

Sonderdruck aus:

# **GÖTTINGER MISZELLEN**

**Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion**

Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie

## ‘NH-WD.S: ST.PETERSBURG – CAMBRIDGE

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Illicit excavations and intentional destruction of monuments for selling their fragments filled museums and private collections with a great amount of unprovenanced objects that originally were parts of larger complexes but lost a good deal of their importance for lack of any archaeological context. Carelessness of early archaeologists (and not only the amateur ones) whose field records were usually incomplete and inaccurate, as well as the policy of *Service des antiquités* that sold numerous monuments without due documentation in the late nineteenth century are not much better from our modern point of view. The identification of these fragments and the reconstruction of the monuments they originally belonged to are important tasks of Egyptology,<sup>1</sup> every museum curator facing them in daily research in galleries and storerooms. The provenance of a number of Old Kingdom monuments in the Hermitage Museum has been more or less exactly reconstructed lately.<sup>2</sup> The present paper is devoted to one of

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., the excellent series “The Identity and Positions of Relief Fragments in Museums and Private collections” by Y.HARPUR [1985; 1986; 1986a; 1986b; 1988].

<sup>2</sup>

- ◆ Relief of *N(j)-mꜣ.t-[r(w)]*, Hermitage □18123 [BOLSHAKOV, 1985] from the west wall of a corridor leading southwards from the chapel in mastaba G 2097 (this part of the tomb remains unpublished, see [ROTH, 1995, 129]) – unpublished attribution by the present author.
- ◆ Relief fragments of *Hw(j)-w(j)-nfr*, Hermitage □18124 [LANDA, LAPIS, 1976, pl. 16] and □18126 (unpublished) from the south wall of the chapel in mastaba G 2098 [ROTH, 1995, pl.107:b, 194] – unpublished attribution by Ivan Bogdanov.
- ◆ Relief of *Mrjj-ttj*, Hermitage □18103 [BOLSHAKOV, 1993, fig.1–2] from room C-IV of an annex to the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-kꜣ(j)* (unpublished) – for attribution see [*ibid.*].
- ◆ Relief fragment of *Mrjj-r(w)-nfr(w)/Kꜣr*, Hermitage □18233 [BOLSHAKOV, 1983] belonging to a group of reliefs from an unknown tomb at Giza (?), BM 1319, 1330, 1341, 1342 [*Hiero. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl.32–34]; for attribution see [BOLSHAKOV, 1983].
- ◆ Lintel of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(w)/Pjppj-snb(w)*, Hermitage □18125 [LANDA, LAPIS, 1974, pl.15] from the same unknown tomb at Saqqara as the false door CG 1412 [BORCHARDT, 1937, 77–78] – unpublished attribution by the present author.

the most important of them – the family group of *ḥḥ-wd.s* – and the statue of the same person in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

## 1. FAMILY GROUP HERMITAGE □18107

**Material:** Limestone.

**Pigments:** Black (base and the back “wall”, wig, hair, eyebrows, eyelids, irises), white (garments, bangles, whites), red (body of the man, pleats on the man’s kilt), yellow (body of the woman).

**Dimensions:** Height 38 cm, width of the base 29 cm, depth of the base 31 cm

**Condition:** Head and left shoulder of the female figure lost; minor dents; much of the pigment lost.

**Acquisition history:**

1908 – Acquired by N.P.LIKHATCHEV in the Cairo Museum.

1918 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV donated to the Archaeological Institute, Petrograd.

1925 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Museum

of Palaeography (since 1935 Museum of Books, Documents and Scripts) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Institute of History, Leningrad.

1938 – With the collection of LIKHATCHEV transferred to the Hermitage.

**Bibliography:**

PEREPELKIN, 1936, 11, cat. no. II.

LAPIS, MATTHIEU, 1969, 36–38, cat. no.1.

FINGARET, 1970, fig. on p.23.

LANDA, LAPIS, 1974, pl.14.

