

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

SONDERSCHRIFT

28

1995

VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · GEGRÜNDET 1785 · MAINZ

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

Kunst des Alten Reiches

SYMPOSIUM IM
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUT KAIRO
AM 29. UND 30. OKTOBER 1991



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ AM RHEIN

VII, 173 Seiten, 42 Abbildungen und 68 Tafeln mit 229 Abbildungen

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Gerda Henkel Stiftung

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Kunst des Alten Reiches : Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen
Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991 / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut,
Abteilung Kairo. – Mainz am Rhein : von Zabern, 1995

(Sonderschrift / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo ; 28)
ISBN 3-8053-1710-7

NE: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin) / Abteilung (al-Qāhira);
Sonderschrift

© 1995 by Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein
ISBN 3-8053-1710-7

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Printed in Germany by Philipp von Zabern

Printed on fade resistant and archival quality paper (PH 7 neutral)

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Pseudo-Groups

By MARIANNE EATON-KRAUSS

(Plates 14–19)

The term «pseudo-group» was coined by JEAN CAPART who employed it to describe a statue type peculiar to the Old Kingdom and composed of two figures depicting the same person.¹ Subsequently, the term came to be used to describe any Old Kingdom statue in which one of the persons included was represented more than once. The definition that premises the following discussion describes a pseudo-group as a free-standing statue comprising two or more figures in which one of the persons included is depicted at least twice. An additional, salient characteristic of pseudo-groups is that each could be divided into at least two separate statues of the owner without damaging any figure included in the composition.

Speculation on the function and meaning of pseudo-groups has dominated Egyptological interest in the genre. CHARLES BOREUX proposed two different explanations.² For those statues in which the figures of the same person were the same size, he suggested that the pseudo-group embodied the statue owner's emulation of the ruler's dual nature as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. When the figures were not the same height,³ BOREUX believed they depicted the same person at different ages.⁴

HERMANN JUNKER sought a religious explanation for the genre, arguing that pseudo-groups depicted the statue owner together with his ka.⁵

The latest comprehensive review of the material was undertaken by JACQUES VANDIER.⁶ Raising valid objections to the theories of BOREUX⁷ and JUNKER,⁸ VANDIER elaborated on an idea discussed but rejected by the latter that the creation of the type was inspired by rock-cut statuary, and he intimated that the invention of both pseudo-groups and rock-cut statuary was related to

¹ *L'art égyptien, études et histoire*, tome 1, Brussels 1924, 221.

² *Quelques remarques sur les 'pseudo-groupes' égyptiens*, in: *MIFAO* 66.1 (*Mélanges Maspero* 1), Cairo 1935-38, 805-15.

³ The discrepancy in the examples dealt with by BOREUX was very minimal, amounting to only a fraction of the total height.

⁴ For BOREUX's somewhat different interpretation of the *Mrt-jtj.s* group in Leiden (AST 9), Cat. 32 in the catalogue that accompanies this study, see further below, note 48.

⁵ *Giza* VII, 96-100. – Apparently, PLEYTE was the first to offer, and CAPART the first to challenge, this explanation: see J. CAPART, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens* (hereafter: *Rec. Mon. Ég.*), Brussels 1902, second of two unnumbered pages discussing pls. IV and V (= Leiden AST 9). Despite VANDIER's cogent arguments against it (*Manuel* III, 86f.), JUNKER's thesis persists among German-speaking Egyptologists. Two authors who favoured it in recent publications are P. KAPLONY («Ka,» *LÄ* III, 276) and E. MARTIN-PARDEY (*Plastik*

des Alten Reiches 1, CAA Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim Lfg. 1 [hereafter: *CAA Hildesheim* 1], Mainz 1977, 127).

⁶ *Manuel* III, 85-90. See also the brief comments of W. K. SIMPSON, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part I* (hereafter: *Western Cemetery* I), *Giza Mastabas* 4, Boston 1980, 26, and the discussion, further below, of U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER's study.

⁷ O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN, in *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1941, Copenhagen 1941, 65f., had already raised objections to BOREUX's first explanation.

⁸ An additional objection can be added: if one of the figures does depict the ka, why do inscriptions labelling the figures in pseudo-groups never refer to the ka but designate the figures instead simply as the statue owner himself? Indeed, neither in relief and painting nor in statuary is there an example of the representation of a non-royal ka clearly so labelled. The fact that depictions of the royal ka are appropriately labelled and provided with distinctive iconography makes the contrast all the more significant. (For the cult of the *ka njswt*, see L. BELL, in: *JNES* 44, 1985, 251-94.)

the proliferation of statuary documented from late Dynasty IV on, in response to the tomb owner's wish for a multiplicity of three-dimensional images.⁹ A similar conclusion had also been reached by ANWAR SHOUKRY.¹⁰ Support for this hypothesis, which I believe best suits the available data, is provided by the existence of hitherto unrecognized early examples of pseudo-groups considered below.

VANDIER discussed nineteen pseudo-groups; the catalogue appended to this paper comprises thirty-two examples, four of them (Cats. 17, 21, 25 and 26) assigned to the genre with certain reservations, as set out below. This substantial increase in the material available for analysis over that known to VANDIER was facilitated by the appearance in the interim of the revised, second edition of PM III.¹¹ In addition to the identification of several «new» pieces, I have tentatively reinstated as Cat. 26 one example considered by both BOREUX and JUNKER but which VANDIER excluded from consideration (see further below), and I have also eliminated one of VANDIER's pseudo-groups since it does not satisfy the definition set out above.¹²

The group Hildesheim 17 is also excluded from my catalogue. URSULA RÖSSLER-KÖHLER has recently suggested that it is a pseudo-group depicting a woman labelled *rbt-njswt. Ppj*, with a single son shown twice: to her right as a naked child with youth lock (identified by an inscription as the *wcb-njswt R^c-špss*) and to her left as a grown man whom she embraces (*s3.s R^c-špss*).¹³ If RÖSSLER-KÖHLER's thesis be accepted, it could be interpreted to support BOREUX's second explanation for the genre – i.e., two figures of the same person in a pseudo-group, if they are not exactly the same size, depict the statue owner at different ages.

The importance of the woman in the composition of Hildesheim 17 is emphasized not only by her size – she is noticeably taller than the adult man who accompanies her – but also by the text identifying his figure as «her son». In all the pseudo-groups known to me, it is the statue owner – here clearly *Ppj* – who is depicted twice, not a supplementary figure. Furthermore, since the three figures are united by gesture (the child lays its left arm around *Ppj*'s hips and *Ppj* herself embraces the man to her left) it would be impossible to divide the group into two separate statues without mutilating one of the figures. These observations cast doubt on the interpretation of the statue suggested by RÖSSLER-KÖHLER.

In the past, it has been presumed that the labels identifying the male figures flanking *Ppj* were inadvertently exchanged by the craftsman who added them, and that the adult male was *Ppj*'s husband, after whom «their» son was named. According to this interpretation, which is favoured in the publications of the museum,¹⁴ the child at the proper right would be «her son Rashepses»

⁹ *Manuel III*, 88.

¹⁰ *Die Privatgrabstatue im alten Reich* (hereafter: *Privatgrabstatue*), CASAE 15, Cairo 1951, 175 f.

¹¹ All references to PM III below are to this second edition, revised and augmented by JAROMIR MALEK, Oxford 1974-81.

¹² VANDIER's «Giza 59,» two identical rock-cut figures within a niche in the tomb of *Nj-wd3-Pth*, PM III 62 f. (see ABDEL-MONEIM ABU BAKR, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950*, Cairo 1953, 106, pl. LXIA). At one time, I followed VANDIER in considering this rock-cut pair a pseudo-group: *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (hereafter: *Representations*), ÄA 39, Wiesbaden 1984, 22. His reason for including it among the pseudo-groups is not clear, especially since he did not include analogous rock-cut statues in other tombs such as, e.g., a series of female figures in G 7530-7540 (four customarily identified as

Mrj.s-nh III and three others as her mother Queen *Htp-hts* II: D. DUNHAM and W. K. SIMPSON, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530-7540* [hereafter: *Mersyankh*], *Giza Mastabas 1*, Boston 1974, 20 with pl. VI; M. SEIDEL and D. WILDUNG, in: *Das alte Ägypten*, Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte 15, C. VANDERSLEYEN, ed., Berlin 1975, 225, include these figures as examples of pseudo-groups) and another row in G 7101 (W. K. SIMPSON, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu G 7101 and 7102*, *Giza Mastabas 2*, Boston 1976, 8 with pl. XIa).

¹³ *Die rundplastische Gruppe der Frau Pepi und des Mannes Ra-Schepses (Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie von Familiendarstellungen des Alten Reiches)*, in: MDAIK 45, 1989, 261-74.

