



The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities

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A SURVEY OF THE QUESTION




WHILE THE SURVIVAL and present condition of ancient Egyptian monuments is largely a matter of chance and has little to do with their form or the content of their inscriptions, they often prove to have been altered for very specific reasons. In order of chronological sequence there are, first of all, the strictly contemporaneous changes made by the artist himself or by his supervisors and fellow craftsmen, to revise a scene or composition.¹ In some cases—and most conspicuously in the case of inscriptions—these alterations are clearly corrections,² eliminating errors by the deletion,

insertion, or transposition of signs. All three possibilities are well illustrated by titularies. A Twelfth Dynasty stela shows a deletion in  “hereditary prince, count, treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion,” restoring the expected sequence of this honorific series by the elimination of a title that was introduced at the wrong point.³ Another inscription of somewhat earlier date, having omitted the second half of the last title of this series, has repaired the omission by superimposing the missing signs on the first half: .⁴ In a still earlier example, from the

1. See, for example, Wm. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 252; Dows Dunham, “A ‘Palimpsest’ on an Egyptian Mastaba Wall,” *AJA* 39 (1935) pp. 300–309; Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, fig. 59, p. 103 (cf. Wm. C. Hayes, “Egyptian Tomb Reliefs of the Old Kingdom,” *BMMA* 4 [1946] p. 174; the traces of the original scene are not visible in J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara [1907–08]* pl. 64); H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, p. 113, pl. 13. Some examples reflect a transition from earlier to later style: E. Brunner-Traut, “Zur Tübinger Mastaba Seschemnofers III,” *MDIK* 15 (1957) pp. 18–32; H. G. Fischer, “Relief Fragments from Deir el Bahri,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, no. 2 (Oct., 1958) pp. 32–35.

2. An interesting survey of textual corrections in the funerary spells of a Twelfth Dynasty burial chamber is presented by Wm. C. Hayes, *Texts in the Mastabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ankh at Lisht*, pp. 25–




27. An equally systematic survey of corrections in a later New Kingdom temple has been made by John A. Wilson, “Ancient text corrections in Medinet Habu,” *ÄZ* 68 (1932) pp. 48–56.

3. Berlin 1204: *LD* II, 135 (h); *Aegyptische Inschriften* I, 171, where it is denied that any signs were ever inscribed in the lacuna; H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos* (Sethe, *Untersuchungen* IV) p. 10, where it is stated that signs have been erased, although no traces remain. For other changes in titles see Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pl. 109 (), with last two signs deleted); H. Fischer, “Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre,” *ÄZ* 86 (1961) pp. 22–28 ( replaced by ).

4. Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 13. For the addition of omitted signs in titles see also H. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, pp. 19–20, fig. 2. Similar additions occur in the funerary formulae of a Sixth Dynasty coffin as described and illustrated in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 99, pl. 58 (1).



FIGURE 1
Detail from tomb chapel of Mehu at Saqqara

Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of Mehu at Saqqara (Figure 1),⁵ the sculptor has transposed  and  in the penultimate title of the same series, or rather has failed to apply “honorific transposition” to the sequence, so that the “King of Lower Egypt” fails to take precedence; this oversight has been rectified by the painter, who imposed the correct sequence on the wrong one, completely disregarding the original outline. Sometimes a bizarre composite results from erasures that were effected by filling an incised sign with plaster and recarving the new surface. In such cases the plaster has frequently been lost, leaving a result such as the two-headed goose in the Ramesside inscription shown in Figure 2,⁶ which represents a reorientation of the group , “Son of Re.”

Secondly, there are the alterations—often not much later in date—that were made to eliminate the memory of an individual, and his survival beyond death, by erasing his image,⁷ his name,⁸ and perhaps

5. For this tomb see Zaki Saad, “A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara 1939–1940,” *ASAE* 40 (1941) pp. 687–690. I am indebted to the late Zakaria Ghoneim for the photograph used here.

6. University Museum, Philadelphia, E 635; the figure is taken from Philippus Miller, “A Statue of Ramesses II,” *JEA* 25 (1939) pl. 3 (2) following p. 4.


7. E.g., Étienne Drioton, “Une Mutilation d’image avec motif,” *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952) pp. 351–355. The image is less commonly erased than the name (see next note), but in the case of one late Old Kingdom tomb (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*,

fig. 117, p. 103, pl. 12) the name is erased in the burial chamber, whereas the false door aboveground shows the heads of the figures destroyed while the name is left intact (*ibid.*, fig. 114, p. 99). The same is true of the figures in an adjacent chapel (fig. 116, p. 101), but the burial chamber has been spared completely. In other cases the mutilation is still more selective; A. Klasens describes the figure of a man which shows deep incisions across the neck (“A Stela of the Second Dynasty,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 46 [1965] p. 3, pl. 1). The mutilation of images in the New Kingdom is discussed by Alan Schulman in “Some Remarks on the Alleged ‘Fall’ of Senmut,” *JARCE* 8 (1969–70) pp. 29–48, especially p. 36. Further examples of this period are described by Norman Davies in several of his publications of Theban tombs: *Tombs of Two Officials*, p. 2 (tomb 75); *Ken-Amūn*, p. 4; *Rekh-mi-rē*, p. 7; *Huy*, p. 7; *Puyemrē*, pp. 22–26 (the last two subsequently restored, as mentioned in note 42 below). Queen Hatshepsut’s statues offer the most striking example of methodical destruction (as described by H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pp. 77, 141–142), although it is no longer believed that they were destroyed immediately after her death; cf. the article of Schulman pp. 33–35, and note 8 below.

8. E.g., Junker, *Giza IV*, pp. 6–7; the name of a wife is eliminated, as also in Cairo CG 1482. Sometimes the name of an attendant is systematically deleted: A. Blackman, *Meir V*, p. 25, note 1. Other examples: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 150 and pls. 14 (3), 65 (10), p. 270 and pl. 14 (c) (headrests); Jéquier, *Pyramides des reines*, fig. 35, p. 58 (offering slab); CG 447 (statue). Royal examples are of particular interest to the historian; besides the well-known erasures of the name of Hatshepsut, most recently discussed by Nims, “The date of the dishonoring of Hatshepsut,” *ÄZ* 93 (1966) pp. 97–100, see, for example, Yoyotte, “Le martelage des noms royaux égyptiens par Psamétique II,” *RdE* 8 (1951) pp. 215–239, and Sauneron, “Les querelles impériales vues à travers les scènes du temple d’Esné,” *BIFAO* 51 (1952) pp. 111–121. Other ramifications of this subject are discussed by G. Posener, “Les criminels débaptisés et les morts sans noms,” *RdE* 5 (1946) pp. 51–56.

some of his titles⁹ as well. But this motive is not necessarily involved if, in such cases, the deleted names and titles have been replaced by those of another individual, indicating a change of ownership by fair means or foul. The reuse of a tomb or monument could, on occasion, require a change in the representations as well as the inscriptions; a man's form might replace that of a woman (Figure 3),¹⁰ or vice versa,¹¹ a young man might replace an old one¹² or, more rarely, a royal monument might be remodeled for the use of a commoner.¹³

In some cases names were added to figures that were not originally accompanied by any identification. Funerary priests of the Old Kingdom took this means to associate themselves permanently with the tomb chapel in which they served, and if no other alternative were available they might even apply their names to representations of ordinary laborers.¹⁴ A more exceptional example is to be seen in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where a number of nameless princes (borrowed from the reliefs of the more prolific Ramesses II) subsequently acquired the identity of his Twentieth Dynasty successors.¹⁵

9. Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, figs. 41, 43, 44, pp. 37–40, pl. 3; the honorific titles  are selectively erased along with the name *Šni*.

10. Reisner's Giza tomb 2001; cf. H. Fischer, "Three Palimpsests," *ÄZ* 86 (1961) p. 28, note 5. The drawing has been made from a 35 mm. transparency.

11. Louvre E 17233: article cited in preceding note, fig. 2, pp. 23, 28–29. Also Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pp. 1–2, pl. 6.

12. MMA o8.201.1: H. Fischer, "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty," *JNES* 18 (1959) pp. 245–246, fig. 10 (f).

13. Reworked statuette of king, MMA 22.1.1638: H. Fischer, "Two Royal Monuments of the Middle Kingdom Restored," *BMMA* 22 (1964) pp. 235–239. A similar reuse seems probable in the case of a Middle Kingdom queen, the uraeus of which has been carefully chiseled away, Walters Art Gallery 22.376: George Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, no. 65, pl. 10. The reverse of this situation appears in royal reliefs of the Fifth Dynasty, where the figure of an official in the retinue of King Sahure has been altered to represent Sahure's successor Neferirkare: L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saħure' II*, p. 32, pls. 17, 33–34, 48.

14. E.g., Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 114; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 315.

15. K. Seele, "Ramesses VI and the Medinet Habu Procession of the Princes," *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 184–204; also, more recently, Wm. J. Murnane Jr., "The 'King Ramesses' of the Medinet Habu Procession of Princes," *JARCE* 9 (1971–72), pp. 121–131. Cf. the



FIGURE 2
Inscription of Ramesses II on statue, University Museum E 635

Here, parenthetically, one may note the deliberate breakage of objects when they were placed in the tomb, a practice that was limited to pots, stone vessels, bows, and staves.¹⁶ Of greater interest is the

introduction of the name of Neferirkare in the pyramid temple of Sahure (end of note 13 above).

16. L. V. Grinsell, "The Breaking of Objects as a Funerary Rite," *Folklore* 72 (1961) pp. 480–482; 84 (1973) pp. 111–114; for the breaking of staves and bows see also A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 77, 80, 92–93.

FIGURE 3
Revised figure in Giza tomb 2001



FIGURE 4
Name of Alexander in tomb of Sen-nufer, with
drawing of pectoral amulet

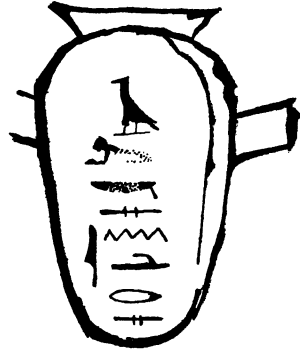
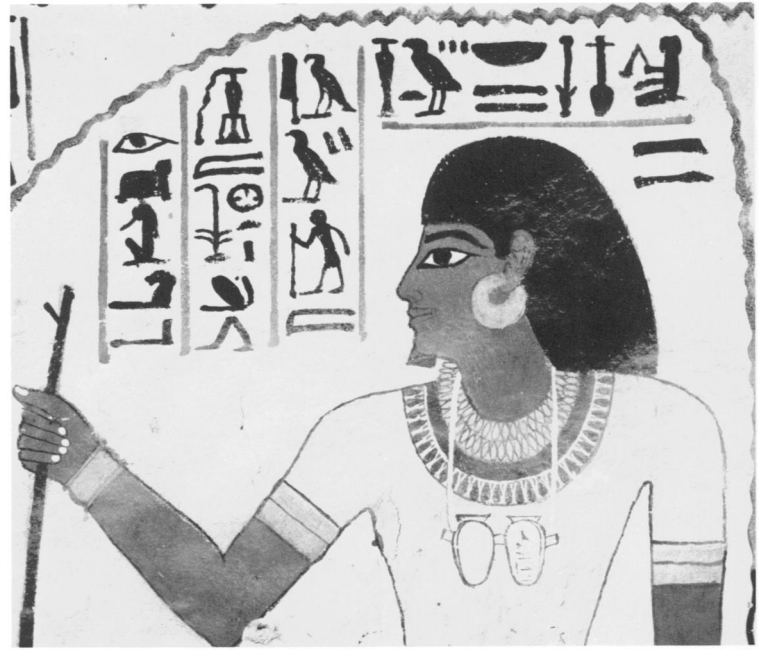


FIGURE 5
Inscription of Lepsius on the Great Pyramid,
A.D. 1842



gradual erasure that occurred as texts on temple statuary were repeatedly read by ancient visitors and, at the same time, fingered.¹⁷

Thirdly, there are the reuses of monuments that have taken place after a considerable span of time, when the personality of the original owners had become too remote to excite either resentment or respect, although their works might still be esteemed as works of art or as antiquities. The first extensive reuse of this kind is Ramesses II's usurpation of monuments belonging to his royal predecessors, and it is significant that he and his son Khaemwase also showed an interest in restoring earlier tombs and temples.¹⁸ In

