LD* II, pl. 35, omits the two uppermost registers with the scenes of statue transport. For the representation of a third statue receiving offerings in an adjacent scene, see Cat. No. 131.

⁷⁵⁹ Hassan, *Giza IV*, 175, suggested that perhaps a scene of statue transport was shown. On the basis of a parallel text accompanying Cat. No. 62, Junker, *Giza VII*, 122, confirmed that a scene of statue transport was depicted here.

⁷⁶⁰ Her action is lost. The presence of a woman in a scene of statue transport is unique to the tomb of *Dbḥ.n(.j)*.

⁷⁶¹ Cf. *Wb* II, 221. Dr. Fischer notes another occurrence of this word, in the inscription of the Kamose stela, line 8.

⁷⁶² *Giza VII*, 122, col. 2 note 2.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Hassan, *Giza IV*, 175; Junker, *Giza VII*, 122.

⁷⁶⁴ Hassan, *Giza IV*, 177, described two of the men as "carrying some object between them, perhaps a small chest or an offering table," because he read the horizontal line between them as the bottom of some object, rather than as the depiction of the tow-rope.

The Tomb of Queen *Bw-nfr*

The rock-cut tomb of Queen *Bw-nfr* is located in the Chephren cemetery at Giza. The tomb, like that of *Dbh.n(.j)*, dates to the interval "late Dynasty IV - early Dynasty V."⁷⁶⁵ The scene of statue transport is shown on the left thickness of the middle doorway giving access from the entry corridor to the chapel.⁷⁶⁶ The two uppermost registers are filled with representations of various offerings. Below the register showing statue transport, the wall surface remained undecorated.

Cat. No. 62 (Plate IX)

A life-size female statue is depicted. The standing figure is not drawn in profile. The near arm is held at the side. The far arm seems to be raised and extended at shoulder height, an attitude inexplicable in terms of the known repertory of actual statuary.⁷⁶⁷ Neither hand is preserved. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. The figure seems to have worn the close-cropped, natural coiffure. Because the representation is only partially preserved, no additional comments regarding costume can be made.

A man stood directly in front of the statue. His figure is almost entirely effaced. None of the crew of retainers who dragged the statue is preserved; only a small segment of the tow-rope is present. The accompanying inscription describes the scene in its entirety, *šms rpwt r jz [jn] jzwt pr-mr[ḥt?]*, "escorting the [female] statue to the tomb by the crews of the *pr-mr[ḥt?]*."⁷⁶⁸

The Tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*

The scenes of dragging statues in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* are to be found on the thicknesses of the doorway giving access to the vestibule.⁷⁶⁹ Both thicknesses are divided into five registers; the uppermost register of each was filled with the depiction of offerings while in the lowest register in both cases, the throwing of a steer is shown. Four statues in three scenes of statue transport, each in its

⁷⁶⁵ According to Hassan, *Giza III*, 181, the tomb was cut after the "funerary monument" associated with Queen *Ḥntj-kḥw.s* had been begun. Most recently, Seipel, *Königinnen*, 177-180, has argued that this structure was originally intended for the burial of "Thamphthis," whom he considers to be *Bw-nfr*'s husband.

⁷⁶⁶ Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 151. The excavator did not recognize that statue transport is shown; cf. *PM III*, 256.

⁷⁶⁷ Hassan, *Giza III*, 190, described the figure as a man "carrying upon his head a large rectangular object."

⁷⁶⁸ So Junker, *Giza VII*, 122, col. 2 note 2.

⁷⁶⁹ *PM III*, 642(5); Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 61-65, pls. 16-17, 19. For the dating of the tomb, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 11-15.

own register, Cat. Nos. 65-68, are depicted on the west thickness, whereas the east thickness has only two registers with scenes showing the transport of Cat. Nos. 63 and 64. The third register to the east shows the dragging of two shrines.

Cat. No. 63

The figure depicts a life-size striding statue that is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds the walking staff and the near hand, a folded handkerchief. A statue base and sledge are present. The staff, the scepter, and the statue base preserve no trace of painting. The sledge is red-brown.

The figure, painted red-brown, wears a detailed projecting-panel kilt (left unpainted), a broad collar striped blue and green, and a shoulder-length wig, painted black. A goatee is present.

The *šḥd ḥmw-k: šḥm* censes the statue and uses an elaborate fan to propel the smoke to the figure's face. Six retainers drag the statue. A seventh man pours water in front of the sledge. His action is designated *stjt mw*, "pouring water." Behind the statue, the *jrj-^cnwt pr-^c: šḥd ḥmw-k: K:(.j)-ḥr-st.f* steadies the figure. The entire scene is captioned *šms twtw nfr m ḥtp m ḥtp ḥr ntr-^c:*, "escorting the statues well in peace, in peace with the great god."⁷⁷⁰

Cat. No. 64

A slightly over life-size group statue is depicted. The two striding male figures composing the group hold hands. The free hand of both figures is open and held at the side. The statue type was discussed above, in Chapter 2, § 18. Neither figure is drawn in profile. The group stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice whose material (wood) is indicated by the black and yellow painting. A sledge, painted red-brown, serves as the statue base.

The identical figures are painted red-brown. Each wears a detailed, projecting-panel kilt (left unpainted) and a broad collar, striped blue and green. The figures have goatees and shoulder-length wigs, both painted black.

An officiant, the *zš pr-ḥd šḥm*, proffers incense which he fans to the figures' faces with a large, elaborate fan. Five men pull the tow-rope, and a sixth pours water before the sledge.⁷⁷¹ Above the scene is written *šms twtw r jz*, "escorting the statues to the tomb."

770 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 61, translate "Geleiten der Statuen, in vollkommener Weise und in Frieden, in Frieden, zum grossen Gott."

771 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 62, note that "ein Graffito dessen letzte Spuren links vom Körper des wasserausgießenden Mannes zu sehen sind, bezeichnete ihn vermutlich einst als den *ḥm k: [Nfr-ḥr-b:] (?)*."

Cat. Nos. 65-66

Two over life-size seated statues are shown.⁷⁷² Both are drawn in profile. The visible (near) hand of each holds the folded handkerchief. Only the near leg is depicted. Between the leg and the front of the seat a space is reserved. Cat. No. 65 preserves only a few traces of its original blue painting, but in the case of Cat. No. 66, the negative space was left unpainted, in contrast to the seat with a tall back-slab and the body of the figure that are painted reddish orange. The statue base is differentiated from the seat by a relief line. In Cat. No. 66, it was left unpainted. The sledge which both statues share is painted red-brown.

Each figure sports a goatee. The costume of both includes a short, undetailed wig, a broad collar, and the half-goffered kilt. As noted above, the figure of Cat. No. 66 is painted reddish orange, like the seat with back slab, but all the remaining elements of costume and the accessories were left unpainted.

A tall stand supporting a brazier filled with burning incense is shown between Cat. Nos. 65 and 66. The *shd hmw-k: Hnmw-hzj.f* censes Cat. No. 65 and fans the smoke to its face with a large, elaborate fan. Six men drag the sledge with both statues. The accompanying text reads *šms twtw nfr m htp m htp hr ntr<->*, "escorting the statues well in peace, in peace with the <great> god."

Cat. No. 67

The transport of a life-size striding statue is depicted. The figure is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds the walking staff and the near hand, a folded handkerchief. The figure stands in a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. A sledge painted red-brown doubles as a statue base.

The figure has a goatee and wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a detailed, projecting-panel kilt. The figure was painted red-brown.

The *shd hmw-k: z:b hrj-wdb Hwjf* censes the statue and fans the smoke to the face of the figure. His action is described simply as *k:p sntr*, "burning incense." Seven men pull on the tow-rope. The inscription accompanying the scene reads *šms twtw r jz n hrt-ntr m htp*, "escorting the statues to the tomb of the necropolis in peace."

772 Two of the parallels for this scene cited by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 64 note 178, are to be deleted. The statues transported in *Pth-špss'* tomb at Abusir are striding, not seated figures (see Cat. Nos. 101-104) and the seated statues in Junker's drawing, Giza XI, fig. 88a, are his reconstructions, cf. Cat. Nos. 91-93.

Cat. No. 68

The slightly over life-size figure depicts a striding statue, drawn in profile. The figure holds the walking staff in the far hand and the scepter in the near hand. Both a statue base and a sledge are present. The base bears traces of black pigment⁷⁷³; the sledge is painted red-brown.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt, a broad collar, and an echelon-curl wig. Both the pleating of the kilt and the curls of the wig are rendered in relief. As is often the case in depictions of statues in profile, the broad collar is drawn as if it passed under the near arm (cf., e.g., Cat. No. 81). A goatee is also present.

Five retainers drag the sledge. The action of a sixth is described by an associated text as *stjt mw*, "pouring water."⁷⁷⁴ An officiant censures the statue. He is the *shd hmw-k: 'nh-rdwj-njswt*. Behind the statue, an eighth man steadies the figure during transport. His name is only partially preserved. Moussa and Altenmüller restore *ywj*.⁷⁷⁵ The entire scene is labelled *šms twtw*, "escorting statues."

On the east and west walls of the tomb's portico, the funeral rites are illustrated.⁷⁷⁶ The east wall is dedicated to the depiction of the rites for *Hnmw-htp* and the west wall to the same ceremonies for *Nj-'nh-Hnmw*. The "journey to the west" fills the bottom register on each wall; directly above, the "Sais voyage" is shown. A sub-register with the butchering of bulls separates the "Sais voyage" from the "towing of the coffin" episode. In all three contexts, a closed statue shrine replaces the sarcophagus.⁷⁷⁷ In the uppermost register, the final rites performed before a statue are shown, see Cat. Nos. 132 and 133.

Cat. Nos. 69-70

A statue shrine with cavetto cornice and closed double doors is erected beneath an open baldachin on a sledge to be transported by boat. Two women, labelled *drt*, "mourner," accompany the statue shrine. Aft, a man

773 Because the base is painted black, Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 65 note 188, conclude that the material of the statue is wood. But the black painting surely reflects the conventional coloring of actual statue bases, regardless of the material of the statue, see Chapter 3, § 47.

774 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 65, remark "ein nachträglich angebrachtes Graffito bezeichnet den Priester als den *hm-k: Nfr-ḥr-b:*."

775 *Nianchchnum*, 65.

776 PM III, 642(2)-(3); Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 47-50, pls. 6-10. For the progress of the funerary rites and the descriptive terminology used here, see Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*.

777 Remarked by Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 47. Thus, strictly speaking, these scenes do not represent the transport of statues - cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 18-20.

steers the craft. On the west wall, in association with Cat. No. 70, he bears the label *wt*, "embalmer." Fore, his companion controls the tow-rope that is drawn by two smaller craft.⁷⁷⁸ On the bank, priests (*hm-k:*)⁷⁷⁹ pull on a second tow-rope. The associated inscription, *jhpj nfr* (repeated) enjoins them to "travel well!" The statue shrine on the east wall is labelled *shd jrjw-nwt pr-^c: rh njswt w^cb njswt Hnmw-htp*. On the west wall, of course, the inscription names *Nj-nh-Hnmw*.⁷⁸⁰ The entire scene is captioned *sd:t tp š m pr-nfr m htp m htp r jz.f n hrt-ntr*, "ferrying on the canal from the place of embalming, in peace, in peace, to his tomb of the necropolis."⁷⁸¹

Cat. Nos. 71-72

The closed statue shrine is identical with that described above, Cat. Nos. 69-70. It stands under a baldachin to replace the sarcophagus in the representation of the boat journey to Sais. Two female mourners, *drtj*, and two embalmers, both labelled *wt*, accompany the shrine. The explanatory text reads *d:jt wrt*, "crossing the wrt canal."⁷⁸²

Cat. Nos. 73-74

A statue shrine, as above Cat. Nos. 69-72, replaces the sarcophagus in this representation of the "towing of the coffin" episode of the funerary rites.⁷⁸³ Two bulls and seven priests, labelled *hmw-k:*, tow the sledge.⁷⁸⁴ Above the crew is a sub-register filled with offerings. A *shd wtjw*, "inspector of embalmers," steadies the baldachin. A woman leads the procession; an identical female figure, labelled *drt*, "mourner," brings up the rear.⁷⁸⁵

Leyden F.1904/3.1: The Tomb of *Htp-hr-šhtj*

Htp-hr-šhtj's title of prophet at the sun temple of Neuserre furnishes a terminus post quem for the courtier's career.⁷⁸⁶ His mastaba, erected to the west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, stands today in Leyden. The scenes of statue transport are to be found on both sides of the entrance

778 The rowers are labelled priests, *hm-k:*, and some are distinguished by name, see Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 47, 52.

779 On the east wall, some are distinguished by name, see Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 47.

780 *W^cb njswt* is not included among his titles.

781 Cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 8-9, 15-16.

782 Cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 65-68.

783 *Nj-nh-Hnmw*'s version of the rites is much destroyed but was clearly identical with that of *Hnmw-htp*.

784 These are named in the case of *Hnmw-htp*; see Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 50.

785 Cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 21-25.

786 See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 108.

corridor. The bottom register on the south wall shows men bringing an ibex and an oryx to the tomb; the second and third registers comprise the transport of the statues Cat. Nos. 75 and 76 with food offerings filling the top register.⁷⁸⁷ The registers of the north wall are similarly composed.⁷⁸⁸ The bringing of sacrificial bulls comprises the content of the bottom register. The second and third registers are devoted to episodes of the funeral where the statues Cat. Nos. 77 and 78 replace the sarcophagus. As on the south wall, offerings are shown in the uppermost register.

Cat. No. 75 (Plate X)

A life-size striding statue is depicted. It is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. Both a statue base and a sledge are included in the representation.

The figure wears an echelon-curl wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. A goatee is present.

Six men drag the statue while a seventh censes it. Above the crew, offerings are exhibited in a sub-register. Behind the statue, a retainer steadies the figure. (Note the little cloth placed between his hand and the statue's shoulder.) Bringing up the rear of the procession is a man with two ducks. The inscription above the statue identifies it as the tomb owner: *z:b r-nḥn jm:ḥw ḥr njswt Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj*.

Cat. No. 76 (Plate X)

The figure depicts a seated statue, slightly over life-size. The statue is not drawn in profile. The near hand is open and placed flat on the lap of the figure. The far hand holds a folded handkerchief across the figure's chest. Both legs are shown with the far leg slightly advanced and a space reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat which is a simple block with the usual projection in front for the feet. A sledge is also shown.

The figure sports a goatee and wears a shoulder-length wig, a detailed broad collar, and a half-goffered kilt.

Five men pull the tow-rope. The associated inscription, *šms nfr*, enjoins them to "escort well!" A priest censes the statue. His action is described as *rdjt snṯr jn ḥm-k:*, "giving incense by the priest." Above the scene is written *šms twtw nw z:b r-Nḥn smsw ḥjt ḥm-nṯr M:ṯ Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj jn jzt nt pr-ḏt*, "escorting the statues of (titles) *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj* by the crew of the estate." A wish for the statue *ḥrj nfr*, "be at

787 PM III, 593(2); *Leiden Atlas*, pl. XIX. The drawings reproduced here for reference as Plate X, from H.T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-herakhti, Study on an Egyptian Tomb Chapel in the Museum of Antiquities Leiden*, Leyden 1943, figs. 2-3 and 6-7, omit some details.

788 PM III, 593(3); *Leiden Atlas*, pl. IX.

peace and well!"⁷⁸⁹ is written above it. Behind the statue, a retainer steadies it, followed by a comrade who brings two ducks.

Cat. No. 77 (Plate X)

The tableau depicts the "journey to the west bank." A closed statue shrine with cavetto cornice is transported by ship. Two men (not labelled but in all likelihood embalmers) and two women, one designated *drt*, "mourner," accompany the shrine. A lector priest is also present. An associated text, *sšmt ḥb jn ḥrj-ḥbt*, refers to his activity, "conducting the service by the lector priest." The inscription above the shrine consists of two titles, *zsb r-Nḥn*, and the name of the tomb owner *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj*. The scene itself is captioned *hnjt*, "rowing."

Cat. No. 78 (Plate X)

A life-size striding statue is shown; it is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. The sledge serves as a statue base.

The figure wears an echelon-curl wig with fillet, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt.

An officiant, accompanied by a lector priest labelled *ḥrj-ḥbt*, censures the statue that is identified by titles, *zsb smsw ḥ:tj*, and name *Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj*, as the tomb owner. Two bulls drag the sledge. The scene is captioned *šms jn ngšw dšrw*, "escorting by red bulls." Three dancers and a woman who claps her hands lead the procession. Above the woman *ḥ:tj*, "mourning," is written. The entire scene depicts an episode of the funeral where, as with Cat. No. 77, the statue of the tomb owner has replaced the sarcophagus.

MMA 08.201.1: The Tomb of *R'-m-kš*

A mastaba north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara was appropriated for the burial of *R'-m-kš*.⁷⁹⁰ Baer's analysis of the title sequences assigns *R'-m-kš* to mid-Dynasty V, perhaps just prior to the accession of Djedkare.⁷⁹¹ The two scenes of statue transport are carved on the thicknesses

789 Cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 602.

790 At the time of usurpation, minor changes were carried out in the reliefs as well as major changes in the texts, see H.G. Fischer, *JNES* 18, 1959, 245; cf. Hayes, *Scepter* I, 94, 96.

791 *Rank and Title*, 99, 292. This dating makes it improbable that *R'-m-kš* was a son of Djedkare, as Hayes postulated. Perhaps he was the son of an earlier king and the brother of Djedkare. The title "king's eldest son of his body" could then still be taken literally, and the occurrence of an estate name compounded with *Jssj* (without cartouche) in the inscriptions adequately explained. But cf. the remarks above, note 594, with regard to the title, and note that H.G. Fischer, *JNES* 18,

of the mastaba's entrance corridor.⁷⁹² The arrangement of the scenes on both thicknesses is the same. In the top register, a large boat was represented. The transport of a statue is shown in the second register, with offering bearers filling register 3. In the bottom register, butchers slaughter bulls.

Cat. No. 79 (Plate XXIX)

The figure depicts a slightly under life-size striding statue. It is not drawn in profile. Both arms with closed hands are held at the sides. The figure stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. The bottom of the shrine serves as the statue base with the sledge separately indicated.

The figure wears a detailed projecting-panel kilt, a broad collar, and a shoulder-length striated wig. A goatee is also present.

Seven men pull on the tow-rope while an eighth pours water in front of the sledge. The accompanying inscription reads *šms twt r jz.f*, "escorting the statue to his tomb."

Cat. No. 80 (Plate XXX)

The slightly under life-size statue depicts a striding man. Like Cat. No. 79, the figure is not drawn in profile. The near arm with open hand is at the side. The far hand grasps the edge of the kilt's projecting panel. The shrine upon a sledge is identical with that of Cat. No. 79.

The figure wears a shorter version of the projecting-panel kilt than Cat. No. 79 and a broad collar. Instead of a wig, the close-cropped, natural hair is shown.

A retainer pours water in front of the sledge. The figures of only three men pulling the tow-rope have been completed by the ancient Egyptian relief sculptor. Two more figures were begun.⁷⁹³ The accompanying text is identical to that of Cat. No. 79.

LS 16: The Tomb of *R'-špss*

R'-špss served as vizier during the reign of Djedkare.⁷⁹⁴ His large tomb at Saqqara has never been fully published. The scenes of statue transport

1959, 245, assigns the tomb, in passing, to the turn of Dynasty VI.

792 *PM* III, 487(1). The scenes are described by Hayes, *Scepter I*, 96. Only the left thickness with Cat. No. 79 has been illustrated previously, by J. Capart - M. Werbrouck, *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides*, Brussels 1930, fig. 319. The detail of the right thickness reproduced by Williams, *Per-Neb*, pl. IV, omits the statue Cat. No. 80.

793 There is adequate space for seven men, as shown in association with Cat. No. 79.

794 According to Baer, *Rank and Title*, 292, the title sequence dates to Djedkare's reign. *R'-špss* was promoted to the office of vizier toward the end of his life, shortly before the completion of the tomb; see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 109 note 15.

are carved on the thicknesses of the doorway giving access to the pillared hall with its statue shrines.⁷⁹⁵

Cat. No. 81 (Plate XI)

The representation depicts a "colossal" striding statue, one and a half times life-size, drawn in profile. The figure's far hand holds the walking staff. The object held in the near hand was discussed in Chapter 2, § 2. Both a statue base and a sledge are included in the depiction.

The figure wears a very long wig with rows of echelon curls, see Chapter 2, § 31. A broad collar and a detailed projecting-panel kilt complete the costume.

An officiant stands on the sledge in front of the statue to proffer incense. The label *kꜣp sntr* describes his activity as "burning incense." Eleven men compose the crew dragging the statue. The captain, labelled *hꜣp jzt*, also pulls on the tow-rope. A thirteenth crew member pours water in front of the sledge. His label reads *stjt mw*. Above the crew is written *šms tw<t> j(n) jzt n(t) pr-dt r jz hrt-ntr*,⁷⁹⁶ "escorting the statue by the crew of the estate to the tomb of the necropolis." Above the statue, the tomb owner's titles *hꜣrj-tp njswt mdw rhjt jwn knmwt hm-ntr Hqt jmj-ht H: jmj-r zšw '-njswt* and his name *R'-špss* are inscribed.

Cat. No. 82 (Plate XI)

The seated statue is approximately twice life-size and drawn in profile. The visible (near) hand is closed and held on the lap. The far leg is slightly advanced, and the near leg is pressed against the front of the seat. The seat itself possesses a low back with a cloth laid over it. Its side is decorated with a niched pattern, see Chapter 2, § 15. Both a statue base and a sledge are present.

The figure wears a striated tripartite wig and the half-goffered kilt with the pleating indicated. A goatee is also present.

Thirteen men form the crew pulling on the tow-rope. A fourteenth pours water in front of the sledge. Above these men are two sub-registers filled with offerings. An officiant standing on the sledge censes the image. Above the statue, the titles *hꜣrj-tp njswt mdw rhjt jwn knmwt hm-ntr Hqt jmj-ht H: jmj-r zšw '-njswt zib 'd-mr* and the name of the tomb owner *R'-špss* are written.

Cat. No. 83 (Plate XII)

The striding statue is well over life-size. The figure, which is not drawn in profile, holds a walking staff in the far hand and a folded handkerchief in the near hand. Both a statue base and a sledge are shown.

⁷⁹⁵ PM III, 495(9); LD II, pl. 64bis. Quibell, *Excav. Saqq. 1907-1908*, 23, wrote that the painting of the reliefs was exceptionally well preserved, but neither he nor Lepsius provide data concerning preserved color. The tomb is presently inaccessible.

⁷⁹⁶ Lepsius' copy of the texts substitutes Gardiner Sign-list Y 1 for M 40.

The figure, sporting a goatee, wears a shoulder-length, striated wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt.

An officiant stands on the sledge to cense the statue. His activity is described in the associated text as "burning incense," *kꜣp snꜥr*. Twelve men pull on the tow-rope. The first is labelled *ḥrp jzt* and the last *šḥd jzt*. A thirteenth man pours water in front of the sledge; above him is written *stjt mw*. Above the crew, two sub-registers are filled with offerings. The associated inscription reads *šms tw<t> n ḥt-ḥꜣs[w?]* *jn jzt n(t) pr-ḏt*, "escorting the statue (made) of imported wood by the crew of the estate." Above the statue, the titles *ḥrj-tp njswt mdw rhjt ḥm-nꜥr Ḥqt jmj-ḥt H: jwn knmwt jmj-r zšw 'njswt* and the name of the tomb owner *R'-špss* are inscribed.

Cat. No. 84 (Plate XII)

The figure depicts a twice life-size seated statue, not drawn in profile. The figure holds the walking staff in the right hand; the left hand which was held on the lap of the figure is not preserved. The seat seems to be a block with an interior border, cf. Cat. Nos. 33 and 59. The far leg is slightly advanced. Between the near leg and the front of the seat a space is reserved. The statue base is differentiated from both the seat and a sledge.

The figure wears the short, close-cropped natural coiffure, a broad collar, and the projecting-panel kilt.

The action of the officiant standing in front of the statue is described in the associated inscription as *kꜣp snꜥr*, "burning incense." The first of the twelve men who once drew on the tow-rope⁷⁹⁷ is labelled *ḥrp jzt*. A thirteenth retainer captioned *stjt mw* pours water in front of the sledge. Above the crew are two sub-registers of offerings and the inscription *šms tw<t> r jz jn j[zt]*, "escorting the statue to the tomb by the crew." The statue is labelled *ḥrj-tp njswt mdw rhjt ḥrp 'ḥ ḥm-nꜥr Ḥqt jmj-r zšw 'njswt R'-špss*.

G 2370: The Tomb of *Snḏm-jb:Jntj*

The transport of two statues is depicted in the fourth register on the south wall of room II in the tomb of *Snḏm-jb:Jntj* at Giza.⁷⁹⁸ The two uppermost registers are devoted to a depiction of the tomb owner borne

⁷⁹⁷ The last figure is entirely lost from the scene.

⁷⁹⁸ *PM* III, 85(3); *LD* II, pl. 78b. In preparing the following entries, I also referred to the Museum of Fine Arts photograph A 06371. The dating of the tomb was discussed in the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 18-20.

in a carrying chair and accompanied by his retinue. In the third register, offering bearers are shown. The bottom register contains butchers slaughtering bulls.

Cat. Nos. 85-86 (Plate XIII)

Both figures depict life-size striding statues, neither drawn in profile. The arms of both figures are held at the sides; the hands are now lost but were probably shown closed. Both statues stand inside double-doored shrines with cavetto cornice. The floor of each shrine serves as the statue base; a sledge is also present.

The costume of both figures includes the short, narrow kilt. Cat. No. 85 evinces the close-cropped, natural coiffure while Cat. No. 86 wears a shoulder-length wig that leaves the ear exposed.

Four men drag each statue. In both scenes, a fifth crew member pours water in front of the sledge. A sixth man censes the statue. (His hands and the censer are not preserved in the case of Cat. No. 85.) The inscription accompanying Cat. No. 85 can be restored to read in part [t:tj] z:b t:tj Sn[dm-jb].⁷⁹⁹ Cat. No. 86 is captioned jth⁸⁰⁰ twt t:tj z:b [t:tj] Sn[dm-jb],⁸⁰¹ "towing the statue of (titles) Sn[dm-jb]."