¹⁴ E. g., CAA Hildesheim 1, 3/7-8; R. SCHULZ, in: *Das alte Reich, Ägypten im Zeitalter der Pyramiden*, A. EGGBRECHT, ed., Hildesheim und Mainz 1986, 60.

while the adult male to the proper left would be the husband and father, «the wab-priest Ra-shepses.»¹⁵ The difficulty posed by this interpretation is the larger stature of the woman, since a wife is customarily shown shorter than her spouse. The third alternative, advocated here, is that the male figures depict two different sons of *Ppj* both called *Rc-šps*.¹⁶ Though not common, it is by no means unknown that two – or even three – brothers bear the same name.¹⁷ A point in favour of this alternative is that its acceptance eliminates the need for emendation. Furthermore, if both sons did indeed bear the same name, the absence of filiation in the label of *Ppj*'s younger son and its inclusion in that of the older possesses an inner logic. The iconography employed for the figure at the proper right (markedly smaller-scale, nudity, youth lock) adequately characterized his relationship to *Ppj* whereas the slightly reduced height of the grown son and the filiation included in his label should have prevented his being mistaken for her husband.¹⁸

Cat. 30, a group in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, does in all probability indeed depict the statue owner twice together with his mother (Pl. 14 a), but the composition is quite different from Hildesheim 17. Two identical adult males sit flanking a woman who embraces the man at the proper right. The identities of the woman and the man she embraces are assured, since inscriptions preserved on top of the base in front of them name the tomb owner *Pḥn-Pth* and his mother. Her damaged text preserves only traces of her name (*Jmn-df3.s*), but a second statue from the same tomb (Vienna 7502), again depicting her embracing her son, does include the filiation *mwt.f*.¹⁹ The familial relationship is confirmed by the reliefs and inscriptions in the tomb of *Sšm-nfr* (I), *Pḥn-Pth*'s father.²⁰ It might be argued that the second male figure in the Boston group is *Sšm-nfr* (I), rather than *Pḥn-Pth* himself, but this is unlikely since the figure is distinguished in no way from the man at the proper right. Thus there can be no serious objection to the identification of the Boston statue as a pseudo-group.

Generalizations about pseudo-groups have claimed that they are usually small and more often than not of sub-standard workmanship.²¹ In fact, only five examples are significantly smaller than a cubit in height (Cats. 7-9, 13 and 19), while the majority measure more than a cubit, and three (Cats. 12, 24 and 27) exceed two cubits. The quality of most pseudo-groups is best described as conventional, but some are definitely well above average, such as Cats. 4, 24, 31, and 32. Although limestone is the predominant material (about two-thirds of the total), there are seven pseudo-groups made of granite and one each in basalt, calcite, quartzite and even wood. Thus the scale,

¹⁵ Note, however, that sons clearly depicted as children – i.e. nude, with side lock and index finger to the mouth – may bear such titles, cf. e.g., Bklyn. 49.215 discussed below, p. 63 with note 38.

¹⁶ An interpretation implicit in the remarks of H. G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, New York 1989, 6. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER mentions this possibility only to reject it, terming occurrences of like-named siblings unusual.

¹⁷ The specific examples dating to the Old Kingdom cited by H. RANKE, *PN* II, 10f., involve more than two brothers with the same name.

¹⁸ No inscriptions identify the owner of the tomb with which the statue was associated, D 23 in the «STEINDORFF Cemetery» at Giza: G. STEINDORFF and U. HÖLSCHER, *Die Mastabas westlich der Cheops-Pyramide* (A. GRIMM, ed.; hereafter: *Mastabas*), *Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen* 2, Frankfurt – Bern – New York – Paris 1992, 33f. I suspect it belonged to *Ppj* herself.

¹⁹ The text is reproduced by JUNKER, *Giza* III, 221 fig. 43 (above). I am indebted to HELMUT SATZINGER, Director of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Dept. of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for information on the appearance of this group; it is to be published and illustrated for the first time in a volume of the *CAA*, in press. The mother is shown on a slightly smaller scale than her striding adult son whom she embraces, so that the proportions are comparable to those customarily used for depicting a wife with her husband. A third statue from *Pḥn-Pth*'s tomb (JE 44609; HORNEMANN, *Types* 344) is also exceptional, since it is the only striding figure known from ancient Egypt that has the right leg advanced.

²⁰ PM III, 142f.

²¹ See e.g. SHOUKRY, *Privatgrabstatue*, 176; cf. JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 97. A negative assessment is also implicit in VANDIER's citation, *Manuel* III, 86 n. 1.

material and quality of pseudo-groups are analogous to those of other statue types made from Dynasty V through VI, the time-span to which almost all the pseudo-groups are datable. Finally, it should be noted that the type was not used exclusively for non-royal patrons since one pseudo-group depicting a king is known (Cat. 1).

Of the thirteen pseudo-groups that were discovered, according to the excavator, in situ (Cats. 3, 5, 8, 9, 12, 15, 22-5, 27, 28, and 30), all but three were removed from a *serdab*: Cat. 15, together with the remains of other wooden statuary and models, was recovered from a recess at the bottom of a shaft tomb; HASSAN found Cat. 22 propped against a pier in the offering room of *R^c-wr*'s tomb, and Cat. 25 on the floor of the chapel in front of the false door in an anonymous mastaba. The remaining ten statues were distributed among only six tombs, with three of the *serdabs* sheltering more than one pseudo-group. The other pseudo-groups from known contexts (Cats. 2, 4, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, and 26) derive from «debris», sometimes but not always associated with a particular tomb.

Four²² officials with tombs at Giza owned more than one pseudo-group (*B3-b3.f*: Cats. 2 and 16; *Mr-sw-^{cnh}*: Cats. 3 and 23; *Pn-mrw*: Cats. 5, 24 and 27; *Pth-šps*: Cats. 8 and 9), and it is argued below that three others (Cats. 20, 31 and 32) come from a single tomb at Saqqara.

If a damaged statue depicting three men seated cross-legged on a common base (Cat. 21) is indeed a pseudo-group, the interpretation I consider most probable, then it is the earliest securely datable example. Some doubt persists, since SELIM HASSAN was able to decipher only the inscription cut on the lap of the middle figure.²³ It preserves the man's title (*hm-k3*) and his name which is **not** that of the tomb owner *Nb-m-3ht*, a son of Queen *Mrj.s-^{cnh}* III.²⁴ In her tomb, there is a series of six anepigraphic rock-cut statues of similarly squatting men whom GEORGE REISNER identified as six different priests serving her cult.²⁵ But they, too, may all represent a single person instead. It is quite likely that the rock-cut figures in the queen's tomb served as the prototype for the group recovered from her son's,²⁶ providing support for the postulated link between rock-cut statuary and the creation of the first pseudo-groups.

The presumed pseudo-group from *Nb-m-3ht*'s tomb is unique in depicting squatting figures. The most frequently encountered figure combination in the genre is two striding²⁷ or standing figures; fifteen examples are included in the catalogue. One of them represents two women while eleven of the remaining fourteen groups show two men striding side by side. In the composition of

²² Or perhaps five, if Cat. 26 is indeed to be associated with *R^c-wr*, as usually presumed following HASSAN's assignment of it to his tomb. The anepigraphic group was recovered from a shaft into which it had been thrown and may have belonged originally to the equipment of *Mr-sw-^{cnh}*'s adjacent tomb, rather than to *R^c-wr*. (Cat. 22 which was found in *R^c-wr*'s tomb certainly does belong to him since his name is inscribed on it.)

²³ I.e. possibly three different men are shown, the interpretation preferred by JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 98 n. 2. The same uncertainty exists in the identification of the rock-cut figures in the tomb of Queen *Mrj.s-^{cnh}* III discussed immediately below. Cat. 21, like the other pseudo-groups excavated by HASSAN at Giza (Cats. 12, 13, 14, and 25), is presumably still at the site in a storeroom of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

²⁴ For the dating of both the queen's tomb and that of her son, see EATON-KRAUSS, *Representations*, 107-9.

²⁵ Cited by DUNHAM and SIMPSON, *Mersyankh*, 17,

with pls. VIII and IX a-b. Four figures side by side occupy a single niche; the two remaining figures occupy separate niches immediately to the right; in each case the man's open hands rest flat on his thighs, in contrast to the arms of the figures in Cat. 21 which are crossed over the chest.

²⁶ JUNKER, *Giza* VII, 98, too, compared the squatting rock-cut figures in *Mrj.s-^{cnh}*'s tomb with the statue from *Nb-m-3ht*'s, but without noting the familial relationship of the tomb owners, which increases the likelihood of the former influencing the latter. Furthermore, JUNKER did not believe that the figures depicted the same person more than once in either case, but rather several different persons.

²⁷ For this description of the attitude showing the figure's left leg advanced, see M. EATON-KRAUSS and C. E. LOEBEN, *Some comments on the Louvre statues of Sepa and Nesames*, in: *Chief of Seers: Studies for CYRIL ALDRED*, in press.

the other three groups, two men stand with their feet together. In these three cases, the statue base is very shallow; probably the static posture was predetermined by the shape of the block (comparatively tall and flat) available to the sculptor.²⁸

Only six of the pseudo-groups depicting two striding or standing figures are datable with any degree of precision. The earliest (Cat. 2) is represented by fragments of a statue excavated from G 5230, the tomb of *B3-b3.f* who served as vizier not later than the beginning of Dynasty V. *B3-b3.f*'s tomb, which was cleared by the Harvard-Boston Expedition and is to be published by WILLIAM K. SIMPSON in the Giza Mastaba series, was supplied with a remarkable number of statues,²⁹ among them the earliest pseudo-group composed of two seated figures (Cat. 16) as well. It can hardly be coincidental that the vizier's tomb, and that of *R^c-wr* (which yielded the largest number of statues recovered from any Old Kingdom tomb) as well, were provided with pseudo-groups, in view of the variety of other statuary with which both tombs were equipped.

The other datable examples of pseudo-groups composed of two striding men include Cat. 3 from the tomb of *Mr-sw-nb*, a funerary priest associated with the cult of *R^c-wr* (fl. Neferirkare); Cat. 4 depicting *Nj-m3^{ct}-sd* who was i. a. a prophet in the funerary cult of Neuserre; Cat. 1, the only royal example, depicting Neuserre; Cat. 5 dated to the end of Dynasty V by the association of the owner *Pn-mrw* with the vizier *Ssm-nfr* (III); and Cat. 6. This last example, not an actual statue but the representation of a pseudo-group within a naos in the reliefs of the tomb of *Pth-šps* at Abusir, is datable toward the end of Dynasty V since the tomb owner was married to a daughter of Neuserre. The latest example of this kind is probably also the latest pseudo-group known, Cat. 15, a wooden statue from a shaft in the Teti pyramid cemetery.