17. Cairo CG 42126; J 44861: E. L. B. Terrace and H. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, pp. 113, 117.

18. For the restorations of Ramesses II see E. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari* VI, p. 11; *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari* I, pp. 17, 24; II, p. 2, pl. 5 (D); Hassan, *Giza* VIII, pp. 7–9, where he also remarks on his depredations at Giza. Khaemwase left inscriptions commemorating his restorations at the pyramids of Djoser (Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés: Compléments* III, p. 52), Shepseskaf (Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 7, p. 12), and Unis (Drioton and Lauer, "Une inscription de Khamouas sur la face sud de la pyramide d'Ounas à Saqqarah," *ASAE* 37 [1937] pp. 201–211; also Lauer, *ASAE* 54 (1956–57) pp. 114–116). This subject is comprehensively discussed in Chap. XII of Farouk Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II.*, Wiesbaden, 1973, which appeared after this article went to press.

the succeeding Libyan Period the usurpation of earlier statues was taken up by nonroyal persons as well, as exemplified by the first of the following studies.¹⁹

The graffiti of ancient Egyptian tourists, who left their names on older tombs and temples along with a few words of admiration, seem to be limited to the New Kingdom,²⁰ and the oldest monument that bears such inscriptions is the pyramid complex of Djoser.²¹ The Greeks and Romans visited the monuments as tourists in the more literal sense of the word, again leaving graffiti behind them. One of the most curious indications of their visits is to be seen in the Theban tomb of Sen-nufer, whose pectoral amulet—a double heart—is neatly inscribed with a hieroglyphic writing of the name Alexander (Figure 4).²² A second curiosity, of much more recent date (Figure 5), is the hieroglyphic inscription which Richard Lepsius carved upon the Cheops pyramid to commemorate his archaeological and epigraphic expedition of 1842–45.²³

A certain number of inscriptions and reliefs of all periods also show “marginalia” of later date—most frequently a detail or hieroglyph that someone felt impelled to copy to try his skill or merely to pass the time.²⁴ Figure 6 shows two examples of this kind from the left-hand wall of the entrance passage in Perinebi’s tomb chapel; they appear at the back of the

passage, where both could have been copied from the scenes and inscriptions within. In some cases such sketches may have been the work of professional artists who were copying the scenes, and further evidence of such copying is attested by painted grids which were superimposed on paintings and reliefs at a much later date.²⁵ Again the oldest reliefs that show such grids are those of Djoser,²⁶ and it is generally assumed that in this case the grids were added during the Saite Period, some 2000 years later.²⁷

It is more difficult to situate the effects of religion, magic, and superstition in this chronological summary. The most immediate example is the modification of hieroglyphs in burial chambers of the Sixth Dynasty, where all sorts of representations of living creatures were suppressed, in whole or in part, to protect the deceased from their presence.²⁸ In most cases these modifications were planned in advance, but they were

25. These are to be distinguished from the so-called “proportion squares.” See the remarks of E. Mackay concerning Theban tomb 93 in *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 74, 75, 84; also C. Ransom Williams, *Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb*, p. 10, note 31.

26. Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pls. 15–16, p. 5.

27. Cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, revised ed. 1961, p. 79.

28. P. Lacau, “Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires,” *ÄZ* 51 (1913) pp. 1–64; “Suppression des noms divins dans les textes de la chambre funéraire,” *ASAE* 26 (1926) pp. 69–81; B. Gunn in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 171–177.

19. See below, p. 17 and note 65.

20. W. Helck, “Die Bedeutung der ägyptischen Besucherinschriften,” *ZDMG* 102 (1952) pp. 39–46; D. Wildung, “Besucherinschriften,” in Helck-Otto, *Lexikon I*/5, pp. 766–767.

21. Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 83, pp. 77–85.

22. Theban tomb 96: P. Virey, “La tombe des vignes à Thèbes,” *Rec. trav.* 22 (1900) pp. 84–85. The detail shown here is taken from a negative of the Metropolitan Museum’s epigraphic expedition.

23. From a photograph taken by Albert Lythgoe prior to 1906. For details see Georges Goyon, *Inscriptions et Graffiti des voyageurs sur la Grande Pyramide*, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii, 82, pl. 117. The inscription is visible at the upper right of J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Memphis*, fig. 50, p. 53.

24. E.g., Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 10; Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, pp. 19–20, fig. 2; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 193, fig. 37, pl. 23c; also an incised sketch on University Museum, Philadelphia, E 13575, the right side of the gateway of Merneptah. For a Coptic sketch in a New Kingdom tomb see N. de G. Davies, *BMMA* 17 (Dec. 1922, Pt. II), p. 56, fig. 9. A sketch of the Queen of Punt (N. de G. Davies, *BMMA* 25 [Dec. 1930, Pt. II], pp. 30–31) should be included in this category, although it appears on a detached flake of limestone rather than on the margin of the original scene at Deir el Bahri.

FIGURE 6
Isolated
hieroglyphs in
tomb chapel,
MMA 13.183.3

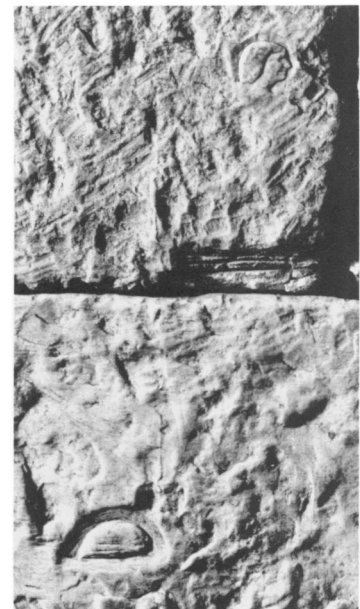





FIGURE 7
Erasure of  on a covered
offering basin from Saqqara

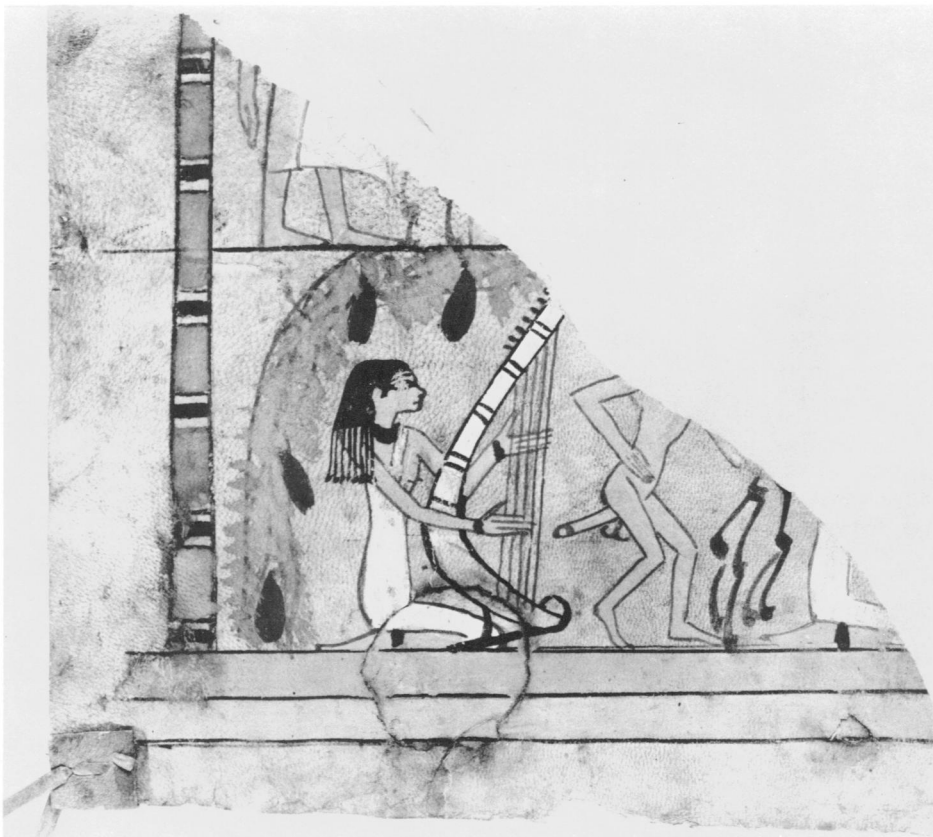









FIGURE 8
Painted leather fragment from
Deir el Bahri, MMA 31.3.98

occasionally introduced as an afterthought.²⁹ That is probably the explanation of the erasure shown in Figure 7,³⁰ where the first sign of the title   has evidently been eliminated.³¹ A longer interval is involved in the erasure of the name of the god Amun by the Eighteenth Dynasty Atenists,³² as in the case of the much later persecution of the god Seth.³³ But these very selective modifications can hardly be compared with the more recent ravages of Christian and Islamic iconoclasm³⁴ or Christian morality, as attested not only in the Coptic Period³⁵ but also in the reign of Queen Victoria. Ancient Egypt has left extraordinarily little to offend moral susceptibilities, and there is virtually nothing that could be called obscene prior to the famous Turin Papyrus dating to the end of the New Kingdom.³⁶ The earlier tombs and temples treat the theme of procreation forthrightly, although human intercourse is scarcely represented except in schematic and hieroglyphic fashion. The one exception, a more literal hieroglyphic representation in an early Middle Kingdom tomb chapel at Beni Hasan, was censored by a Victorian visitor,³⁷ and the same censorship is still frequently imposed on the emblematic virility of ithyphallic gods such as Min of Coptos.³⁸ It is exemplified in the Metropolitan Museum by a painted fragment of the Eighteenth Dynasty that is described as an "erotic dance". On the basis of that judgment, the genitals of a naked dancer were painted out, and the original state of the painting can only be seen from a photograph that was made prior to censorship (Figure 8).³⁹

29. In the last two discussions cited in the preceding note Lacau, p. 72, so interprets the erasure (with plaster) of  in the offering formula of a Sixth Dynasty coffin; and Gunn, p. 174, similarly interprets the replacement of   by  on the contemporary coffin of Mereruka. The same explanation has been applied to a group of Eleventh Dynasty scarabs that were mutilated before being placed in the tomb of their owner: H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, p. 18.

30. From the photographic archives of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities at Saqqara, through the kindness of the late Zakaria Ghoneim. The size and material are unknown to me, but it appears to be made of calcite, and it probably is related to the category of calcite offering slabs that were frequently placed in Sixth Dynasty burial chambers (H. Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 107–108).

31. It should be noted that this sign is not ordinarily eliminated; see Gunn, discussion cited in note 28, p. 173, note 2; but it is once replaced by phonetic signs in Pyr. 319 (T), as noted by Lacau, "Suppressions et modifications," p. 38.

32. In some cases the deletions involved much more than the name of Amun, and only the hieroglyphic sign of the sun (☉) was spared (N. de Garis Davies, *BMMA* 18 (Dec. 1923, Pt. II) fig. 9, p. 45). One may compare the occurrences of the sign  "god," which was likewise spared in an erased inscription of the Old Kingdom: Hassan, *Giza* VI, Pt. 3, p. 166. The Atenists, on the other hand, sometimes erased the plural of the word for "god" because of its association with Amun, who was "king of the gods": Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, p. 4.

33. Breasted, "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest," *ÄZ* 39 (1901) p. 40, note 6, points out that this degree of hostility must have begun after the Eighth Century B.C. since the name of Seth is chiseled out on the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Shabako Stone. The image of Seth was also eliminated, in some cases, by transforming it into another divinity: G. Legrain, "Une Statue du dieu Set," *Rec. trav.* 16 (1894) pp. 167–169 (and O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des Statues et Statuettes*, no. 83, pls. 95–97). One may also compare the case of a protodynastic turtle the eyes and paws of which were mutilated at a much later date—most probably at the end of the Dynastic Period (H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, pp. 13, 18–20).

34. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna* (*Esna* III), pp. xxiv–xxvii, describes how "à une époque difficile à dater exactement, mais postérieure au 'paganisme', les hommes ont réagi devant des images ou des signes hiéroglyphiques dont le sens leur échappait, mais qui leur semblaient chargés de pouvoir." Doctrinal iconoclasm was probably equally selective; L. Habachi, "The Destruction of Temples in Egypt," in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, pp. 192–198, points out that the process was gradual, and is not specifically attributable to Christianity. Cf. also Alan Schulman, *JARCE* 8 (1969–70) p. 37.

35. All the female figures of Theban tomb 56 were expunged by an anchorite who used it as a dwelling: N. de G. Davies, *BMMA* 17 (Dec. 1922, Pt. II), p. 56.