The Tomb of *Tjj*

The transport of statues by boat was shown at the west end of the north wall of the pillared court in *Tjj*'s tomb at Saqqara.⁸⁰² Today, only one of the two boats originally shown is preserved.⁸⁰³ It contains four striding statues, Cat. Nos. 87-90. The second craft carried two seated and one striding statue, Cat. Nos. 91-93.⁸⁰⁴ The slaughter of bulls is illustrated below. Large-scale representations of the tomb owner flank the tableaux. An incipit, written in a vertical column in front of the figure at the left may be restored to read [m:: jnjt twtw nw] smr-w'tj *Tjj* r wh'w, "[watching the freighting of statues of] the sole companion

799 {in error for }.

800 Dr. Fischer suggests { in Lepsius' copy is in error for {[]}.

801 With the reversed { in Lepsius' copy is in error for }.

802 *PM* III, 470(4). The tomb's dating was discussed above, in the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 26-33. For the scenes of statue transport, see also the comments of H. Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 178-183

803 Cf. Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. 12-13, with Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. XIV.

804 Béchard, *L'Égypte et la Nubie. Grand album monumental, historique, architectural, texte explicatif* par A. Palmieri, Paris 1887, pl. 52. The illustrations in the volume were printed reversed. My illustration, Plate XXXI, is a detail of the Béchard plate, made by the Ashmolean Museum Photographic Service and printed reversed, resulting in the correct orientation. Note that Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 88a, restored three seated statues in the second vessel.

Tjj in the ships."⁸⁰⁵ In front of the figure to the right */////'r' jz n smr-w'tj* Tjj is preserved. Wild would restore *m:t jth twtw* and translate "[watching the towing of statues] to the tomb of the sole companion Tjj."⁸⁰⁶

Cat. Nos. 87-90 (Plate XII)

The figures depict life-size striding statues. Each figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. Cat. Nos. 87, 88, and 90 were not drawn in profile; the relationship of the arms to the attributes of Cat. No. 89 indicates that it was depicted in half-profile.⁸⁰⁷ The feet of all four statues are concealed within the hull of the ship.

Cat. No. 87 wears a broad collar and the half-goffered kilt. Cat. Nos. 88 and 90 wear a detailed projecting-panel kilt. The costume of Cat. No. 89 is the short, narrow kilt. The heads of all four figures are not preserved.

The *shd hmw-k:t Jj.n.j* censures Cat. No. 87.

Cat. No. 91 (Plate XXXI)

The striding statue is not drawn in profile. The walking staff is shown in the far hand; a scepter, held in the near hand, is drawn as if passing behind the figure. The statue's feet are hidden in the ship's hull. The figure itself is considerably larger than the crew members engaged in maneuvering the boat.

Details of costume are not discernible in the badly weathered representation. The head of the figure, like those of its companions Cat. Nos. 92 and 93, is lost.

Cat. No. 92 (Plate XXXI)

The seated figure, not depicted in profile, holds the walking staff in the far hand. The near hand that rests on the lap grasps a handkerchief. The block-like seat is detailed, and a cloth is draped over its low back. Only a minimal portion of the statue's feet is concealed in the ship's hull. Both legs are shown, and there is a space reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. Like Cat. No. 91, the statue is somewhat over life-size.

The figure wears a projecting-panel kilt. Its head is not preserved.

805 So Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 181.

806 *Mél. Mar.*, 183; cf. Junker, *Giza XI*, 230, who suggested "[Das Bringen zu Schiff der Statuen zu] dem Grab des Einzigen Freundes Tjj."

807 Cf. Junker's reconstruction, *Giza XI*, fig. 88a.

Cat. No. 93 (Plate XXXI)

The statue, not depicted in profile, would seem to show an attitude very similar to Cat. No. 76. The near hand lies open on the lap and the far arm is bent at the elbow to place a fist on the figure's chest. The position of the legs and form of the seat duplicate Cat. No. 92. This statue, too, is over life-size.

The figure whose head is lost wears the half-goffered kilt, as indicated by the relief line across the lap.

The scenes of statue transport by land in *Tjj*'s tomb are to be found on the east wall of the tomb's second corridor.⁸⁰⁸ The representations of six statues, Cat. Nos. 94-99, in three registers are preserved. In the bottom register, the slaughter of sacrificial animals is shown. Above the doorway through the south wall of the corridor, the seated tomb owner and his wife are depicted above three registers of musicians and dancers. The associated text clearly indicates that the tableaux are to be related to the scenes of statue transport on the adjacent wall. The inscription, in two vertical registers, reads ¹[*mꜣꜥ*] *šms twtw r jz.f n hrt-ntr jn hmw-kꜣ* ²[*smr-wꜣtj jrj*] *nfr-hꜣt hrj-tp Nhb jmꜣhw hr nb.f hrj-sꜣtꜣ n pr-dwꜣt jmj-jb n nb.f rꜣ nb Tjj*,⁸⁰⁹ "[watching] the escorting of statues to his tomb of the necropolis by the priests, (titles/epithets) *Tjj*." The left door jamb carries a similar text *šms twtw r jz n smr-wꜣtj Tjj*, "escorting the statues to the tomb of the sole companion *Tjj*."

Cat. No. 94 (Plate XIV)

The figure depicts a striding statue, approximately one and a half times life-size. It is not drawn in profile. The head and shoulders of the figure are lost. The far hand grasped the walking staff, and the near hand holds a folded handkerchief. A statue base and sledge (painted red-brown) are included in the representation.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt. The depiction of the knot at the waist in relief is an unusual detail. The figure bears traces of the original red-brown painting.

A man pours water in front of the sledge. The associated text reads *stjt mw jn hrp jzt n(t) pr-dt*, "pouring water by the controller of the crew of the estate." Above the seven men dragging the statue, two sub-registers are filled with offerings. The associated text reads [*hꜣp*] *nfr hr wꜣwt nfrwt m jmꜣhw hr ntr-ꜣꜣ smr-wꜣtj 'hrp 'h' Tjj*, "travel well upon the goodly ways as one revered with the great god (titles) *Tjj*!"

808 PM III, 471(24); Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. 62-70, 72-73; Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pls. LII-LV. The scenes are discussed by H. Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 183-187.

809 See H. Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 184, whose copy improves on Épron - Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. LVI.

Cat. No. 95 (Plate XIV)

The statue, preserved to shoulder-height, is identical in attitude with Cat. No. 94. It, too, is not drawn in profile. A statue base and a sledge are present.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt, but wrapped left over right, rather than right over left. This is a reversal of the standard orientation for figures facing rightwards, as exemplified in Cat. No. 94.

Behind the statue, a priest labelled *hm[-k:]* steadies the image during transport. A man bearing the appropriate label, *stjt mw*, pours water in front of the sledge. The crew towing the statue is composed of eight men. The accompanying inscription is damaged. It reads, in part, *šms twtw [n]w* *//////// 'hrj-ḥbt' Tjj*, "escorting the statues of (titles) *Tjj*."

Cat. No. 96 (Plate XV)

The seated statue, drawn in profile, is approximately one and a third times life-size. The visible (near) hand is open and laid flat on the lap. The far leg is slightly advanced, and there is a space reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. The seat itself has a low back with a cloth laid over it and a double interior border. The foot rest serves as the statue base. A sledge, bearing traces of red-brown painting, is also present.

The figure wears a short, round wig (once painted black) and the half-goffered kilt. A goatee is also present.

A man pouring water in front of the sledge is accompanied by the caption *stjt mw jn ḥrp jzt n(t) pr-dt*. The crew numbers six men. Their task is labelled *šhpt twtw nw smr-w'tj ḥrj-sšt: n pr-dwt mrj nb.f Tjj* *r jz n 'hrt-ntr'*, "bringing the statues of (titles/epithet) *Tjj* to the tomb of the necropolis." An officiant standing on the sledge censes the statue. The procession is completed by a man who fans the statue and carries a small piece of cloth (see Chapter 3, § 80).

Cat. No. 97 (Plate XV)

The representation depicts a seated statue, drawn in profile. It is approximately one and a third times life-size. The visible (near) hand holds the folded handkerchief on the lap. The far leg is slightly advanced, and there is a space reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat. A statue base is differentiated from the seat. A sledge, painted red-brown, is present.

The figure wears a striated wig with traces of black paint and a short, narrow kilt. A goatee is also shown.

An officiant stands on the statue base to offer incense to the image. The man pouring water before the sledge, labelled *stjt mw*, is the *ḥrp jzt n(t) pr-dt*. The crew is composed of seven men. Between the first

man and the next pair is written *hpi nfr*, "proceed well!" Above the crew the text reads *shpt twtw nw smr-w^{tj} jrj nfr-h:tj //////////////[mrj] nb.f r^c nb Tjj*, "bringing the statues of (titles/epithet) *Tjj*." A retainer carrying a libation vessel brings up the rear of the procession.

Cat. No. 98 (Plate XVI)

The statue is more than one and a half times life-size. The striding figure is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a scepter. The figure stands in a shrine with double doors and cavetto cornice. The floor of the shrine serves as the statue base. A sledge with traces of the original red-brown painting is also present.

The figure was once painted red-brown. The costume includes a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. A goatee is also present.

Seven men tow the statue. Beside three groups of two men, the exhortation *ḥp̣j n̄fr*, "proceed well!" is written. *sṭjt m̄w j̄n ḥrp̣ j̄zt*, "pouring water by the controller of the crew," is written above the man performing that task. The text inscribed above the crew describes the scene as *sḥp̣t tw̄tw n̄w sm̄r-w̄'ṭj ḥrx̄j-s̄sṭ: n̄ pr-dw̄sṭ Ṭjj*. The statue is labelled *tw̄t n̄ snd̄ sm̄r-w̄'ṭj jr̄j n̄fr-h̄sṭ Ṭjj*, "statue of acacia; (titles) *Ṭjj*."

Cat. No. 99 (Plate XVI)

The statue of a striding man the same size as Cat. No. 98 is depicted, but the figure is drawn in profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a folded handkerchief. The statue is erected under an open baldachin. A statue base, painted black, and a sledge, painted red-brown, are shown.

The figure bears traces of the original red-brown paint. The costume consists of a shoulder-length wig and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. A goatee is also present.

The action of a retainer who pours water in front of the sledge is described in the adjacent inscription as *stjt mw*. The text written above the seven-man crew reads *šms twtw nw smr-w'ṭj nj-mrwt jrj nfr-ḥt mrj nb.f Tjj*, "escorting the statues of (titles/epithets) *Tjj*." The men are thrice enjoined *ḥpj nfr*, "travel well!" The procession is led by a priest who carries a libation vase over his shoulder and a closed incense burner. The text accompanying him reads *šḫpt ḫtmt ḥm-k: zš pr-ḥd Pth-ḫ'j.f*, "bringing the sealed things of the priest; *Pth-ḫ'j.f*." Two sub-registers of offerings are shown above the crew. Over the head of the statue, but still beneath the roof of the baldachin, *smr-w'ṭj mrjj n nb.f Tjj* is inscribed. The brief text above the baldachin gives the material of the statue, *tw t n ḥbnj*, "statue of ebony." Four retainers bearing

vessels were originally depicted following the statue in two sub-registers. The legend *šhpt ḥtmt*, "bringing sealed things," accompanies one figure.

S 3509: The Tomb of *Ḥtp-kꜣ(.j)*

Although *Ḥtp-kꜣ(.j)*, an overseer of royal hairdressers, was active in the priesthoods of Sahure and Neferirkare, he probably built his mastaba at North Saqqara first toward the end of Dynasty V.⁸¹⁰ The transport of one statue is shown on the east thickness of the entrance to the tomb.⁸¹¹ In the register above, the slaughter of a steer is depicted.

Cat. No. 100 (Plate XVII)

The statue, approximately one and a third times life-size, depicts a striding figure in half-profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a scepter. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice; the floor of the shrine serves as a statue base, and a sledge is also present.

The figure sports a goatee and wears a shoulder-length, striated wig and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. An amulet on a beaded cord, a broad collar, and a bracelet on each wrist complete the costume.⁸¹² An unusual feature is the counterweight shown at the back of the neck, see Chapter 2, § 42.

A four-man crew tows the sledge. The associated inscription reads *šhp.f jn jzt nt pr-ḏt r jšt.f nt ḥrt-nṯr*, "he is conducted by the crew of the estate to his property (i.e., the tomb) of the necropolis."⁸¹³ A sub-register of offerings is shown above the inscription. A figure drawn in half-profile follows the statue shrine. The associated text identifies him as *zꜣ.f smsw Jrj.n-Pth*, "his eldest son, *Jrj.n-Pth*."

The Tomb of *Pth-špss*

The scenes of statue transport in the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir are located on the west and north walls of the entry to the offering hall. One register and part of a second above are preserved on both walls.⁸¹⁴

810 See Martin, *Hetepka*, 5.

811 *PM* III, 447(1). The drawing published by Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 8[3], reproduced here on Plate XVII, omits some details, as a comparison with W. Emery's photograph, *ILN* 246: No. 6553, March 6, 1965, fig. 5 shows. (The same photograph, somewhat reduced, is to be found accompanying Emery's article in *JEA* 51, 1965, pl. IV:3.) Note that none of the original painting is preserved in the scene of statue transport, in contrast to several other reliefs in the tomb, cf. Martin, *op.cit.*, 15.

812 The bracelets, as well as the amulet, are omitted from the published drawing.

813 See Martin, *Hetepka*, 7.

814 *PM* III, 341(1). The following descriptions are based on the photograph published by J. de Morgan, *Revue archéologique* 3. Sér. XXIV,

The orientation of the scenes implies that the statues depicted were destined for exhibition in the tomb's pillar court, see Chapter 3, § 67. All four statues represented are approximately one and a half times larger than the associated "living" figures.

Cat. No. 101

The representation, preserved only to the height of the kilt's hem, depicts a striding statue. A back pillar, drawn in one with the statue base, is present. The sledge is separately indicated.

The figures of nine crew members are preserved; eight draw on the tow-rope while the ninth pours water in front of the sledge. An officiant whose action is lost stands on the statue base facing the image. On analogy with Cat. No. 102, the figure bringing up the rear of the procession should depict a priest.

Cat. No. 102

Two identical striding figures are represented, both drawn in profile. The visible (near) arm is held at the side, and the hand grasps the folded handkerchief. Both statues stand inside a shrine with cavetto cornice. Its floor serves as a base. In Chapter 2, § 19, it was suggested that Cat. No. 102 depicts a pseudo-group carved in one with a naos. A sledge is also present.

Each figure has a goatee and wears the echelon-curl wig, a broad collar and the half-goffered kilt.

The figures of eight men pulling on the tow-rope are preserved. The associated text is damaged; only the titles, *[smr]-lw'tj hrj-tp Nhb jrj nfr-ḥ:t hrj-ḥbt ' : Dw:*, and the name of the tomb owner, *Pth-špss*, are preserved. Two sub-registers filled with offerings are depicted above the crew. A ninth crew member, the *hrp jzt*, "controller of the crew," *Jfw* sits on the sledge and pours water, captioned *stjt mw*, in front of it. Above the shrine containing the statue is written *twtw nw m:t ḥ:tj-ḥ smr-w'tj hrj-tp Nhb jrj nfr-ḥ:t hrj-ḥbt ' : Dw: Pth-špss*, "statues of granite; (titles) *Pth-špss*." To the right of the shrine, the space is divided into two sub-registers, each with 2 priests following the sledge.

Cat. No. 103

This representation of a striding statue is almost entirely lost. Only the foot of the advanced leg is preserved. Both statue base and sledge were included in the representation.

1894, pls. I-II. M. Verner has summarily described the scenes of statue transport and illustrated part of one tableau, *Prelim. Rpt. Ptahshepses*, 69-70, with fig. 35. (The scenes were not accessible for detailed study when I visited the tomb in April 1974.) For the dating of the tomb owner, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 36-38.

Fifteen men compose the crew towing the statue. A sixteenth man poured water in front of the sledge.

Cat. No. 104

The striding statue is drawn in profile. A back pillar, drawn in one with the base, is present. A sledge is also shown. The hand of the visible (near) arm at the figure's side holds the folded handkerchief.

The costume includes an echelon-curl wig and the half-goffered kilt.

The crew towing the statue is composed of seventeen men. An eighteenth pours water, captioned *stjt mw*, in front of the sledge. He is the *hrp jzt wsr*. The beginning of the inscription describing the action of the crew is lost. It may be restored to read [*šms twt////////*] *smr-w'tj hrj-tp Nhb jrj nfr-ḥt hrj-ḥbt hrj-sšt; n pr-dw:t ' : Dw: Pth-špss*, "[escorting the statue... of] (titles) *Pth-špss*." Above the crew are two sub-registers of offerings. The inscription accompanying an officiant standing on the statue base who censes the image is partially effaced. Only *sntr* is legible. The statue is labelled *twt n m:t ḥ:tj-ḥt smr-w'tj Pt[ḥ-šps]s*, "statue of granite; (titles) *Pth-špss*."

Louvre E.10958: The Mastaba of *ḥtj-ḥtp*

The sequence of titles borne by *ḥtj-ḥtp* does not permit the dating of his tomb with precision.⁸¹⁵ Relying on stylistic criteria, Smith suggested a date in the second half of Dynasty V for the mastaba that was erected at Saqqara southeast of the Step Pyramid.⁸¹⁶ The scenes of statue transport are carved on the right thickness of the entryway.⁸¹⁷ A large-scale figure of the tomb owner, accompanied by two sons, observes the tableaux. The scenes of statue transport are shown in two registers. Above them, offerings are displayed; below, butchers slaughter a bull, and men bring other food offerings.

Cat. No. 105

The life-size figure depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a scepter that "passes behind" the leftwards oriented figure. The statue stands inside a shrine with double doors and a cavetto cornice, the floor of the shrine serving as a statue base. A unique detail is the depiction of the "staples" and twisted ropes used to secure the shrine to the sledge.

⁸¹⁵ So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53, 240.

⁸¹⁶ *Sculpture*, 194.

⁸¹⁷ *PM III*, 634(1). Cat. No. 105 has been illustrated by J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne I*, Paris 1961, pl. 69 opposite p. 212. My descriptions are based on data recorded in the Louvre, in March 1975.

The figure, sporting a goatee, wears an echelon-curl wig, a broad collar, and a half-goffered kilt. The curls of the wig, the structure of the collar, and the kilt knot, as well as the pleating of the tab at the waist, are all rendered in relief.

Three retainers pull on the tow-rope attached to the sledge. Two dancers lead the procession. Above them is written *mk trf jtt nt dpt(?)*, "behold, the dance (called) 'Pursuing the Barque(?)'".⁸¹⁸ A figure censes the statue during transport. In the superscribed text, the scene is described as *šms twt*, "escorting the statue."

Cat. No. 106

The representation is identical in attitude with Cat. No. 105. It, too, is not drawn in profile, and the shrine and sledge are depicted in the same manner as in association with Cat. No. 105.

Like Cat. No. 105, the figure has a goatee. The costume includes a shoulder-length striated wig, a broad collar, and a half-goffered kilt. The details of wig, collar, and kilt are rendered in relief.

Five men compose the crew transporting the statue while a sixth censes the image. Above the statue is written *smr-w'tj :htj-htp*, "the sole companion, *:htj-htp*."

LS 10: The Tomb of *K:(.j)-gmj.n.j*

According to his biography, *K:(.j)-gmj.n.j* served under Djedkare, Unas, and Teti. His mastaba lies north of Teti's pyramid at Saqqara and dates to the reign of that king.⁸¹⁹ The scene of statue transport is carved on the south wall, west of the doorway to room IV.⁸²⁰

Cat. No. 107 (Plate XVII)

The statue, depicting a striding man, is slightly over life-size. It is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The statue stands under an open baldachin whose roof is not preserved. Both statue base and sledge are present.

The figure, with a goatee, wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. The body of the figure preserves traces of the original red-brown painting.⁸²¹

Five men drag the statue while a sixth, half stooping, tugs at the tow-rope near where it is attached to the sledge. An officiant censes

818 Cf. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 78.

819 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 149-150, 295.

820 *PM* III, 523(18); *Gem-ni-kai* I, pl. VI.

821 *Gem-ni-kai* I, 8.

the statue. The wish 'sḥ' t[w] Jnpw jm, "may Anubis transfigure you there," is written above the crew.

Brussels E 2465: The Mastaba of *Nfr-jrjt.n.f*

Nfr-jrjt.n.f, who served in the priesthood at the solar temples of Userkaf and Neferirkare, may have lived into the early years of Dynasty VI.⁸²² The chapel of his mastaba, from Saqqara, has a modified cruciform plan with two false doors. The scenes of statue transport are carved on the thicknesses of the entryway.⁸²³ On each thickness, the transport of one statue is shown. The tomb owner's personified estates march into the tomb in the bottom registers while four sub-registers filled with offerings are depicted above the scene of statue transport. Both statues are approximately one and a third times larger than the associated retainers. Neither statue is drawn in profile. Van de Walle has noted that neither statue representation is comparable to the statues excavated from the tomb.⁸²⁴

Cat. No. 108 (Plate XVIII)

The striding figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. Both base and sledge are present.

The figure wears an echelon-curl wig, a broad collar, and the half-goffered kilt.

Seven men pull on the tow-rope. Their task is described in the accompanying inscription as *šms twt r jz z:b jmj[-r] zšw Nfr-jrjt.n.f*, "escorting the statue to the tomb of (titles) *Nfr-jrjt.n.f*." An eighth member of the crew pours water in front of the sledge; above him is written *stjt mw*, "pouring water." An officiant stands on the sledge to cense the statue. His action is captioned *k:p sntr*, "burning incense." A tenth retainer, labelled *shd*, "inspector," stood on the sledge behind the statue. Only a foot of the figure is preserved. On analogy with Cat. No. 109, he once steadied the statue during transport.

Cat. No. 109 (Plate XVIII)

The striding figure holds a walking staff in the far hand. The near hand, held at the side of the figure, grasps the object considered in Chapter 2, § 2.⁸²⁵ Both base and sledge are shown.

822 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 90, 241. Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 81, would place the tomb more generally in the second half of Dynasty V.

823 *PM* III, 583(1); see now van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 73-74, with pls. 14-15, 22.

824 *Neferirtenef*, 74 note 252.

825 The published drawing, reproduced here on Plate XVIII, shows an empty space between the figure's hand and the kilt. But note that van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 74, implies that the same attributes are shown

The costume includes a projecting-panel kilt (detailed). The head of the figure is not preserved.⁸²⁶

Seven men drag the statue. The accompanying inscription is much damaged. Van de Walle suggests the traces be restored to read as the text accompanying Cat. No. 108.⁸²⁷ The action of an eighth retainer is captioned [stjt] mw. On the sledge in front of the statue, an officiant offers incense; behind, an inspector, labelled *shd*, steadies the image.

The Tomb of *Mrr-wj-k: .j*

The vignettes of statue transport in the tomb of *Mrr-wj-k: .j* at Saqqara are to be found in one register on the east wall of room A3, in the midst of the craft scenes.⁸²⁸ The associated text, inscribed in a vertical column of hieroglyphs in front of a large-scale figure of the tomb owner at the left, is only partially preserved,⁸²⁹ *//////r jz.f n jmnt nfrt m htp m htp jn zmt jmntt 'wj.s r.s, "...to his tomb of the goodly west; welcome! welcome! says the western desert, her arms (outstretched) to them (i.e., the statues)" - see Chapter 3, § 75.*

Cat. No. 110 (Plate XIX)

The figure is slightly under life-size; it depicts a striding statue, drawn in half-profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand. The object held in the near hand was discussed in Chapter 2, § 2.⁸³⁰ The statue possesses a very low base and stands under a baldachin. A sledge is also present.

The figure wears an echelon-curl wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt.

Directly in front of the statue, the *zš z: hm-k: Nb.sn* censes the image. Behind it, a retainer steadies the baldachin. Six men compose the crew towing the statue.

here as in Cat. No. 108.

826 Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 74 note 252, comments: "Ce pouvait être la perruque longue descendant jusqu'aux épaules, suivant l'alternance qui s'observe dans les grandes figures des montants des stèles."

827 *Neferirtenef*, 73-74.

828 *PM III*, 528(20); Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 29-30. See the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 39-41 for the dating of the tomb and a description of the registers above and below.

829 Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 27; recognized by Montet, *Scènes*, 385, as describing the scene of statue transport.

830 The drawing of this statue, reproduced here on Plate XIX from Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 30, does not show the detail accurately; cf. the photograph, *ibid.*, pl. 29.

Cat. No. 111 (Plate XIX)

The slightly under life-size figure depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a folded handkerchief in the near hand. Baldachin, base, and sledge are identical in form with those of Cat. No. 110.

The costume includes a broad collar and a detailed, projecting-panel kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

In front of the statue, the *zš z: Hnmw-ḥtp* steadies the baldachin while six men pull on the tow-rope.

Cat. No. 112 (Plate XIX)

A slightly under life-size striding statue is depicted in half-profile. A walking staff is held in the far hand; the near hand is closed and at the side of the figure. The statue stands under a baldachin directly on the sledge that serves as a statue base.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig and the half-goffered kilt.

Four men drag the statue. Behind it, a fifth steadies the baldachin.

LS 31: The Tomb of *Pth-ḥtp*

The career of the vizier *Pth-ḥtp* cannot be precisely dated.⁸³¹ He built a mastaba with complex chapel south of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara. Smith would group the tomb's relief decoration together with the early Dynasty VI tombs of *Ks(.j)-gmj.n.j*, *Mrr-wj-ks.j*, and *ḥnh-m-ḥr*.⁸³² The transport of a statue is shown on each thickness of the doorway giving access to the chamber with false door, room IV.⁸³³ The scenes of the funeral rites include the depiction of a statue shrine, Cat. No. 115, to replace the sarcophagus in the illustration of the Sais voyage.⁸³⁴

831 His variable title sequence may date as early as the reign of Djed-kare, but as late as Pepy II, see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 75, 241; cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 138.

832 *Sculpture*, 205-207, where only a single vignette is mentioned.

833 *PM* III, 654(9). Lepsius, *LD* II, pl. 104c, published a facsimile of the left (east) thickness only; cf. *LD Text* I, 186: "Die westliche [Türlaibung] gegenüber enthält dasselbe und ist deshalb von uns nicht gezeichnet worden."