The catalogue includes five examples of pseudo-groups comprised of two figures depicting seated men: Cats. 16-20. The earliest – and only datable – example, Cat. 16, has already been mentioned, since it derives from *B3-b3.f*'s tomb at Giza. One of the remaining statues, Cat. 17 (Pl. 14b), may not be a pseudo-group. Only the lower half of the statue, from the waist downwards, is preserved. The figure to the proper left, otherwise identical as far as can be seen with the man to the proper right, is noticeably larger, although the difference is not so marked as in CG 150, a group depicting a standing adult son on a diminished scale beside his striding father (see below, p. 63). Cat. 17, carved from granite, is summarily worked and perhaps even unfinished.³⁰

Four pseudo-groups depict the same person thrice, and all of them are datable. Cat. 21, from *Nb-m-3ht*'s tomb and composed of three squatting figures, was discussed above. Two other groups, each depicting three striding men, Cats. 22 and 24, derive from the tombs of *R^c-wr* and *Pn-mrw*, respectively. The fourth group, Cat. 23, from the tomb of *Mr-sw-nb*, is noteworthy since two of the figures are seated while the third is shown striding. The striding man is further dissimilated from the seated figures by his coiffure: he wears an echelon-curl wig while they are shown with identical flaring striated wigs. The reduced scale of the striding figure is the result of compositional considerations (all three figures are isocephalic – cf. the familial pseudo-group Cat. 29 discussed below) and not attributable to the sculptor's intention to depict the striding statue owner at a different age from the seated figures.

Cat. 25 is tentatively included in this study as a pseudo-group depicting the same man four times. The battered figures would seem to be identical. Each is seated discretely separated from his neighbor on a common «bench,» and they share a large back slab. The damaged inscription on the

²⁸ Cf. the same standing, as opposed to striding, posture regularly documented in rock-cut statuary.

²⁹ Between 30 and 50, according to SMITH, *Sculpture*², 50, but N. STRUDWICK, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders* (hereafter: *Administration*), London 1985, 82,

mentions «at least thirteen,» perhaps referring only to the inscribed fragments. The tomb was apparently otherwise totally lacking in decoration.

³⁰ An estimation based upon my examination of the piece. SMITH, *Sculpture*², 72, describes the workmanship as «medium quality».

side of the back slab begins with the title «inspector of the craftsmen of the wabet» which HASSAN assumed was the title of the tomb owner.³¹ The possibility cannot be excluded that four different «craftsmen of the wabet» are depicted in the statue. But like a pseudo-group depicting the same person four times, a statue depicting four different men together would be unique in the repertory of known statues. I consider it significant (and in favour of the first alternative) that the only Old Kingdom group known to me that unequivocally depicts colleagues, MFA 06.1882,³² relates the three men by gesture: the standing figures hold hands. I know of no Old Kingdom group composed of two (or more) figures identical in attitude, costume and scale, but unrelated by gesture whose inscriptions identify the figures as different persons. Nor am I aware of any Old Kingdom group in which the same person, unequivocally identified by an inscription, is associated by gesture with a second figure of himself. Thus, I, too, like VANDIER, have excluded JE 43752³³ from the repertory of pseudo-groups.³⁴

These observations have led me to assign JE 66616, as Cat. 26, to the last category of pseudo-groups: those supplementing two figures of the same person by the addition of one or more family members to the composition. The anepigraphic piece depicts three standing men on the same scale, all wearing the same kilt and wig. The man at the proper left and that in the centre assume the same attitude of arms at the sides, while the figure at the proper right has placed his left arm around the waist of the man in the middle. BOREUX (and JUNKER) believed all three figures depict the same person, but VANDIER eliminated the statue from his list of pseudo-groups precisely because of the gesture associating two of them. I would suggest that only two of the figures – the man in the centre and the one at the proper left – depict the same person; i. e., the statue is composed of a group of two figures depicting two different men comparable to JE 43752, one embracing the other, to which a second representation of the «passive» man has been added. According to my interpretation, the man at the proper right is a dependent (perhaps a son or younger brother) of the statue owner who is shown twice. If the second person had enjoyed the same status as the statue owner – i. e., if he were a colleague or a twin – reciprocity of gesture would be expected.³⁵

In only two of the remaining five statues in this category of «familial pseudo-groups» is the relationship of the additional person(s) to the statue owner unequivocal. The amply inscribed pseudo-group Cat. 27 depicts *Pn-mrw*'s wife, their son and daughter, and *Pn-mrw* himself twice. The brief texts of Cat. 28 identify the woman accompanying the «overseer of the great house» *D3d3-m-nh* simply as *rht-njswt 3wt-jb*, but the reliefs from their tomb, D 20 at Giza, supply the information that the lady was indeed his spouse. The woman seated between the men in Cat. 29 is probably the statue owner's wife, but since she is anonymous, it cannot be proven beyond a doubt that she is not his mother, like the woman in the composition of Cat. 30, considered above; the texts identify both male figures (the second striding at the proper right) as the same person, *Skd-k3w*.

There are a number of group statues that are customarily described without hesitation as representations of families but whose texts do not specify the relationship between the persons shown. Just as small-scaled figures included in group compositions are regularly presumed to depict offspring of the larger figure(s) when specific information is lacking, it is customarily assumed that a

³¹ *Giza IX*, 73 f.; the mastaba was undecorated and uninscribed.

³² PM III, 67; from the serdab of G 2009, depicting three *hntj-š*, each identified by name. Three other statues from the same serdab depict three other men. (All of the statuary from G 2009 is discussed and illustrated by SMITH, *Sculpture* 2, 69 with pl. 24.)

³³ HORNEMANN, *Types* 1096.

³⁴ The statue, which was included in the genre by BOREUX (and, implicitly, by JUNKER as well), is anepigraphic and depicts two men wearing different kilts

and wigs with the figure at the proper right laying his arm around the waist of his companion.

³⁵ For the former, cf. MFA 06.1882, the group of three different *hntj-š* holding hands, cited above, note 32; for the latter, see the comments of J. BAINES, in: *Orientalia* 54, 1985, 463-70, on the depiction of the probable twins *Nj-nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* in their common tomb at Saqqara (the representation of a statue showing them holding hands is included in the reliefs: A. M. MOUSSA and H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, AV 21, Mainz 1977, 62, pl. 16).

woman associated with a man is his wife.³⁶ An exception has, however, already been noted above (Vienna 7502) in support of the identification of a woman in two other statues (Cat. 30 and Hildesheim 17) as mothers, rather than wives, of the men they accompany.³⁷

A standard means employed by the sculptor to depict a son in the company of his father and/or mother was to show the child on a reduced scale, but a number of exceptions are known. For example, in Bklyn. 49.215, the head of the standing male figure is almost on the same level as that of the seated man he accompanies, but the nudity of the figure, the gesture of the index finger to the mouth and the youth lock adequately characterize him as the son of the statue owner, even if the associated inscriptions label him only «the scribe of the granary» *ḥnb-m-c-Rc*.³⁸ Another exception is provided by a group that once depicted five figures belonging to three generations. The tomb owner *Rc-wr* was shown as a lifesized adult flanked by his parents whose heads were on a level with his shoulders, while two of *Rc-wr*'s own children were shown nude and on a diminutive scale, the son between his father and grandmother at the proper left and the daughter in an analogous position to the proper right. The inscriptions clearly state the relationship of the subsidiary figures to *Rc-wr* so that, despite the unexpected difference in scale between him and his parents, the identity of the figures was guaranteed.³⁹

Usually more than one device was employed to distinguish a given figure as the child of the statue owner. For example, both male figures of CG 150 are depicted as adults wearing the same kilt and wig, but one of them is markedly smaller, and he stands with feet side by side, while the larger figure strides forward. Furthermore, the inscriptions on the base apparently identify the smaller figure as the son of the larger.

In Cats. 31 (Pl. 15 a) and 32 (Pl. 15 b) both the scale and the nudity of the small figure are indicative of subordinate rank appropriate to the status of a son in the presence of a parent. It should not go unmentioned, however, that the figure is depicted circumcised in both groups and that two other iconographic devices often used to identify representations of children – index finger to the mouth and the youth lock⁴⁰ – are not employed here. He is also striding, not standing, beside the larger-scaled figures in each group. In other words, the son is shown not as a child, but as a young adult.

In Cat. 31, the small-scaled male figure accompanying the seated men, both depicting the *šbd-ḥmw-k3 sš Jtj-sn*, is labelled simply *Hnw*; the similar subsidiary figure in Cat. 32 is also named *Hnw*,⁴¹ and he bears in addition the same two titles as the owner of Cat. 31.⁴²

The fact that the smaller figure in both these pseudo-groups bears the same name led early on to the association of the two statues.⁴³ But down to the present the precise nature of the relationship has not been defined, while studies of Egyptian art have ignored the possibility, suggested by MARIE-LOUISE BUHL, that the two pieces were the work of the same sculptor and perhaps even

³⁶ E.g., CG 62, 86, 89, 195, etc.; Bklyn. 49.215 (see note 38, below); MMA 48.111 (HORNEMANN, *Types* 1147); etc.

³⁷ Cf., too, CG 44, a seated man accompanied by two identical women squatting beside him and each clasping his lower leg; according to the inscriptions, one is his wife and the other his daughter.

³⁸ See T. G. H. JAMES, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* I, Brooklyn 1974, 13 and VANDIER, *Manuel* III, pl. XXXI (1); cf. similarly CG 202, with the nude, fingersucking boy named and entitled *sš*, but not *s3.f*.