36. This has very recently been published in entirety for the first time: Jos. A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine Satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften*, Turin, 1973. There are, in addition, a certain number of contemporaneous ostraca in the same spirit (L. Keimer, *Études d'Égyptologie* III, pp. 4–9), and an apparently licentious figurine of much earlier date (Dyn. XIII?) from Lisht is discussed by Elizabeth Riefstahl, "An Enigmatic Faience Figure," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 137–143. It might be thought that the "Fall von Prüderie aus der Ramessidenzeit" debated by S. Schott, *ÄZ* 75 (1939) pp. 100–106, reflects a complementary aspect of prurient interest, but that conclusion seems doubtful. As N. de Garis Davies makes clear in his publication of the tomb in question, *Seven Private Tombs*, pp. 5–8, the reuse of the Eighteenth Dynasty paintings not only added clothing of naked ladies, but also entailed the remodeling of furniture—all in an attempt to adjust outmoded features to current fashion. That view does not seem seriously incompatible with Schott's final conclusions.

37. A unique hieroglyph, showing a couple on a bed, recorded by Lepsius in 1842 (*LD* II, 143 [b]), no longer showed the couple when Newberry copied it, about fifty years later (*Beni Hasan* II, pl. 14).

38. See, for example, Petrie, *Koptos* (1896) pls. 6 (6), 9, 22.

39. *MMA* 31.3.98. The description is used by Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 167, and his fig. 92. shows the painting in its retouched condition.



FIGURE 9
Predynastic palette with modern decoration, Leiden

The repair and restoration of monuments was likewise practiced at all periods of antiquity, as in the present day. Sometimes the repairs may have been required even before the work was complete, as in the case of stone statuary which was apt, as the work proceeded, to reveal a flaw or weakness that required an insertion.⁴⁰ And wood paneling might show knot-holes or splits that had to be patched with “dutchmen”.⁴¹ Obviously such repairs, like the corrections and revisions mentioned earlier, must be considered an integral part of the original workmanship. After a lapse of time, however, a repair or restoration may depart from the style of the original,⁴² even to the point of becoming anachronistic, as in the case of the plaited beard of a divinity that was supplied to the great sphinx of Giza in the Nineteenth Dynasty;⁴³ the original beard was certainly the unplaited variety that

was worn by kings, but in the Nineteenth Dynasty this monument was considered a god, its association with Chephren having been forgotten. Similarly, the fragments of a wooden coffin that bears the name of Chephren’s successor, Mycerinus, and was accordingly attributed to the Fourth Dynasty, was eventually dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty on the basis of the style, orthography, and phrasing of the texts.⁴⁴ The “restoration” of this royal coffin was a totally new production, and the same was often true of temples that were “renewed” by total replacement. Even when the restoration called for nothing more than fresh paint,⁴⁵ one cannot be sure that the earlier colors and details were matched conscientiously.

Coming down to more recent times, there are countless examples of Egyptian antiquities that have been restored in a manner that not only departs from

40. MMA 25.6, a basalt statue of Sesostri I, lacks the head, which was carved separately and fastened by means of a tenon (Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter I*, pp. 180–181); MMA 22.5.2, a diorite statue of Amenophis III (*Scepter II*, p. 235) has lost an inset at the back of the throne.

41. The veneer of MMA 68.58, an early Eighteenth Dynasty chair (*BMMA* 27 [1968] p. 90) shows several almost invisible patches of this kind.

42. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemré I*, pp. 23–26. Compare also Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, p. 7, and the usurped and repainted scenes of Theban tomb 45, as described in note 36 above.

43. Howard Vyse, *Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837* III, pl. following p. 108.

44. *Ibid.* II, p. 93; cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins exhibited in the British Museum* (1938) pp. 21–23, pl. 8. S. Birch (*ÄZ* 7 [1869] pp. 49–51) seems to be the first to have suggested the correct dating; see also Sethe, *ÄZ* 30 (1892) pp. 94–98.

45. As stated in a Thirteenth Dynasty biography which records the repainting of reliefs dating to the beginning of the previous dynasty, two centuries earlier: Louvre C 12 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, p. 76).

the spirit of the original but—to a greater or lesser degree—has destroyed it as well.⁴⁶ In some cases such restoration can only be detected by very close scrutiny and research, as exemplified by the last of the following studies. In other cases the result is glaringly apparent, and there is probably no example that is more shocking than the one presented in the second of the studies. This case may well be unique, however, in that the “restoration” was applied to a portion of a statue, completely disregarding the existence of the other parts, which had doubtless been lost from sight. With this example we come to the category of fraudulent alterations or additions designed to lend interest to antiquities of negligible value. There are limestone reliefs that are only very marginally ancient⁴⁷

and predynastic pots and palettes the decoration of which is wholly modern (Figure 9).⁴⁸ The most mischievous alterations, however, are those which seek to augment the market value of an antiquity by adding a well-known name where none originally existed. One of the most outrageous examples of this kind is a Seventeenth Dynasty statuette of a woman that was excavated at Thebes in the winter of 1898–99 (Figure 10).⁴⁹ Its worth was subsequently impaired by the loss of the feet and base, which were already detached when it was found, and the upper left portion of the head, which had already been weakened by a deep chip in the forehead. This was evidently its condition when it came into the possession of an unscrupulous semischolarly collector who erased the

46. A missing head may be replaced by one from another statue (J. Cooney, “A Reexamination of Some Egyptian Antiquities,” *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 11, no. 3 [Spring 1950], figs. 1–2, p. 13 ff.) or by a newly made head (*ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 16 ff.) or new features may be carved on a battered face (J. J. Clère, “The Statue of an Egyptian Priest,” *Museum Notes, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* 9, no. 4 (May 1952) p. 1; B. V. Bothmer, “The Head That Grew a Face,” *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 [1972] pp. 25–31). Another example of this kind is probably to be seen in Louvre E 11057 (P. Barguet, *Chronique d’Égypte* 28 [1953] pp. 23–27), a statue of Senmut holding a coil of rope; all the inscriptions were erased, presumably so that the statue could be usurped by someone else, but a new inscription was never added. The ram’s head on top of the coil of rope, emblematic of Khnum, was also attacked—probably, as Barguet says, in the reign of Akhenaton—because of its resemblance to the ram of Amun. But its transformation into a human face may well be a modern restoration.

47. J. D. Cooney, “Assorted Errors in Art Collecting,” *Expedition* 6/1 (Fall 1963), displays (p. 25, fig. 6) a fragment of Amarna relief to which the head of a queen has been added in recent years; another New Kingdom relief, showing ancient inscription and a modern head, is illustrated by L. Borchardt, “Ägyptische ‘Altertümer’, die ich für neuzeitlich halte,” supplement to *ÄZ* 66/1 (1931) pl. 2 (12). Spurious repainting has also been applied to ancient monuments in modern times; see, for example, Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*, pp. 1–2.

48. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden F 1938/10.23, schist, length 23.8 cm.; reproduced by the kind permission of the director, Dr. A. Klasens. For further details see H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, p. 20, note 54. Further discussions of this class of forgeries are presented by G. Brunton, “Modern Painting on Predynastic Pots,” *ASAE* 34 (1934), pp. 149–156, and A. J. Arkell, “Modern designs on predynastic slate palettes,” *JEA* 41 (1955) p. 126.

49. Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 17, pls. 15 (2, 5), 16 (1, 2).

FIGURE 10
Seventeenth Dynasty statuette from Thebes





FIGURE 11
Altered inscription on statuette in Figure 10

inscription on the backpillar—a conventional offering formula—and substituted a new one (Figure 11).⁵⁰ Evidently taking a cue from a suggestion made by Gauthier in his *Livre des Rois*,⁵¹ the new inscription

50. Now in another private collection, published by permission of the owner. I am indebted to Wm. K. Simpson for bringing this piece to my attention. The identification of the statue is confirmed beyond question by comparing the accidental chips and irregularities such as the vein in the stone which appears on the thighs, or a pit behind the lock of hair that falls on the right shoulder; a larger pit at the right edge of the backpillar was reduced in depth and area by the erasure of the old inscription.

51. Vol. II, p. 167 (XV).

purports to belong to “The Hereditary Princess and Countess, the eldest daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, Lord of Diadems Ka[mose] . . . She Who Says a Thing and It is Done for Her, Sweet of Love in the Sight of Her Father, Nefertiry . . .”⁵²

Finally, there are those monuments which have not been affected by spurious restoration but have served as a model for modern copies that may be difficult to detect as forgeries—particularly if the original is not available for comparison.⁵³ If such a comparison is possible, however, the difference usually becomes apparent at a glance. Figure 12 shows an early Twelfth Dynasty stela in Florence⁵⁴ beside a facsimile of its counterpart in Athens (Figure 13),⁵⁵ the latter a slavish but inept imitation of the first, again revealing the mark of a later hand.

A REUSED STATUETTE OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY FROM BYBLOS

The statuette shown in Figures 14–16 (MMA 68.101) is of greenish schist (greywacke) and stands 15.65 cm. high. The base, feet, and lower part of the legs are now missing; the original height must have been about 20 cm. It represents a standing man, the left leg advanced as usual; his right hand is held palm downward upon the flat and slightly flaring front of a

52. These phrases have probably been pieced together from various sources, such as the titulary of Queen Ahmose, Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 224. The Middle Kingdom writing of *iry-t-p't* seems questionable, as does the inclusion (and writing) of *h3tyt-'. The sign } has been substituted for } in the name Nfyt-iry. Otherwise the new inscription is fairly plausible—so much so that its antiquity might well be debated if the statuette had not been published in its original state.*

53. An example of this kind is discussed by W. Spiegelberg, “Eine merkwürdige Fälschung,” *ÄZ* 58 (1923) pp. 158–160.

54. Florence 6364: Sergio Bosticco, *Le Stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, no. 17. I am indebted to Dr. Bosticco for the photograph and for his permission to use it here.

55. B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel*, no. 17, pl. 5. The material is described as black granite! Antiquities of smaller size are frequently duplicated by casting them in metal or clay; an early example of this kind is presented in H. G. Fischer, “A Frequently Copied Scarab,” *JARCE* 2 (1963) pp. 39–41. I have also seen, in the hands of a private collector, a duplicate of the small silver sphinx of Seqenenre in the Mariemont Museum (B. van de Walle, “Antiquités Égyptiennes” in *Les Antiquités . . . du Musée de Mariemont* [Brussels, 1952] p. 34, no. E 55 [136], pl. 9); this reproduces every detail of the other, including damaged areas.

long kilt, and the other arm is folded, again palm downward, upon his chest. He wears a striated, shoulder-length wig that is drawn back behind his ears. The brows are indicated in relief, and a “cosmetic line” in relief projects from the outer corners of the eyes, both of which show traces of an incised pupil. His lips are evidently thick and everted, but

56. Cairo J 52081: Engelbach, *ASAE* 38 (1938) p. 285, pl. 37 (2) on p. 291 (a hunchbacked retainer from the serdab of *Mitry*); compare Abd el Hamid Zayed, *Trois Études* (Cairo, 1956) p. 15. For the gesture see Hellmuth Müller, *MDIK* 7 (1937) p. 102. This gesture also occurs in Cairo J 66620 (Hassan, *Giza* I, pl. 72), where it is one of a pair, the second statue mirroring the attitude of the first. Apart from some scribal statues with hands crossed upon the chest, most of the other Old Kingdom examples repre-

these are badly worn away, and the nose has fared even worse.

The simple attire admits a date fairly early in the Twelfth Dynasty, and so too the gesture of reverence, which is known from at least one Old Kingdom example,⁵⁶ although it is much more frequently attested in Twelfth Dynasty statuary.⁵⁷ The same conclu-

sent women, and in most cases it is the right hand that is raised.

57. The most comparable examples are Louvre E 17365 (Vandier *Manuel d'archéologie* III, pl. 78 [2]); Walters Art Gallery 71.509, Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 11 (46); CG 434 (Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 76 [3]). The left hand is similarly raised in many other cases, the figures standing, seated, or cross-legged. And in some cases both arms are crossed upon the chest, as in the Old Kingdom.