834 *PM* III, 653(4)-(5); *LD* II, pl. 101b, second register, right; Settgest, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 66.

Settgest, *op.cit.*, 8-9, 18, and H. Altenmüller, "Bestattungsritual," *LA* I, 752, suggest that a statue shrine is also present in the depiction of the "journey to the west" in the same tomb, *LD* II, pl. 101b, bottom register and second register left. In both scenes, a boat bears what appear to be two contiguous structures. Each is rectangular and possesses a surmounting *hkr* frieze. One is tall and narrow while the other is broader and shorter with a slightly arched roof. By implication, both Settgest and Altenmüller would identify the taller structure as the statue shrine and the shorter as the sarcophagus. Comparable scenes in other tombs show either the statue shrine or the sarcophagus, but not both together. Furthermore, the statue shrine

Cat. Nos. 113-114 (Plate XX)

The statues are a head taller than the associated "living" figures. They depict striding men, not drawn in profile. Each figure holds the walking staff in the far hand and the folded handkerchief in the near hand. Both possess a statue base and a sledge.

The figures' costume includes a shoulder-length wig, broad collar, and the half-goffered kilt.⁸³⁵ Both sport goatees.

An officiant who stands on the sledge censes the image. He is the *jmj-r šn*⁸³⁶ *ḥn-mi*. Four men compose the crew dragging each statue. A fifth pours water in front of the sledge. A sub-register above is filled with offerings. The statue is labelled *t:tj z:b t:tj Pth-ḥtp*.

Cat. No. 115 (Plate XX)

A closed statue shrine is supported by two men, one labelled *wt*. Two women, one designated *ḏrt*, and a [*hrj-jḥt*] accompany the shrine. The crew, composed of men running along the bank, tows the boat upon a canal.⁸³⁷ The scene is captioned [*hnj*]t m wrt, "travelling upon the wrt canal."

G 2374: The Tomb of *Hnmw-ntj*

Hnmw-ntj was probably the son of *Snḏm-jb:Jntj* and a contemporary of Teti.⁸³⁸ His chapel, erected within the *Snḏm-jb* complex at Giza, was decorated with reliefs that included a representation of at least one statue being transported. Apparently, the scene was carved in the bottom register on the east wall of room C.⁸³⁹

is not elsewhere decorated with a *hkr* frieze. Probably, only the sarcophagus is shown in *Pth-ḥtp*'s relief, but viewed simultaneously from the side and from the end - cf. the similar representation, *Meir V*, pl. XLIII, and Settgast's comments, *op.cit.*, 8 note 3.

835 The pleated vertical tab at the waist is present.

836 Dr. Fischer suggests this reading of the title.

837 The continuation of the scene is shown in *LD Ergbd.*, pl. XLIIIb.

838 So Baer, *Rank and Title*, 118, 293.

839 This localization of the vignette, based on a note associated with the photographs in the Museum of Fine Arts, is difficult to reconcile with the plan of the tomb published by Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 165. (Note that *PM III*, 87, does not include the scene of statue transport in the epitome of the tomb's decoration.) Four pairs of male figures, partially preserved in the register above, and the offering bearers to the left of the scene proceed in the opposite direction as the men dragging the statue.

Cat. No. 116 (Plate XXXII)

The figure depicts a life-size striding statue, not drawn in profile. Both arms of the figure are held at the sides. The near hand holds a roll of papyrus, but the far hand is lost. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. Both a statue base and a sledge are included in the representation.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig, broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. A lector's sash is tied across the chest.

An officiant censes the statue, three men pull on the tow-rope, and a fourth pours water before the sledge. The scene is described in the accompanying inscription as *šzp twt n Hnmw-ntj*, "receiving the statue of *Hnmw-ntj*."

The Tomb of *S:bw*

According to his biography, *S:bw*, a high priest of Ptah, served during Teti's reign.⁸⁴⁰ He shared a tomb at Saqqara with a man named *Pth-špss*. The transport of two statues is shown in one register on the north wall of the simple chapel.⁸⁴¹ The two uppermost registers show the tomb owner borne in a carrying chair, accompanied by his retinue. The third register contains offering bearers. Register 4 shows the transport of two statues, Cat. Nos. 117 and 118. The tomb owner's estates bring offerings to the tomb in register 5. Butchers slaughtering bulls fill register 6. In the seventh register, two ships, the second bearing the tomb owner, are shown, and in the bottom register, the tomb owner receives an accounting of his herds.

Cat. No. 117

The slightly over life-size figure depicts a seated statue, not drawn in profile. The figure's far hand grasps the walking staff. The near hand holds a scepter upright on the lap. The far leg is slightly advanced. Between the near leg and the front of the seat, a space is reserved. The simple block-like seat has a cloth laid over the low back. A very low base is shown projecting above the sledge and set off from the seat by a relief line.

The figure, sporting a goatee, wears a shoulder-length, striated wig, a broad collar, and the half-goffered kilt.

The tomb owner's son, labelled *z:f hrj-ḥbt Pth-špss*, stands on the sledge to cense the image. Three men drag the statue. Any inscription belonging to the foremost member of the crew is lost. The second and third are both *jmj-r sšr* who bear the names *jrj* and *Wd:f*.

840 See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 121, 293.

841 *PM* III, 460(3). The relief-facing of the chapel with the scene of statue transport is now in the Cairo Museum, CG 1419.

Cat. No. 118

The life-size figure depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. A walking staff is held in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. A low statue base and sledge are present.

The figure wears a shoulder-length striated wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. A goatee is also present.

A man censing the statue is labelled *sdwtj-ntr zš md:t ḥ-mrwt-Pth*. Two of the men dragging the statue are identified as sons of the tomb owner, *z:f*, named *Pth-špss km* and *Pth-špss*. The former bears the title *jmj-ḥt ḥntjw-š pr-ʿi*. Above both Cat. Nos. 117 and 118, the accompanying text begins *šms twtw nw jm:ḥw ḥr Pth wr ḥrp ḥmwt S:bw*, "escorting the statues of the one revered with Ptah, the high priest of Ptah, *S:bw*," and concludes with the exhortation *hnw nfr jrj nfr jrj nfr r jz n jm:ḥw ḥr Skr wr ḥrp ḥmwt S:bw*, "rejoice well! do well, do well to the tomb of one revered with Sokar, the high priest of Ptah, *S:bw*."

G 7837: The Tomb of 'nh-m-ʿ-Rʿ

The tomb of 'nh-m-ʿ-Rʿ, located at the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, cannot be dated precisely.⁸⁴² Reisner implies a late Dynasty V - early Dynasty VI date, based on the presence and form of the scene showing the tomb owner borne in a carrying chair.⁸⁴³ The tomb's relief decoration includes six scenes of statue transport in two registers on the north wall of the chapel.⁸⁴⁴ The registers above and below are filled with offering bearers.

Cat. No. 119

A retainer steadying an open baldachin from behind is all that is preserved of this statue transport scene.

Cat. No. 120

The life-size figure is drawn in half-profile. It depicts a striding statue of which only the upper half is preserved. The near arm and open hand are held at the side. The far arm and hand are lost. The statue stands under an open baldachin.

⁸⁴² Baer, *Rank and Title*, 64.

⁸⁴³ Reisner, *Giza I*, 368. But note that Smith, *Sculpture*, 189, places the tomb in the first half of Dynasty V.

⁸⁴⁴ *PM III*, 206(5). The tomb is being prepared for publication in the Giza Mastabas series. The reliefs, cut into the local stone, are very poorly preserved and the inscriptions are almost completely effaced. The expedition photographs, not reproduced here, would have been virtually unintelligible without the aid of the tracings generously made available for study by the epigraphic staff of the Egyptian Department, Museum of Fine Arts.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig.

Three men compose the crew while a fourth censes the statue. A fifth man steadies the baldachin during transport.

Cat. No. 121

The lower legs of the life-size striding statue are lost. The figure is not drawn in profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a scepter. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice.

The costume of the figure includes a short, round wig, a broad collar, and a short, narrow kilt.

Three men pull on the tow rope; a fourth censes the statue. The inscription written above the crew is so damaged as to be unreadable.

Cat. No. 122

The figure depicts a slightly over life-size seated statue, drawn in half-profile. The attitude of the statue is identical with that of Cat. No. 117. A cloth lies over the seat's low back. The seat possesses a double interior border. Because of the poor state of preservation, it is not possible to determine if a base is present or if the sledge serves that purpose.

The figure wears a short, round wig and a short kilt.

At least three men composed the crew responsible for the transport of the statue. Above them and continuing across the register above Cat. No. 123 and the crew towing Cat. No. 124 is a sub-register filled with offerings.

Cat. No. 123

The striding statue is life-size. It is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. Apparently the sledge serves as the statue base.

The costume includes a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a detailed projecting-panel kilt. The figure sports a goatee.

Three men drag the statue while a fourth proffers incense.

Cat. No. 124

The figure is approximately one and a third times life-size. It depicts a striding statue, drawn in half-profile. The attitude is identical with that shown in Cat. No. 123. A baldachin shelters the figure. The sledge serves as the statue base.

The figure wears a short, round wig and a short, narrow kilt.

Four men pull on the tow-rope. An officiant censes the statue. His action is appropriately labelled *kꜣp snꜥr*. The statue is captioned *twt*.

Edinburgh 1958.46: Block from the Tomb of *Nj-ḥ-njswt*

The fragmentary scene of statue transport acquired by the Royal Scottish Museum in 1958 has been shown to derive from the tomb of *Nj-ḥ-njswt* whose original position at Saqqara is not known.⁸⁴⁵ Málek suggests an early Dynasty VI date, for the proper names of subsidiary persons shown in the decoration are compounded with Unas and Teti.⁸⁴⁶

Cat. No. 125 (Plate XXI)

The figure depicts a somewhat over life-size statue, not drawn in profile. The far hand of the striding figure grasps the walking staff; a handkerchief is shown in the near hand. Both a statue base and a sledge are present.

The statue's costume includes a projecting-panel kilt, a shoulder-length wig, and a broad collar.

Four men - two completely preserved and two damaged⁸⁴⁷ - pull on the tow-rope attached to the sledge. An attendant standing directly in front of the statue, named *Jfn*, censes the image. Málek reads his titles "overseer of Linen, Barber, and Manicurist." A sub-register above these figures is filled with food offerings. An inscription above the statue's head gives the title and name of the tomb owner, *ḥ:tj-ḥ jmj-jz Nj-ḥ-njswt*.

The Tomb of *Mrj*

The tomb of *Mrj* is a free-standing mastaba located adjacent to the so-called Ptahhotep-group, west of the Step Pyramid.⁸⁴⁸ The relief decoration was left incomplete; only about half the scene of statue transport, drawn in the lower register on the south side of the doorway providing access from an anteroom to the cult chamber, has been carved. The tomb is dated by its excavators to early Dynasty VI.⁸⁴⁹ The sub-register above preserves the preliminary drawing of various offerings while the upper register was to have shown the butchering of two bulls.

Cat. No. 126 (Plate XXI)

The life-size striding statue, displayed in a shrine with cavetto cornice, is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter "passing behind" the body in the near hand. The statue stands directly on the sledge.

845 *PM* III, 695; J. Málek, *SAK* 8, 1980, 204-205, fig. 3.

846 *SAK* 8, 1980, 205.

847 The total number of crew members probably exceeded those now preserved.

848 Cf. *PM* III, 606-607; see now A.M. Moussa - H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 320-331, fig. 2.

849 Moussa - Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 331.

A detailed short, round wig and a detailed projecting-panel kilt comprise the statue's costume.

Eight men pull on the tow-rope attached to the sledge. A ninth kneels to pour water in front of it. The statue is censed by an officiant. A text describes the tableau *sd:t twt r jz n Mrj*, "towing the statue to the tomb of *Mrj*."⁸⁵⁰

G 7102: The Tomb of *Jdw*

Jdw, a *hntj-s* at the pyramid town of Pepy I, ordered the cutting of his tomb at Giza early in the reign of Pepy II.⁸⁵¹ A statue shrine replaces the sarcophagus in the tableau of the "journey to the west" on the north wall of the offering chamber.⁸⁵²

Cat. No. 127 (Plate XXII)

The transport by boat of a tall statue shrine (with cavetto cornice) beneath a baldachin is shown. One of the shrine's double doors stands open, but the contents remain hidden from view. The female mourners, both labelled *drt*, and an embalmer labelled *wt* who steadies the baldachin, accompany the shrine. Aft, a half-kneeling man steers the craft. The scene is captioned *sd:t r tp jbw*, "proceeding to the top of the purification structure."⁸⁵³

The Tomb of *Zšzšt:Jdwt*

The Saqqara mastaba appropriated for the burial of *Zšzšt:Jdwt*, a *z:t njswt* (of Unas?), was built and decorated for the vizier *Jhjj*. According to Baer the tomb is contemporary with G 7102.⁸⁵⁴ On each thickness of the doorway giving access to room R, the transport of a statue is shown in the bottom register.⁸⁵⁵ Both upper registers show retainers bearing offerings.

⁸⁵⁰ Cf. Moussa - Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 322.

⁸⁵¹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 62, 288. *Q:r*, owner of the adjacent tomb G 7101, was probably *Jdw*'s son, see Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 1-2.

⁸⁵² *PM* III, 185-186(1); see now Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35; cf. Settgast, *BestattungsDarstellungen*, 8-9, 18, for the identification of the structure as a statue shrine.

⁸⁵³ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 23, reads *sd:t r d:d: (tp) jbw* and translates "proceeding to the roof of the purification structure," but, according to G. Haeny, "Dach," *LÄ* I, 974, neither *tp* nor *d:d:* is an architectural term from "roof." For the *jbw*, see E. Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46, 1977, 108-110.

⁸⁵⁴ *Rank and Title*, 59, 288.

⁸⁵⁵ *PM* III, 617(5); Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. IXA-B. Cat. No. 128 is also illustrated in *PKG Ägypten*, pl. 256. H. Altenmüller, "Bestattungsritual," *LÄ* I, 753, implies that a statue shrine replaces the sarcophagus in the depiction of the "voyage to Sais" but according to the drawing, Macramallah, *op.cit.*, pl. VIII and a photograph of the adjoining blocks published by J.-P. Lauer, *ASAE* LIV, 1957, pls. V-VI, the boat and its cargo are both lost.

Cat. No. 128 (Plate XXII)

The figure depicts a standing statue, not drawn in profile. The far leg is slightly advanced. The near arm with open hand is held at the side. The far arm is bent at the elbow with the hand holding a large lotus blossom to the nose of the figure, see Chapter 2, § 26. Both a statue base and a sledge are present.

The figure wears the *Kugelzopf* coiffure, a broad collar, and a close-fitting shift with two shoulder straps.

Two men drag the statue. A third pours water in front of the sledge. During transport, the statue is censured by the *hꜣꜣ zꜣ Nb.f-ꜣnh*. The text accompanying the scene can be restored to identify the person depicted in the statue as *zꜣt nꜣswt nt ht.f mrjt.f Zšzšt:Jdwt*, "king's daughter of his body, beloved of him, Zšzšt:Jdwt."

Cat. No. 129 (Plate XXII)

A life-size statue, not drawn in profile, is represented. The standing figure has the far leg slightly advanced. The near arm with open hand is held at the side. The open hand of the far arm is laid across the breast of the figure. Both a statue base and sledge are shown.

The figure wears the close-fitting shift. The head of the representation is lost.

Two men pull on the tow-rope. The action of a third who pours water in front of the sledge is described in the adjacent inscription, *stjt mw*. The officiant *Jꜣꜣ* censures the statue. The inscription written above the scene identifies the person depicted in the statue as *zꜣt nꜣswt nt ht.f mrjt.f Zšzšt:Jdwt*.

CG 1776: The Tomb of *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f*

The tomb of *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* at Dahshur evidently belongs to Dynasty VI, but it cannot be dated more precisely.⁸⁵⁶ The paintings, now in the Cairo Museum, contain the representation of a statue shrine in the depiction of the funerary rites.⁸⁵⁷

Cat. No. 130

For the representation of the "journey to the west," a statue shrine with closed doors and cavetto cornice replaces the sarcophagus under a baldachin midships. In a "preliminary draft" of the scene, a striding statue

856 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 124, 242. Cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, 205, and Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 440.

857 *PM* III, 891, mentions only "rowing-boats towing boat with shrine." Cf. the drawing published by J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, pl. XIV. The register above (only a narrow strip is preserved) may have once included a scene of transport, but no trace is now discernible. The original location of the paintings in the tomb is not known.

was shown, but in the final version, the doors of the shrine were painted closed.⁸⁵⁸ The standard escort of two women (both designated *drt*), two embalmers (without labels), and a lector priest (labelled *hrj-ḥbt*) accompanies the shrine. Above, a sub-register of offerings is shown.

Representations of Statues in a Ritual Context

LG 90: The Tomb of *Dḥḥ.n(.j)*

Below the scenes of statue transport with Cat. Nos. 60 and 61, the final rites of the funeral atop the tomb are depicted.⁸⁵⁹ The statue, Cat. No. 131, replaces the sarcophagus for the ceremonies. In the two registers below, the acacia maidens perform,⁸⁶⁰ butchers slaughter bulls, and retainers lead sacrificial animals to the tomb.

Cat. No. 131 (Plate IX)

The striding statue is the same size as the priests shown in the adjacent register but larger than the men ascending the ramp to present offerings to the figure. The far hand holds a walking staff; the near arm and hand are not preserved. A sledge serves as the statue base. The figure stands within two shrines, each with cavetto cornice, on top of the tomb.⁸⁶¹

According to Lepsius' drawing,⁸⁶² the figure wore a short kilt. The remainder of the representation is lost.

An offering table is depicted directly in front of the statue, and an officiant offers incense to the image.⁸⁶³ Six men bearing offerings

⁸⁵⁸ See Borchardt's comments to CG 1776 in the *Catalogue général*.

⁸⁵⁹ *PM* III, 236(5); Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 122. For the dating of the tomb and the location of these scenes in it, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 60 and 61.

⁸⁶⁰ See Edel, *Akazienhaus*, 9-11.

⁸⁶¹ The inscriptions accompanying the analogous scenes in the tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Cat. Nos. 132 and 133, make it certain that the tomb, and not the "embalming house" (as Hassan, *Giza* IV, 177, suggests), is depicted.

Those commenting on the scene - e.g., H. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 41, 1904, 66-67; Klebs, *Reliefs* I, 44; J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, 213; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 125-126; Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 23 - describe the structure shown as a mastaba. (Reisner, *BMFA* XXXII, 1934, 9, suggested that the facade of a rock-cut tomb is shown, but subsequently, *Mycerinus*, 258, he too opted for the facade of a built mastaba, erected atop the rock-cut chapel.) See, most recently, the remarks of E. Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46, 1977, 112-113.

⁸⁶² *LD* II, pl. 35. When Hassan recorded the scene, the figure was mostly lost.

⁸⁶³ The man's hands and what they once held are not preserved, but the position of the arms is suitable only for the action of censuring.

ascend the ramp leading up to the roof of the tomb. A table with offerings, a ewer and a basin upon it, is shown in the sub-register above. Four kneeling officiants (three proffering offerings) are present, while a lector raises his arm in a gesture of invocation. The register is captioned *wḏn jḥt snm ḥḥt jn wtw*, "offering things that the glorified dead eat by the embalmers."

The Tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*

The presentation of offerings to and censuring of a statue representing *Hnmw-ḥtp* are depicted in the uppermost register on the east wall of the double tomb's antechamber, directly above the three registers illustrating the funeral ritual with Cat. Nos. 69, 71, and 73. The same tableau for the benefit of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw* is carved in an analogous position on the west wall above the registers with Cat. Nos. 70, 72, and 74.⁸⁶⁴ Neither representation is completely preserved, but it seems they were identical. For the purpose of reconstruction, the scenes supplement one another. In content, the scenes with Cat. Nos. 132 and 133 correspond to the scene in *Dḥḥ.n(.j)*'s tomb.

Cat. Nos. 132-133

The striding statues are slightly over life-size. Neither is drawn in profile. Both stand within double-doored shrines with cavetto cornices, in turn beneath baldachins.⁸⁶⁵ Each figure holds the walking staff in the far hand. *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s statue shows the scepter in the near hand; in the representation of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw*'s statue, this area is lost. The shrine's floor serves as the statue base; a sledge is also present.

The costume of *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s statue includes a broad collar, a projecting-panel kilt, and sandals. The figure's head is damaged. The excavators describe the coiffure as the *Strähnenperücke*.⁸⁶⁶ *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw*'s statue is lost somewhat above knee height. A projecting-panel kilt and sandals are in evidence.

In front of each statue are two sub-registers. In the upper, various offerings are arrayed while below, four priests perform rites. Directly in front of each statue a kneeling priest proffers bread. His action is described in the associated text as *wḥ prt-ḥrw jn wt*, "dedicating invocation offerings by the embalmer." The second kneeling priest holds two

864 PM III, 642(2)-(3); Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 11 and 15, respectively.

865 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 55, note that in *Nj-ḥnḥ-Hnmw*'s case, "die Türpfosten des Schreins trugen einst in Malerei die Titel und den Namen des Grabherrn. Reste vom Namenszug des Nianchchnum sind auf dem rechten Türpfosten des Statuenschreins zu erkennen."

866 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 51.

pots. Above him is written *ḥnk jn wt*, "proffering by the embalmer." The priest censuring the statue is the *zš pr-ḥd šd ḥmw-k: Šjm*. Behind him, a lector completes the register. The entire tableau is captioned *ḥ(?) m tp jz šd jrjw-ḥnwt pr-ḥ: Ḥnmw-ḥtp/Nj-ḥn-Ḥnmw*, "standing(?) on top of the tomb of the inspector of the royal manicurists, *Ḥnmw-ḥtp/Nj-ḥn-Ḥnmw*."⁸⁶⁷ The tomb upon which these rites take place possesses an elaborately niched facade.⁸⁶⁸

Bklyn. 37.35E: Block from the Tomb of *Smnh-wj-Pth:Jtwš*

Smnh-wj-Pth:Jtwš, an official who mentions Djedkare in his biographical inscription,⁸⁶⁹ built a large mastaba at Saqqara.⁸⁷⁰ The isolated relief with the statue representation is in the Brooklyn Museum.⁸⁷¹ The depiction, like other features of the tomb,⁸⁷² is unusual. The portrait-like treatment of the head has occasioned frequent comment. The figure was actual life-size, making it the largest depiction of a statue in relief and painting from the Old Kingdom.⁸⁷³

Cat. No. 134

Preserved are the head, shoulders, and the hand of the far arm that holds a walking staff. The figure is identifiable as a statue because it is drawn in profile. The rounded outline of the near shoulder, rendered in profile, is visible just above the lower edge of the fragment. The line delineating the throat does not tend to the horizontal, as would have been the case had the far shoulder been drawn frontally. Similarly, the distance between the throat and the far hand holding the walking staff could only accommodate the far arm if it were partially concealed behind the profile chest.⁸⁷⁴

867 Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 51, 55, read "stehen vor dem Grab." Note that the first sign, read *ḥ*, especially as it is visible on *op.cit.*, pl. 15, does not resemble Gardiner Sign-list P 6 closely.

868 Cf., e.g., PKG *Ägypten*, pl. 7b.

869 See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 122-123.

870 *PM* III, 452.


871 See the bibliography cited by T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, Brooklyn 1974, § 37, and the photograph in Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 48a.

872 Junker, *Bildnis*, 401, noted anomalous features of the false door, in Vienna. The biographical text is also apparently exceptional.

873 The next largest representation of a statue is Cat. No. 140 which was about 1.40 m. tall when complete, but still smaller by a head than the depiction of the "living" tomb owner on the same wall. Cat. Nos. 135 and 136 are slightly under two-thirds life-size. Cat. Nos. 135, 136, and 140 occur in scenes where the statue is the object of an offering ceremony, the context presumed here for Cat. No. 134.

874 Cf. the relationship of the same elements in Cat. No. 99. Junker, *Bildnis*, 402, remarked only the profile rendering of the near shoulder.

The heavy chin and thick neck in combination with the close-cropped, natural coiffure suggest that the complete figure exemplified the portly statue type.⁸⁷⁵

The names of the tomb owner are written directly in front of the figure's face, *rn.f 't Smnh-wj-Pth rn.f nfr Jtwš*. The phrase *šzp r 'nh* follows the "good name." In Chapter 4, § 103, it was suggested that this phrase refers to the statue's ability to function in the cult. Above the head and to the right of the figure, a horizontal and a vertical register contain a selection of *Smnh-wj-Pth*'s titles, ⁸⁷⁶ *pr-'t hrj sšt: njswt m swt.f nbwt jmj-r srw pr-'t*.⁸⁷⁷

LG 53: The Tomb Complex of *Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr:Ttj*

The familial relationship of *Sšm-nfr* to *Sšm-nfr:Ttj* remains unclear, despite Junker's attempt to identify the latter as a son of the former.⁸⁷⁸ The apartments of the mastaba complex at Giza inscribed for *Sšm-nfr:Ttj* belong to a later building phase than those of *Sšm-nfr*, and their decoration is sparser and less accomplished.⁸⁷⁹ The elder *Sšm-nfr* dates to the end of Dynasty VI⁸⁸⁰ and *Sšm-nfr-Ttj*, somewhat later. The scene of rites before the statue of *Sšm-nfr*, Cat. No. 135, was sculptured on the west wall of the T-shaped offering hall.⁸⁸¹ A similar scene with the representations of two statues, Cat. Nos. 136 and 137, is located in the same position in the offering room inscribed for *Sšm-nfr:Ttj*.⁸⁸²

Cat. No. 135 (Plate XXIII)

The figure depicts a striding statue, drawn in profile. The statue is approximately twice as tall as the figures approaching it with incense and offerings. The visible (near) hand should be understood to hold the folded-over free edge of the kilt.⁸⁸³ The lower legs and feet of the representation are lost.

The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair. The figure, painted yellow, wears a detailed projecting-panel kilt. The painting of the figure, the physiognomy, and the costume are characteristic of the portly statue type.⁸⁸⁴

875 Cf. the references cited above, Chapter 2, note 158.

876 For this title of uncertain reading, see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 40-42.

877 The vertical register is complete with the addition of three determinatives for *srw*, cf. *Urk.* I, 192, C2. The reconstructed line of the walking staff would bar any further uninterrupted continuation of the register.