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According to recollections of the Academician Nikolai P.LIKHATCHEV recorded by Yu.Ya.PEREPELKIN in 1935, he acquired the sculpture in 1908 in the Cairo Museum as a doublet [PEREPELKIN MSS, sheet 111, rev.]. A year later PEREPELKIN [1936, 11, cat. no. II] published a brief description of the statue and dated it to Dyn.IV. During the following thirty years, this interesting monument attracted no attention until it was studied by M.E.MATTHIEU who published it with an extensive commentary in the catalogue of Egyptian sculpture in the Hermitage [LAPIS, MATTHIEU, 1969, 36–38, pl. I, fig.10, cat. no.1]. Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs is mediocre, the inscription is reproduced only in small size standard hieroglyphs written by untrained hand and giving no idea of their epigraphic features, while the conclusions of MATTHIEU are more than questionable. Thus, a new publication and discussion of the sculpture are a rigid must.

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- ♦ Jamb fragment of Š[s]j, Hermitage □18119 (unpublished) from the same unknown (probably completely destroyed) tomb at Heliopolis as obelisks CG 17001–17002 [KUENTZ, 1932, pl.2–3] – unpublished attribution by the present author.



Fig 1. Hermitage □18107

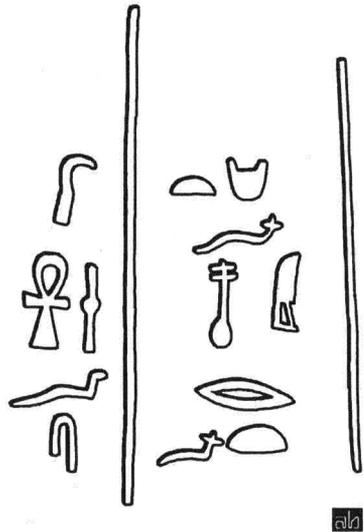
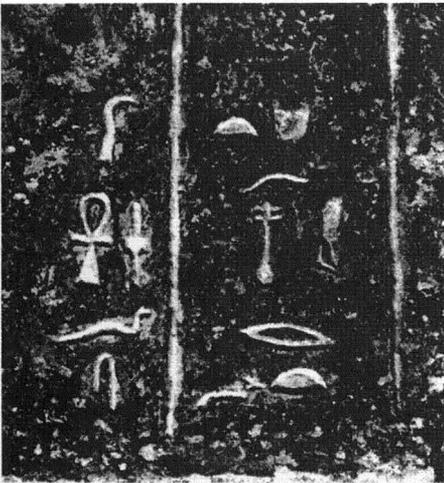


Fig 2. Hermitage □18107

The statue (fig.1-2) is a family group with a sitting male and standing female figure. The owner sits on a cubical block that is not separated from the back "wall" of the composition. He wears a short kilt and a wig covering his ears and almost reaching his shoulders; natural locks are shown on the forehead dropped from under the wig. His clenched right fist resting horizontally on his lap holds a kerchief rendered as a cylinder;<sup>3</sup> the left hand is open. The wife of the owner stands to the left of him embracing his shoulders with her right arm; her left arm is lowered. She wears a tightly fitting dress reaching mid-shin and two bangles on each ankle. The head and the left shoulder of the female figure are lost, but originally it was as high as that of the sitting man.

The quality of work is not bad, but the master was rather inaccurate in some respects. The female figure is slanted outwards as if ready to fall, the neck of the man is too thick in profile, while the shape of the wig with a flattened rear part and the parting turning into a shallow depression at the crown is abnormal (fig.15, 13).

On the base, in front of the feet of the woman, there are two columns of incised hieroglyphs (fig.3):



**Fig.3**

Hermitage  $\alpha$ 18107. Inscription

<sup>3</sup> See [HELCK, 1986; FEHLIG, 1986].

① *ḥk3 ḥnh-wd.s* ② *ḥm.t.f Jj-nfr.t.f-*

① Chief *ḥnh-wd.s*,<sup>4</sup> ② his wife *Jj-nfr.t.f*.<sup>5</sup>

Although the direction of script within the columns is from right to left, the order of the columns is from left to right, thus corresponding to the arrangement of the figures.

## 2. STATUE FITZWILLIAM E.35.1907<sup>6</sup>

**Material:** Limestone.

**Pigments:** Black (base and seat, wig, eyebrows, eyelids, irises), white (kilt, whites), red (body).

**Dimensions:** Height 59 cm, width of the base 19 cm, depth of the base 33 cm.

**Condition:** Minor dents; much of the pig-

ments lost.