FIGURE 12

Middle Kingdom stela in Florence, Museo Archeologico 6364



FIGURE 13

Modern copy in Athens





FIGURES 14, 15, 16 Reused Middle Kingdom statuette, MMA 68.101

sion is likewise suggested by the features; although the large ears indicate that the date is no earlier than the reign of Sesostri I,⁵⁸ a date much later than that reign seems unlikely in view of the shape of the brows, the thick lips, and the presence of the cosmetic line. H. W. Müller has pointed out that the last detail does not appear in private statuary until the Eleventh Dynasty and the beginning of the Twelfth.⁵⁹ It occurs on

the face of a limestone statue from the tomb of Ibu at Qau,⁶⁰ generally dated to the reign of Amenemhet III and it occasionally appears on reliefs of the later Twelfth Dynasty,⁶¹ but is not common on either royal or private statuary of that time.⁶²

The original inscriptions, on the kilt and backpillar, have been completely removed, and this erasure has all but eliminated the upper edge of the kilt along with

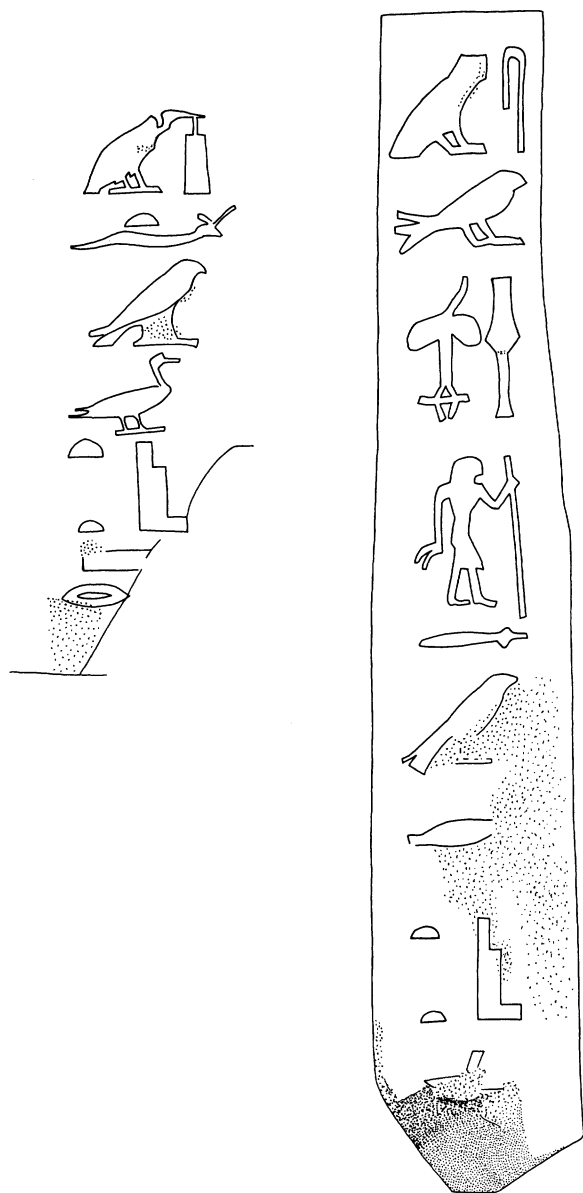


FIGURE 17
Inscriptions of MMA 68.101

the band above it. The newly polished surfaces display the inscriptions (Figure 17) of a much later individual: (front) "The 'Iwn-mwt.f-priest Horsiese, justified"; (back) "The Sm-Priest, Greatest of Those Who Direct the Craftsmen, the Great Chief Horsiese, just[ified]." The second group of titles combines the function of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis with the lineage of the Great Chiefs of the Meshwesh, and this narrows

the identification down to two Memphite high priests named Horsiese who officiated in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties, respectively.⁶³ Of these two, the later one seems the more probable choice in view of the abbreviated form of the title "Great Chief"; for the reference to "the Meshwesh" probably did not begin to be dropped until the later years of the Libyan Period.⁶⁴

The usurpation of a Twelfth Dynasty statuette by an official of the Libyan Period recalls the identical case of a Twenty-second Dynasty commissioner from Palestine who reused a statuette of only slightly later date than the one in the Metropolitan Museum, originally belonging to a vizier.⁶⁵ The kilt is shorter than the one customarily worn by a vizier, but it does not seem likely that the pair of straps is to be interpreted in any other way. For the original date, I would suggest the reign of Amenemhet III. While the

58. See Aldred, *MMJ* 3 (1970) p. 37, discussing examples of royal portraiture.

59. In *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will*, 124, 136. The Munich head (ÄS 5570, pl. 1) does not appear to represent an earlier example; it is very like the sphinx head of Sesostri I from Karnak (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pl. 33; Aldred, *MMJ* 3 [1970] fig. 17, p. 38).

60. Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qau*, pl. 15a; illustrated more clearly in Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art*, pl. 18.

61. For example, Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 10 (temp. Sesostri III; cf. Smith, *AJA* 55 [1951] pls. 18, 20); Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 27 (*W3h-k3* II, presumably temp. Amenemhet III).

62. This feature apparently reappears in the Seventeenth Dynasty statue of Prince Ahmose in the Louvre (E 15682; *JEA* 10 [1924] pl. 18), but it was evidently little used in Eighteenth Dynasty private statuary until the reign of Hatshepsut (e.g., CG 42116: Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, pp. 97, 100).

63. The first (Dyn. 21, temp. Psusennes) is known from Berlin 23673, 1, 13 (Borchardt, "Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung," *Quellen und Forschung zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte*, Bd. 2 [1935] p. 99, pls. 2-2a) and Louvre 96 (Malinine et al., *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum* I, no. 52). The second (Dyn. 22, temp. Pimay) is known from two other stelae in the Louvre (*ibid.*, nos. 22, 23). Cf. K. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §151-152 (Horsiese J) and §155-156 (Horsiese H).

64. Yoyotte, "Les Principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne," *Mélanges Maspero* I, 4^e fasc., 123 (§3). The complete title is given to Padiése, the father of Horsiese H on Serapeum stela 23 (Malinine et al., *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum* I, p. 23). Neither version of the title is present in the titulary of a later Memphite High Priest named Horsiese (Dyn. 26: CG 1212).

65. Walters Art Gallery 22.203; Steindorff, *JEA* 25 (1939) pp. 30-33 and *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, no. 145, p. 49, pl. 25. For the interpretation of the title see A. Alt, *BIO* 9 (1952) pp. 163-164. Several Eighteenth Dynasty statues were also reinscribed in this dynasty: CG 42194, 42206, 42207.



FIGURES 18, 19 Upper parts of Twelfth Dynasty dyad in Boston, MFA 05.89b-c

statuette of the Palestinian commissioner was found in the Egyptian Delta, that of his Memphite contemporary is reported, conversely, to come from the shores of northern Syria, specifically Byblos. It was purchased in Beirut by a European dealer who sold it to the Metropolitan Museum a short time thereafter. One need not, of course, be surprised to find a Middle Kingdom statuette in Byblos, for this site, and the surrounding region, have yielded many other examples of that period.⁶⁶ But it is difficult to say whether this one was reinscribed in Lebanon, or whether it went there after the later name was added.

A DISMEMBERED DYAD OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

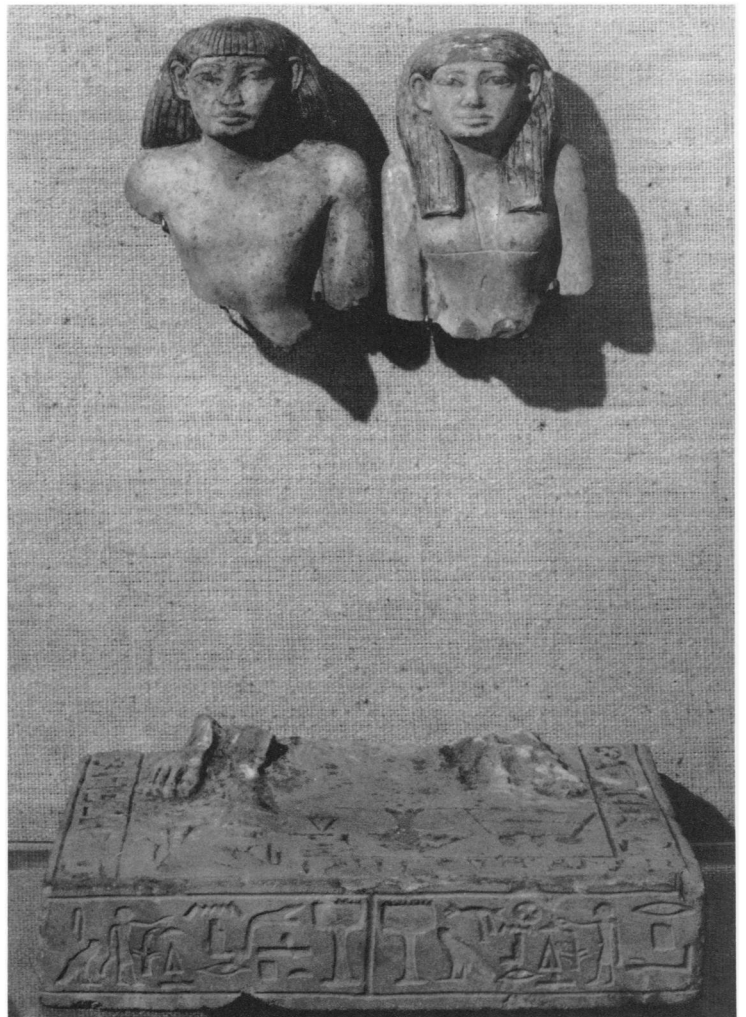
The fragments

In the fall of 1905 Theodore Davis gave the Boston Museum of Fine Arts three fragments of a Middle Kingdom limestone statuette representing a certain

66. Most of this evidence is reviewed by John Wilson in *AJS* 58 (1941) pp. 225-236. In addition a fragmentary Middle Kingdom statuette was found at Byblos (Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 252, fig. 112), and two more fragmentary statuettes of the same period, purchased from a dealer in Beirut and said to come from Qatna, are in the Metropolitan Museum: 67.226, 68.101.



FIGURE 20 Fragments as assembled in Boston, MFA 05.89a-c





Sobk-hotpe and his wife Shedi-em-niwe (05.89a-c; Figures 18-24).⁶⁷ The man wears only a kilt, of which nothing is preserved, and a striated shoulder-length wig, she a long close-fitting dress with shoulder straps and a long tripartite wig. To judge from the physiognomies and the style of her wig, the date lies within the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, but is not so early as the first reign, or even, perhaps, so early as the first two reigns; thus the range is most probably the fifty years of Amenemhet II-Sesostris II, centering on 1900 B.C.

The backpillar, which terminated just below the level of the shoulders, is completely missing, as is the back edge of the base, which shows the battered remnants of both pairs of feet. Otherwise the surface of the base is in good condition, and the inscriptions, on the top, front, and sides, are almost completely preserved.

A second limestone statuette belonging to a Sobk-hotpe and Shedi-em-niwe is described by Weigall in *Rec. trav.* 29 (1907), p. 217. It was acquired by Sir Flinders Petrie and is now in the Egyptology Department of University College, London (U.C. 14346). Since the name of the woman is not attested elsewhere, and since the name of the man is preceded, in both

67. Fragment a (the man) is 9.5 cm. high; fragment b (the woman) is 9 cm.; the base (c) is 3.2 cm. high at the edge.

FIGURE 21

Upper surface of base, MFA 05.89a



FIGURE 22

Proper right edge of base



FIGURE 23

Proper left side of base



FIGURE 24

Front edge of base



FIGURE 25
Reworked central portion of dyad, University
College 14346

FIGURE 26
Proper right side of reworked fragment

FIGURE 27
Proper left side of reworked fragment

cases, by an identical title, and one that is scarcely less exceptional, it is immediately evident that both monuments belong to the same individuals. When all the evidence was assembled, moreover, including photographs (Figures 25–27) and facsimiles of the inscriptions (Figure 28),⁶⁸ the second statuette proved

68. I am indebted to Suzanne Chapman for providing information, rubbings of the inscriptions, and photographs of the Boston fragments, and to Mrs. Barbara Adams for a rubbing and photographs of the fragment in London. All this material has been used in preparing the drawings for Figures 27, 28. The photographs are published with the kind permission of Dows Dunham, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and H. S. Smith, formerly Curator of Egyptian Antiquities at University College.

to be both more and less closely related to the other than was anticipated. The inscriptions on each side of the backpillar complete those on the base so precisely that there can be no doubt that they belong to the same monument, which stood about 29 cm. high when complete. The figures, on the other hand, have nothing to do with the other fragments; they are not only a forgery, but a forgery that imitates the style of a later period.⁶⁹ They have been carved from those parts of original sculpture that remained on the backpillar when the other pieces, now in Boston, were detached. In this way two statuettes were produced from one, and the spurious sculpture that was carved from the least interesting of the four fragments was authenticated by its ancient inscriptions.

69. The interlaced arms are not known before the New Kingdom, as first observed by Spiegelberg, "Note on the Feminine Character of the New Empire," *JEA* 15 (1929) p. 199. For other examples see Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie* III, pp. 310, 440, 441, 447.