³⁹ PM III, 267 f.; J. D. COONEY, in: *JEA* 31, 1945, 54-6 with pl. I, illustrating the relative proportions; in the interim, the daughter's figure, that COONEY had seen with a dealer in Paris, was acquired by the Harer Family Trust (see G. D. SCOTT, *Temple, Tomb and Dwel-*

ling: Egyptian Art from the Harer Family Trust Collection, San Bernadino, Calif. 1992, cat. 38, 68 f.).

⁴⁰ KOEFOED-PETERSEN's description of the small-scaled figure in the Copenhagen group Cat. 31 to wear a youth lock (*op. cit.* [note 7], 61) is incorrect.

⁴¹ Note that the determinatives are identical, as VAN WIJNGAARDEN, in: *OMRO* XVII, 1936, 8, remarked; pace BUHL, in: *Antik Cabinetet 1851, udgivet i hundredaaret af Nationalmuseet* (hereafter: *Antik Cabinetet 1851*), Copenhagen 1951, 191.

⁴² It would seem, therefore, that he followed the same career and achieved the same rank as his father.

⁴³ Cf. e.g., CAPART, *Rec. Mon. Ég.*, second unnumbered page describing Leiden AST 9, his pls. IV-V; BOREUX, in: *MIFAO* 66.1, 806. The connection is supported with reserve in PM III, 727.

came from the same tomb.⁴⁴ As set out in detail below, I not only support these suggestions but also believe that a third pseudo-group (Louvre A 43, Cat. 20) derives from the same tomb,⁴⁵ now lost, and was made in the same atelier.

All three statues were acquired early in the last century.⁴⁶ Louvre A 43 (Cat. 20) was purchased in 1827. The Leiden group (AST 9, Cat. 32) derives from the Anastasy collection, acquired in 1828, while the statue in Copenhagen (A.A.b.27, Cat. 31) was presented by the German-born consul DANIEL DUMREICHER to the Danish king in 1824.⁴⁷ A Saqqara provenance is associated specifically only with the Copenhagen group: in a contemporaneous list of the objects presented by DUMREICHER, A.A.b.27 is recorded as having been found «dans une Chapelle Antique dans la montagne de Sacara, où sont les Pyramides et les Tombeaux de Memphis.»

The Leiden group came to be attributed to the Giza necropolis because the statue owner was incorrectly identified with the Queen Meritites who was associated with Sneferu, Cheops, and Chephren, and was presumed to have been buried at Giza.⁴⁸ It was W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN who pointed out that the titles in the inscription on the Leiden statue are not those of a queen at all but of a noblewoman.⁴⁹

An inscription, enclosed between register lines, is written horizontally across the top of the base in front of the female figures to identify them as «ornament of the king, she who is known to the king, director of the dining hall, overseer of the chamber of wigs»⁵⁰ *Mrj-jtj.s*; the label of her companion, «inspector of ka-priests, scribe» *Hnw*, is set off from hers and bordered by vertical register lines (see Pl. 16 a-b).

VAN WIJNGAARDEN called attention to traces of effaced texts which he detected on top of the base next to and between the figures.⁵¹ He believed that they once identified the female figures as two different women, and that *Mrj-jtj.s* and *Hnw* had usurped the group.⁵² If his idea were correct,

⁴⁴ EADEM, *A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East in the National Museum of Denmark and the History of its Ancient Near Eastern Collections*, Copenhagen 1974, 25. In an earlier publication (*Antik Cabinetet 1851*, 191), BUHL had associated the two statues with the same sculptor but not with the same tomb, since she initially accepted the Giza provenance for the Leiden pseudo-group, for which see immediately below.

⁴⁵ Not, however, MARIETTE's D 6 (q.v. PM III, 488f.) that belonged to a man named *Hnw*, as PLEYTE suggested for the Leiden group (cf. CAPART, *Rec. Mon. Ég.*, second of two unnumbered pages dealing with the statue, his pls. IV-V; cf. also VAN WIJNGAARDEN, in: *OMRO XVII*, 1936, 8).

⁴⁶ For a comparable dispersal of objects from a single burial at Saqqara among several collections, cf. the history of the funerary equipment of the «overseer of northern foreign countries» *Dhwjtj* (temp. Thutmosis III), as traced by C. LILYQUIST, *The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology*, in: *MMJ* 23, 1988, 5-68.

⁴⁷ A brief account of DUMREICHER's role in acquiring Egyptian antiquities now in the Nationalmuseum is given by BUHL, in: *Antik Cabinetet 1851*, 186f.

⁴⁸ For this lady, see W. S. SMITH, in: REISNER, *Giza II*, 6f. On the basis of the incorrect identification, CAPART (*Rec. Mon. Ég.*, second of two unnumbered pages dealing with the statue, his pls. IV-V), followed by BOREUX, in: *MIFAO* 66.1, 806f., suggested that

the two female figures depict the «queen» in her consecutive roles as the wife of Sneferu and of Cheops.

⁴⁹ *Eenige Opmerkingen over de zoogenaamde Beeldengroep van Merttefs*, in: *OMRO XVII*, 1936, 6f. Note that SMITH, *Sculpture*², 79, too, commented on the unsuitability of the titles for a queen. He assigned the group to Saqqara and dated it to the «latter half of Dynasty V.»

⁵⁰ For the last two titles, see H. G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, New York 1976, 70 (4) and 72 (26), respectively. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, in: *OMRO XVII*, 1936, 7, believed these two titles belonged to the male figure and had been displaced among those of the woman.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* 5-8. He did not mention any specific signs.

⁵² Although VAN WIJNGAARDEN did not explicitly say so, it would seem that he believed the statue could not have been originally intended to show the same women twice, since the other pseudo-groups known to him were male. (Cat. 13, a second pseudo-group depicting the female statue owner twice, was excavated after VAN WIJNGAARDEN published his study.) Yet another indication for him that the group did not originally belong to *Mrj-jtj.s* and her «secretary» *Hnw* was the nudity of the latter, which, in his opinion, was appropriate for a son, but not for a scribe. (So, too, apparently A. SCHARFF, following VAN WIJNGAARDEN, in: *JEA* 26, 1940, 48.) The irrelevance of an «adult» title to the identification of a son has already been commented upon above, p. 63 with note 38.

the Leiden statue would be unique, since there is no unequivocal evidence for the usurpation of statuary before the Middle Kingdom, and it continues to be rare, especially for non-royal statues, until the later New Kingdom.⁵³

I was able to confirm VAN WIJNGAARDEN's observation that the statue once bore additional texts. On top of the base between the female figures and immediately in front of the back slab I tentatively identified a *swt*-sign and the bottom of a second in an analogous position between the middle figure and *Hnw* to the proper right.⁵⁴ Both these effaced inscriptions would seem, then, to have begun with a title incorporating the word *njswt*, like the text naming *Mrj-jtj.s*.

All the hieroglyphs of the secondary inscription are well cut and carefully aligned, in contrast to the texts found on the Copenhagen and Louvre pseudo-groups which are also lacking register lines. (Neither statue preserves any trace of another, defaced inscription.) Of the three statues, the Leiden pseudo-group is surely the masterpiece.⁵⁵ I can offer no satisfactory explanation for the alteration of its inscriptions unless, perhaps, it was reinscribed for the original owner and her son with the intention of bringing the inscription up to the high artistic standard exemplified in the execution of the figures. Alternatively, the Leiden statue was indeed made and inscribed for someone else, but still in the workshop with the uninscribed Louvre and Copenhagen pseudo-groups when all three were acquired for the tomb of *Jtj-sn* and his family.

Comparing frontal and three-quarter views of the head of *Mrj-jtj.s* at the proper left in the Leiden statue with that depicting *Jtj-sn* at the proper right of the Copenhagen group (Pl. 17), the similar treatment of the eyes and mouth is evident. The shape of the eyes themselves with recessed eyeballs and elongated inner canthi that extend onto the bridge of the nose is identical. *Mrj-jtj.s*'s eyes are completely rimmed by a relief line that is emphasized in paint. Only the upper eyelids of *Jtj-sn*'s figure at the proper right are rimmed in relief, and the paint used to accentuate the eyes of both his figures has been rather carelessly applied. The eyebrows of all four heads were rendered in relief, but again, the skill with which the paint has been applied distinguishes *Mrj-jtj.s*'s from *Jtj-sn*'s figures.

Comparison of the mouths of the figures reveals the same similarity of intent and same discrepancy in execution. The philtrum is clearly indicated on all four heads, and the rounded corners of the mouth drawn down, resulting in a rather sour expression (more so in *Jtj-sn*'s case). The vermilion line around the lips is indicated in relief on both heads of *Mrj-jtj.s*,⁵⁶ a feature absent from the rendering of the mouth of the lefthand figure of *Jtj-sn* whereas the mouth of the figure at the proper right (the head illustrated in Pl. 17 b) is rimmed along the upper edge only.

Hnw's face in the Leiden group, rather than *Mrj-jtj.s*'s, provides the closer correspondence, as far as execution is concerned, to the faces of *Jtj-sn* in the Copenhagen group (cf. Pls. 18 a and 17 b).

⁵³ A comprehensive study of usurpation is long overdue. For two Middle Kingdom examples involving royal statues altered to depict non-royal secondary owners, see H. G. FISCHER, in: *MMJ* 9, 1974, 7 with n. 13. Tombs were, of course, appropriated (most probably at royal command) during the Old Kingdom (cf. *ibid.* 7 n. 10f.), and I have noted two examples of usurped sarcophagi from such tombs (PM III, 619 and 629; both secondary owners were royal children). In his description of CG 210, BORCHARDT noted that an inscription had once been located to the right as well as to the left of the figure's feet, and he suggested it might have named a previous owner. More probably it, too, named the same person as the well-preserved text, since many Old Kingdom statues attest such juxtaposition of labels. The inscription of CG

268 was «anscheinend schon im Altertum absichtlich zerstört» but no attempt was made to replace it with another – i.e. the motivation was not usurpation. Cf. also the remarks of SHOUKRY, *Privatgrabstatue*, 93 with n. 13.