878 Junker, *Giza* XI, 131-132.

879 So Junker, *Giza* XI, 132, 241-242.

880 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133, 293.

881 *PM* III, 226(22); Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 89 and pl. XXIIIa-b. The restored relief is in the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, No. 3190.

882 *PM* III, 227; Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 99 and pl. XXIVc.

883 The hand is drawn over the kilt edge - cf. Junker, *Giza* XI, figs. 73a-b.

884 See Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 17-22.

In front of the statue, in two sub-registers, three partially preserved figures approach it. In the upper, the *jmj-r pr Mrrj* censes the image, followed by a scribe, labelled *zš*, whose name is lost. In the sub-register below, the figure of an *jmj-ḥt ḥmw-k* may be restored to depict the presentation of a bull's leg.⁸⁸⁵ The statue is labelled *twt r 'nḥ smr-w'tj Sšm-nfr*, "a statue in order to live of the sole companion *Sšm-nfr*," see Chapter 4, § 103. On analogy with the similar fragmentary composition in the offering chapel of *Sšm-nfr:ṭtj*, Cat. No. 136, Junker would restore a large-scale figure of the tomb owner at the right, observing the ceremony, see Chapter 3, § 88.

Cat. No. 136 (Plate XXIII)

The striding figure is preserved only to calf-height. The statue was approximately twice as tall as the associated officiants but considerably smaller than the figure of the "living" tomb owner, depicted at the right-hand end of the register. The statue possesses a statue base; a sledge is also present.

The figure wears sandals.

An officiant approached the statue while two men butcher a bull. Further to the right, the tomb owner, accompanied by his son(?), watches the rites performed before the statue.

Cat. No. 137 (Plate XXIII)

Behind Cat. No. 136, a second striding statue is represented but on a much smaller scale. The figure, preserved only to waist height, is approximately the same size as the officiant and butchers. The position of the visible (near) hand is appropriate for a statue drawn in profile. The hand holds the object that was discussed in Chapter 2, § 2. A statue base is present.

The figure wears a short, narrow kilt.

Junker identified the person represented in the statue as the tomb owner, arguing it could not depict the tomb owner's son, because in actuality "Statuen derselben Person in ganz verschiedenen Maßen begegnet man oft, während das Mitgeben von Statuen der Familie, die Gemahlin ausgenommen, nicht üblich ist."⁸⁸⁶ In Chapter 3, § 44, it was noted that representations of statues depicting persons other than the tomb owner are shown only in scenes of statue manufacture, an observation supporting Junker's identification of the tomb owner as the person depicted in Cat. No. 137.

⁸⁸⁵ So Junker, *Giza XI*, 227-228.

⁸⁸⁶ Junker, *Giza XI*, 249.

The Tomb of *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*

Offering rites before two statues of *Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*, Cat. Nos. 138 and 139, are depicted on the west wall of the chamber A 2 in his tomb at Saqqara.⁸⁸⁷ A large-scale figure of the tomb owner, accompanied by the smaller-scale figure of his wife, observes the scenes. On the east wall of chamber 10 A a small fragment of the bottom register also shows offering rites before a statue, Cat. No. 140.⁸⁸⁸

Cat. No. 138 (Plate XXIV)

The figure depicts a striding statue, approximately one and a third times life-size. The head and shoulders of the figure are lost. The walking staff was held in the far hand (now lost). The scepter, grasped by the near hand, "passes behind" the leftwards oriented figure. The statue stands within a double-doored shrine elevated above the register line on a low postument.

The costume included a detailed projecting-panel kilt.

Two men approached the statue, each carrying a bull's leg. One of the figures, labelled *ḥm-kꜣ*, has been effaced. The inscription adjacent to the second figure began with the title *zš*; of the remaining hieroglyphs, only ...*p* is certain. The sub-register above the figures contains offerings.

Cat. No. 139 (Plate XXIV)

The striding statue is not drawn in profile. It is approximately one and a third times larger than the two priests who approach it. The figure holds the walking staff in the far hand and in the near hand the object discussed in Chapter 2, § 2. The statue stands within a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. The shrine's floor serves as a statue base. The statue within the shrine is elevated above the register line upon a postument.

The figure wears a striated, shoulder-length wig, broad collar, and a half-goffered kilt.

Two priests bearing geese approach the statue. They are the *šḥḏ ḥmw-kꜣ zꜣb jmj-r zšw Jrj.n-ḥtj* and the *jmj-ḥt ḥmw-kꜣ zš pr-ꜣ qbḥ Jnḥj km*. Above them is a sub-register filled with offerings.

⁸⁸⁷ PM III, 528(24); Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 39. The scene is not preserved in its entirety. The composition could accommodate a third statue representation, above Cat. No. 139. For the dating of the tomb, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 39-41.

⁸⁸⁸ PM III, 531(54). Note that the statue representation Cat. No. 140 is shown on Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 97A, while the adjoining registers with priests, dancers, acrobats, and the tomb owner are to be found on pls. 83-87 of the same publication. Duell, *op.cit.*, 9, notes that the reliefs of room A 10 are of "inferior" quality and were executed subsequent to the decoration of the rest of the tomb.

Cat. No. 140

The striding statue is preserved only to the height of the figure's calves. It was approximately four times larger than the attendant offering bearers. The lower end of the walking staff that the figure held in the far hand is preserved. The statue was represented within a double-doored shrine erected upon a postument. Seven steps provide access from the register line to the top of the postument.

Offering bearers bring geese to add to the offerings already piled in front of the statue. Named priests (labelled *hm-kꜣ*) approach the statue while dancers and acrobats perform. The tomb owner and his wife observe the festivities. The entire scene is described in the associated text as [*mꜣꜣ*] 'jhljꜣ n jmꜣhw hr njswt Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j rn.f nfr Mrj, "[watching] the rejoicing for the one revered with the king, Mrr-wj-kꜣ.j, whose good name is Mrj."⁸⁸⁹

The Tomb of *Yntj-kꜣ:Jhhj*

The mastaba of *Yntj-kꜣ:Jhhj* is located in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara. The tomb owner, an inspector of prophets at the pyramids of Teti and Pepy I, died during the reign of the latter king.⁸⁹⁰ The representations of two statues receiving offerings are carved in two registers on the south wall of room I, just inside the entrance to the tomb.⁸⁹¹ The decoration of the west end of the wall is almost entirely lost. The traces of the feet of men and animals show that the composition was oriented to the right and therefore unrelated to the scene in front of the statues.⁸⁹²

Cat. No. 141

The statue depicts a life-size striding man. It is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. A statue base is present.

The costume includes a short, round wig, a broad collar, and a projecting-panel kilt (detailed). A goatee is also present.

889 So Wild, *Mél. Mar.*, 186 note 1. For the double meaning "bemoaning" and "rejoicing" for *jhhj*, see E. Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 1943, 26-28.

890 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 116, 293.

891 *PM* III, 508(12); James, *Khentika*, pl. X. In an earlier phase of the mastaba's construction, the entrance to the tomb was not through room I but probably from the south - see James, *op.cit.*, 17-18. The scene showing *Yntj-kꜣ* painting the seasons, now directly adjacent to the statue representations, is carved on a separate slab and blocks the doorway that once provided access from room V to room I. According to the earlier plan, the statues would have faced out of the tomb, rather than into it, as they do now.

892 Cf. James, *Khentika*, pl. XI (above).

The statue is labelled [hrj-h]bt Jhbj. An officiant presenting two ducks to the figure is identified by title and name as jmj-ht pr-hd shd hntjw-s pr-ꜥ: Jst-mꜥ.

Cat. No. 142

The life-size statue depicts a striding man, not drawn in profile. Both arms of the figure are held at the sides, and the hands are open. A statue base is present. The physiognomy of the figure is characteristic of the portly statue type.⁸⁹³

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig and a long, projecting-panel kilt (detailed).

A man with the title zš pr mdꜥt ntr pr-ꜥ: named Msj⁸⁹⁴ censes the statue that is designated jrj-pꜥt hntj-kꜥ.

The Tomb of Jj-nfrrt

The tomb of the vizier Jj-nfrrt, located directly south of the Djoser complex, cannot be dated precisely; it was probably built not later than the reign of Pepy I.⁸⁹⁵ The statue representation is found among the weathered reliefs on the south wall of the first decorated room, associated with scenes of the funeral. The uppermost register shows the transport of the coffin to the tomb; a sub-register comprises an array of offerings. In the second register, the journey to Sais with the coffin amidships is depicted. To the left, "behind" three priests who await the coffin, a tableau oriented in the opposite direction includes the statue.⁸⁹⁶

Cat. No. 143

The life-size, striding statue stands directly on the sledge and inside a shrine with cavetto cornice. The doors of the shrine are open to provide access to the image. The figure, with a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near, is not drawn in profile.

The statue wears a projecting-panel kilt. The outline of the badly weathered head preserves the form of a shoulder-length wig worn with a diadem sporting three lotus blossoms.

893 Cf. James, *Khentika*, 20.

894 James, *Khentika*, 43[23], suggests that this man may be the same painter Msj depicted in the tomb of ꜥnh-m-ꜥ-Hr, see Cat. No. 43.

895 See P. Munro, in U. Hölscher - P. Munro, *SAK* 3, 1975, 121-122.

896 *PM* III, 616(3); my description is based upon information and a tracing of the statue representation kindly supplied by Prof. Munro who is preparing the tomb for publication.

One officiant stands behind the statue shrine; another raises his arms in the attitude of censuring before the image, but the censer itself is not preserved. This man is followed by a lector and an offering bearer who proffers a beer jug and a loaf of bread.

Representations of Statues on the Walls of the *Serdab*

G 2381: The Tomb of *Nḥbw*

According to his biographical inscription, *Nḥbw*, the putative grandson of *Sndm-jb:Jntj*, exercised his office during the reign of Pepy I.⁸⁹⁷ His tomb at Giza was almost entirely destroyed, the decorated blocks being "found in a disordered heap of debris."⁸⁹⁸ The blocks deriving from the tomb's *serdab* show two statue types, Cat. Nos. 144 and 145, arranged alternately in as many as three superposed registers.⁸⁹⁹ Each representation is accompanied by the tomb owner's name and/or title. There were at least eighteen examples of the type exemplified in Cat. No. 144 and twenty-one examples of Cat. No. 145.

Cat. No. 144

The figure depicts a striding statue of the portly type, drawn in half-profile. The near arm with open hand is held at the side; the far hand grasps the walking staff that is drawn in red outline only. A statue base, painted red-brown, is present.

The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair, painted black. The figure wears a broad collar and a long projecting-panel kilt, both reserved in the light grey of the background. The skin of the figures is painted either yellow, yellow overlaid with black or red-brown.⁹⁰⁰

Most often this type is accompanied only by the tomb owner's name, without title.

Cat. No. 145

The figure depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. A walking staff is held in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The statue base is painted black.

⁸⁹⁷ See D. Dunham, *JEA* 24, 1938, 1-8; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 95-96, 291.

⁸⁹⁸ So Dunham, *JEA* 24, 1938, 1.

⁸⁹⁹ *PM* III, 91; today divided between the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (No. 13.4339a, b) and the Cairo Museum (JE 44621): see H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, frontis (above) and pls. II-III.

⁹⁰⁰ Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 21-22, has discussed the pattern of color alternation in these paintings and the reference of each color: red-brown is the normal flesh color; yellow is the flesh color appropriate for a portly figure; yellow overlaid with black designates a type of wood from which the statues were made.

The figure's shoulder-length wig and goatee are painted black. The costume includes a broad collar and a projecting-panel kilt, both the color of the background. The figures are painted either red-brown, ochre,⁹⁰¹ or yellow overlaid with black.

Each figure is regularly accompanied by a title and the tomb owner's name.

MFA 13.4345: The *Serdab* of *S:bw-Pth:Jbbj*

The two loose blocks bearing representations of statues depicting *S:bw-Pth:Jbbj* presumably derive from the *serdab* of a destroyed chapel included in the *Nhbw* complex, G 2381-2382.⁹⁰² *S:bw-Pth:Jbbj* and his brother *Pth-špss:Jmpjj* may date to the end of Dynasty VI, if the title sequences on the coffin from the burial chamber G 2381 A are not in error.⁹⁰³ Only three of the statue representations, depicting two types are completely preserved. The remaining nine that are only partially preserved seem to reproduce these types in alternation. Each statue is accompanied by a title series and one of the tomb owner's names.

Cat. No. 146 (Plate XXXI)

The striding statue is not drawn in profile. The figure holds the walking staff in the far hand and the scepter in the near hand. A statue base is present.

The figure wears a shoulder-length wig and a half-goffered kilt.⁹⁰⁴ A goatee is also shown.

The titles accompanying this type are variable, but they are always followed by the name *Jbbj*.

Cat. No. 147 (Plate XXXI)

The striding statue is drawn in half-profile. The far hand holds a walking staff and the near hand, a scepter. A statue base is included.

The figure wears a short, round wig and a half-goffered kilt. Here, too, a goatee is present. The projection at the figure's back depicts a counterweight.⁹⁰⁵

901 To be interpreted as a lighter skin color, according to Fischer, *JARCE* II, 1963, 22.

902 MFA 13.4345 is not mentioned in *PM* III. The representations are executed in incised outline only. The *Nhbw* complex may have also included a similarly decorated *serdab* for *S:bw-Pth:Jbbj*'s brother *Pth-špss:Jmpjj*. Among the notes of Wm. St. Smith, in the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, there is a sketch of a block with painted representations of *Jmpjj* similar to Cat. Nos. 146 and 147.

903 See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96, 292.

904 Identifiable because the vertical tab at the waist is shown.

905 Since the figure is executed in outline only, the presence of a broad collar to which the counterweight undoubtedly belongs cannot be

Beside the representation, a selection of the titles of the tomb owner and the name *S:bw-Pth* are written.

The Tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnh:Ḥnj km*

The *serdab* walls of *Ppjj-ḥnh*'s tomb at Meir were originally covered with identical representations of statues depicting the tomb owner, each accompanied by an inscription consisting of one of his titles and names.⁹⁰⁶ Over two hundred nineteen statues were once depicted.

Cat. No. 148 (Plate XXV)

All the figures depict striding statues. None is drawn in profile. Each holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. In every case, regardless of the orientation of the figure, the scepter is drawn as if passing behind the figure. A statue base, painted black, is present.

Each figure is painted red-brown. The close-cropped, natural coiffure and a goatee are painted black. The broad collar, the short, narrow kilt, the scepter, and the walking staff are painted yellow.⁹⁰⁷

Representations of Statues in Other Contexts

S 2405: The Tomb of *Hzzj-R'*

The paintings in *Hzzj-R'*'s tomb at Saqqara once included the oldest statue representation in a private tomb known to date. The career of the tomb

confirmed. Cf. the relationship of the half-profile figure, broad collar, and counterweight in Cat. No. 100.

⁹⁰⁶ See *Meir V*, pls. XXXVII-XL, L:3, and LXV:1-2. The *serdab* belonged to an earlier phase of the tomb's construction; when room A was subsequently enlarged, the *serdab* was partially destroyed and its function altered, see *op.cit.*, 45-46.

Among *Ppjj-ḥnh*'s titles recorded in the *serdab* is *t:tj z:b t:tj*. The vizier's title is documented nowhere else in the tomb. In the *serdab* of *Jmpjj*, see note 902, the deceased also bears the title of vizier not otherwise recorded for him. E. Brovarski suggested to me that the occurrence of the title in both cases might be interpreted to document a posthumous promotion, as in the case of *P'w* at Deir el Gebrawi. However, I consider it significant that the title occurs in both cases only in the inscriptions in the hidden recesses of the *serdab*. Conceivably, *Ppjj-ḥnh* and *Jmpjj* simply appropriated the vizier's title for their benefit in the hereafter.

For the dating of *Ppjj-ḥnh*'s tomb, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 54-57.

⁹⁰⁷ Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, 46, suggest the elements painted yellow refer to "gilded" originals.

owner may be dated to early Dynasty III.⁹⁰⁸ On the east wall of the tomb's inner corridor, the funerary equipment was depicted, arrayed on mats beneath a tent-like structure.⁹⁰⁹ The partially preserved statue is to be found at the north end of the wall.⁹¹⁰ Quibell suggested that the display of funerary items might reflect the presentation of actual gifts to a statue of *Hzzjj-R'*.⁹¹¹

Cat. No. 149 (Plate XXV)

Only the foot, painted red-brown and wearing a black sandal, and the forward end of the statue base are preserved. The statue type cannot be reconstructed with certainty.⁹¹²

The Tomb of *Mttj*

Mttj is usually believed to have lived into the early years of Dynasty VI.⁹¹³ The exact location of his tomb at Saqqara is not known.⁹¹⁴

Various elements of the tomb's decoration as well as five statues have been acquired by museums and collectors in Europe and America.⁹¹⁵ Among

908 Cf. the seal impression of Djoser recovered from the debris of the burial chamber - Quibell, *Hesy*, pl. XXVIII.

909 See Quibell's remarks, *Hesy*, 5-6.

910 Quibell, *Hesy*, pl. XVI. (*PM* III, 438, does not specifically mention the statue representation.)

Quibell, *Hesy*, 6, 18, tentatively identified the damaged figure as the representation of a statue. Reisner, *Giza I*, 348-349, described the figure, in passing, as depicting the tomb owner himself, while, most recently, W. Wood, *JARCE* XV, 1978, 14-15, has argued that the ruling monarch (Djoser?) was shown. Neither Reisner nor Wood mentions the presence of the (statue) base beneath the figure's foot. (While citing Quibell in another context, Wood does not refer to his identification of the figure as a statue.) Both Reisner and Wood disregard the modest scale of the figure in its context with other offerings - understandable if a statue were shown, but problematic if the figure be identified as either the tomb owner or a king. Wood raises the objection to her own thesis that "images of kings are [otherwise] unknown in private tombs prior to the New Kingdom" - but see note 991, below.

911 *Hesy*, 9.

912 Quibell, *Hesy*, 18, would reconstruct a seated statue because the foot "is so close to the [tent] mast that it could not belong to a standing figure." If a seated figure were depicted, the legs must have been drawn in profile (cf., e.g., Cat. No. 66) as only one foot is visible. The more common arrangement, with both legs and feet shown, requires that the rear foot overlap the far.

913 Cf., e.g., Baer, *Rank and Title*, 83, 291.

The dating is based on the fact that *Mttj* was *jmꜥhw hr wnjs*. But this epithet is known to have been employed long after Unas' death, see H. Altenmüller, *SAK* 1, 1974, 11. Most recently both P. Munro, *GM* 59, 1982, 98, and A. Moussa - H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 346, have implied that *Mttj* should be assigned to the end of the Old Kingdom.

914 Most probably in the neighborhood of the Unas pyramid? - see *PM* III, 646-648, and the remarks of Kaplony, *Methethi*, 7 note 2.

915 These monuments are considered by Kaplony, *Methethi*.

the fragmentary paintings from the tomb now in the Louvre is the partially preserved representation of a single statue.⁹¹⁶ The context of the representation was either statue manufacture or a display of funerary equipment as in *Hzzj-R'*'s tomb.⁹¹⁷

Cat. No. 150

The figure depicted a striding statue, not drawn in profile. The walking staff, held in the far hand, and a scepter, in the near hand, are both painted yellow. The statue base is black.

The figure itself is colored yellow overlaid with black to designate wood as the material of the statue, see Chapter 3, § 60. The costume included a detailed projecting-panel kilt, painted white. The head and upper torso of the figure are not preserved.

The Tomb of *Štwj*

The stone built mastaba of *Štwj* at Giza cannot be precisely dated. Of the alternative dates suggested by the tomb owner's variable title sequence,⁹¹⁸ the latest, at the end of Dynasty VI, would seem to suit best the type of offering table scene included in the tomb's decoration.⁹¹⁹ The block bearing the fragmentary representation of a statue shrine cannot be localized within the tomb.⁹²⁰ The context was either a scene of statue transport (cf., e.g., Cat. No. 98) or an offering ritual (cf., e.g., Cat. No. 139).⁹²¹

Cat. No. 151 (Plate XXV)

The cavetto cornice and a small portion of the upper part of a statue shrine beside a partially preserved sub-register filled with offerings are all that remain of original composition.

G 2381: The Tomb of *Nḥbw*

Among the reliefs from the tomb of *Nḥbw* now in the Museum of Fine Arts is a fragment decorated with an episode of the funerary rites.⁹²² At the left end of the register, a lector bears a shrine upon his shoulder. Within the shrine are an incense burner, a tall vase, and a statuette.

916 Not specifically mentioned in the epitome *PM* III, 646; see *JARCE* XIII, 1976, 21.

917 See *JARCE* XIII, 1976, 21 with notes 8 and 9.

918 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 136, 242.

919 Cf. the criteria discussed by Junker, *Giza* IX, 24-25.

920 *PM* III, 106; Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 87.

921 Junker, *Giza* IX, 190-191, suggests the first alternative.

922 See Smith, *Sculpture*, fig. 80, and cf. *PM* III, 90(4)-(5) where the statuette is not specifically mentioned. For the dating of the tomb, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 144 and 145.

Cat. No. 152 (Plate XXVI)

The statuette depicts a striding figure of the portly type. The far hand held the walking staff (now lost). The object held in the near hand was considered in Chapter 2, § 2. No base is shown.

The figure wears a mid-calf length projecting-panel kilt. Either a short wig or the natural, close-cropped hair is shown.

The Tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:Ḥnj km*

The representation of a statuette in a context similar to that of Cat.

No. 152 occurs on the west wall of room B in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ:Ḥnj km* at Meir.⁹²³ The statuette and a tall vase are displayed within a shrine borne upon the shoulder of a retainer in a scene depicting the inspection of the funerary equipment by the tomb owner.⁹²⁴

Cat. No. 153 (Plate XXVI)

Because of its extremely small scale, the statuette was summarily drawn, in outline only. As nearly as can be determined, it is identical in type and costume to Cat. No. 57.

The partially preserved bottom register on the east wall of room A contains the representation of four statues.⁹²⁵ These have arrived at the tomb and are apparently displayed prior to their placement in the *serdab* towards which they are oriented, see Chapter 3, note 308, and § 70. The accompanying inscription reads *////////[tw]w nw ḥ:tj-ḥ sḏ:wtj-bjtj jmj-r šmḥ smr-wḥ:tj ḥrj-ḥbt jmj-r ḥmw-nḥr Ḥnj km r pr-twt*, "...statues of (titles) *Ḥnj km* at the 'statue-house'."⁹²⁶

Cat. Nos. 154-155 (Plate XXVI)

The striding statues are identical. Both depict an uncircumcised, nude youth who holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. Each statue possesses a base. One figure was painted red, the other yellow.⁹²⁷

The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

923 Meir V, pl. XXVI:1. For the dating of the tomb, see the introductory remarks to Cat. Nos. 54-57.

924 Blackman and Apted, Meir V, 33, draw attention to the similarity of the statuette to Cat. No. 57 depicted in the craft scenes in the same tomb.

925 Meir V, 28-29, pls. XX and LV:1. The opening to the *serdab* towards which the statue representations were originally oriented was enlarged to a doorway in a later phase of the tomb's construction. The enlargement resulted in the loss of at least one statue representation.

926 Blackman - Apted, Meir V, 29, would restore "arrival of" or the like at the beginning of the inscription. For *pr-twt*, see A.M. Blackman, JEA 3, 1916, 254, and cf. Junker, Giza III, 119-121.

927 As Fischer, JARCE II, 1963, 20, remarked, the suggestion that the yellow coloring signifies gold overlay (so Meir V, 28) is not supported

Cat. No. 156 (Plate XXVI)

The seated statue is not drawn in profile. The near hand of the figure is open and laid on the lap. The far hand holds the walking staff. The far leg is slightly advanced and the near leg is pressed against the front of the simple block-like seat. The statue base is differentiated from the seat by a relief line.

The figure wears the half-goffered kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

The representation is essentially identical with Cat. No. 56, a statue depicted in a scene of statue manufacture in the same tomb. Note, however, that in Cat. No. 56, a space is reserved between the near leg and the front of the seat and that here the walking staff and details of the kilt have been added, see the remarks, Chapter 2, § 14.

Cat. No. 157 (Plate XXVI)

The attitude of the figure is virtually identical with that of Cat. No. 54, represented in a scene of statue manufacture in the same tomb. Here a base, absent from the composition of Cat. No. 54, is present.

The costume is identical with that of Cat. No. 54, but here the figure also sports a goatee.

by comparative evidence. Fischer, *ibid.*, believes that the yellow painting is intended to "enhance the characterization of youth" and functions to dissimilate the statues Cat. Nos. 154 and 155 as well.

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APPENDIX: Statue Representations of the Middle Kingdom

Scenes of Statue Manufacture in Private Tombs of the Middle Kingdom

Three tombs datable to the Middle Kingdom preserve scenes of statue manufacture,⁹²⁸ all three at Beni Hasan. The tomb owners, *B:qt*, *Htjj*, and *Hnmw-htp*, were nomarchs, but only the tenure of *Hnmw-htp* is securely dated: he was appointed nomarch in Year 19 of Amenemhet II and served into the reign of Sesostri II.⁹²⁹ The chronological position of *B:qt* and *Htjj* is disputed. The tombs of these two men have been placed as early as the end of the First Intermediate Period and as late as early Dynasty XII.⁹³⁰

In all three tombs, statue making is illustrated in association with the depiction of various crafts. Presumably, the Middle Kingdom craft scenes show the manufacture of products intended for the funerary equipment of the tomb owner, as in the Old Kingdom.⁹³¹

Beni Hasan 14: The Tomb of *B:qt*

In *B:qt*'s tomb, four statues are depicted in the craft scenes painted on the north wall of the main chamber.⁹³² (For the illustration of statue transport in the same tomb, see Cat. No. 165.)

Cat. No. 158

The figure depicts a life-size, striding statue, not drawn in profile. The hand of the near arm is fisted and held at the side. The far arm is raised with the closed hand held up to the mouth of the figure. A back pillar is present, implying that the material of the statue is stone, see Chapter 3, § 65. A statue base is not included in the representation.