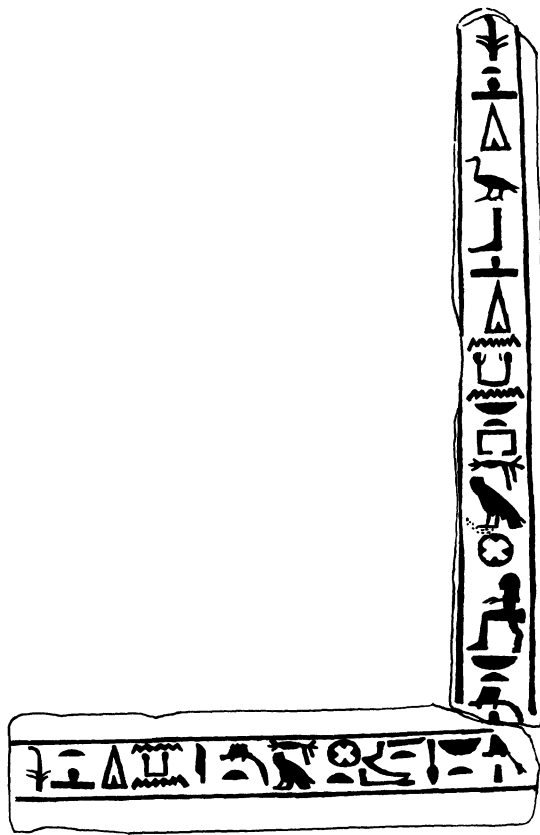
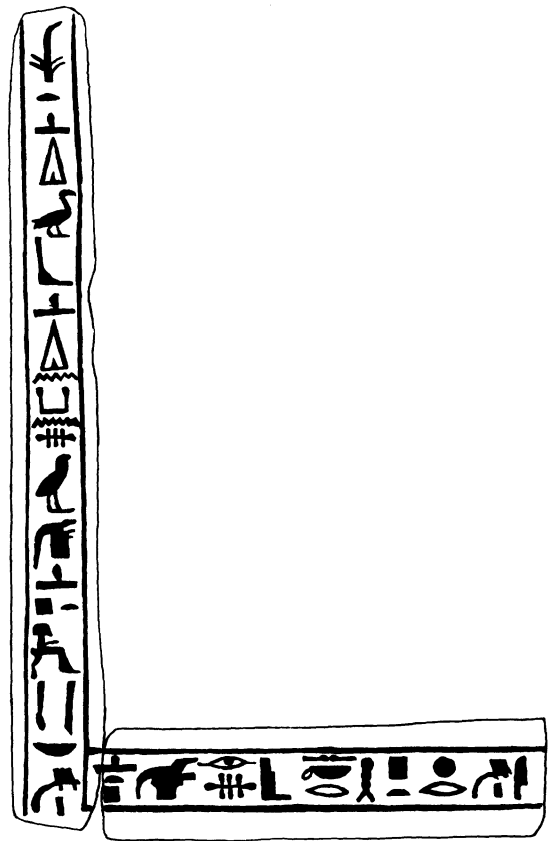
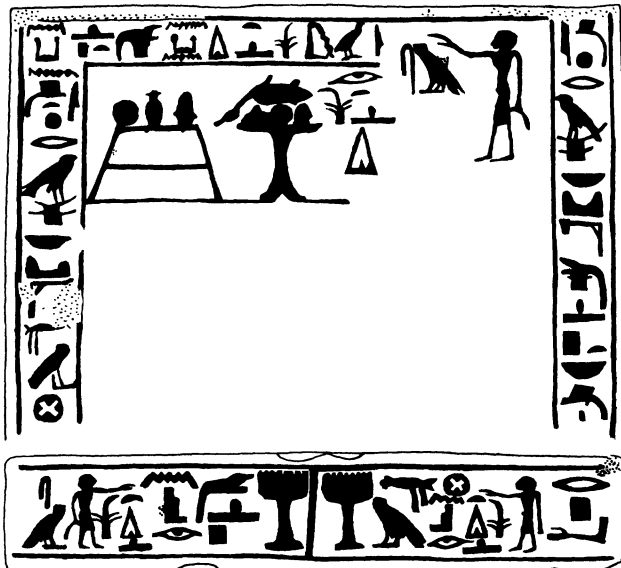


FIGURE 28
Facsimile of inscriptions of Boston and London
fragments of dyad, reassembled

FIGURE 29
Facsimile of front and upper surface of base
(latter inverted)

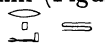


The inscriptions

All the representations and inscriptions on the base and backpillar lack inner detail and are filled with blue paint. Those on the top of the base (Figures 21, 29) are oriented so that they address the statuettes to which they refer, and are upside-down when viewed from the front.⁷⁰ A relatively large figure at the upper

70. This orientation is most unusual. Offering tables commonly show the \Rightarrow -sign so that it faces the recipient (false door or statue), but the inscription is almost always oriented so that it can be read by those making the offering; the offering slab of Queen *Wdbtn*, dating to the late Sixth Dynasty, exceptionally orients the \Rightarrow -sign and inscription so that both face the pyramid (Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 7, p. 15, pl. 13 [2]), and a few other offering slabs similarly show the inscription and \Rightarrow -sign oriented in the same direction; although these were not found *in situ*, it is probable that the inscriptions also faced the offering niche in these cases: Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II, III*, figs. 78, 80, p. 75; Cairo CG 23007 (with name of King *Nb-hpt-R'* Mentuhotep; cf. Habachi, *MDIK* 19 [1963] p. 32, fig. 12). But in those cases where statues are associated with offering tables, the

The proper right and left sides of the base and backpillar (Figure 28) contain the following phrases: (right) “One revered with Ptah-Sokar, the Osiris,⁷⁶ the Magician(?)⁷⁷ *Sbk-ḥtp*”; “An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Geb gives to the Magician(?) *Sbk-ḥtp* justified, possessor of reverence”; (left) “An offering that the king gives to the spirit of *Šdi-m-niwt*, justified, possessor of reverence”; “An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Geb gives to the spirit of the Mistress of the House *Šdi-m-niwt*, possessor of reverence.”

It will be noted that the *iry-p't*-priest, in contrast to his counterpart, does not hold his garment and therefore does not appear to wear a leopard skin. In royal offering scenes of the New Kingdom (Figures 30, 31)⁷⁸ this officiant similarly lacks the leopard skin and follows the *sm(t)*-priest just as, in the present case, he occupies the subordinate right-hand side of the base and gives the invocation for the wife, while the *sm(t)*-priest is on the left side, associated with the man. Probably the *iry-p't* also figured in the funerary cult of Twelfth Dynasty kings, but their pyramids have unfortunately left only a few fragments of relief, so that the evidence is sadly incomplete. At any rate the two functions of *sm(t)* and *iry-p't* seem to be united in the late Twelfth Dynasty tomb chapel of *Wḥ-ḥtp* at Meir, where numerous other usurpations of royal prerogatives may be observed. The officiant in question is clad in a leopard skin (Figure 32)⁷⁹ and is accompanied by the caption  "the *iry-p't* who offers him an 'offering that the king gives.'"

79. Blackman, *Meir* VI, pl 15.

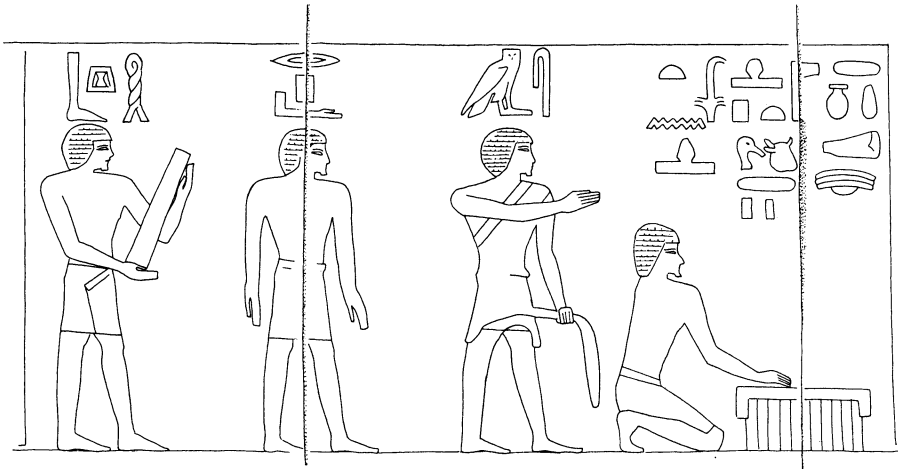


FIGURE 30
Detail of offering scene in
temple of Hatshepsut at
Deir el Bahri. After
Naville

FIGURE 31
Detail of offering scene in reliefs of
Ramesses I from Abydos. After
Winlock

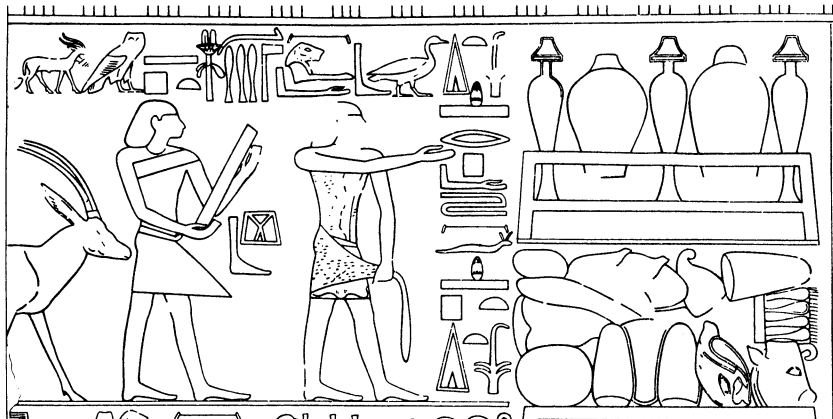
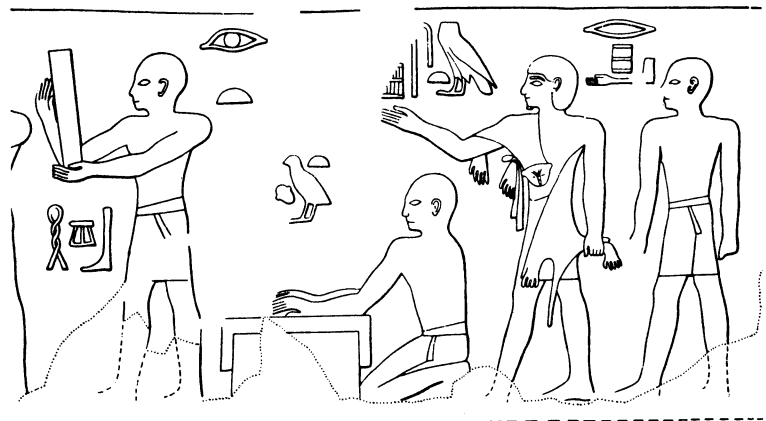