⁵⁴ To the left of the female figure at the proper right I could detect only a deeper, erased area.



⁵⁵ The high quality of the piece has been often remarked. I am at a loss to account for SMITH's negative assessment (*Sculpture*², 79).

⁵⁶ For the vermilion line, which occurs from the Old Kingdom through the Late Period, see B. V. BOTHMER, in: *BMA* VIII, 1966-7, 81 n. 42: «all heads which have this feature are not only of unusually careful workmanship but are also artistically above the average of Egyptian statuary».

But the youthful impression it conveys bears little resemblance to the face provided for *Hnw*'s own figure in the same statue (Pl. 18 b). Similarly, it is *Hnw*'s face in the Copenhagen composition that furnishes the link to the Louvre pseudo-group A 46 (Pl. 19) depicting the «inspector of ka-priests» *Jtj-sn*. In particular, the physiognomy of the broad face with its markedly short chin is repeated in both figures of the Louvre statue. The mouth of *Hnw*'s figure in the Copenhagen group is not outlined to render the vermilion line, but both mouths of the men in A 46 show this feature. The eyes of all three figures were originally rimmed in paint only, now mostly lost from *Hnw*'s face. A comparison of the three-quarter views of *Jtj-sn* in both groups (Pls. 17 d and 19 b) shows a similar treatment of the eye area, less accomplished in the case of the Louvre statue.

A structural similarity between both groups depicting *Jtj-sn* is the bridge connecting the laps of the figures and the thumb of the fist of the right hand. The earliest dated occurrence of this feature is preserved in Bklyn. 39.119, a statuette depicting Pepy II on the lap of his mother.⁵⁷

A peculiarity of the Louvre pseudo-group is the rendering of the pleating of the kilt tab which is indicated by almost horizontal relief lines.⁵⁸ (Normally these run parallel to the upper edge of the tab,⁵⁹ as exemplified in the kilt tabs of the Copenhagen figures.) An admittedly cursory search turned up only one other statue with the pleating of the tab done in the same way, although in paint rather than in relief, viz. another seated figure in the Louvre⁶⁰ that furnishes some stylistic similarities (eye form, general shape of the mouth with its dour expression), but the physiognomy is different. The statue owner is named *Kkj*.⁶¹

Some colleagues may remain unconvinced of my identification of the *Jtj-sn* depicted in the Louvre group with the *Jtj-sn* shown in the Copenhagen statue, since the name is common⁶² and the title *šhd-hmw-k3* is not distinctive. *Sš* is absent from the titles of the Louvre *Jtj-sn*, and the orthography of the name is not identical:  versus defective  in Copenhagen. Nevertheless, I believe the stylistic similarities argue in favour of the association while the differences are attributable to the somewhat less accomplished execution of the Louvre group. If my attribution be accepted, then the tomb of *Jtj-sn* and his family, presumably at Saqqara, would have rivalled the roughly contemporaneous tomb of *Pn-mrw* at Giza, similarly equipped with an equal number of pseudo-groups.⁶³

Acknowledgments

For the translation of Danish sources cited above, I am indebted to ROLF WEINER, Nordisches Seminar, University of Münster. GONNIE VAN DEN BERG-ONSTWEDDER provided invaluable help with VAN WIJNGAARDEN's Dutch article on the Leiden group. Information on the pieces in the

⁵⁷ Illustrated most recently in: R. A. FAZZINI ET AL., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum*, New York and London 1989, no. 15 (colour); cf. HORNE-MANN, *Types* 1272.

⁵⁸ The anomalous form was noted by HORNE-MANN, who included a sketch of the detail in her drawings of the group, *Types* 1115.

⁵⁹ Cf. the comments of STAEHELIN, *Tracht*, 12 f.

⁶⁰ A 41: C. BOREUX, *La sculpture égyptienne au Musée du Louvre*, Paris (no date), pl. VIII.

⁶¹ Yet a third Louvre piece, A 46, depicting a striding man, is so similar both in style and physiognomy to the Copenhagen pseudo-group that I believe it not only comes from the same workshop but also belonged to *Jtj-sn*'s tomb equipment. The piece, which was acquired by purchase with the Salt collection in

1826, is anepigraphic. The material is limestone with well-preserved painting, and the height is 85.5 cm. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been illustrated, since the statue cited with the same accession number but with a height of 47 cm. on p. 36 in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Les antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, éditions Tel, Paris 1935, is not the piece in question but rather A 103.

⁶² Indeed, BOREUX, in: *MIFAO* 66.1, 806, stated that the name was the only connection between the two statues.

⁶³ SMITH, *Sculpture*², 53, noted profound differences in quality among the three pseudo-groups from the tomb of *Pn-mrw*, not comparable to those I have proposed for the statues of *Mrj-jtj.s* and *Jtj-sn*.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was furnished by PETER DER MANUELIAN, Department of Egyptian, Nubian and Ancient Near Eastern Art. Permission to publish photographs obtained from the Museum of Fine Arts was granted by RITA FREED, Curator, to whom I am indebted as well for the invitation to visit Boston in October 1992. In Leiden, I depended upon MAARTEN RAVEN, Curator of Egyptian Art, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, to acquire the photographs of AST 9 necessary to illustrate this article; they are published by courtesy of the museum. RAVEN was also a great help when I recorded the statue in September 1990. My visits to the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen to examine A.A.b.27 in March and November 1990 were arranged by BODIL RASMUSSEN BUNDGAARD, Curator of Ancient and Classical Art. She also handled my subsequent requests for photographs, taken by KIT WEISS and reproduced courtesy of the Nationalmuseet, Antiksamlingen. Detailed responses to my recent queries were provided by ELIN RAND NIELSON who is currently responsible for the Egyptian antiquities in the Nationalmuseet. It was she who furnished the data on the acquisition of A.A.b.27. My work in the Egyptian galleries of the Louvre in September 1990 was kindly facilitated by both JEAN-LOUIS DE CENIVAL and CHRISTIANE ZIEGLER; my recent queries were answered by CATHERINE BRIDONNEAU. In Cairo in November 1991, MOHAMED SALEH, Director of the Egyptian Museum, permitted me to examine the pseudo-groups under his charge and to consult the *Journal d'Entrée*. Subsequently he granted permission to CHRISTIAN E. LOEBEN to do some double-checking of a few items on my behalf. Finally, I am indebted to JAROMIR MALEK, not only for answering my written queries but also for discussing pseudo-groups with me in Turin, in September 1991. To all these friends and colleagues I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks.

Catalogue⁶⁴

groups composed of 2 figures striding or standing

*1 Munich ÄS 6794; provenance not known⁶⁵

calcite; ht. 71.8 cm.

two identical striding figures, both wearing the *nemes* and royal kilt

inscribed⁶⁶: both figures identified by throne and Horus names of Neuserre on base

dating: reign of Neuserre

literature⁶⁷: D. WILDUNG, *Ni-user-Rê. Sonnenkönig – Sonnengott. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung* 1, Munich 1984

comment: An identification of the statue as a pseudo-group is straightforward, by contrast to the interpretation proposed in the publication cited.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ An asterisk prefacing a catalogue number designates statues that I have seen, by contrast to those I know only from publications.

⁶⁵ Neither the pyramid complex of Neuserre nor his sun temple can seriously be considered as the source for this group since BORCHARDT's thorough exploration of both sites long predated its appearance on the art market. The possibility that it was uncovered in the course of illicit activity at the funerary temple of Neferre in Abusir (where the Czech mission uncovered a number of contemporaneous royal pieces in 1984 and 1985) cannot be excluded in view of the evidence for the association of Neuserre with the com-

plex of his predecessor (see, e.g., M. VERNER, in: *ZÄS* 115, 1988, 83).

⁶⁶ In general, only previously unpublished texts are rendered in detail.

⁶⁷ Under «literature,» only essential bibliography is cited. If the piece is mentioned in PM, that reference is given first, followed by a single source for an illustration of the statue, with colour photographs given preference. For statues pictured in the *Catalogue général*, the CG number alone is considered an adequate reference.

⁶⁸ Cf. the critical comments of M. MÜLLER, in: *BiOr* 48, 1991, 775.

*2 Boston MFA reg. no. 14-11-84; from G 5230, the tomb of *B3-b3.f*
red granite; ht. of base 10 cm., max. w. 35 cm.

3 adjoining fragments: base with feet of two striding figures⁶⁹

inscribed: *jrj-p^{ct} B3-b3.f* on top of base between pairs of feet

dating: beginning of Dynasty V⁷⁰

literature: PM III, 156 (not yet illustrated; the tomb of *B3-b3.f* is to be published by W. K. SIMPSON in the *Giza Mastabas* series)

*3 JE 66620; Giza (Central Field, HASSAN excavations), from a *serdab* in the tomb of *Mr-sw-^{cn}ḥ*

limestone; ht. 59.5 cm.

two striding figures wearing echelon-curl wigs and projecting-panel kilts, outer arms symmetrically bent at elbow with hand on chest in «gesture of reverence»⁷¹

inscribed: both figures identified as *špḏ-ḥm^w-k3 Mr-sw-^{cn}ḥ* by inscriptions on top of base; another text on front of backslab between figures includes epithets *jm3ḥw ḥr nb.f jrj mrrt nb.f* as well as same title and name

dating: end of Dynasty V⁷²

literature: PM III, 270; HASSAN, *Giza* I, pl. LXXII

*4 CG 133; Saqqara, mastaba D 56, the tomb of *Nj-m3^t-sd*

limestone; ht. 57 cm.

two identical striding figures

inscribed: text on top of base between figures⁷³ identifies statue owner with titles and name

dating: Neuserre or somewhat later⁷⁴

literature: PM III, 584f.; M. SALEH and H. SOUROUZIAN, *Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Offizieller Katalog), Mainz 1986, no. 48 (colour).