The figure is nude. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair. Both the attitude and the nudity of the figure suggest that the statue depicts a child.

928 The Dynasty XIII(?) tomb of *Sbk-nht* at el Kab, *PM* V, 184-185, may have once contained a scene (or scenes?) of statue manufacture - see J.J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab 2, London 1896, pl. VI, and the accompanying description. But the fragmentary state of the paintings renders their interpretation equivocal.

929 See the biographical inscription, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. XXV and XXVI.

930 See, most recently, the brief remarks of H.G. Fischer, "Gaufürst," *LÄ* II, 414-415.

931 See Chapter 3, § 53, but note, however, the orientation of the scenes of statue transport, discussed below.

932 *Beni Hasan* II, pl. IV. Dr. Fischer drew my attention to the drawing of Cat. Nos. 158 and 159 in Champollion, *Mon.* IV, pl. 386:5.

The action of the associated craftsman is unclear.⁹³³ In the drawing published by Champollion, part of a tool is visible, but it cannot be identified with certainty, and the craftsman's gestures are not characteristic of any activity discussed above, in Chapter 3, § 54 - § 58.

Cat. No. 159

The group is composed of a striding male figure and a standing woman. Both are life-size; neither is drawn in profile. The man holds both arms at his sides. His near hand is fisted, and the far hand is open. The woman places her far arm around his shoulders. With her near hand, she grasps the man's near wrist. There is no exact parallel in actual statuary, but the attitude is similar to the well-documented Old Kingdom type in which the woman embraces her partner's shoulders with one arm and touches or grasps his near arm with her other hand.⁹³⁴

Both figures stand directly on the register line, without benefit of a statue base.

The male figure, with close-cropped, natural hair is nude but for a broad collar. His female companion wears a tripartite wig, a broad collar, a close-fitting shift with a single shoulder strap, and anklets. A comparable Old Kingdom group composed of a woman accompanying a nude adult male was excavated at Giza.⁹³⁵

A painter, seated on a stool, applies color to the statue.

Cat. No. 160

The life-size figure depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. Both arms with open hands are held at the sides. For this attitude, documented in extant statuary beginning in the First Intermediate Period, see Chapter 2, § 6. The statue does not possess a base.

The coiffure of the nude figure is the close-cropped, natural hair. The sculptor, labelled *qstj*, uses a chisel and a piriform maul to carve the statue, see Chapter 3, note 236.

Cat. No. 161

The life-size striding statue is identical in attitude with Cat. No. 160. It, too, is not drawn in profile and lacks a base.

933 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 53 XVII.2, captions the activity simply "bearbeitet Standbild." Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 47, described all the craftsmen at the end of the register as painters.

934 Cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 73 § VII.A. Note that the same attitude is depicted in a scene of statue transport in the tomb of *Htjj*, Cat. No. 166.

935 Berkeley 6-19781 - see Lutz, *Statues*, 24-25 and pl. 35b. Presumably, both the Old Kingdom statue and the Middle Kingdom representation depict a tomb owner with his wife, but in neither case is a familial relationship confirmed by an inscription.

The figure wears a broad collar and a projecting-panel kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

A craftsman paints the statue.

Beni Hasan 17: The Tomb of Htjj

The two vignettes of statue making in Htjj's tomb could well be copies of the scenes depicting the manufacture of Cat. Nos. 160 and 161 in the neighboring tomb of B:qt. As in B:qt's tomb, the craft scenes are painted on the north wall of the main chamber. The tableaux of statue manufacture are found in the second lowest register at the west end of the wall.⁹³⁶ In the register above, the transport of the group statue Cat. No. 166 is shown. Elsewhere in the tomb, two more statues, Cat. Nos. 167 and 171, are depicted.

Cat. No. 162

The statue representation is identical in attitude and costume with Cat. No. 161.

The painter who applies color to the statue is incorrectly labelled gstj, a mistake attributable to a transcription error of the ancient Egyptian draftsman. Apparently when copying the scenes in B:qt's tomb, he affixed the label to the wrong craftsman. It should be properly associated with the sculptor of Cat. No. 163.

Cat. No. 163

The scene is identical with that including Cat. No. 160, but the appropriate label for the sculptor is lacking.

Beni Hasan 3: The Tomb of Hnmw-htp

The decoration of Hnmw-htp's tomb includes a single scene of statue manufacture, painted in the bottom register on the west wall of the tomb's main chamber. In the same register, men making stone vessels and a naos are shown.⁹³⁷ For the scene of statue transport in this tomb, see Cat. No. 169.

Cat. No. 164

The life-size figure depicts a striding statue, drawn in profile. The visible (near) arm with fisted hand is held at the side of the figure. A statue base is not included in the representation.

⁹³⁶ *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XIII.

⁹³⁷ *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XXIX.

The costume of the figure includes a short, narrow kilt and a shoulder-length, flaring wig.

The craftsman uses a round stone to polish the chest of the statue. Only the sign \triangle remains of the label once written above the statue. The partially obliterated inscription above the craftsman included his name, *Ntr-ḥnh*.

Scenes of Statue Transport

The three tombs at Beni Hasan with the scenes of statue manufacture discussed immediately above also contain vignettes showing the transport of statuary. The decoration of two other Middle Kingdom tombs includes statue transport: the tomb of *Jmn-m-ḥst*, also at Beni Hasan, and the tomb of *Dhwtj-ḥtp*, at Bersheh.

The ultimate destination of the statues is equivocal. In four tombs, those of *B:qt*, *Htjj*, *Jmn-m-ḥst*, and *Dhwtj-ḥtp*, the orientation of the tableaux is the reverse of that expected, were the statues intended for the tomb.⁹³⁸ In the fifth tomb, that belongs to the nomarch *Hnmw-ḥtp*, the orientation of the procession is ambiguous, because the scene is located above the entrance to the chamber. However, the scene bears a label describing the destination of Cat. No. 169 as a temple. A figure labelled *sdwtj-bjtj* [ḥ-]j:m(?) *Hnmw-ḥtp* participates in the procession. In his biographical inscription, the tomb owner states *šms.n.j twtw.j r ḥwt-ntr*, "I escorted my statues to the temple."⁹³⁹ The scene of statue transport might be interpreted as an illustration of the biographical statement.⁹⁴⁰ Whether or not the scene be taken so literally, the tableau clearly provides additional evidence for the practice of erecting private statuary in temples during the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁴¹ Similarly, the destination of *Dhwtj-ḥtp*'s colossal statue, Cat. No. 170, was also not the tomb, but some other type of structure, perhaps a *ḥwt-kꜣ*.

The statues being transported in the tombs of *B:qt* (Cat. No. 165), of *Htjj* (Cat. Nos. 166 and 167), and of *Jmn-m-ḥst* (Cat. No. 168) were

938 See the remarks regarding the orientation of such scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, Chapter 3, § 67.

939 *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XXV, lines 83-84.

940 On the same wall, the "living" tomb owner is depicted on the same small scale as the figure labelled *Hnmw-ḥtp* in the scene of statue transport. However, his figure always bears the title *ḥstj-ḥ* lacking in the label beside the man designated *Hnmw-ḥtp* in the scene of statue transport. Thus the figure may not depict the tomb owner but rather his like-named son.

941 Note, however, that the scene is not cited by H. Kayser, who considered only the biographical text, *Die Tempelstatuen ägyptischer Privatleute im mittleren und im neuen Reich*, Heidelberg 1936, 11.

probably intended for the tomb, despite the orientation of the scenes. Three of the processions - those with Cat. Nos. 165, 166, and 168 - include retainers who bear items of the funerary equipment clearly meant for the tomb.⁹⁴² The presence of dancers in all four processions also suggests that the destination of the statue is the tomb, for already in the Old Kingdom such dancers are documented in scenes showing the towing of statues to the necropolis.⁹⁴³ Nevertheless, it should be noted that the litany recited by the crew transporting Cat. Nos. 165, 166, and 168, *jj ntr z: t:*, is the same as that associated with Cat. No. 169, the statue of *Hnmw-ḥtp* being towed to a temple.

Regardless of the destination of the statues, their function in the cult remained the same as during the Old Kingdom. Whether set up within a temple precinct or in the tomb, the statues were intended to receive offerings. Thus offering bearers advance to meet the processions transporting Cat. Nos. 167 and 170.⁹⁴⁴

Beni Hasan 15: The Tomb of *B:qt*

The scene of statue transport is painted in the uppermost register on the south wall of the main chamber.⁹⁴⁵

Cat. No. 165

The figure is slightly under life-size. It depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. A walking staff is held in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The statue stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. Neither a base nor a sledge is in evidence; the tow-rope is drawn into the register line at the front of the shrine.

The costume consists of a broad collar and a projecting-panel kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

Seven men pull on the tow-rope. Beside the first man is written *šms* "escorting." The label *d:* beside another crew member may be interpreted as his title.⁹⁴⁶ An eighth crew member pours water in front of the shrine. Above him *jj ntr z: t:* is inscribed.⁹⁴⁷ Two groups of dancers

⁹⁴² The retainers associated with Cat. No. 167 bear only food offerings.

⁹⁴³ See the introductory paragraph to Cat. Nos. 94-99 and Cat. No. 105; cf. also the comments of Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 38-39. But note that in the New Kingdom, similar festivities were also associated with the transfer of statuary to temples - so Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pls. XXXIX-XL; cf. H. Wild, *Méi. Mar.*, 186 note 1.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. also the biographical text of *Hnmw-ḥtp* cited above, note 939: the tomb owner endowed his temple statues with offerings and appointed a priest to attend to their cult needs.

⁹⁴⁵ *Beni Hasan* II, pl. VII.

⁹⁴⁶ So *Wb* V, 515(7).

⁹⁴⁷ According to *Wb* I, 37(31), "eine alte Litanei." Cf. E. Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 1943, 71, who translates (in another context), "Der Gott kommt, huldigt (ihm)."

complete the procession⁹⁴⁸ which is met by a group of men bearing items of the funerary equipment.

Beni Hasan 17: The Tomb of *Htjj*

Two scenes of statue transport are depicted in *Htjj*'s tomb. The tableau with Cat. No. 166 is to be found on the north wall of the main chamber, in the register above scenes of craftsmen at work.⁹⁴⁹ Cat. No. 167 is painted on the south wall of the same room.⁹⁵⁰

Cat. No. 166

The group is composed of two life-size figures, surely depicting the tomb owner and his wife. Neither is drawn in profile. The attitude of the woman is identical with that of her counterpart in Cat. No. 159, shown in a scene of statue manufacture in the neighboring tomb of *B:qt*. The near arm and hand of the striding male figure are held at the side. The far arm is extended, as if to grasp the walking staff, but neither the hand nor the staff is preserved. Both figures stand inside a shrine with cavetto cornice and double doors. Apparently neither statue base nor sledge was included in the representation.

The male figure wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, the projecting-panel kilt, and anklets. The costume of the lady consists of a long wig, a broad collar, and a close-fitting shift with a single shoulder strap.

The crew associated with the statue numbers seven men. Six of them pull on the tow-rope. The action of the seventh is not clear, for the figure is only partially preserved, but on analogy with the scene in *B:qt*'s tomb, he, too, should be engaged in towing the statue. The inscriptions accompanying the scene are identical with those associated with the crew towing Cat. No. 165. Two groups of dancers lead the procession,⁹⁵¹ and, as in the case of Cat. No 165, the procession is met by men bearing funerary equipment.

Cat. No. 167

The figure is approximately life-size. It depicts a striding statue, not drawn in profile. The figure holds the walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. It stands inside a double-doored shrine with cavetto cornice. Both the shrine and its doors are stippled. Neither a statue base nor a sledge is included in the representation.

948 See Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 38.

949 *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XIII.

950 *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XVII.

951 See the comments of Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 38.

The figure wears a projecting-panel kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

No crew is shown, but the presence of two groups of dancers, as with Cat. Nos. 165 and 166, makes it likely that an abbreviated version of the same type of scene is intended here.⁹⁵² The men who advance to meet the procession carry food offerings rather than items of the funerary equipment as shown in the scenes with Cat. Nos. 165 and 166.

Beni Hasan 2: The Tomb of *Jmn-m-ḥꜥt*

Jmn-m-ḥꜥt's tenure as nomarch is dated to the reign of Sesostriis I.⁹⁵³ The scene of statue transport is located in the second register on the north wall of the tomb's main chamber.⁹⁵⁴

Cat. No. 168

The figure is as tall as the officiant who proffers incense but considerably smaller than the men who bring up the rear of the procession. It is not drawn in profile. The statue depicts a striding man with the walking staff in the far hand and a folded handkerchief in the near hand. The figure stands inside a shrine with cavetto cornice and double doors. A sledge serves as a statue base.

The costume includes a broad collar, bracelets, and a double kilt. The figure wears either a short, round wig or the close-cropped, natural coiffure.

Seven men compose the crew pulling on the tow-rope. An eighth man who holds a long-armed censer stands in front of the sledge. Above the crew, the litany *jj ntr zꜥ tꜥ* is written, followed by the titles of the tomb owner, his name *Jmn-m-ḥꜥt*, and the epithets *mi'-ḥrw nb jmiḥ*. Dancers and acrobats lead the procession.⁹⁵⁵ Behind the statue shrine, two officials lead a group of five men bearing funerary equipment. The first of the two officials is the *jmj-r 'ḥnwtj Hnmw-ḥtp*. Apparently the second figure was also designated by title and name, but his label is lost.

Beni Hasan 3: The Tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp*

The scene of statue transport in *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s tomb is located above the doorway through the west wall of the main chamber.⁹⁵⁶

952 So Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 38-39.

953 See the biographical text, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. VIII lines 1-4.

954 *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.

955 See the brief remark of Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 39.

956 *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XXIX; cf. *LD II*, pl. 127.

Cat. No. 169

The figure is a head shorter than the associated "living" persons. It depicts a striding statue, drawn in profile. Only the near arm is shown; it is bent at the elbow, and the hand holds the walking staff. This is an exceptional reversal, since the walking staff is regularly held in the far hand, see Chapter 1, p. 4. The figure stands inside a shrine with cavetto cornice and double doors. The sledge serves as the statue base.

The figure wears a shoulder-length flaring wig and a kilt whose projecting panel is pleated.

The crew towing the statue is composed of seven men. Above them is written the same inscription as above the crew towing Cat. Nos. 165, 166, and 168. An eighth man holds a long-armed censer toward the statue. A lector, labelled hrj-ḥbt and named Mꜥ-ḥrw-Ḥr, reads from a papyrus. Above the shrine is written šms twt r ḥwt-nṯr, "escorting the statue to the temple."⁹⁵⁷

The procession is preceded by a group of acrobatic dancers and five men who face the crew. The dancers bear the labels tꜥw and hr rd.wj. Brunner-Traut suggests that they enact a pantomime.⁹⁵⁸ The group of five men are led by the wꜥb-priest Htjj. Above them is written wn ꜥꜥ.wj pt prj nṯr, "open the two doors of heaven that the god may come forth."⁹⁵⁹

Two men follow the shrine. One of them is labelled sdꜥwtj-bjtj [ꜥ-]jm(?) Hnmw-ḥtp.

Bersheh 2: The Tomb of Dhwtj-ḥtp

Dhwtj-ḥtp's career began during the reign of Amenemhet II and continued into the reign of Sesostri III.⁹⁶⁰ The transport of a colossal statue is depicted in his tomb on the upper half of the right-hand wall of the

957 Nevertheless, Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 68, describes the scene as showing the dragging of the statue to the tomb of the deceased.

958 *Tanz*, 37: "Gelenkige Mädchen beugen sich gleich Gräsern vor dem gebietenden 'Wind', stellen die Pantomime (tꜥw); die übrigen versinnbildlichen die Tat des Königs, der seinen Feind (der, 'der sich unter (seinem) Füßen befindet (hrj rd.wj')) am Haarschopf faßt und ihn mit der Keule niederschlägt."

959 Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 42, noted that this inscription parallels a text accompanying the "dramatic Hathor dance" in TT 60 - see Davies - Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. XXIII. She suggested that the two "doors of heaven" are the doors of the statue shrine, and the god, the statue. (E. Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46, 1977, 107-115, has discussed the "doors of heaven" without, however, noting the occurrence of the phrase in Hnmw-ḥtp's tomb.)

960 Cf. the royal names inscribed on the entrance to the tomb, *El Bersheh I*, pl. V.

inner chamber.⁹⁶¹ Like Newberry,⁹⁶² I am convinced that the person shown in the statue is the tomb owner.

Cat. No. 170

The colossal seated statue is drawn in profile. The visible (near) hand holds a folded handkerchief upon the lap of the figure. A single leg is shown with a space reserved between it and the front of the seat. The seat itself is apparently a block whose sides have been carved in relief to depict a chair with bull's legs.⁹⁶³ The seat possesses a low back with a cloth laid over it. A back pillar is included in the representation, as is a statue base. The statue is secured to the sledge by means of a thick, twisted rope tied through a loop on top of the sledge and passed over the lap of the figure. Two other twisted ropes are tied horizontally around the seat and legs of the figure. Where the rope would have come into abrasive contact with the surface of the statue, pieces of cow hide have been inserted between them and the figure to protect it.

The figure wears the *šndjt* kilt. Because the head of the figure was already severely damaged when recorded by Newberry, a definitive description of the headgear is not possible.⁹⁶⁴ The alternatives are a striated wig with pointed lappets, a coiffure familiar from several Middle Kingdom private statues,⁹⁶⁵ or the royal *nms* headcloth.⁹⁶⁶ The painting of the headcovering is blue with black "ribbing," intended either to indicate the divisions between the strands of the wig or to signify the striping of the *nms*. The figure had a goatee⁹⁶⁷ that was also painted blue.⁹⁶⁸ Except for the headgear and the goatee, the statue is white, the color of "Egyptian alabaster," i.e., of "stone of Hatnub," as the material of the statue is described in the associated text.

961 *El Bersheh* I, pls. XII, XV.

962 *El Bersheh* I, 24. Newberry noted that the inscriptions cannot be cited to support an identification of the figure as a royal statue. Rather, the absence of any reference to the king may be interpreted as an indication that the statue does not depict the ruler. Furthermore, the text describing the activity of the retainers who bring offerings to greet the procession - see further, below - unambiguously states that the statue depicts the tomb owner. The elements of royal iconography apparently evidenced in the representation can be paralleled by other usurpations of royal prerogatives in the provincial tombs of the same period - see H.G. Fischer, in: *PKG Ägypten*, 295.

963 Cf. Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, 19.

964 The published facsimiles of the scene, *El Bersheh* I, pls. XII and XV, do not show the same headgear.

965 Cf., e.g., *PKG Ägypten*, pls. 157a-b.

966 Cf. Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, 19, who considers the possibility that the figure was once provided with a uraeus.

967 Described by Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, 19, as an "artificial beard."

968 For blue as the color of hair (or of a wig) and beard of divine beings, see E. Brunner-Traut, "Farben," *LÄ* II, 125.

One hundred seventy-two men pull on four tow-ropes attached to the sledge.⁹⁶⁹ An official stands on the lap of the figure to regulate the tempo of the marching crews. Another man stands on top of the statue base to pour water in front of the sledge, and a lector priest proffers incense (*jrjt sntr*) to the image. Fifteen men, among them the *hpr kwt m twt pn*, "the controller of the work on this statue," form an escort following the statue. A large-scale figure of the tomb owner, accompanied by his retinue, brings up the rear of the procession. Between them and the procession proper is a text written in twelve vertical columns describing the transport of the statue from the quarry, the difficulties encountered and overcome.⁹⁷⁰

Male and female offering bearers advance to meet the procession. The descriptive text accompanying these figures reads *shpt h:t-wdhw jnnjt zp:t.f jmjt Wnt n twt pn n h:tj- Dhwtj-htp nb jm:h*, "bringing the best of the offerings which his districts in the Hare Nome provide for this statue of the count *Dhwtj-htp*, possessor of reverence."

Newberry interpreted the depiction of a doorway (inscribed with the titles and name of the tomb owner) at the end of the wall as the entrance or gateway to the building or precinct where the statue was to be exhibited.⁹⁷¹ The hieroglyphs above the lintel, *mn mrw(t) Dhwtj-htp m Wnt*, may be interpreted as the name of the structure.⁹⁷²

The determinative for *twt* employed in the associated texts is a seated figure with base, i.e., the miniature representation of a statue. The attitude of the figure would appear to be the same as that of the colossal statue.⁹⁷³

969 The technical aspects of the transport have been discussed by H. Chevrier, *RdE* 22, 1970, 19-23. For the costume of these men and the texts accompanying them and their escort, see *El Bersheh* I, 20-22.

970 A translation with commentary is beyond the scope of this study.

971 Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, 25, wrote that "it was either the nomarch's palace or a country residence of his, or a chapel intended only to receive his ka-statues." The last named alternative seems the likeliest.

Newberry, *ibid.*, also suggested that the small figure of the tomb owner depicted in the doorway or opening of the gateway might be a statue representation. However, it is not drawn in profile, possesses no base, and the associated text does not describe it as a statue. In all likelihood, the figure should be understood as a relief depiction of the tomb owner.

972 Dr. Fischer suggests the name be read "The-Love-of-*Dhwtj-htp*-Abides-in-the-Hare-Nome."

973 Cf. the facsimile of the text, *LD* II, pl. 134a.

Representations of Statues in a Ritual Context

In the tomb of *Htjj*, a vignette depicting a statue in a ritual context is shown on the east wall of the main chamber.⁹⁷⁴ This is the only scene of its kind preserved from the Middle Kingdom. The tableau includes a compartmentalized offering list naming one hundred twelve items. The contiguity of the statue representation and the list implies that the offerings and the associated rituals are intended for the image's benefit.

Above, below, and beside the vignette with Cat. No. 171, scenes with wrestlers and warriors are illustrated. A relationship between these scenes and the statue representation is not apparent.

Cat. No. 171

The statue is slightly under life-size and is not drawn in profile. The figure holds a walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand. The statue is erected beneath an open baldachin; a statue base is present.

The figure wears a projecting-panel kilt. The coiffure is the close-cropped, natural hair.

Two men steady the baldachin. Positioned in front of it is a rack for a libation vase, flanked by two columnar offering stands. Two butchers are engaged in the slaughter of a bull whose foreleg is evidently intended for the statue. Beyond the butchers, baskets and jars containing offerings are arrayed in three sub-registers.

Representations of Statues in Other Contexts

The tomb of *Z:-rnpwt* I at Elephantine contains the unusual depiction of statuary in an architectural context. The tomb owner served as nomarch during the reign of Sesostri I.⁹⁷⁵ The scene in question was executed in paint on plaster on the south wall of the tomb's first rock-cut chamber.⁹⁷⁶ What is apparently to be considered a depiction of the tomb

974 *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XV.

975 According to the biographical inscription, *Urk.* VII, 2.

976 Cf. *PM* V, 239(13), without, however, mention of the statue(s). See H.W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, *ÄF* 9, Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York 1940, 42 and fig. 15b.

Müller, *op.cit.*, 38-39, tentatively interpreted another painting in the same room to show the transport by ship of statues depicting the tomb owner and his wife. The figures stood in a papyrus boat that was towed by another vessel. The entire scene, and the purported statues in particular, are severely damaged. The identification of the figures as statues, "die von einer der südlichen Granitinseln, wo sie hergestellt wurden, zum Grabe geleitet werden," is not

includes the fragmentary representation of a single statue, presumably depicting the tomb owner, against a papyriiform column. Müller proposed that a facing statue may have once been shown on the severely damaged surface in front of a second column. A New Kingdom relief in the Petrie Collection with an analogous scene may be cited in support of Müller's suggestion: two statues erected in front of papyriiform columns face each other across a courtyard.⁹⁷⁷

Cat. No. 172

The figure depicts an approximately life-size striding statue, not drawn in profile. The shoulders and head as well as the near arm of the statue are not preserved. The far arm with open hand (restored) is held at the side of the figure. A statue base, slightly taller than the column base behind it, is present.

The figure wears a projecting-panel kilt.

Between the two columns, two squatting women are shown. Their distinctive gestures characterize them as singers. Müller considers the scene to be a continuation of the fragmentary paintings on the east wall; together they depict, according to his interpretation, a visit to the tomb by women accompanied by offering bearers and butchers.

obligatory. Alternatively, I would suggest that the "journey to Abydos," a popular motif first documented in tomb decoration at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom - see note 993 - is the subject of the painting.

977 UC 408; see H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I: The New Kingdom*, Warminster 1976, 55 and pl. 53.

EPILOGUE

Two-dimensional representations of statues in ancient Egypt are documented beginning in Dynasty I down to the end of pharaonic times.⁹⁷⁸ During these three millennia, statues of kings, private persons, animals and gods were depicted. A cylinder seal impression dating to the reign of Den bears the first securely dated example; the representation depicts the king.⁹⁷⁹ The earliest representation of a statue in relief or painting comes from a private tomb of Dynasty III; in all likelihood, it depicts the tomb owner *Hzzj-R*.⁹⁸⁰ A statue of a lion in the Dynasty VI tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el Gebrawi is the earliest animal sculpture illustrated.⁹⁸¹ The first indisputable representation of a statue depicting an anthropomorphic deity does not occur until the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁸²


978 Statues depicting the king continued to be represented on temple walls even through the era of Roman domination: see, e.g., the schematic overview, *Dendara* IV, pl. CCLXXXIII. The latest examples of representations of private statuary date to the beginning of Dynasty XXVI and occur in TT 34, the tomb of *Mntw-m-ht* (scene of statue transport: H.W. Müller, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, XXVI, 1975, 23 with figs. 11 and 13) and in TT 36, the tomb of *Jbj* (scene of statue manufacture: *Deir el Gebrawi* I, pls. XXIV-XXV; scene of statue transport: Müller, *op.cit.*, 36 note 44). It may be noted in passing that the idea of depicting a statue in a statue was not unfamiliar to the ancient Egyptians. I do not refer here to copies of statues in miniature, serving as *ex votos*, but quite literally to the creation of a three-dimensional representation of a statue. The granite Horus-of-Nekhen dedicated by Amenhotep III at Soleb is an impressive example, see W.K. Simpson, *BMFA* LXIX, 1971, 152-164.