FIGURE 32
Twelfth Dynasty offering
scene from Meir. After
Blackman

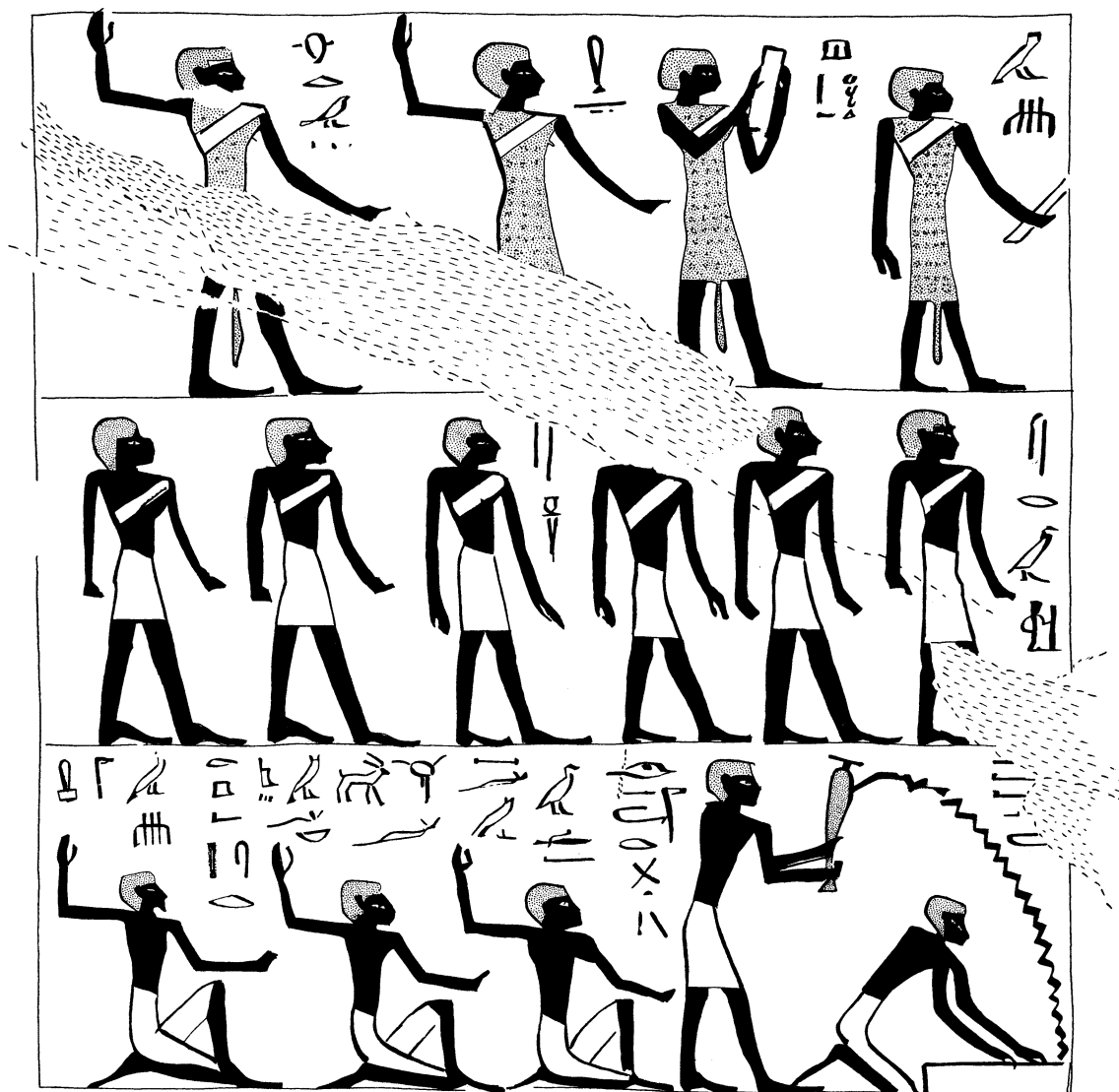


FIGURE 33
Twelfth Dynasty offering scene on a coffin from Asyut

Even earlier evidence for the appearance of the *iry-p't* in a funerary context is provided by a coffin from Asyut, the date of which cannot be much later than the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁸⁰ On the inside of the back, directly opposite the representation of the false door, is a most unusual scene (Figure 33)⁸¹ representing three registers of funerary officials. The uppermost series, wearing the leopard skin as well as the lector priest's bandoleer, are labeled *imy-hnt*, *hry hbt*, *hm-t3*, and *hry-wrw* "the chamberlain, the lector priest, the 'servant of the earth,' and 'one who is over

the great.'"⁸² The second series of officials, wearing the bandoleer, are labeled *srw* and *smr(w)* "officials

80. On the dating of the Asyut coffins see Schenkel, *Frühmittel-ägyptische Studien*, §44a.

81. Drawn from the photograph in Chassinat and Palanque, *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, p. 68, fig. 4, pl. 19. According to de Buck, *CT II*, p. xiii, note 9, the coffin is in the Louvre, but the back, containing the scene described here, is not to be found.


82. The last two designations are exceedingly rare but occur again in the Eighteenth Dynasty: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pls. 7, 9, 10. The *hry-wr* also appears in Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pls. 80–82; on pl. 80 he is accompanied by the *iry-p't*.

and companions.” The officiants in the lowermost register lack the leopard skin and bandoleer. Two of them “pour water,” while the last three kneel, making a gesture of incantation; the caption above these three figures reads: “making incense (on) the fire, offering to him in his rank and dignity, and in all his places,⁸³ (by) the *iry-p’t*, the chamberlain, the seal-bearer of the god.”⁸⁴

The use of the prestigious title *iry-p’t* by a funerary officiant is readily explained by its hereditary aspect; it conveys the idea of the heir and survivor that is the fundamental idea of priesthood in ancient Egypt, whether it relates to the gods or the dead. Evidently the *iry-p’t*-priest plays the role of Horus, the heir of his father Osiris, and of his grandfather Geb.⁸⁵

The retrograde arrangement of the texts on the front of the base will be discussed in a forthcoming monograph on the orientation of hieroglyphic inscriptions. For the present it is sufficient to say that it primarily relates to other retrograde inscriptions that involve a speech, and more particularly a speech that concludes with the name of the person who is addressed. The use of retrograde sequence on this part of the monument is also appropriate because it enables the orientation of the hieroglyphs to correspond to that of the inscriptions on the sides of the base, yet directs the offering formulae to the center. In this respect it is closely related to Middle Kingdom offering slabs that frequently apply the same procedure to the texts at the bottom edge.⁸⁶

The provenance

Both the owner and his wife are “revered with ,” which certainly refers to the Twelfth Nome of Upper Egypt or to its capital. A Middle Kingdom stela in Brussels (Figure 34)⁸⁷ invokes offerings which

83. Cf. CG 1486 (Dyn. XII, Dahshur): “an offering that the king gives in all thy dignities (*m s’hw.k nbw*) and in all thy places which thou lovest.” Also Boston MFA 13.4333, Dyn. VI (H. Fischer, *Dendera*, Pl. 30 [b]): “in his name, in his dignity, in his rank.”

84. The last of the designations is an administrative title that acquired a secondary meaning in the context of the funerary ritual: cf. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952) pp. 137–171, who does not, however, include this example.

85. The funerary use of the title is not mentioned by Gardiner *Onomastica* I, p. 14* ff., who somewhat misleadingly states that “crown-prince” was “the only meaning still alive in Ramesside times.” For the hereditary aspect see, in addition to Gardiner’s

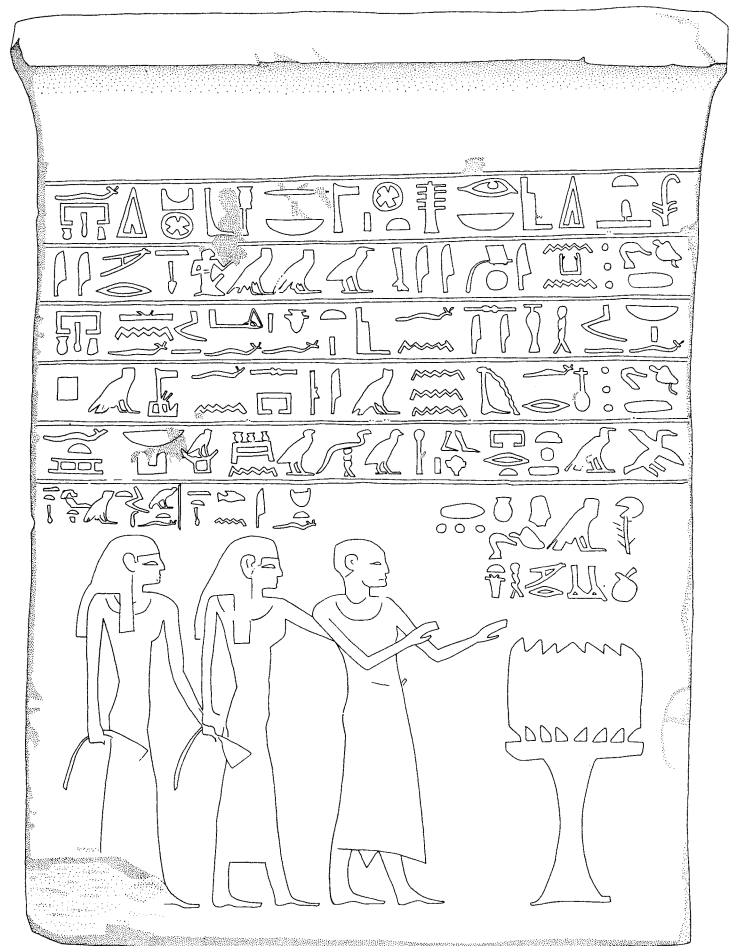













FIGURE 34
Brussels E 2161

remarks, those of Helck, “*Rp’t auf dem Thron des Gb*,” *Orientalia* 19 (1950) pp. 416–434. Again the priestly function is not discussed (even the case of *Ti-hr-nfrt*, p. 427, who presided over the Osirian mysteries as *s3-mr.f* “the loving son”), but Helck aptly quotes Pyr. 1458e (*CT* I, 179e/i): “Thou (Osiris) art the Great One, Lord of Abydos . . . Thoth has given him the throne of Geb, but Horus is the *iry-p’t*.” Elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts Geb is called the “*iry-p’t* of the gods,” and his son Osiris is called the “*iry-p’t* of Geb.”














86. I have summarized these uses of retrograde sequence in “L’Orientation des textes,” *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique* I (Cairo, 1973) pp. 21–23.







87. Brussels E 2161. Drawn from the photograph reproduced in the sales catalogue *Antiquités . . . appartenant à P. Philip* (Paris, 1905) no. 38. A hand copy of the text is given by Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions*, p. 17 (75); this is to be added to the evidence presented by Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, 69*–70*. The stela is said to come from Gebelein, but that provenance hardly seems possible in view of the internal evidence provided by the inscriptions.










“come forth upon the altar of ”; the owner’s mother is *M3tit-m-h3t*, a theophoric name referring to the lioness goddess, who was worshiped along with the falcon god and is the sole divinity attributed to  in the nome list of the Karnak shrine of Sesostris I.⁸⁸ Both divinities are known from the Old Kingdom tombs of Deir el Gebrawi,⁸⁹ but the capital was evidently located about fifteen kilometers to the southeast, at Atwala; this site has yielded a Thirteenth Dynasty fragment of relief from the temple of  and a late offering slab (CG 20037) that invokes offerings in the name of    .⁹⁰ The cemeteries near Atwala were persistently looted at the end of the last century, and these operations may well have produced both the statuette, which was presented in 1905, and the stela, which was auctioned in the same year.⁹¹



The writing of the nome emblem as  is not known elsewhere, but the omission of  is probably not accidental, since it occurs in the epithet of both husband and wife. If it is not an accident, this omission would mean that the terminal  is a phonetic complement, and would thus provide further support for the reading *3tft*, which Kees has proposed in *MDIK* 20 (1965), pp. 107–108. It has already been noted that the reading of , formerly read ‘*nty*’, is evidently to be read *Nnty*, as proposed by Berlev.















The title *S3w*

The sole title of Sobk-hotpe, written  and , occurs only very rarely in precisely this form. The *Wörterbuch* (III, 414 [4]) cites the Twelfth Dynasty stela CG 20597 for  as a title, and probably rightly so: Lange and Schäfer (*Grab- und Denksteine* III, p. 156) take this as part of a name, reading the whole as  , but their transcription in II, p. 237, shows  , i.e., the title *s3(w)* plus the common name *Nb(.i)-pw* (Ranke, *PN* I, 184 [14]). The title   also precedes the name of a certain *S3n* in Sinai inscription 105 (temp. Amenemhet III). In neither case does the context suggest the meaning, but  occurs again in an Eighteenth Dynasty scene representing funerary ceremonies; here an attendant labeled  follows another who is   (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 2); this last is one of the several designations of magicians (Gardiner, *PSBA* 39 [1917], p. 44) and is known from the Old and Middle

Kingdoms in the form   (Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 17, 22, 25, 27) and   (Sinai inscr. 90). The Sinai inscriptions also provide evidence for persons called  who are at the same time doctors and are therefore equally clearly *s3w* in the sense of “protector” or “magician” (inscr. 117a, 121, where  also occurs as an independent title), and the same association is attested in the Ebers Papyrus (99, 2–3; cf. Gardiner, *o.c.*, 33).

The question is whether the substitution of  for  would be expected in a title as early as the Twelfth Dynasty. Names like *Sbk-m-s3.f* show such a substitution in Middle Kingdom inscriptions (Ranke, *PN* I, p. 304 [7–9] and cf. p. 69 [23–26] and p. 384 [19–22]), and conversely, the title   is written   on at least one stela that appears to date to the Twelfth Dynasty—CG 20162—while  “overseer of gangs (of workers),” which generally takes this form in Sinai inscriptions (nos. 92, 136, 137, 143, 412, 502), is repeatedly written   in no. 85, dating to Amenemhet III.

It seems doubtful, however, that the Sinai example of   means “magician” in view of a rock inscription at Aswan (Petrie’s no. 286) which seems to refer to the same individual,⁹² mentioning his father in this case rather than his mother:

Sinai 105              




onymous with the aforementioned title *imy-s3* “one who is within a corps (of workers),”⁹⁴ and this in turn would support the interpretation of *s3w*, in the other case, as “ganger,” which is the meaning tentatively suggested in Peet-Gardiner-Černý, *Sinai*, p. 109.