*5 JE 43753; from the *serdab* of G 2197, the tomb of *Pn-mrw*

limestone; ht. 58 cm.

two identical striding figures

inscribed: «Between the statues on the base from right to left horizontally is the name *Pn-mrw* written between the left feet.»⁷⁵

dating: end of Dynasty V⁷⁶

literature: PM III, 83; SIMPSON, *Western Cemetery* I, pl. LI

comment: SMITH, *Sculpture*², 53, pointed out that this, the smallest of *Pn-mrw*'s pseudo-groups (cf. Cats. 24 and 27), is the least accomplished.

*6 Abusir, the tomb of *Pth-špss*

representation of the transport of a pseudo-group within a naos in the reliefs of the antechamber to the tomb's pillared court

⁶⁹ SMITH, *Sculpture*², 50, associated additional red granite fragments from the tomb (viz. 14-11-89, -117, -118 and 14-12-27) with the base; these consist of a right arm, part of a left arm and a battered head, none of which can be shown to belong to the base.

⁷⁰ See the comments of STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 82f., 218, 301.

⁷¹ For which see H. G. FISCHER, in: *MMJ* 9, 1974, 15 n. 56.

⁷² See BAER, *Rank and Title*, 82f. [200]; for *R^c-wr* with whose funerary cult *Mr-sw-^{cn}ḥ* was associated see Cat. 22, below.

⁷³ BORCHARDT, in the *Catalogue général*, commented: «R. neben der r. Figur könnte auf dem Fußbrett auch eine Inschrift gestanden haben, die jetzt verschmiert und übermalt wäre. Vgl. dazu MAR. Cat. S. 237 Nr. 784: «le nom de l'autre est difficile à lire.» In Cairo, I was unable to confirm this supposition.

⁷⁴ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 134 [487].

⁷⁵ SIMPSON, *Western Cemetery* I, 26.

⁷⁶ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 71 [140], 289; for *Pn-mrw*'s patron, the vizier *Šm-nfr* (III), see STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 139f.

granite; ht. not specified⁷⁷

two identical striding figures

inscribed: associated inscription reads $\text{[}twtjw\text{]}^{78} \text{ } njw\text{ } m\text{3[}t\text{]} \text{[}n(jw\text{)]}$ (titles, name)

dating: Neuserre or later⁷⁹

literature: PM III, 341; VERNER, *Ptahshepses*, illus. 60

comment: For this interpretation see EATON-KRAUSS, *Representations*, 21 f. § 19, 160 (cat. 102). VERNER, *Ptahshepses* 1, 111, described the figures as «a pair of statues... placed in a shrine» and denies that a «double statue» is represented. It might be argued that the striding posture supports VERNER's interpretation of these figures as separate statues, since actual statues carved in one with a naos regularly stand (i.e. feet together), rather than stride. But the striding attitude is certainly determined by the fact that it is a two-dimensional representation: none of the statues depicting an erect figure in relief and painting show the feet together. Similarly, depictions of seated statues sometimes show the far foot advanced in contrast to actual statuary – see EATON-KRAUSS, *Representations*, 13 f. § 8.

*7 JE 71967⁸⁰, Saqqara; found in debris in the south court of the Step Pyramid;

red granite; ht. 43 cm.

two identical striding figures⁸¹

anepigraphic

dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?

literature: PM III, 592; LAUER, in: *ASAE* 39, 1939, pl. LXVIII:2

*8 JE 43961; Giza (West Field; JUNKER excavations), from the western *serdab* in the tomb of *Pth-šps*

limestone; ht. 40 cm.

two striding figures, identical with exception of kilt: one wears half-goffered kilt (without tab) and the other, apparently, an undetailed, narrow kilt⁸²

anepigraphic

dating: late Dynasty V (or 2nd half of Dynasty VI)⁸³

literature: PM III, 151; JUNKER, *Giza* VII, pl. XX

*9 Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim 2144; Giza (West Field; JUNKER excavations), from the western *serdab* in the tomb of *Pth-šps* (see Cat. 8)

limestone; ht. 39.3 cm.

two identical striding figures

anepigraphic

dating: see Cat. 8

literature: PM III, 151; *Das alte Reich, Ägypten im Zeitalter der Pyramiden*, A. EGGBRECHT, ed., Hildesheim 1986, 75 (colour).

⁷⁷ The height of another granite statue depicted in the same series of statue transport, is given in the associated text as 7 cubits: M. VERNER, *The Mastaba of Ptahshepses, Reliefs* I/1 (hereafter: *Ptahshepses*), Prague 1977 (sic), 106 inscription no. 156.

⁷⁸ VERNER, *Ptahshepses*, 109 inscription no. 163, transliterated the word for statue as a *feminine* dual; I interpret $\text{[}n(jw\text{)]}$ as an abbreviated writing of the *masculine* dual genitival adjective to agree with $twtjw\text{}$.

⁷⁹ STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 89 f. placed *Pth-šps*, who was married to a daughter of Neuserre, at the

end of that king's reign or early in Djedkare's; cf. BAER, *Rank and Title* 76 [167], 290, who dated *Pth-šps* somewhat later.

⁸⁰ VANDIER's "Saqqara" III.

⁸¹ The costume includes a knot amulet worn on a cord and a broad collar, both with paint well-preserved, as is the white colouring of the toenails.

⁸² Possibly the omission of the pleated section of the kilt was simply an oversight of the sculptor.

⁸³ So for Cat. 9 from the same tomb: *CAA Hildesheim* I, 126.

- *10 CG 168; «Saqqara»⁸⁴
 red granite; restored⁸⁵ ht. (excluding wooden base) 58 cm.
 two identical standing figures
 inscribed? base not preserved
 dating: «Dynasty V»⁸⁶
 literature: PM III, 724; CG
- *11 Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley 6-19782; found in the sand in front of G 1032,⁸⁷ tomb of *Htp-jb*
 limestone; ht. 62.2 cm.
 two identical standing figures
 inscribed: *jmj-r w^cbt Jnj-k3.f* (figure at the proper right); *shd-w^cbt rh-njswt Jnj-k3.f* (figure at the proper left)
 dating: second half of Dynasty V or later⁸⁸
 literature: PM III, 54; LUTZ, *op.cit.* (note 87), pl. 31
 comment: *Jnj-k3.f* was the son of the tomb owner.
- *12 Giza magazine (?); Giza (Central Field; HASSAN excavations), from the *serdab* in the tomb of *Jnj-k3.f*
 limestone; preserved ht. 130 cm., w. 95 cm.
 two identical (headless) striding figures
 inscribed?
 dating: mid-Dynasty V or later⁸⁹
 literature: PM III, 248; HASSAN, *Gîza* VI: 3, pl. LV [B]
- *13 Giza magazine (?); Giza, near Chephren's Valley Temple (HASSAN excavations)
 limestone; ht. 34 cm.
 two identical striding female figures
 inscribed: effaced inscription on base
 dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?
 literature: PM III, 292; HASSAN, *Gîza* IX, pl. XLII [A]
- *14 Giza magazine (?); Giza (Central Field; HASSAN excavations), from debris in front of the tomb of *Nj-^cnh-R^c*
 basalt; preserved ht. 22 cm.
 feet and legs to lower edge of kilt of two standing figures
 inscribed: base not preserved
 dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?
 literature: PM III, 234 f.; HASSAN, *Gîza* IV, pl. XLIII [B]
- *15 JE 47774; Saqqara, from shaft 225 in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery
 wood; ht. 57.5 cm.
 base now supporting one striding figure at proper right, holes for insertion of second striding figure to proper left.
 inscribed: *jm3hw hr ntr ^c3 swnw pr-^c3 Jpj*

⁸⁴ «Nach dem Zettel am Sockel»: BORCHARDT, in the *Catalogue général*.

⁸⁵ The feet of both figures and the head and hand of the figure to the proper left are restored; cf. HORNEMANN, *Types* 1088.

⁸⁶ So BORCHARDT, in the *Catalogue général*.

⁸⁷ This is the tomb number according to both PM III

and SMITH, *Sculpture*², 62; H. F. LUTZ, *Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California*, Leipzig 1930, 20, listed the provenance as G 1022.

⁸⁸ So SMITH, *Sculpture*², 62, citing the subsidiary location of the tomb in the «Far Western Cemetery».

⁸⁹ Cf. PM III.

dating: Dynasty VI – First Intermediate Period⁹⁰

literature: PM III, 540; FIRTH and GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II, pl. 19 A, B

comment: FIRTH and GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, 40f. describe the piece as «(1) a fine wooden statuette of a boy on a base which also supported (2) decayed wooden statuette of a youth». The description of the preserved figure as a «boy» is misleading since he wears both a wig and a kilt. Why the excavators termed the second, lost figure a youth (in contrast to a «boy») must remain conjectural. The holes in the base document the same wide stride as for the preserved figure.

groups composed of two seated figures

*16 Boston MFA reg. no. 14-11-46 + 14-11-91; from G 5230, the tomb of *B3-b3.f* (see Cat. 2, above)

red granite; restored ht. (estimate) 60 cm.⁹¹

fragments from lower half plus chest and head (not joining) of two seated figures, identical as far as preserved

anepigraphic

dating: beginning of Dynasty V (see Cat. 2, above)

literature: PM III, 156, unpublished (see Cat. 2 above)

*17 Boston MFA reg. no. 14-2-15; from debris between G 4720 and 4721; Pl. 14 b

granite; preserved ht. 25 cm.

lower part of group depicting two seated men, identical as far as preserved except in scale; figure at proper left is noticeably smaller

anepigraphic

dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?

literature: PM III, 136 (unpublished; not previously illustrated)

comment: The possibility that this statue is not a pseudo-group was considered above, p. 61.