979 Petrie, *RT* II, pls. VII:5-6; see Chapter 5, § 105.

980 Quibell, *Hesy*, pl. XVI = Cat. No. 149; cf. note 910.

981 *Deir el Gebrawi* I, pl. XIV.

982 Statues of Amun(-Re, *Ki-mwt.f*) in the decoration of Sesostris I's barque chapel at Karnak, Lacau - Chevrier, *Sésostri Ier* II, pl. 18. Contemporaneous representations of statues depicting anthropomorphic deities in a private tomb are found in TT 60, Davies - Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. XXI. For Bonnet's identification of the divinities see *RÄRG*, 452, and cf. Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 30. Statues of deities in animal form were depicted in relief and painting at least as early as Dynasty V: a statue of Horus-of-Nekhen(?) is shown being carried in procession in the reliefs from the sun temple of Neuserre (Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* III, Bl. 11:210). Kaplony, *Beitr. Inschriften*, 92, implies that a baboon upon a tall postument (e.g., in a relief from the Step Pyramid complex, Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 31a) is the representation of a statue. References to images of gods in animal form, among them a standard, occur as early as Dynasty I: see, e.g., Emery, *Hemaka*, pls. 17A, 18A.

Representations of statues of animals are rare in Egyptian art.⁹⁸³ Representations of statues of gods are not uncommon beginning in Dynasty XVIII, but their identification and analysis are often difficult, since it is not always possible to differentiate representations of the gods themselves from depictions of their statues. Indeed, it seems likely that in some specific instances, statues of the divinity were more commonly represented in relief and painting than the god himself. For example, an ithyphallic god is often depicted standing upon a base and therefore signified as a statue (cult image?) rather than the god per se.⁹⁸⁴ Similarly, Ptah is regularly shown standing upon a podium⁹⁸⁵ and/or within an open shrine.⁹⁸⁶ Other divinities are sometimes depicted standing or enthroned upon the -shaped pedestal (Gardiner Sign-list Aa 11).⁹⁸⁷ Because the precise significance of this element remains unclear,⁹⁸⁸ it is not possible to determine with certainty if figures depicted standing or enthroned upon it represent statues or not. Furthermore, even coloring alone may have been sufficient to signal depictions of divine figures as representations of cult images.⁹⁸⁹ As this summary review illustrates, representations of statues depicting gods are often problematic in their interpretation, necessitating analysis separate from depictions of royal and private statuary.

The only certain representation of a royal statue preserved in Old Kingdom relief and painting derives from the funerary temple of Sahure at Abusir.⁹⁹⁰ Just as there are no representations of the king himself in Old Kingdom private tombs,⁹⁹¹ no royal statues are depicted in private relief and painting.

By contrast, there are during the Old Kingdom about one hundred sixty depictions of seated and standing statues of private persons, shown in a variety of contexts and distributed in more than forty tombs. Slightly less than one half of the statues represented are shown being transported to the tomb. In scenes showing artisans at work, the manufacture of

983 This statement does not include theriomorphic deities. From the New Kingdom onward, representations of statues of gods in animal form are common, especially on stelae dedicated at the sanctuaries of such gods, e.g., at the Serapeum and at the Harmachis Temple, Giza.

984 E.g., Amun-Re: Lacau - Chevrier, *Sésostriis Ier II*, pl. 17.

985 Earliest known example: PD V, fig. 28.

986 Earliest known example: *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. III.

987 E.g., Osiris in particular: Calverley - Gardiner, *Abydos I*, passim, where the context implies that a statue is indeed depicted.

988 See, e.g., W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 97, 1971, 143-146.

989 Suggested by Williams, *Per-Neb*, 47-48, in the case of the Anubis jackal hieroglyph.

990 Borchardt, *Sahure II*, pl. 38 (lower right); see Chapter 5, § 111.

991 Already noted by Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 1-2. Dr. Fischer notes the earliest representation of the king in a private tomb occurs in TT 311 (reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep), see Hayes, *Scepter I*, 163-164.

statues is often depicted; these scenes account for approximately one third of the total number of statues represented. About a dozen statues are shown as the object of the ministrations of the funerary priest. Representations of statues in series are depicted on the *serdab* walls of three tombs where they quite clearly are intended to augment the number of actual statues included in the tomb owner's funerary equipment. The range of possible contexts is expanded even further by instances of statuettes inside shrines borne in the funerary procession; of statues that have arrived at the tomb but have not yet been set up in their final positions; and of statues displayed among other pieces of funerary furniture.

During the Middle Kingdom, when representations of statuary are comparatively infrequent, royal examples continue to be lacking in private tombs, and from royal monuments there is only one preserved: a statuette depicted in the reliefs of the so-called Labyrinth at Hawara.⁹⁹² From six Middle Kingdom private tombs, fifteen representations of statues depicting the owner are known.⁹⁹³ The manufacture of a statue is included in seven vignettes showing craftsmen at work. The transport of six statues is illustrated, and a now-fragmentary scene apparently once included the representation of at least one statue in an architectural setting. A single Middle Kingdom representation depicts a statue as the object of an offering ritual.

Subsequent to the Middle Kingdom, there is a shift in emphasis from private to royal. Sources documenting the representation of private statuary after the Second Intermediate Period are primarily restricted to private tombs of Dynasty XVIII.⁹⁹⁴ Scenes of the funeral procession may include the transport of statues of the tomb owner⁹⁹⁵ and, rarely,

992 Gerzeh and Mazghuneh, pl. XXIX, upper right-hand corner.

993 See the Appendix, Cat. Nos. 158-172.

In connection with an interpretation of certain Pyramid Text spells as making reference to a statue ritual, H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄA 24, Wiesbaden 1972, 193-196, describes the figure of the tomb owner, usually accompanied by that of his wife, in the scenes of the journey to Abydos as a statue. Altenmüller, *op.cit.*, 196, simply states that "beide Gestalten [husband and wife] sind als Statuen charakterisiert." Because these figures are not described in the accompanying inscriptions as statues, nor do they possess bases, I prefer to follow the traditional view that they depict the deceased and not his statue.

994 The index of PM I refers to representations of private statuary in twelve post-Dynasty XVIII tombs - TT 23, 35, 41, 112 (usurped), 127 (usurped), 157, 163, 178, 233, 257 (usurped), 263, and 335 - but only in two cases are the scenes in question published: TT 41 in Wresz., Atlas I, pl. 166, and TT 335, *Deir el Médineh (1924-1925)*, figs. 90-91. (The scenes of statue transport in TT 34 and 36, see note 978, above, are not mentioned in PM I.)

995 The scene of statue transport from the tomb of Mjj (Maya), now in East Berlin, No. 2088/89, is a noteworthy vignette of this type - see E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, figs. 6a-b and pl. 58. The procession

of his wife.⁹⁹⁶ Private statues may also be depicted in an identical series to replace the mummy as the object of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.⁹⁹⁷ The representation of a private statue as the focal point of an offering ritual is uncommon.⁹⁹⁸ A relief fragment, presumably from a private tomb, bears the unusual depiction of two private statues in an architectural setting (see note 977, above). From the entire New Kingdom there would seem to be no workshop scene depicting the manufacture of a private statue.⁹⁹⁹

By far the majority of statues shown on the walls of New Kingdom private tombs depict the king, in such contexts as tableaux illustrating the products of the temple workshop¹⁰⁰⁰ and religious processions.¹⁰⁰¹ Royal statues in the course of manufacture are also shown.¹⁰⁰² Once a royal statue is depicted to replace the king himself in the ceremony of

includes an over life-size naophorus statue (originally perhaps two, cf. Graefe, *op.cit.*, 200) as well as one standing and one seated statue of the tomb owner. For an actual statue of the naophorus type that also formed part of the funerary equipment of its owner, see Hayes, *Scepter II*, 349-350 and fig. 219.

The list given in the index of *PM I*, 472 under item 31(h), "statues carried or dragged" in the funeral procession, is somewhat misleading as so-called royal statuettes and other "statuettes of the deceased" are included. The former, exemplified by Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. LXXXIX, are to be associated with the statues of divinities included in the funerary equipment like those depicted in TT 60 (see note 982, above). The latter are sometimes clearly shawabtys, as, e.g., in TT 69 and TT 96, both unpublished.

996 E.g., in TT 92; cf. *PM I*, 189(14), and see the description in *JARCE XIII*, 1976, 22.

997 See, in particular, TT 100: Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pls. XCVII-CII, CIV-CVII.

998 E.g., from the tomb of *Jpw.j* at Saqqara, Quibell - Hayter, *Teti Pyramid*, pl. 10.

The index of *PM I*, 471 item 31(d) lists twenty tombs that supposedly contain scenes depicting rites before statues. Eight are unpublished, while several of the remaining scenes do not show a statue as the object of the ritual but the tomb owner himself: e.g., TT 40(9) and TT 90(7), both correctly described by *PM I*, 77 and 184, respectively. Similarly, scenes depicting purification rites, such as TT 42(14), 55(9) and 56(4) may well show the tomb owner himself, standing on a "purification pedestal" (see A.M. Blackman, *JEA* 5, 1918, fig. on p. 121) rather than his statue.

999 So Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 56, who notes two possible exceptions.

1000 E.g., TT 92(7)-(8); Wresz., *Atlas I*, pl. 29A.

1001 Statues of Amenhotep I (and Ahmose-Nofretari): e.g., TT 19(3) = Wresz., *Atlas I*, pls. 118, 119; statues of Thutmose I: TT 51(5) = Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XVI; statue of Amenhotep III (and Teye): TT 277(2)-(3) = J. Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournet-Mourrai*, MIFAO LXXXVII, Cairo 1954, pl. X; etc.

1002 Stone statues: TT 100(14) = Davies, *Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. LX; wooden statue: TT 100(14) = *ibid.*, pl. LV; metal statues: e.g., TT 181(6) = Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. 13.

awarding the gold of honor.¹⁰⁰³ Royal statues are also included in depictions of architecture to define a specific locale.¹⁰⁰⁴

Statues of the king continued to be represented on the walls of the royal funerary monument during the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁰⁵ The relief decoration of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple may have included a statue shown in an unusual context, viz., an image of the queen erected in Punt.¹⁰⁰⁶

Beginning in Dynasty XVIII, there are representations preserved of royal statuary in the relief decoration of major sanctuaries of the gods. A broad range of non-funerary contexts is documented. The statue of the king may function in lieu of the monarch himself.¹⁰⁰⁷ The king may proffer his own image to secure the god's good will,¹⁰⁰⁸ or he may dedicate a group of statues to the deity for the same purpose.¹⁰⁰⁹

1003 A standard-bearing statue of Ramses VI in the tomb of *Pt-n-nwt* at Aniba: A. Hermann, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, fig. 15.

1004 TT 75(6) = Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 14.

The royal statues in temple precincts at Amarna could be included in representations of such structures in private tombs - e.g., Davies, *Amarna* III, pl. XI. (R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, 162-163, would interpret some of these figures as representing reliefs, rather than statues.)

1005 See, e.g., the transport of a statue of Thutmosis II, from his funerary temple, *Deir el Médineh* (1926), pls. V-VIII.

1006 See W.S. Smith, *JARCE* I, 1962, 60 and the accompanying figure. For the statue type, see the suggestion of Priese, *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 219.

1007 Replacing the monarch in a court ceremony, *PM* II, 172(505), a statue of Ramses IX honors the High Priest of Amun *Jmn-ḥtp* - see W. Federn, *CdE* XXXIV, 1959, 214, and A. Hermann, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, 63. Replacing the king as priest in the service of the gods: e.g., *PM* II, 123(432), the representation of a statue depicting the king censuring in the reliefs of Thutmosis III's Festival Hall at Karnak, discussed and illustrated by H.G. Fischer, *University Museum Bulletin* 21:2, June 1957, 35-40, figs. 13, 16.

1008 E.g., Sety I presents silver statuettes, Karnak, Hypostyle Hall, *PM* II, 44(152 III) = H.H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I.1: The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, W.J. Murnane, ed., Chicago 1981, pls. 153-154.

1009 E.g., Amenhotep III, in Luxor Temple, *PM* II, 321(126) = R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le temple de l'homme, Apet du sud à Louqsor* II, Paris 1977, pl. XXXI.

A block belonging to a structure erected by Thutmosis IV at Karnak and recovered from the third pylon may belong to a similar scene (see *BIFAO* 70, 1971, pl. LXIX). Two of the four statues shown are of particular interest. One of them depicts Thutmosis IV wearing a leopard skin, a garment not often documented in actual royal statues. A second figure depicts the king in falcon form - see the remarks of A. Radwan, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, 104.

For the same context in a royal funerary temple, see, e.g., *Deir el Bahari* VI, pl. CLXII. A relief fragment in East Berlin, No. 14651, with representations of three statues (one identified by an accompanying inscription as Hatshepsut's mother) probably belongs to a similar scene - see J. Lipinska, *Fs Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 170-171.

A series of detailed representations of dyads depicting Ramses II with various gods¹⁰¹⁰ may derive from a similar type of scene in a temple at Saqqara.¹⁰¹¹ The king might commemorate his royal ancestors by depicting statues of them on temple walls.¹⁰¹² Royal statues could be shown borne in processions at festivals of the gods¹⁰¹³; they were also incorporated into depictions of architecture.¹⁰¹⁴

The great number and variety of representations of royal statuary in the New Kingdom and subsequently merit separate, in depth treatment. A comprehensive monograph on the subject would include not only the royal statues depicted in the contexts briefly reviewed here, but also those represented on stelae¹⁰¹⁵ and in graffiti¹⁰¹⁶ as well.

This study has been devoted to a consideration of representations of private statuary to the end of the Old Kingdom. A primary, initial objective was to supplement existing knowledge of the known repertory of actual statues with the help of the representations, presuming that each depiction of a statue made reference to an actual statue that once existed. Very early on it became clear that this basic assumption was naive. The depictions of the "living" tomb owner in relief and painting were found to have influenced the representations of statues to an unanticipated degree - see Chapter 1, pp. 3-5.

In Chapter 2, it could be demonstrated that unusual attitudes and accessories peculiar to the representations are often attributable to the direct influence of two-dimensional depictions of the "living" tomb

1010 Cf. L. Habachi, *ZÄS* 97, 1971, 70-71, figs. 4-5 and pl. VII.

1011 Suggested by F. Gomaâ, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, ÄA 27, Wiesbaden 1973, 53, as an alternative to Habachi's assignment of the fragments to the tomb of *H'j-m-w:st*.

1012 According to an interpretation of Thutmosis III's kinglist from Karnak, suggested by D. Wildung et al., *GM* 9, 1974, 41-48.

1013 E.g., in connection with the Min festival, depicted in the Ramesseum, *LD* III, pl. 163.

1014 In the reliefs of Luxor Temple, the great pylon was twice depicted fronted by statues of Ramses II, see A. el-Razik, *MDAIK* 22, 1967, 69-70, pls. 27a-b.

At Amarna, depiction of architecture complete with statuary was not limited to private tombs (see note 1004, above); several relief fragments with depictions of statues in an architectural setting probably derive from sacral buildings - e.g., a block reused at Abydos, see J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 39, 1970, 337 with fig. 39, and MFA 63.961, see C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York 1973, 155.

1015 To this group belong, e.g., those stelae with the representations of a royal statue between the paws of the great sphinx (see Hassan, *Giza VIII*, figs. 62, 67, 68, etc.) and the so-called Horbeit stelae with depictions of statues of the deified Ramses II (see L. Habachi, *ASAE* LII, 1954, 527-544).

1016 The most famous example of this genre is the depiction of the statue of Amenhotep III "Ruler of Rulers" included in the so-called Men graffito at Aswan, see L. Habachi, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, 85-88, fig. 11.

owner on the representation of his statues - see § 2, § 3, § 12, § 14, etc. In some cases, unique iconographic elements were shown to relate neither to actual statuary nor to depictions of the "living" tomb owner; rather, their source is to be sought in contemporaneous royal or divine iconography, appropriated by private persons, see § 15 and § 31. It was proposed in § 32 - § 34 that unexpected combinations of kilt and coiffure are attributable to dissimilation and do not reflect lost statuary. In relatively few instances did it seem prudent to postulate that a particular statue representation might be taken as evidence for the existence of a statue type not comparable to the contemporaneous repertory of actual statues - see § 4, § 6, § 13, § 14, § 19, § 20, and § 39. And in the case of only five representations was it possible to suggest with conviction that the statues depicted in a specific tomb might accurately reflect actual statuary once included in the funerary equipment of the tomb owner - see § 4, § 6, § 14, § 19, and § 20.

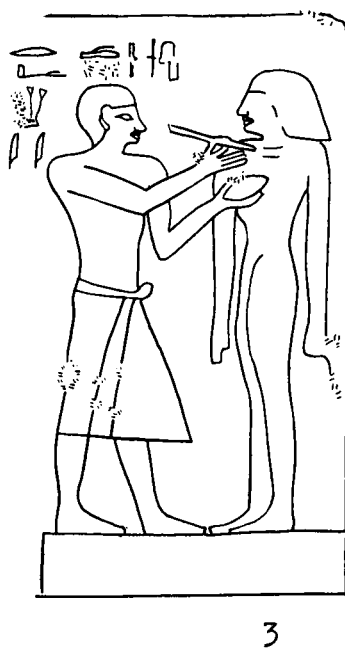
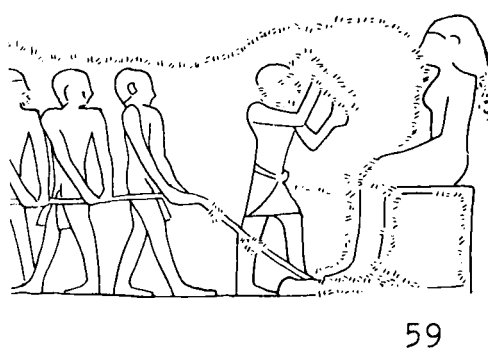
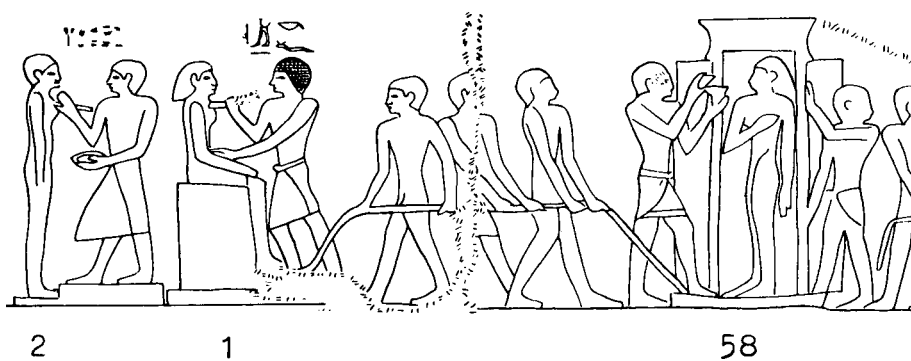
The investigation of the contexts of the representations, in Chapter 3, produced more positive results, especially with regard to the material of the statues depicted and their function during the Old Kingdom. In § 52 - § 65, it was argued that the majority of the representations depict wooden statues. Disparities between representations of statues in scenes of statue manufacture and of statues that are shown being transported were duly noted. Usually statues depicted in the workshop are approximately life-size, while scenes of statue transport may include figures of "colossal" proportions. But in neither case can the size of the statues be interpreted to reflect the scale of actual statuary. The size of the statues depicted in workshop scenes is the result of a convention determining the size of all the figures in a given register (see § 46). And the "colossal" statues in scenes of transport are "over life-size" simply because they are identified with the tomb owner who is almost invariably drawn on a larger scale than his retainers (see § 71). Statues shown in the process of manufacture rarely bear labels identifying the person they depict (see § 44) while statues being transported are regularly supplied with a label consisting of the name of the tomb owner and his title(s) (see § 79). The differences between depictions of statues in the workshop and the representations of statues dragged to the tomb are attributable to a change in the status of the image subsequent to its completion. In the scenes of transport, the statue is already capable of performing its function in the cult. The identification of the statue with the person it depicts - the tomb owner - is clearly expressed in the content of the transport tableaux (see § 74, § 80, and § 81) as well as in the inscriptions accompanying them (see § 75 and § 79). In certain specific circumstances, the statue might operate as an effective substitute for the mummy (see § 74, § 81, § 83, and § 84).

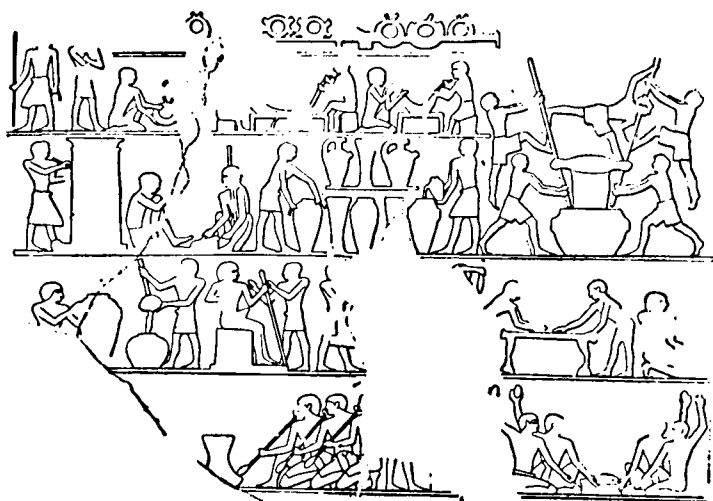
Its primary function, however, was to receive offerings, a fact deducible from the representations of statues in a ritual context (see § 88 - § 89).

In Chapter 4, the words employed during the Old Kingdom with the meaning "statue" - *twt* and *rpwt* - were discussed, together with their orthography and determinatives. The disparity between the type of statue represented and the determinative for *twt* in the associated text was remarked (see § 97). In § 103, it was suggested that *šzp* is not a generic term for statue but rather a word designating an image that is fully capable of functioning in the cult. An interpretation of *šzp r 'nh* to mean "a receiver in order to live" supports the contention of § 88 - § 89 that the primary function of the statue was to receive offerings. Brief mention was included, in § 104, of types of texts where reference is made to a statue without employing *twt*, *rpwt*, or *šzp*.

Chapter 5 was devoted to the identification, description, and analysis of representations of royal statuary prior to the end of the Old Kingdom. In § 105 - § 106, it could be shown that Dynasty I sculptors created types of statues that are documented only from much later times or not at all. Some representations of royal statuary dating to the Archaic Period (see § 107) furnish evidence for the establishment of a cult for royal statues separate from the royal funerary endowment, while the Palermo Stone and the decree Coptos G document the existence of royal statuary in metal beginning at least as early as the first reign of Dynasty III (see § 109 and § 114, respectively). They provide testimony for the practice of erecting royal statues in sanctuaries of the gods, statues which with rare exceptions have not survived.