I find it difficult, however, to believe that the translation “ganger” is applicable in the present case. A person of so humble a rank would hardly have been able to purchase a statuette of the quality that Sobkhotpe was able to afford. For this reason alone one may conclude that he was more probably a “magician.”

AN EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DYAD WITH AN ALTERED INSCRIPTION

The sculpture

Representations of corpulent men are well known in relief and statuary from the Fourth Dynasty onward, and a relief of only slightly later date contrasts the obesity of a middle-aged husband with the youthful slimness of his wife.⁹⁵ Such a contrast is rarely presented in either relief or statuary, however, and the example shown here (Figures 35–38) may be the earliest of its kind in three dimensions. The closest comparison is provided by the statue of Bak and his wife, dating to the Amarna Period (Figure 39),⁹⁶ although a second New Kingdom example (Figure 40) is closer in date and more comparable in respect to attire.⁹⁷

94. Compare  and  (var. ), which, according to *Wb.* III, 373 (3), is known from the Ptolemaic Period in reference to priests or sages and is presumably to be interpreted as “one who is within the (priestly) phyle(s).”

95. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty,” *JNES* 18 (1959) pp. 243–248, fig. 8.

96. Berlin (Charlottenburg) 1/63: W. Kaiser, *Jahrbuch der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 2 (1963) p. 133 ff; *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967) no. 766.

97. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 2099. In his *Manuel d'archéologie* III, pp. 495, 504, Vandier dates this statuette, along with another, representing the same man's wife, to the reign of Tuthmosis I. Lacking the publication in which the texts are presented (Turaiev, *Statues et statuettes de la Collection Golénischef*, nos. 46–47), I have obtained further information from Professor Vandier, including a reference to Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I (2nd ed.), Pt. 1, p. 414, where the statuettes are identified as coming from Theban tomb 345. A slightly later date is possible, however; Kees *ÄZ* 85 [1960] (p. 47) believes the tomb to be “etwa Hatshepsut,” but this would not necessarily mean a difference of more than eight years, while a date within the reign of Tuthmo-

The difference between the proportions of the man and woman is accentuated if they are viewed from the side, as is the difference in attitude. The feet of the woman remain together, as dictated by earlier tradition, and unlike later statuary of the New Kingdom in which women more usually extend the left foot at least slightly, echoing the more decisively advanced foot that is characteristic of men.⁹⁸ These differences are mitigated by the massive backing from which the two figures emerge, and by the equally massive base on which they stand. A harmonious effect is also struck by the mass and contour of the woman's wig, which—since her husband is wigless⁹⁹—nicely balances the lower and larger mass of his flaring kilt.

Despite the fact that it stands only 29.7 cm. high, the balanced simplicity of the statuette creates an impression of monumentality that is in keeping with the hard dark stone from which it is made.¹⁰⁰ In this respect it seems to continue the style and taste of the later Middle Kingdom. The faces, however, have acquired the slightly squinting blandness of the early New Kingdom, and seem rather masklike compared to the more expressive physiognomies of the Twelfth Dynasty. The interlaced arms of the couple represent an entirely new feature, as far as representations of husband and wife are concerned, and this may be one of the earliest examples.¹⁰¹

The form of the wife's wig is similar to those of the early New Kingdom, consisting of long braided strands

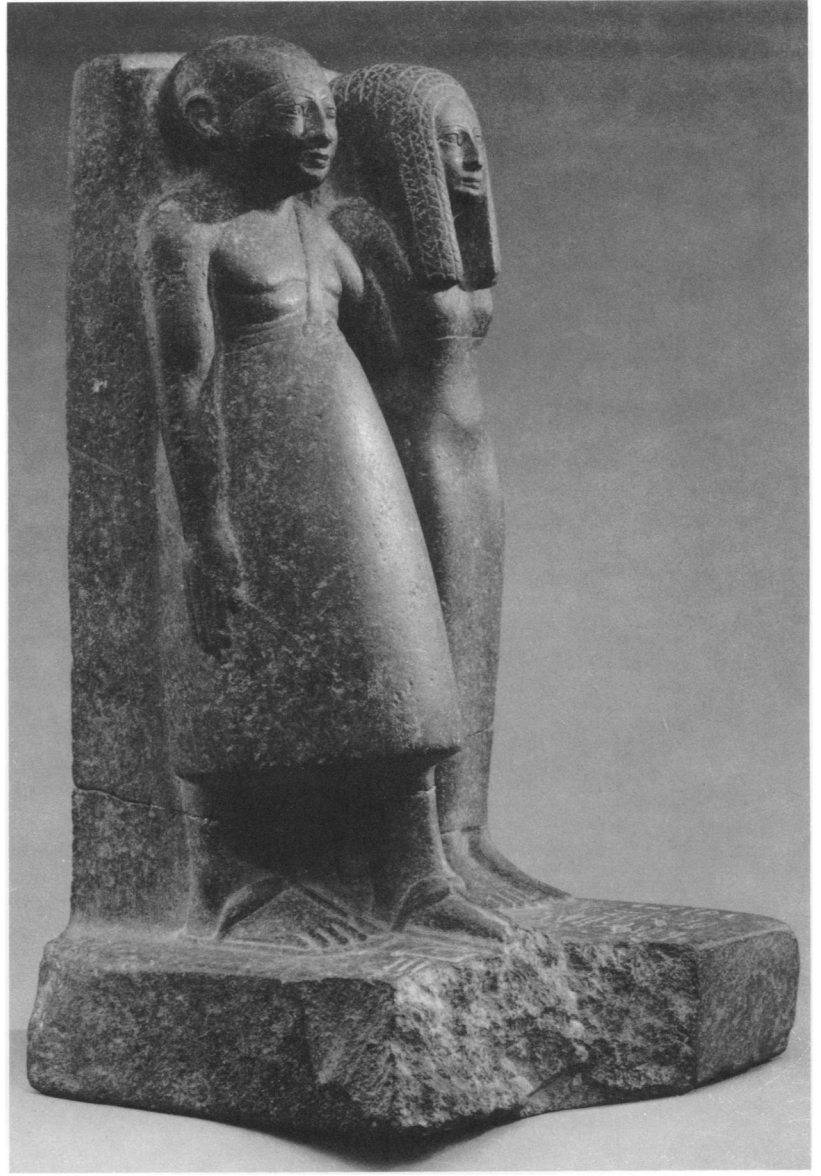
sis I would still be about fifty years later than the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Further illustrations of the statuettes (in addition to those mentioned by Porter-Moss) are to be found in S. Khodzhash, *Egipetskoe Iskusstvo v Gosudarstvennom Muzei Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Imeni A. S. Pushkina* (Moscow, 1971) pls. 34–37; Irmgard Woldering, *Gods Men and Pharaohs* (Fribourg, Switzerland, n.d.) p. 134.

98. Cf., for example, MMA 24.7.1424 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 31, p. 62), with one foot very slightly advanced, and the earlier statuette MMA 16.11.369 (*Scepter* II, fig. 5, p. 15), with the feet together; also Figure 40.

99. A usual feature in representations of portly aging men; see *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 245 (article cited in note 95 above).

100. The stone has been identified by Pieter Meyers as gabbro, but it might also be called diorite (or dioritic-gabbro).

101. See note 69 above. Groups belonging to the preceding Second Intermediate Period generally show clasped hands, as exemplified by MMA 16.10.369 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 5, p. 15) and Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, pl. 15 (1, 3).



FIGURES 35, 36, 37, 38 Eighteenth Dynasty dyad, MMA 62.186

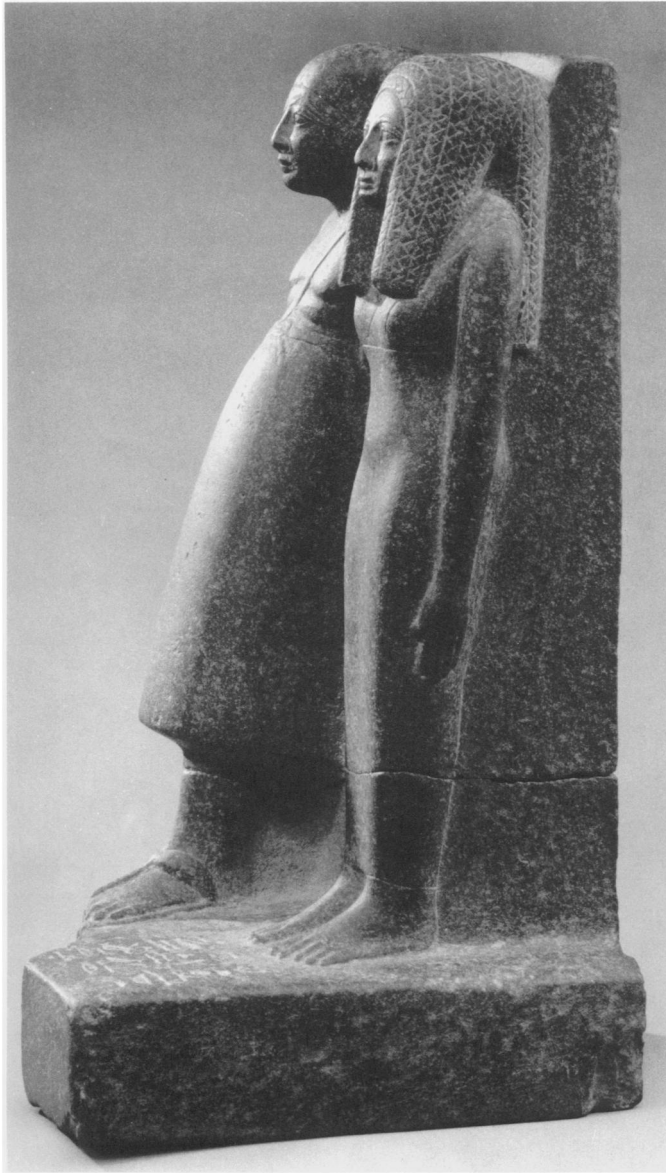
but the crown of her head shows a lozenge-shaped blank area (Figure 41) for which I can find no parallel; presumably it is related to the median band, or pair of bands, that appears on most women's wigs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (e.g., Figure 40).¹⁰²

The clothing shows none of the changes that begin to appear in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, since the statue is presumably of earlier manufacture. The single strap of the wife's dress is extremely uncommon in statuary, but is occasionally found in two-dimensional

representations from the Old Kingdom onward,¹⁰³ and is more frequently seen on those of the early New

102. See Vandier, *Manuel III*, p. 254. Possibly this detail represents a "skull plate" (Arabic *ḫurs*) like that of the headdress shown in Winlock, *Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*, p. 14, pl. 4.

103. For the Old Kingdom see Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 168, who cites Oriental Institute, *Mereruka*, pl. 94; Junker, *Giza X*, figs. 44–45, pl. 18a; CG 250. For the Middle Kingdom see Blackman, *Meir II*, pl. 3, and CG 20456, 20754.



Kingdom.¹⁰⁴ It is considerably more surprising to find a single, narrower strap repeated in the husband's attire; while single straps are not unknown in earlier representations of men, they generally belong to the costume of workers or soldiers and are bandoleers, not intended to support the kilt.¹⁰⁵ Normally the long kilt lacks any support of this kind whatever except in the case of the vizier's harness, as attested from the late Middle Kingdom onward—a cord passed behind the neck and fastened at two points on the front edge.¹⁰⁶

In the present case the fastening of the kilt, which

104. E.g., MMA 19.3.33 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 7, p. 19); 12.182.3 (*ibid.*, fig. 93, p. 169); Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pls. 9, 63, 64, 66, 67, 73.

105. For soldiers and workmen see Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961) p. 66, note 48. The Middle Kingdom examples in Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, all represent the costume of the lector priest: CG 20246, 20404, 20515, and all the cases shown in Pt. IV, pls. 82–83 except 427 (a soldier).

106. Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 250; for examples of the vizier's straps on stelae see CG 20102, 20690.