*18 CG 165; «Saqqara»⁹²

granite; ht. 47.5 cm.

two identical seated figures

anepigraphic

dating: «Dynasty V»⁹³

literature: PM III, 724; CG

*19 CG 219; Abydos, MARIETTE's «Middle Cemetery»; from the tomb of *Ndm-jb*

limestone; ht. 34 cm.

two identical seated figures

inscribed: both figures identified by title and name plus *h̄tp dj njswt* formula on front of seat and base

dating: Dynasty VI⁹⁴

literature: CG

*20 Louvre A 43; provenance not known; Pl. 19

limestone; ht. 53.5 cm.

two identical seated figures

⁹⁰ I.e., after the dating of the cemetery as a whole.

⁹¹ So SMITH, *Sculpture*², 46, who also included reg. no. 14-11-155 b.

⁹² So BORCHARDT, in the *Catalogue général*.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

inscribed: *shd-hmw-k3 Jtj-sn* (between feet, on top of base)

dating: ? late Dynasty V-early Dynasty VI?

literature: VANDIER, *Manuel III*, pl. XXXIII:2; HORNEMANN, *Types* 1115

groups composed of three figures depicting the same person

*21 Giza magazine (?)⁹⁵ LEPSIUS 86 (Central Field; HASSAN excavations), the tomb of *Nb-m-3ht*.

limestone; ht. 36 cm.; w. 90 cm.

three identical «pseudo-scribe» figures, each with arms folded across chest; heads and much of shoulders lost

inscribed: *hm-k3 Jsh3(?)* on lap of the middle figure, minimal traces on lap of figure at proper right

dating: early Dynasty V (according to the tomb owner's genealogy: he was a King's son [of Chephren] by Queen *Mrj.s-nb* III)

literature: PM III, 232; HASSAN, *Giza IV*, pl. XXXIXa

*22 JE 66615; Giza (Central Field; HASSAN excavations), the tomb of *R^c-wr*

quartzite; ht. 64 cm.

three striding figures, identical except for coiffure: flanking figures wear echelon-curl wigs while figure in centre has flaring striated wig

inscribed: vertically inscribed symmetrical texts on the front of the back slab between the figures identify them as *stm smr-w^ctj R^c-wr*

dating: Neferirkare or slightly later⁹⁶

literature: PM III, 266; HASSAN, *Giza I*, pl. IX

*23 JE 66618; Giza, from a *serdab* in the tomb of *Mr-sw-nb* (see Cat. 3)

limestone; ht. 65 cm.

two identical seated figures wearing shoulder-length striated wigs; at proper left, striding figure with echelon-curl wig

inscribed: all three figures identified as *Mrj-sw-nb*; flanking figures bear same titles (*jmj-r jdnw hnm*); middle figure designated *shd-hmw-k3* and *jdnw*⁹⁷

dating: end of Dynasty V (see Cat. 3)

literature: PM III, 270; HASSAN, *Giza 1*, pl. LXX

*24 Boston MFA 12.1504; from the *serdab* of G 2197; the tomb of *Pn-mrw* (see Cat. 5)

limestone; ht. 130 cm.

three striding figures, identical except for coiffure; figure at proper right has his own natural, close-cropped hair; figure in centre wears striated shoulder-length wig; head of figure at proper left not preserved

inscribed: all three figures identified as *Pn-mrw*; that at proper right labelled *jm3hw hr ntr*; figure in middle bears title *hrp-sh*; that to proper left is *rh-njswt*

dating: end of Dynasty V

literature: PM III, 83; SIMPSON, *Western Cemetery I*, pl. L

comment: The headless figure to the proper left labelled *rh-njswt* has a somewhat more rounded abdomen than his companions

(pace SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, 26). SMITH, *Sculpture*², 53, considered this statue the finest of *Pn-mrw*'s three pseudo-groups.

⁹⁵ VANDIER's "Giza 25".

⁹⁶ BAER, *Rank and Title*, 98 [300], 292.

⁹⁷ It would seem that the statue owner's name is deter-

mined by GARDINER *Sign-list* A 50 (man seated on a chair) in all three cases: see HASSAN, *Giza I*, 115 and cf. H. G. FISCHER, in: *MMJ* 8, 1973, 79f. with n. 15.

groups of four figures depicting the same person

*25 Giza magazine (?); found on the floor, in front of the false door, in a tomb whose owner's name is lost (south of the Chephren causeway, near the pyramid town; HASSAN excavations)

limestone; ht. 37 cm.; w. 62 cm.

four identical seated men

inscribed: text on right-hand edge of backslab includes title «inspector of the workmen of the wabet»

dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?

literature: PM III, 287; HASSAN, *Gîza IX*, pl. XXIX

comment: The possibility that this group depicts four different men was considered above, p. 61

pseudo-groups incorporating family members

*26 JE 66616; from shaft 151 associated with the tombs of *R^c-wr* (see Cat. 22) and *Mr-sw-^cnh* (see Cats. 3 and 23, above)

limestone; ht. 63.5 cm.

three identical figures, standing side by side; figure at the proper right embraces with one arm figure in centre

anepigraphic

dating: late Dynasty V

literature: PM III, 268; HASSAN, *Gîza I*, pl. XXII

comment: The identification of this statue as a pseudo-group was discussed on p. 61 ff. HASSAN attributed the group to *R^c-wr*, but see note 22, above.

*27 Boston MFA 12.1484; from the *serdab* in G 2197, the tomb of *Pn-mrw* (see Cats. 5 and 24, above)

limestone; ht. 155 cm.

two identical striding figures of *Pn-mrw*, accompanied by his wife (at proper left) who has her right hand on his right shoulder, son between male figures and daughter between *Pn-mrw* and his wife, all depicted within inscribed niche-like frame

inscribed: in addition to texts on frame and rolled-up mat above heads of figures comprising a *h^tp dj njwst* formula in favour of *Pn-mrw*, his name is also inscribed on the «floor» of the niche beside each male figure

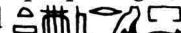
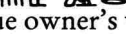
dating: end of Dynasty V

literature: PM III, 83; SIMPSON, *Western Cemetery I*, pl. XLIX

*28 JE 37826; found in one of the three *serdabs* in Giza D 20 (West Field; «STEINDORFF Cemetery»), the tomb of *D3d3-m-^cnh*

limestone; ht. 59 cm.

two identical striding men accompanied by isolated standing woman (at proper right)

inscribed: both men labelled *D3d3-m-^cnh*; that at proper left is entitled  while figure at proper right is ⁹⁸; woman labelled *rht-njswt 3wt-jb* (statue owner's wife, as documented in tomb's inscriptions).

dating: end of Dynasty V–beginning of Dynasty VI⁹⁹

⁹⁸ I am indebted to CHRISTIAN E. LOEBEN who recorded these texts at my request. Cf. the titles documented for the statue owner in the reliefs from his tomb published by C. ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686-2040 avant*

I.-C., Musée du Louvre, dépt. des antiquités égyptiennes, Paris 1990, 253-61. «Sealbearer» is apparently documented for *D3d3-m-^cnh* only in the inscriptions of the statue.

⁹⁹ After ZIEGLER, *op. cit.* 257.

literature: PM III, 109 (+ 698f., 901 [addenda] for the tomb), adding STEINDORFF and HÖLSCHER, *Mastabas*, 31; HORNEMANN, *Types* 1370

comment: In the «excavation report» published decades after the tomb's clearance, STEINDORFF and HÖLSCHER described the figures as the tomb owner, his like-named son, and his wife. Obviously JE 37826 is a familial pseudo-group depicting the tomb owner twice, accompanied by his wife. HORNEMANN's drawing of the statue improves upon the proportions and modelling of the figures; the quality of the pseudo-group is decidedly mediocre, by contrast to the accomplished carving of the tomb's reliefs.

*29 CG 101; «Saqqara»¹⁰⁰

limestone; ht. 51 cm.

seated couple (man at proper left, woman in centre of group), accompanied by striding male figure to left; both men in half-goffered kilts; seated figure with echelon-curl wig, striding figure with close-cropped, natural hair

inscribed: both men identified as (titles) *Sḳd-k3w*; woman identified neither by name nor title
dating: ? Dynasty V-VI?

literature: PM III, 724; CG

comment: BORCHARDT described the figures as husband, wife and son.¹⁰¹ The piece was identified as a pseudo-group by SHOUKRY, *Privatgrabstatue*, 154.

*30 Boston MFA 13.4330 + 13.4358 (head of the woman); Giza, from the *serdab* of G 5280 (= 2320), the tomb of *Pḥn-Pth*; Pl. 14 a

limestone; ht. 64 cm.

two identical male figures flanking woman who embraces man at proper right

inscriptions: damaged labels preserve woman's name – *Jmn-df3.s* – and designate man she embraces «the scribe of the royal documents» *Pḥn-Pth*; label of figure at proper left is lost

dating: early Dynasty V¹⁰²

comment: The identification of this statue as a pseudo-group depicting the tomb owner twice in the company of his mother was discussed above, p. 58 f.