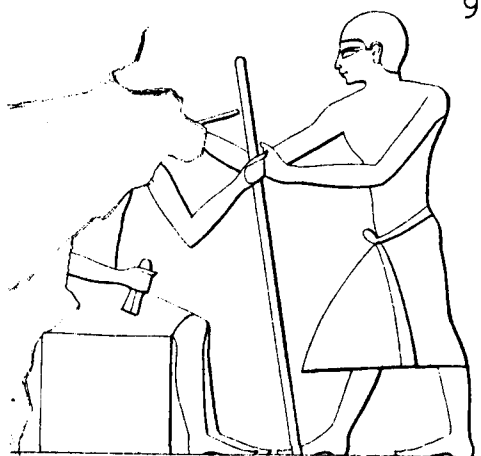
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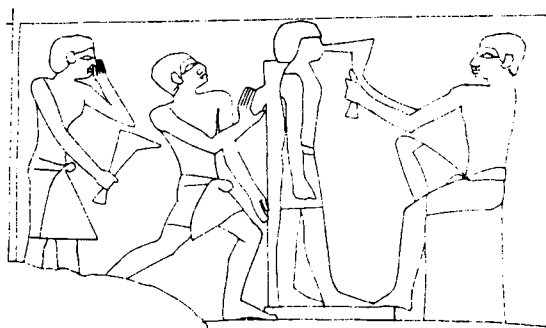


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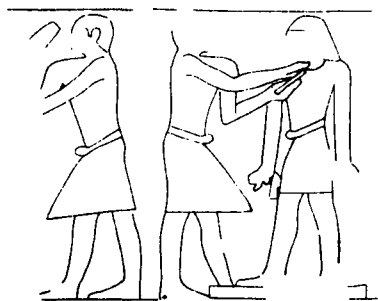
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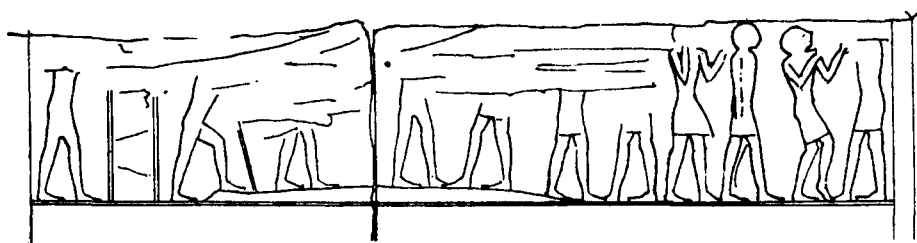
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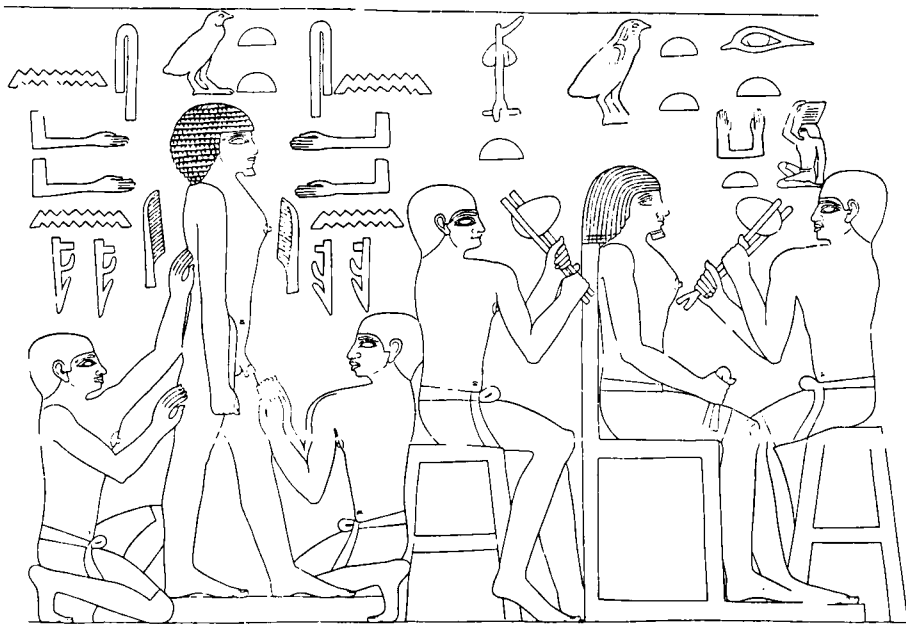


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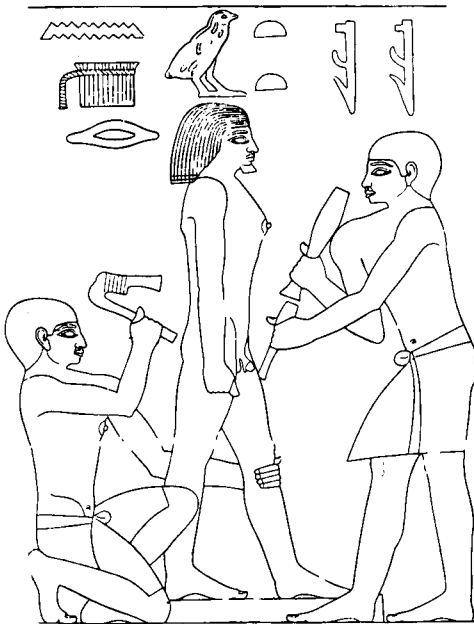


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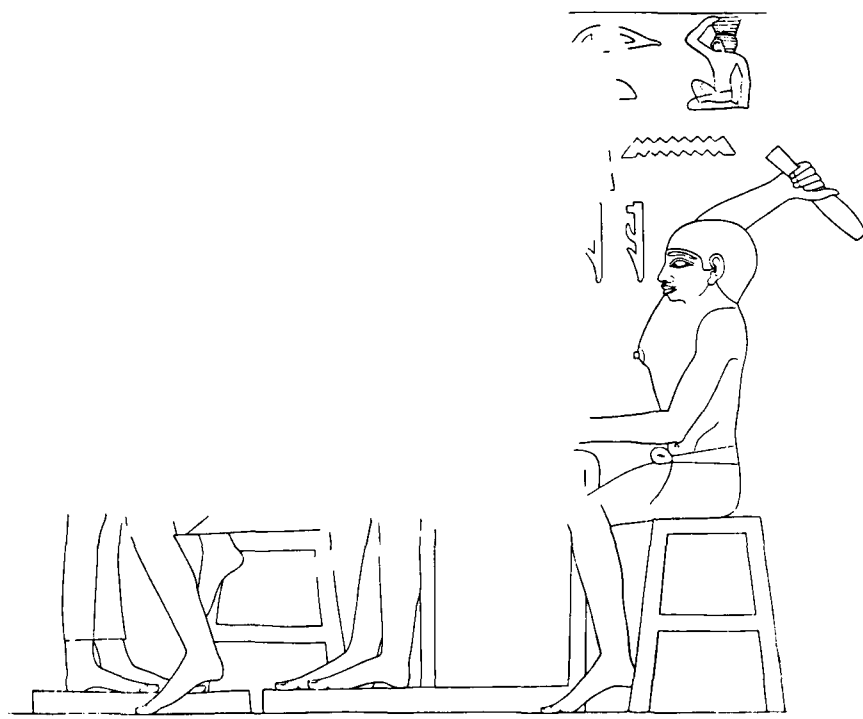


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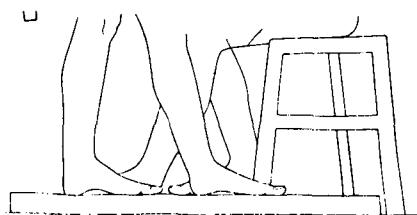


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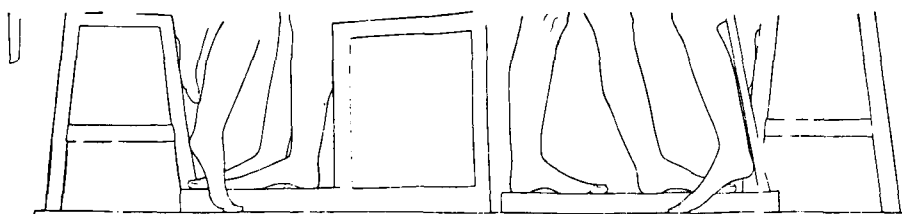


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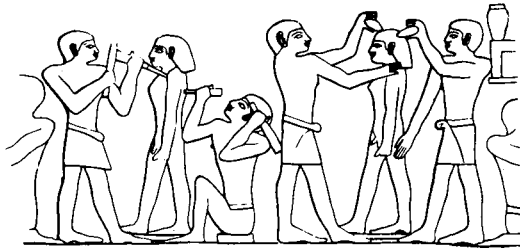


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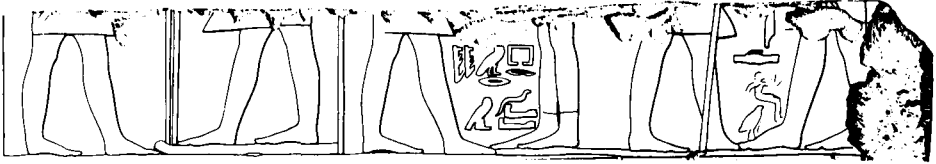
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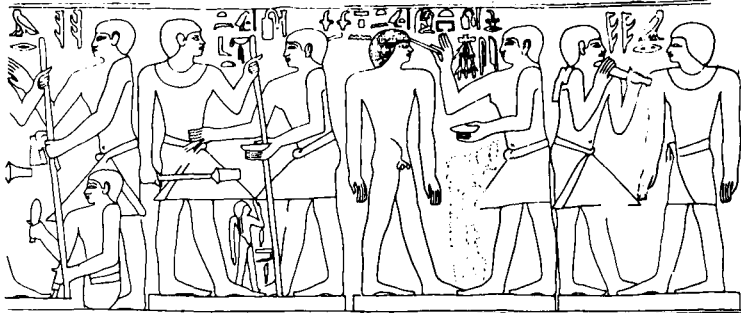
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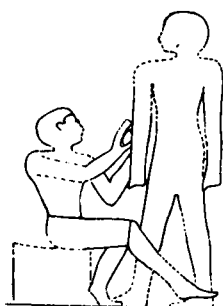


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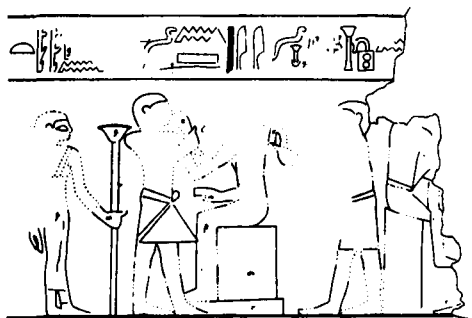
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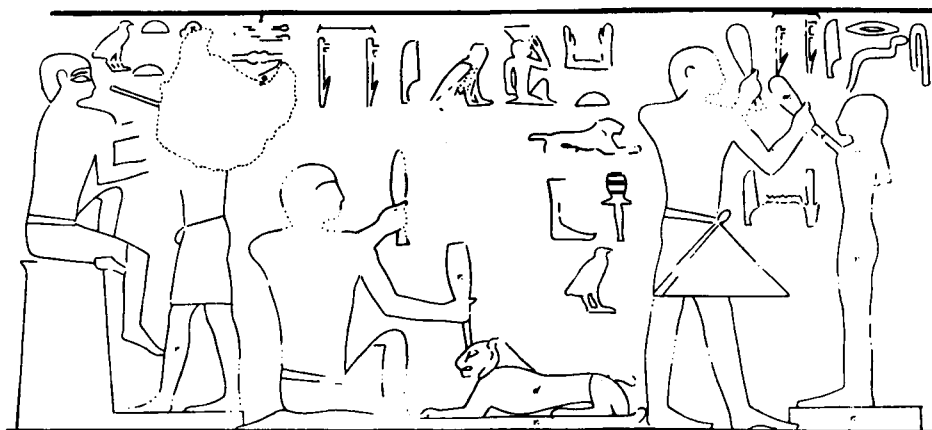
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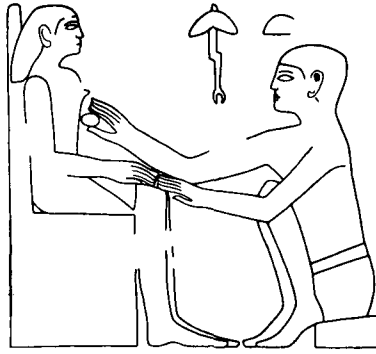


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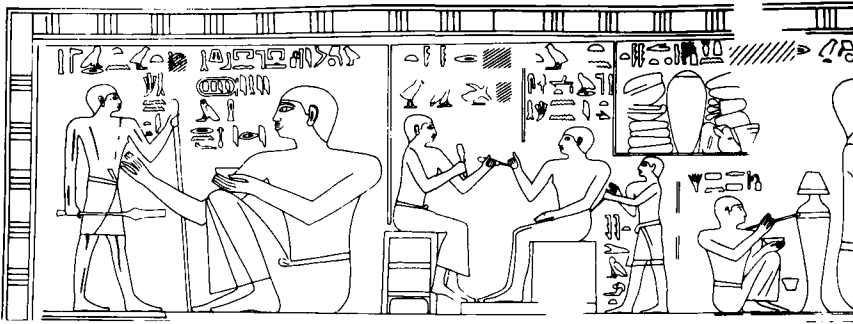


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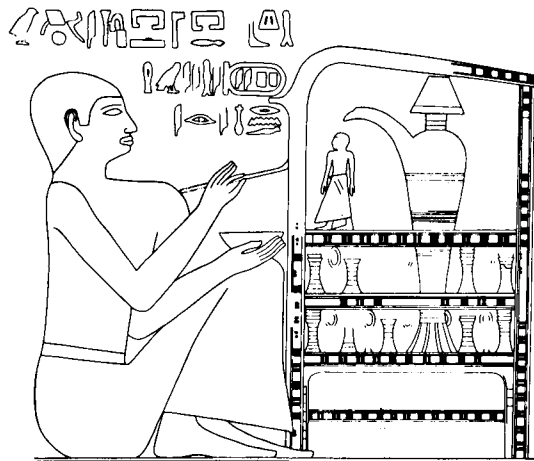


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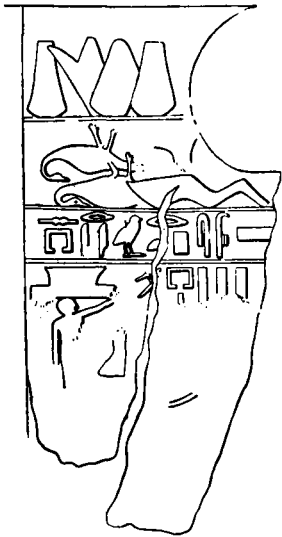


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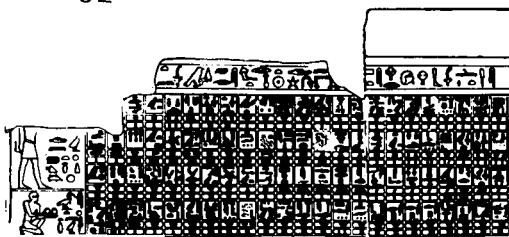


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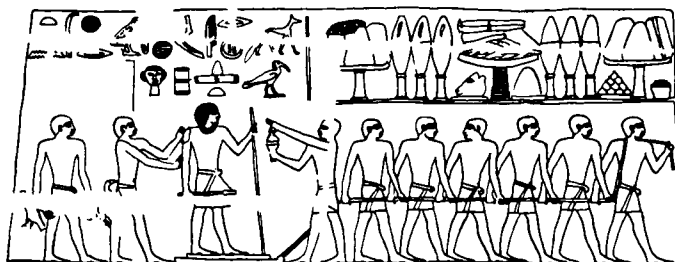
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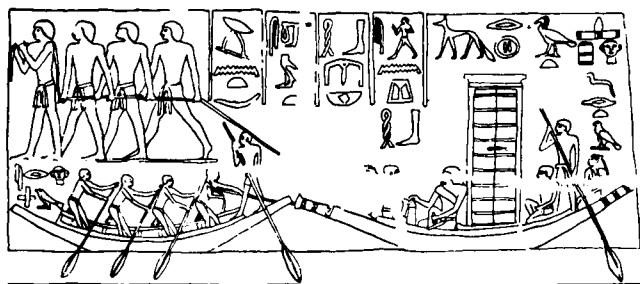




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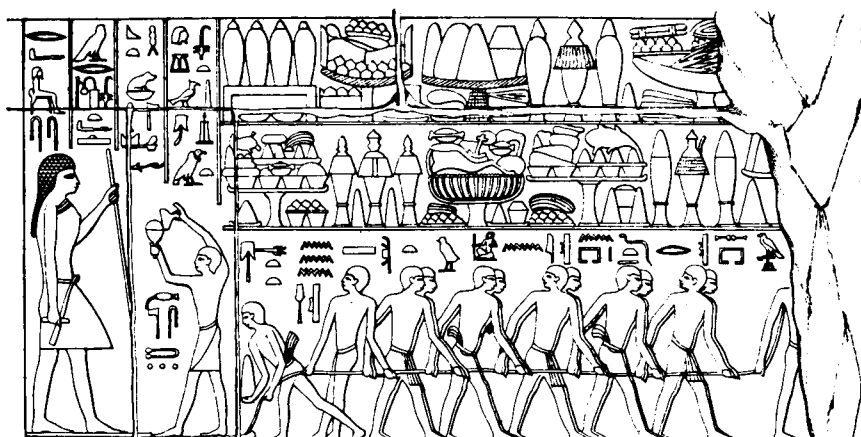


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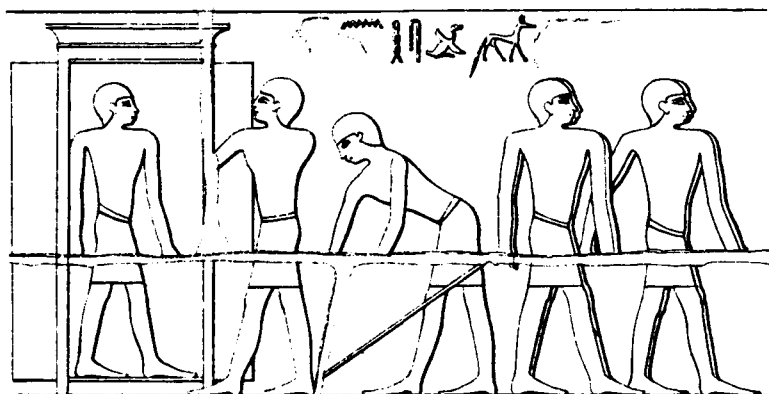
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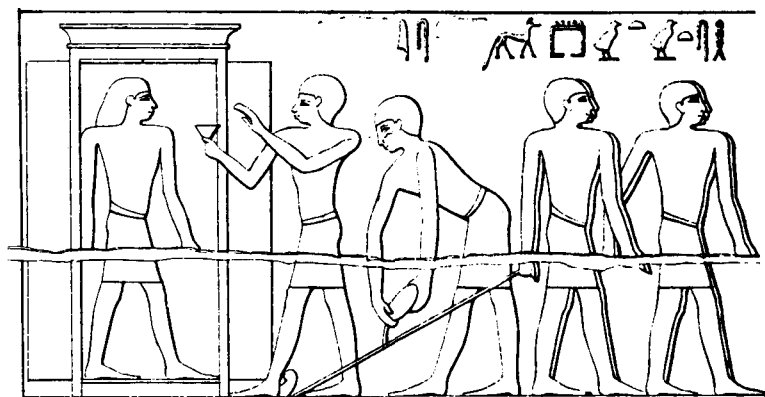


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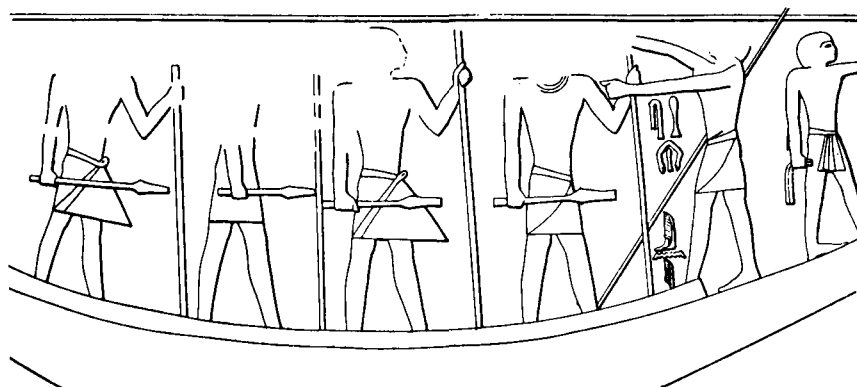
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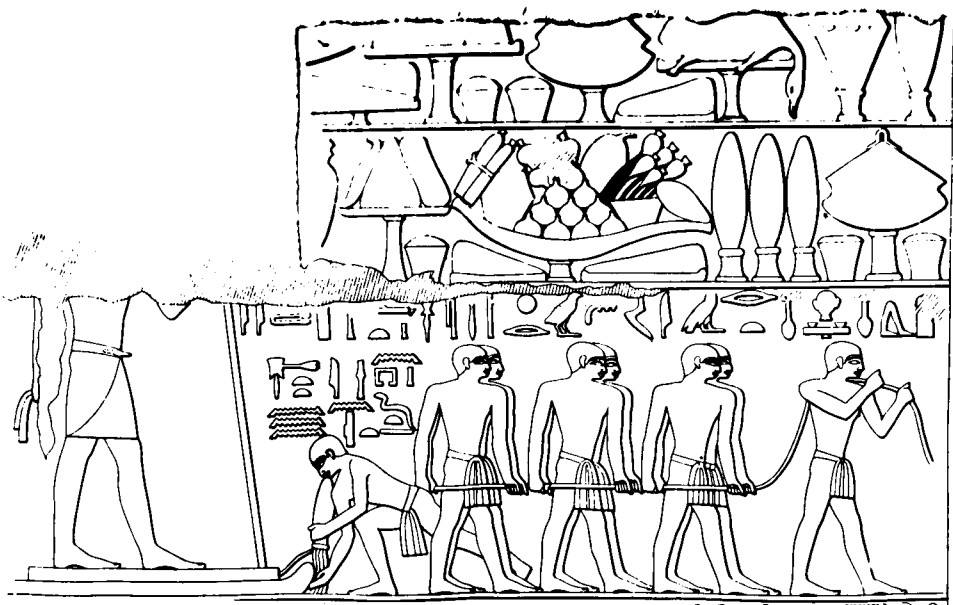


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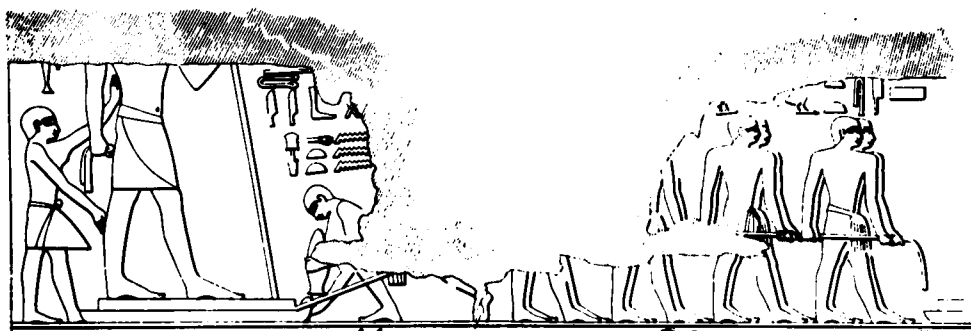
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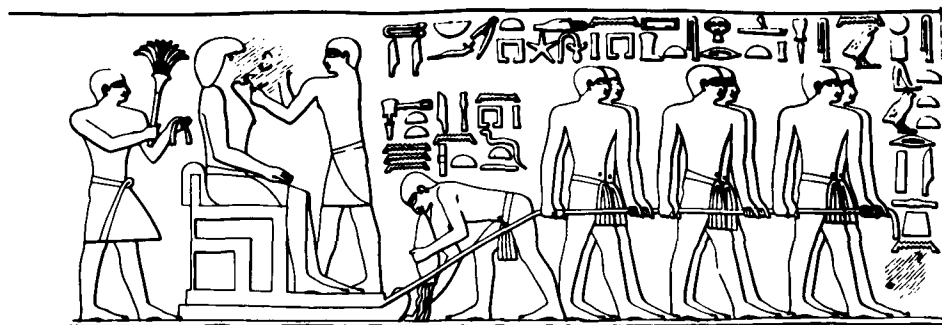
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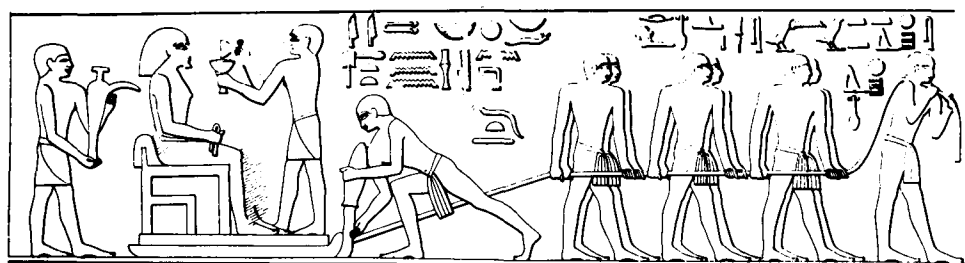
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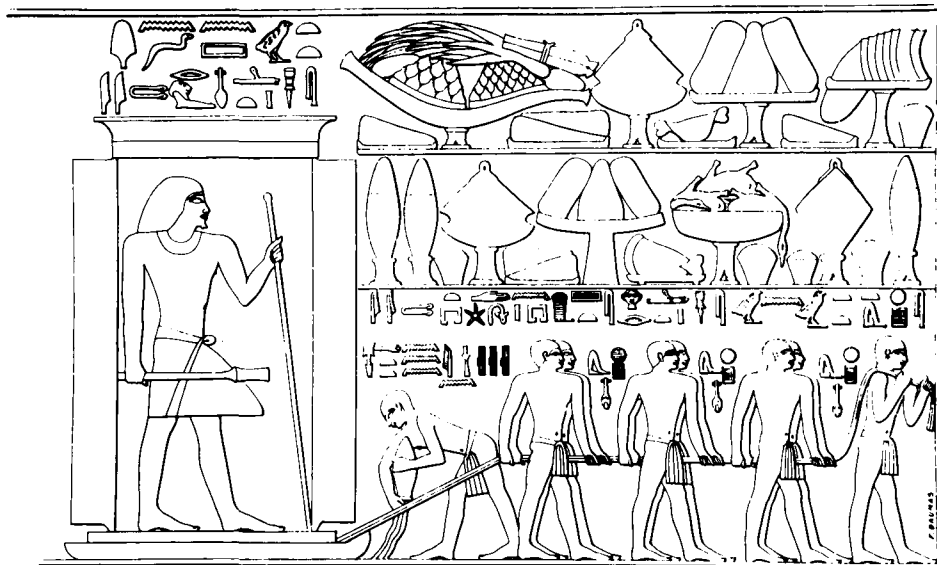
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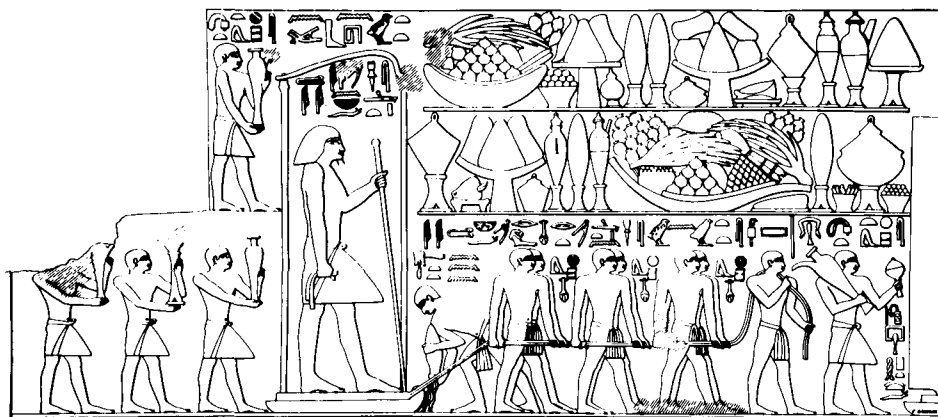
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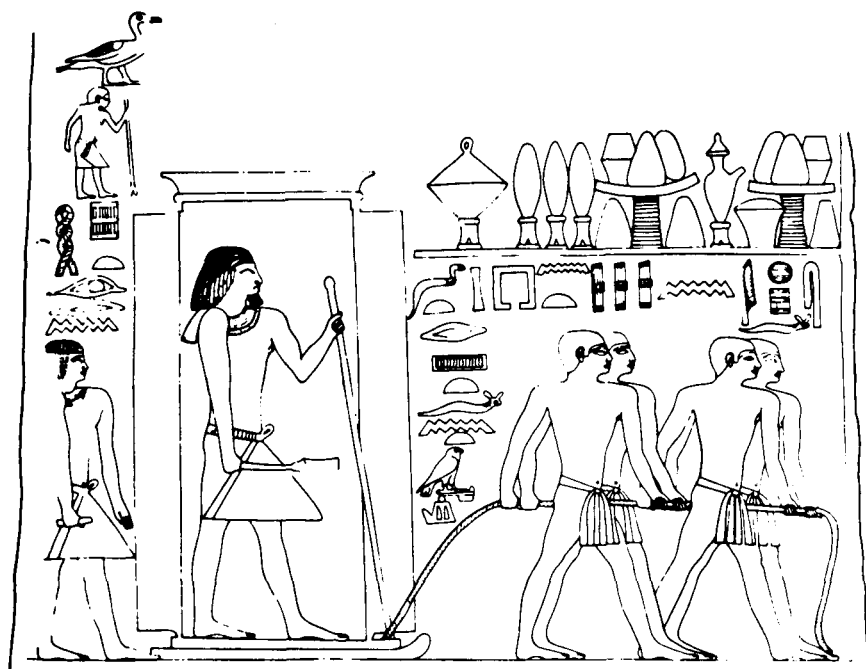
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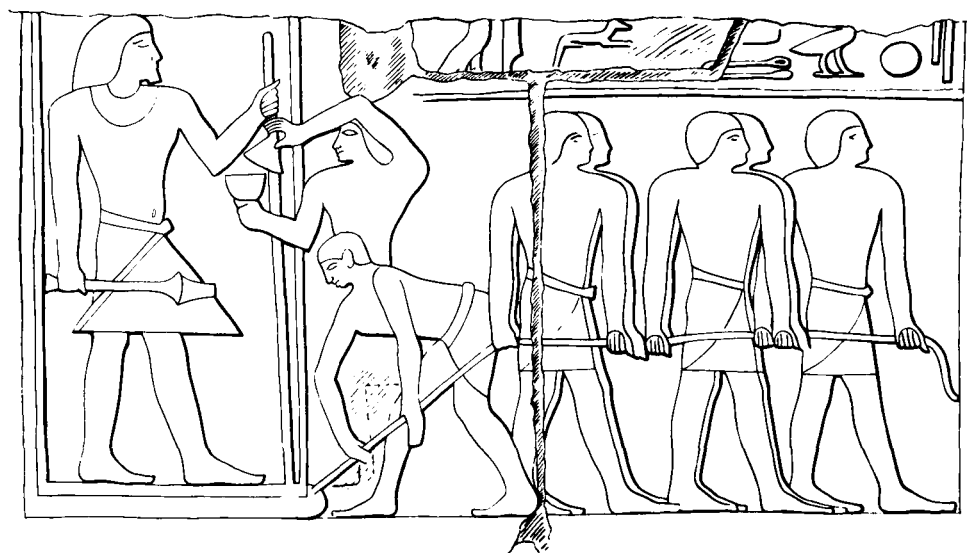
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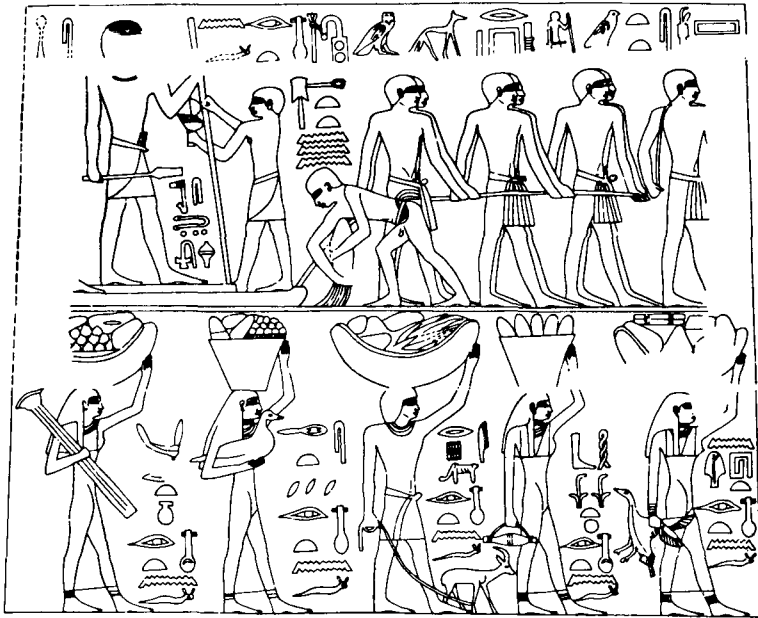