FIGURE 39
Eighteenth Dynasty dyad, Amarna Period,
Berlin (West) 1/63

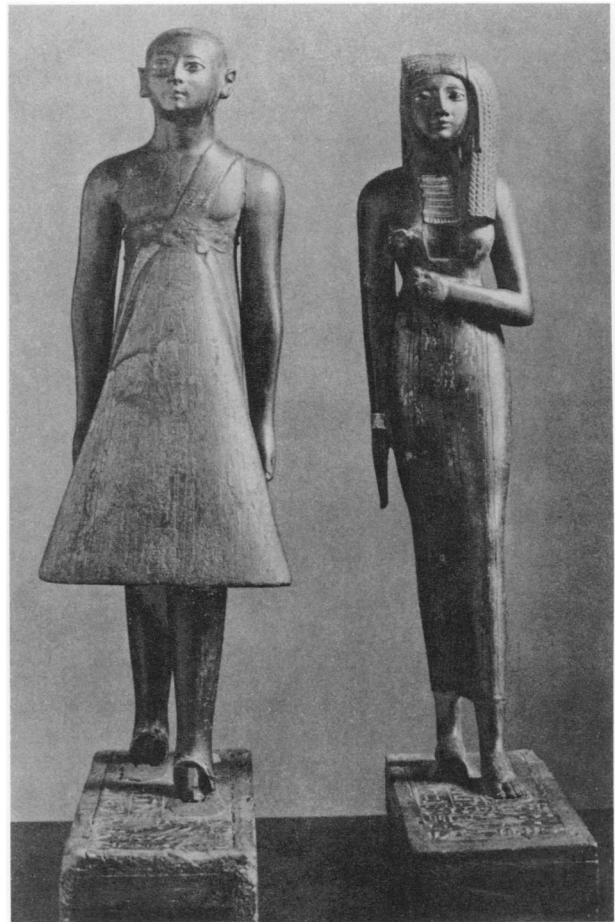
FIGURE 40
Eighteenth Dynasty dyad, Pushkin Museum,
Moscow 2099

seems to derive from the Old Kingdom dress bow, is also unexpected, although there are some other New Kingdom examples where this knot is revived in connection with the archaic half-goffered kilt.¹⁰⁷ And the very loose form of the knot is probably unique. There is, however, one other early New Kingdom example of a long kilt with single strap and knot—the wooden statuette in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (Figure 40).

Inscriptions

The inscriptions on the base (Figure 42) identify the couple, but his name is lost, leaving only a title that preceded it: “*wʿb*-priest.” She is “His wife, the Mistress of the House, Yotes-resu,^a who is called Tjare.”^b

107. See Engelbach, *ASAE* 29 (1929) p. 45, referring to CG 42125 and cf. also CG 42132.



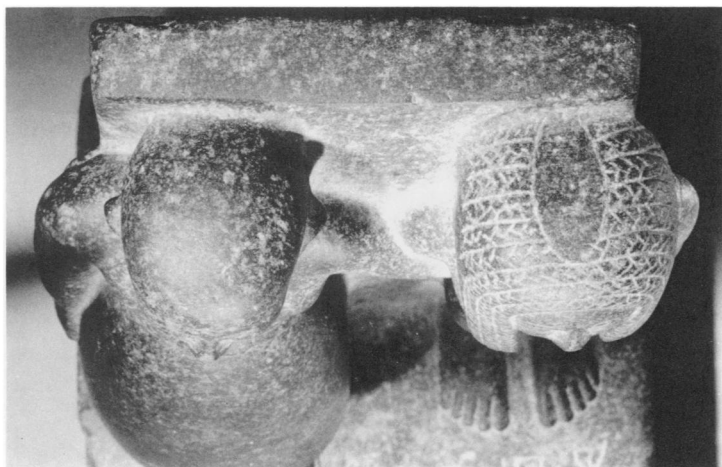




FIGURE 41
Detail of woman's headdress, MMA 62.186

The inscription on the back (Figure 43) comprises four vertical columns, the left pair referring to the husband, the right pair referring to his wife. The lower part of the surface, including the entire width of the backpillar and more than three-fifths of its height, has been ground down to eliminate the original signs and a new inscription has replaced this portion of the old one. The substituted signs have a fresher look than those on the base, but this contrast is less apparent on the upper portion of the backpillar since the signs there have been scraped out to reduce the contrast. Otherwise the signs at the top of the backpillar correspond to the style of those on the front. There are, however, some slight alterations in the group   at the upper right.

Although the secondary inscription is more or less suited to the lines above it, it has produced a lack of continuity between the first and second column of each pair. This problem is indicated, in the following translation, by a series of dots and by a partial restoration of the original context, while the whole of the secondary inscription is distinguished by italics:

(Left, 1) An offering that the king gives (to) Amun^c Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, Presiding over Karnak, *that he may give funerary offerings to One who is Praised of the Lord of the Two Lands^a . . . (2) . . . [to] the spirit of the w'b-priest of Bastet, Mistress of Bubastis, the Priest of Amun (Lord) of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, the priest of Ptah, Na-nefer-kheperu.^e*

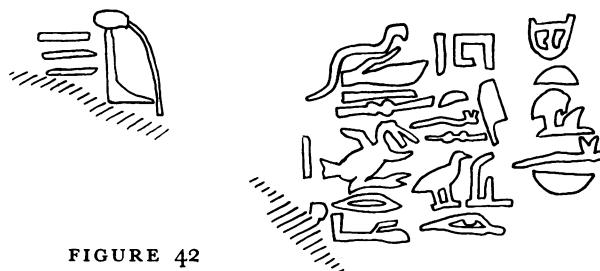
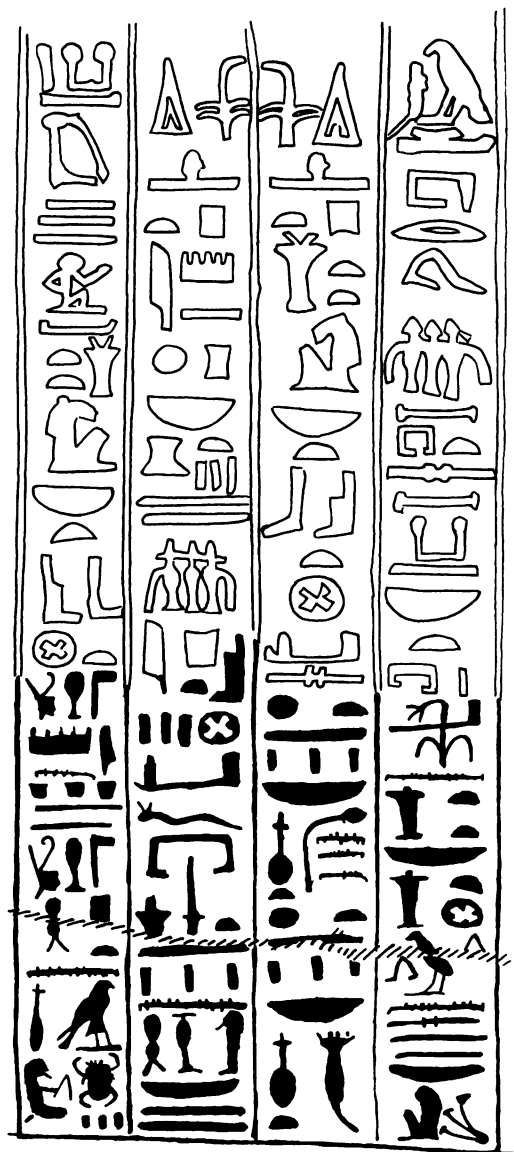
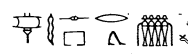




FIGURE 42
Inscription on base of MMA 62.186

FIGURE 43
Inscription on backpillar of MMA 62.186



32


 (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pls. 27B [bottom left], 27N [1]).


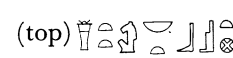
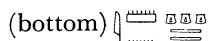
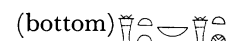
(h) Not attested in Ranke, *PN*; evidently  is a mistake for .




Conclusions



In view of the lack of continuity between the first and second column in each half of this inscription, it is unlikely that the reinscribed portion is the work of an ancient Egyptian, and this conclusion is reinforced by several other considerations. In the first place the alterations do not seem to have served any practical purpose; they can hardly be regarded as a correction or restoration,¹¹² and it is equally difficult to believe that they represent a later usurpation, for in that case one would expect the names on the base of the statue to have been changed; it is those inscriptions, after all, that most directly “determine” the statue’s identity. Even if one makes the unlikely assumption that a later individual merely wished to share the statue with the original owner by usurping the funerary formulae on the back, he would have applied the changes to the titles and names alone and not to an entire segment of the inscription that, on the one hand, leaves some of the original titles unaltered and, on the other hand, includes portions of the funerary formulae that are not only irrelevant to the presumed change of ownership but actually, as a result of the changes, have become less intelligible.

The only other purpose that these changes could have served is a prosthetic one. Presumably the lower part of the inscription was more scarred and pitted than the upper portion, and this may have been the point of impact when the statue was broken into two pieces, although a corner has also been detached from the left front corner of the base. Once the surface had

been smoothed down, the “restorer” had to complete the inscription by adding new signs. He did not—as in another case which I have discussed elsewhere¹¹³—attempt to fill in the space with hieroglyphs imitated from the original; instead he copied another ancient text that was somewhat different in style¹¹⁴ but must otherwise have seemed to have filled the need felicitously. The most conspicuous stylistic difference is the form of the sign , which is written — or — in the upper part of the four columns and on the base, and is — in all four columns within the reworked area. Other differences appear in the phrases identifying Amun and Bastet:

(top) 	(top) 
(bottom) 	(bottom) 

In both cases the lower part of the inscription shows greater brevity. These points of consistency suggest that the substituted text was copied from a single inscription rather than from several sources. The copyist evidently followed the original very closely, but he did not understand the logic of the reversal in the first of the left-hand pair of columns, and reversed the remaining signs so that their orientation was the same. Obviously the copy cannot be trusted in every detail, and one would like to verify some of the orthographic peculiarities, such as , , and  (the last presumably representing *nb t3wy*).


If the presumably modern restorer worked from a single inscription and if—as the woman’s title indicates—the second inscription came from Bubastis, it is interesting that the man is a priest of Amun and Ptah, for these gods, however important in their own right, are not known to have had a cult in that city.¹¹⁵ A relatively late date is suggested by  as a writing of *m3't-hrw* after the woman’s name. According to W. Erichsen’s study of the epithet in question, the use of  is first attested in the Amarna Period, but does not

112. The restoration of extensive portions of the texts on a statue is attested by CG 42114. A stela of the same person—Senmut—was similarly effaced and extensively restored: Helck, *ÄZ* 85 (1960), pp. 23–34, believes that the erasures were made by the Atenists and the restorations by Horemheb or Seti I. That explanation is excluded in the present case because the name of Amun was left intact.


113. “The inscription of *In-ut.f*, born of *Iti*,” *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 258–260.

114. Cf. A. Wiedemann, *PSBA* 33 (1911) pp. 167–168, concerning a statue in Athens the inscription of which is a forgery “copied from a genuine inscription which is unknown to us.”

115. For their mention there see Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 111–117; it is assumed that, in most cases, the evidence involves monuments brought from other places.

become common until the Nineteenth Dynasty and later.¹¹⁶ The man's name, if correctly read as Nanefer-kheperu, is even more distinctly later, since names of this pattern did not become current until the Twenty-second Dynasty. The writing of *h*sy as  also suggests this late date.¹¹⁷

116. *Acta Orientalia* 6 (1928) p. 272; Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 26 (1904) p. 49, had already come to very nearly the same conclusion.

117. Another relatively late feature is the writing of  in the name *Tw-n.s-nb-t3wy*, which does not seem to become common before Dyn. XIX (e.g., CG 561, 606). The form of — is occasionally attested after the New Kingdom: relatively late examples are to be found in Petrie, *Abydos* III, pl. 25 (left), and Randall-Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 31/D7, the latter dating to the Libyan Period. But it is also known earlier, in the Middle Kingdom (Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. 27, bottom right; Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw*, pl. 14 [a]; Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pl. 49 [MMA 26.7.1438]), and Second Intermediate Period (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 8 [Dyn. 17]; BM 40958 [*Hieroglyphic Texts* V, pl. 19]); also in the Old Kingdom, e.g., CG 1495 and Junker, *Giza* IV, pls. 4–8.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

AJA—*American Journal of Archaeology*

AJSL—*American Journal of Semitic Languages*

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*

ÄZ—*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

BiOr—*Bibliotheca Orientalis*

BM—*British Museum*

BMMA—*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

CG+number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*:

CG 1–1294: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* I–IV (Berlin, 1911–34);

CG 1295–1808: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I–II (Berlin, 1937–64);

CG 20001–20780: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine der Mittleren Reichs* I–IV (Berlin, 1902–25);

CG 23001–23256: Ahmed Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes* I–II (Cairo, 1906–09);

CG 42001–42191: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* I–II (Cairo, 1906–09)

CT—A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1935–61)

JARCE—*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

LD—C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, n.d.)

MDIK—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*

MMA—*Metropolitan Museum of Art*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

PSBA—*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

Ranke, PN—H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935, [1952])

RdE—*Revue d'Égyptologie*

Rec. trav.—*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*

ZDMG—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*