*31 Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet A.A.b.27; from Saqqara; Pls. 15 a, 17 b and d, 18 b

limestone; ht. 50 cm.

two identical male figures seated side by side, accompanied by small-scaled nude (circumcised) male figure, striding at proper left

inscribed: single text on top of base between seated figures identifies both as *šḳd-ḥmw-k3 Jtj.sn*; nude figure simply labelled *Ḥnw*

dating: ? late Dynasty V-early Dynasty VI?

literature: PM III, 727

*32 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST. 9; provenance not known; Pls. 15 b, 16, 17, 18 a

limestone; ht. 69 cm.

two identical standing female figures accompanied by small-scaled nude (circumcised) male figure, striding at proper left

inscribed: see above, p. 64 f.

dating: ? late Dynasty V-early Dynasty VI?

literature: PM III, 727; *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/National Museums of Antiquities; Dutch Museums* VI, H. D. SCHNEIDER, ed., Haarlem 1981, 58 (colour)

¹⁰⁰ «Notiz auf der Rückseite»: so BORCHARDT, in the *Catalogue général*.

¹⁰¹ Neither BOREUX, JUNKER nor VANDIER included it among pseudo-groups, and PM III, too, classified it as the statue of a couple and their son.

¹⁰² *Pḥn-Pth* was the son of the vizier *Sḥm-nfr* (I) who, according to STRUDWICK, *Administration*, 138 f., dates to before the reign of Neferirkare.



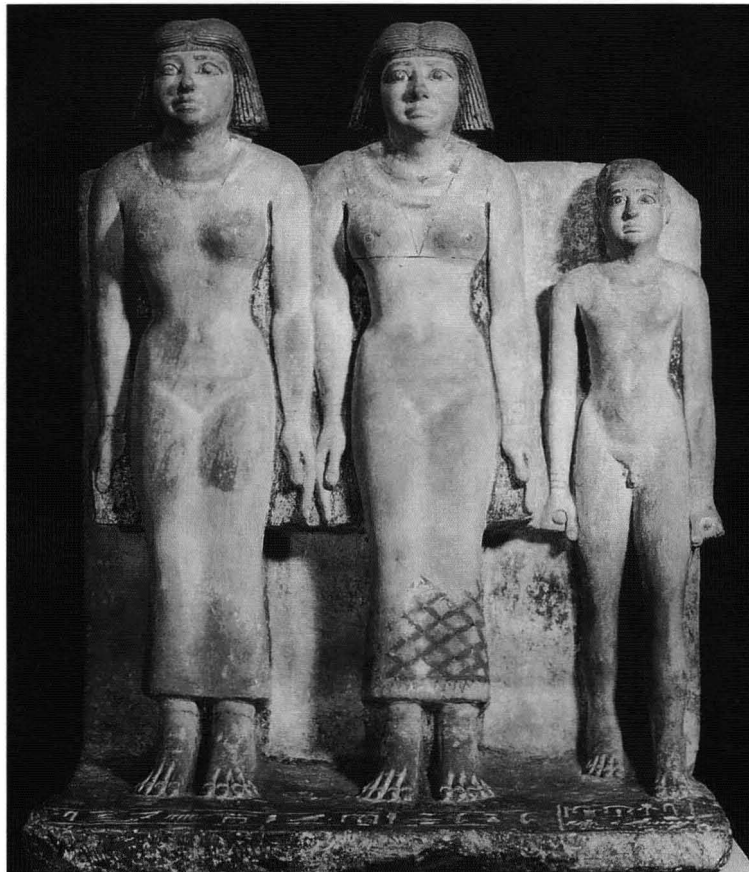
a) Cat. 30 (MFA 13.4330 + 13.4358). Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



b) Cat. 17 (MFA reg. no. 14-2-15). Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



a) Cat. 31 (Copenhagen A.A.b.27).



b) Cat. 32 (Leiden AST 9).



a-b) Cat. 32; details of text across the top of the base.



a) Cat. 32; detail.



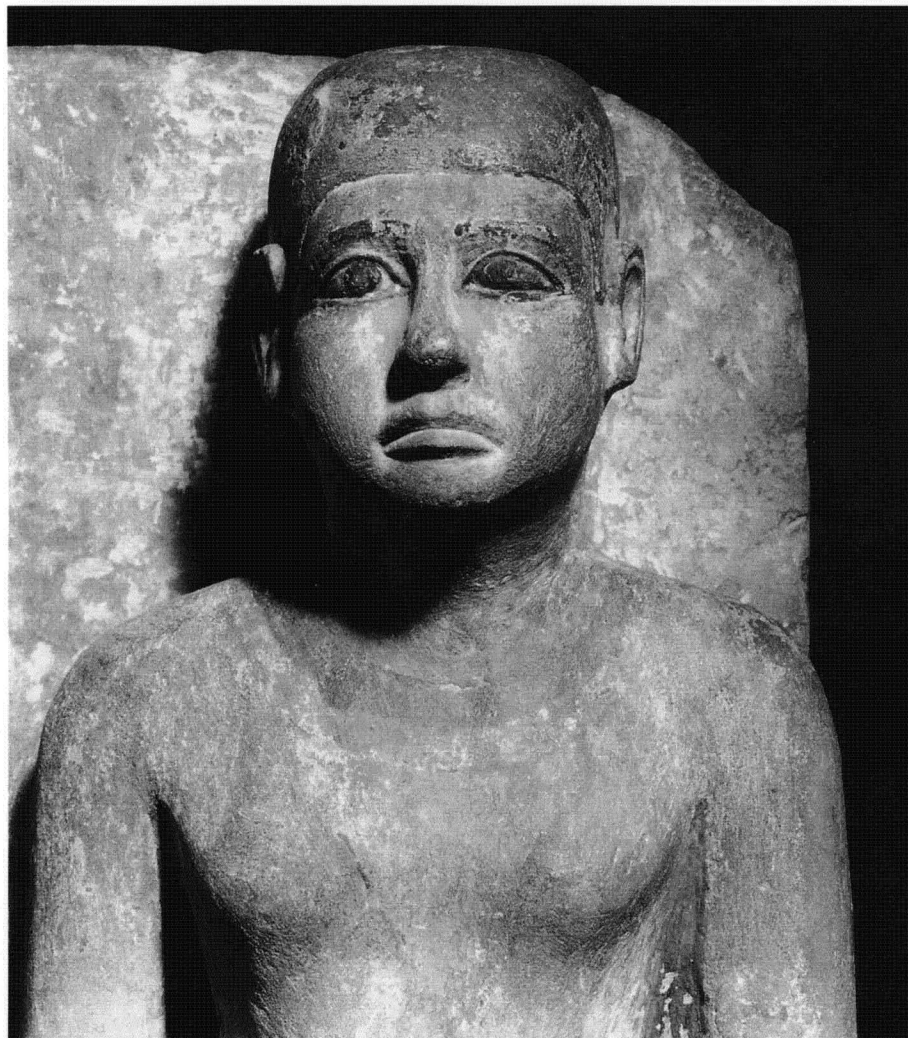
b) Cat. 31; detail.



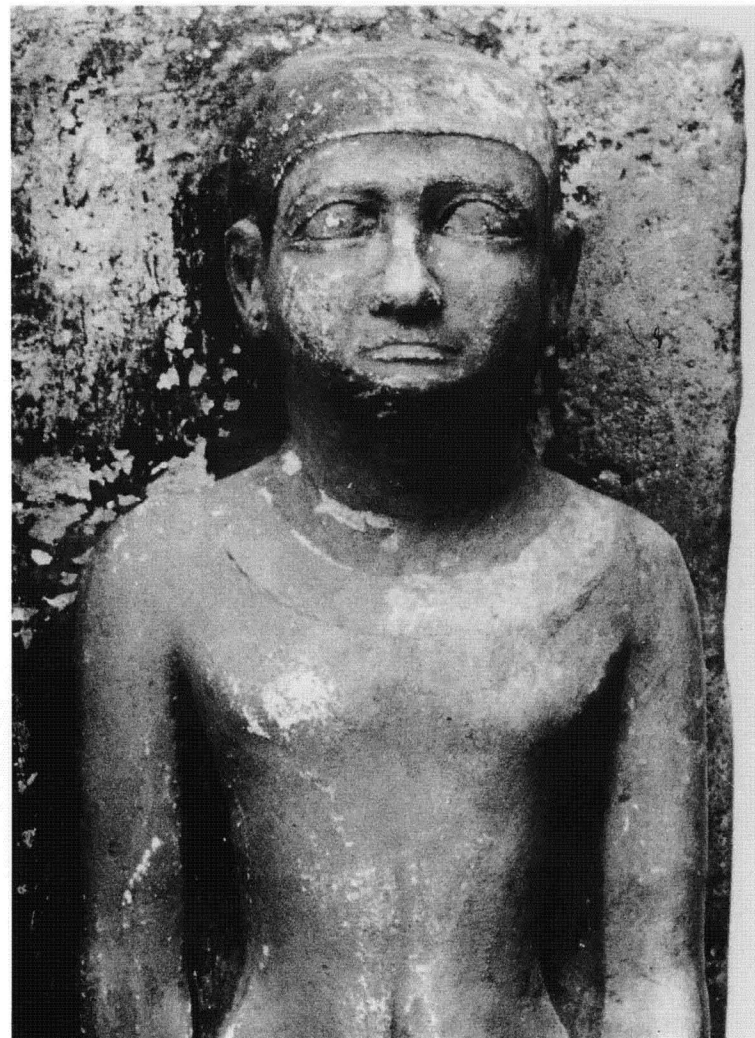
c) Cat. 32; detail.



d) Cat. 31; detail.



a) Cat. 32; head of *Hnw*.



b) Cat. 31; head of *Hnw*.



a) Cat. 20 (Louvre A 43).



b) Cat. 20; after *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Les antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, éditions Tel. p. 39 (printed here reversed for purposes of comparison).



c) Cat. 20; after C. BOREUX, *La sculpture égyptienne au Musée du Louvre*, Paris n.d., pl. XIII.