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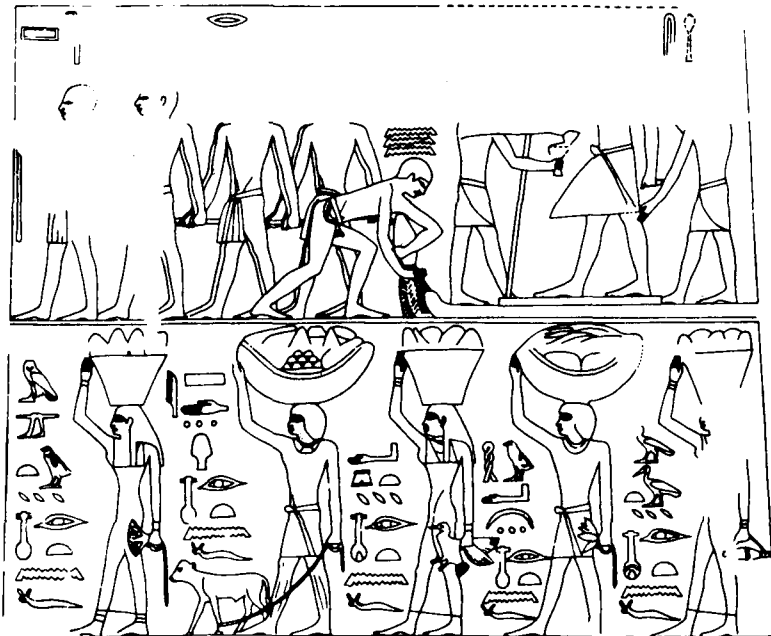


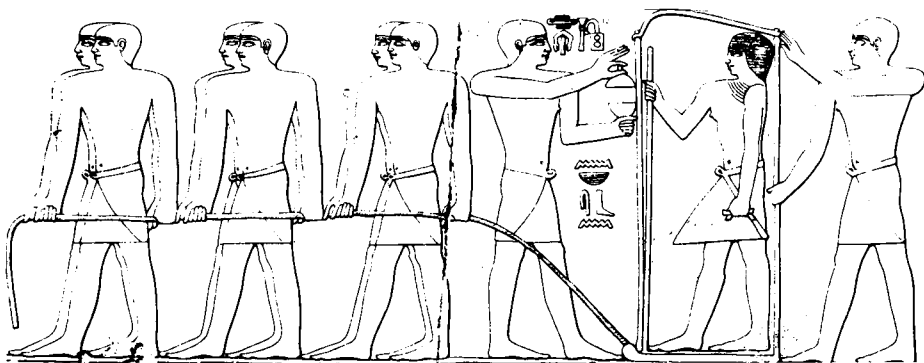
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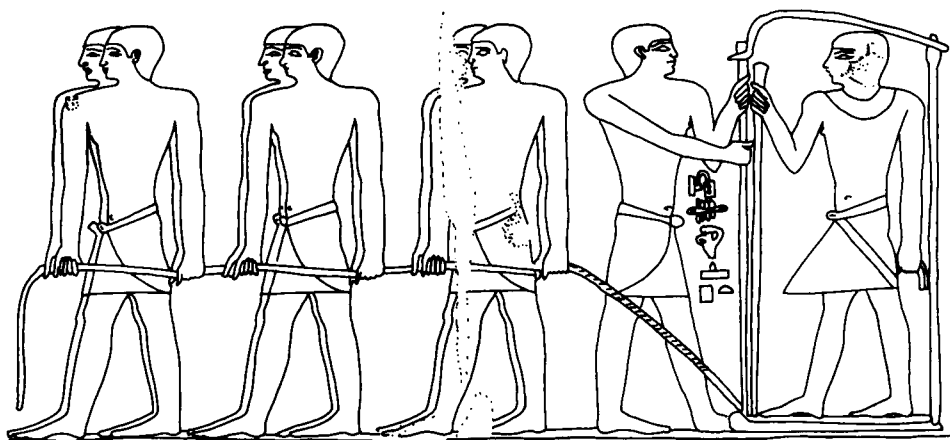


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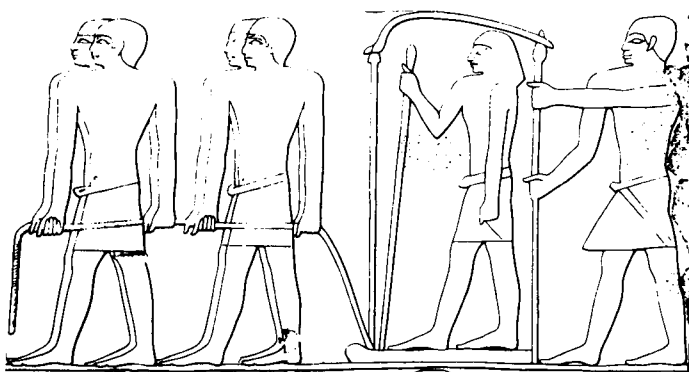




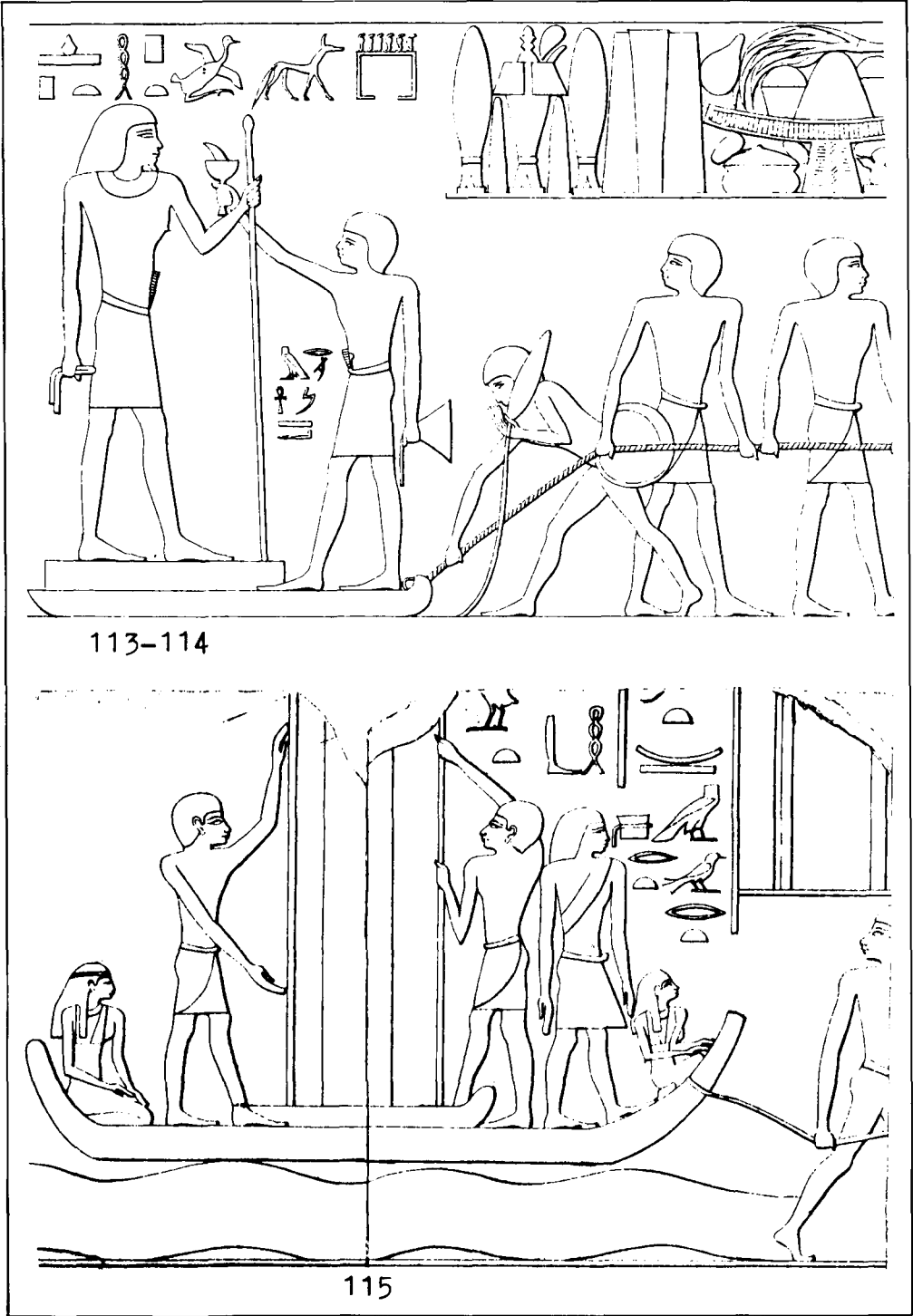
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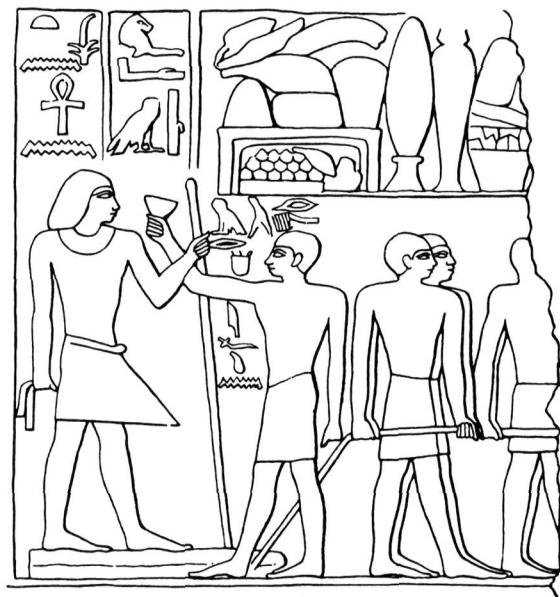


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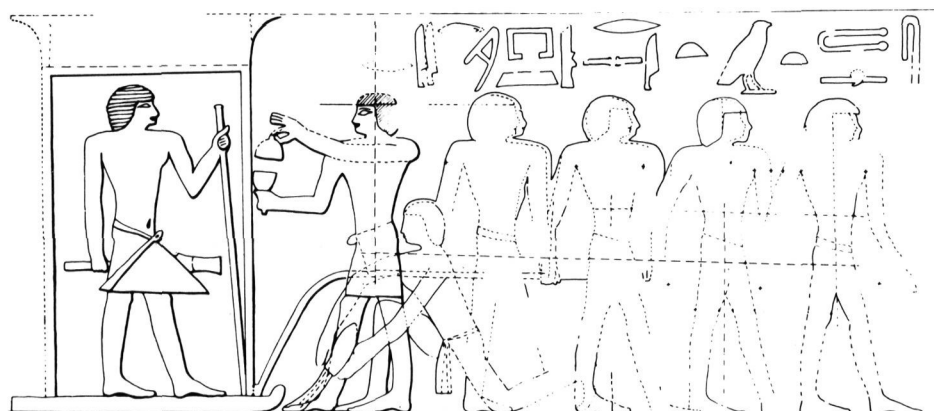


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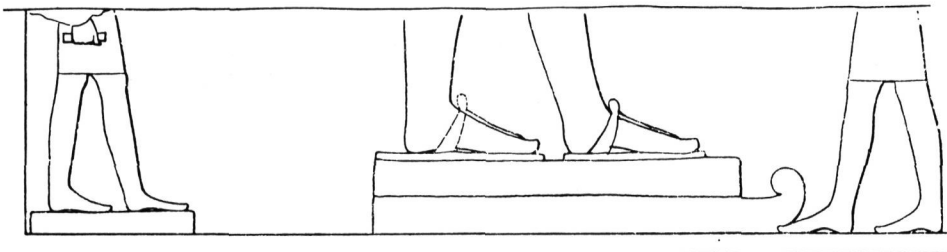
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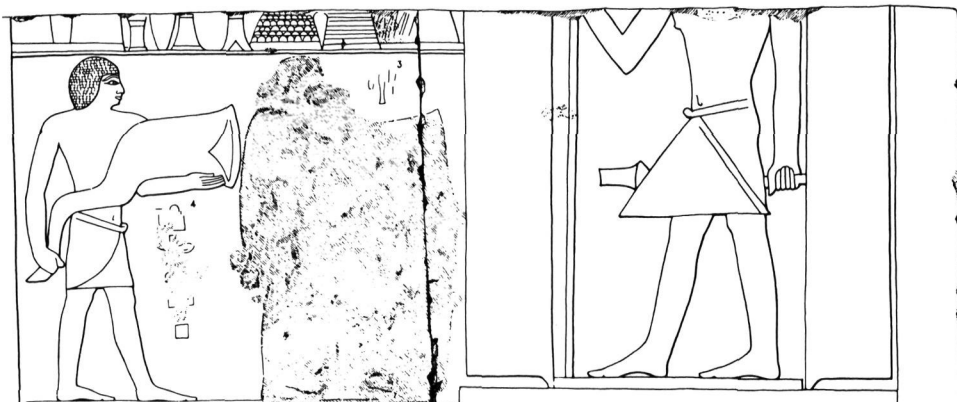


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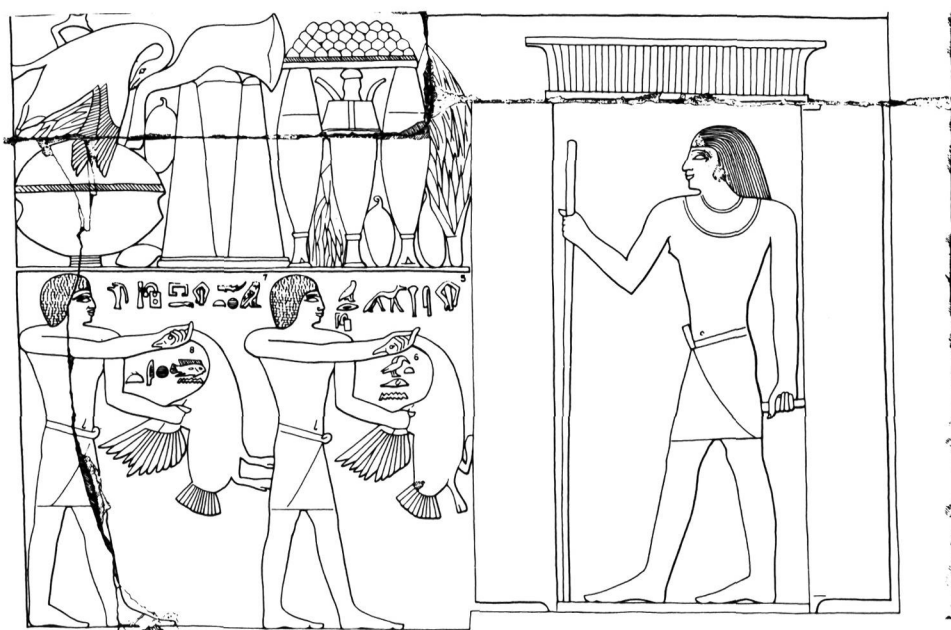


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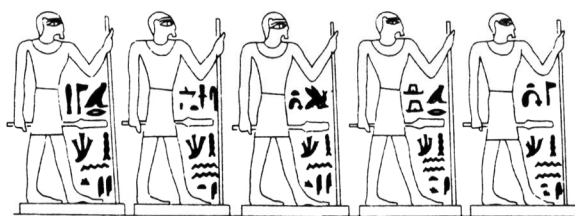
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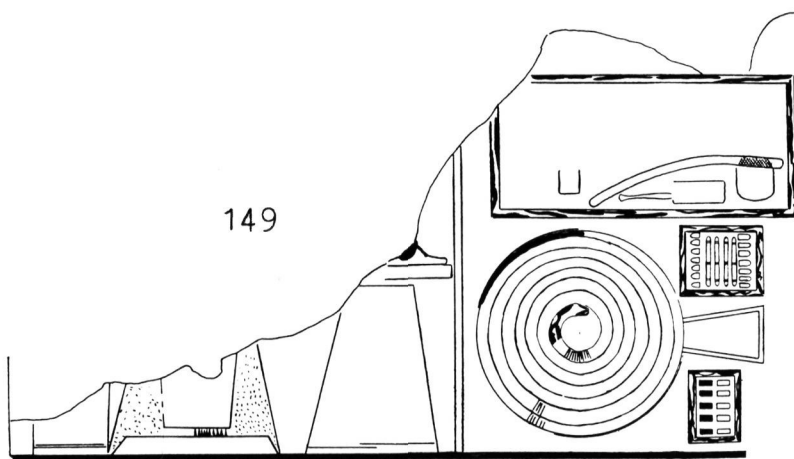
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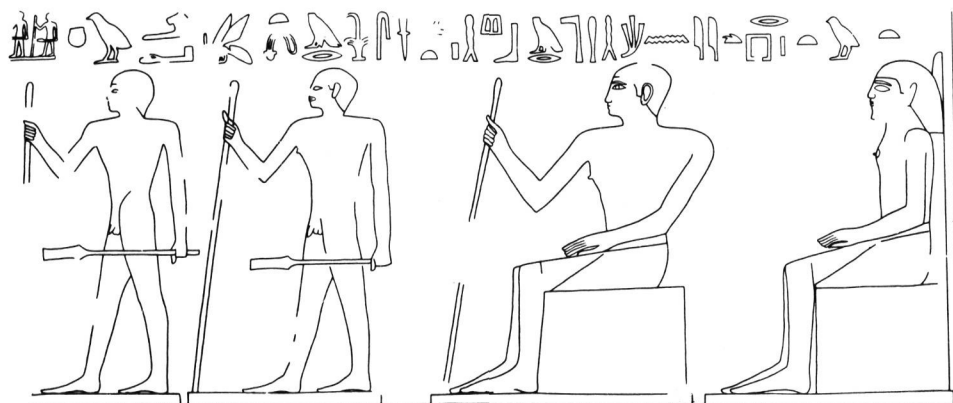


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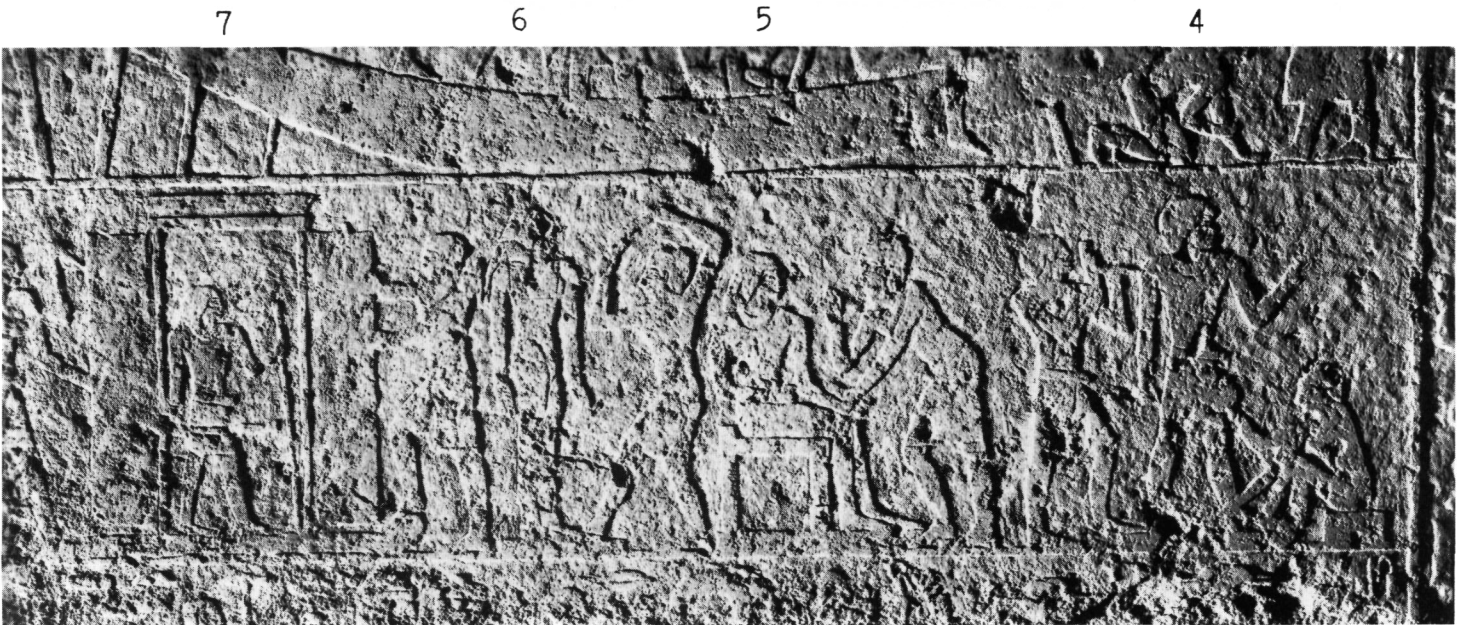


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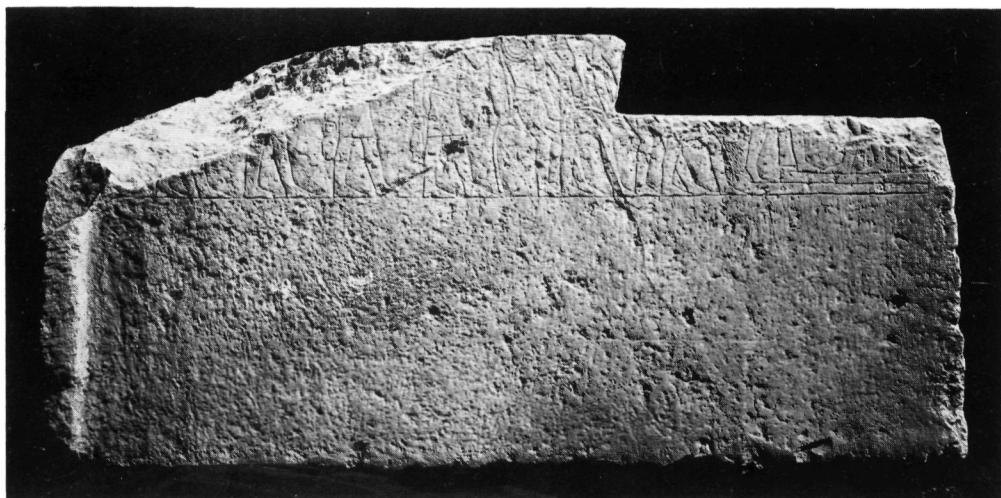




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