**Acquisition history:** Acquired in 1907 in Egypt, but no details of the purchase are known.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

The statue (fig.4–6) represents a man sitting on a square block without a back. He wears a short kilt and a long wig reaching his shoulders. His clenched right fist holding a kerchief rendered as a cylinder rests vertically on his lap, the left hand is open.

The face is plumper than that of the man in the Hermitage group, the eyes are smaller and the eyebrows are more curved (fig.14). The neck is very thick *en face*, but it looks much more natural in profile (fig.16). The torso is heavier and the legs are thicker than those of the Hermitage statue, with their bone structure represented less definitely.

On the base, two similar inscriptions are incised on both sides of the feet (fig.7):

*ḥk3 ḥnh-wd.s -*

Chief *ḥnh-wd.s*.

<sup>4</sup> [RANKE, 1935, 63:13].

<sup>5</sup> Not registered by RANKE.

<sup>6</sup> I am most grateful to Dr. Eleni VASSILIKA, former Keeper of Antiquities, for the permission to publish the Cambridge statue (fig.4–7, 16, 18), and to Dr. Penelope WILSON, former Assistant Keeper, for making available its photographs and museum information.



**Fig 4.** Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907

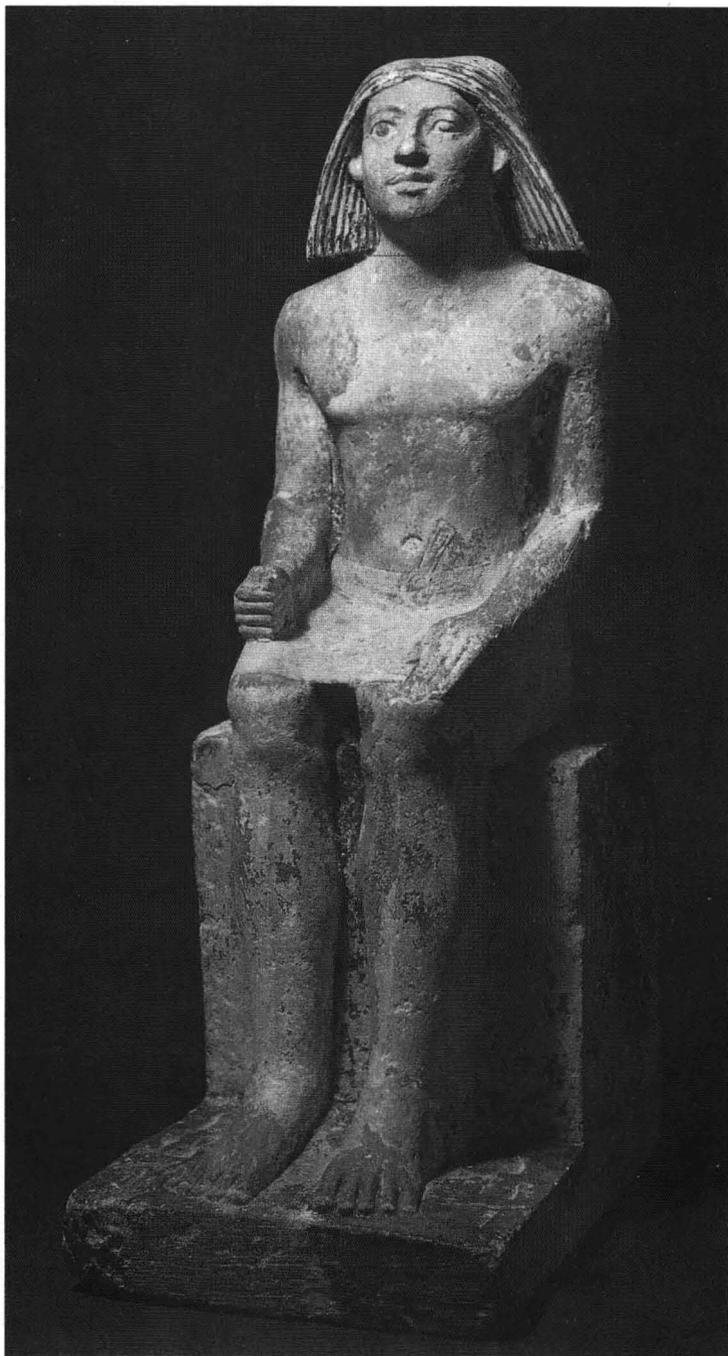


Fig 5. Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907

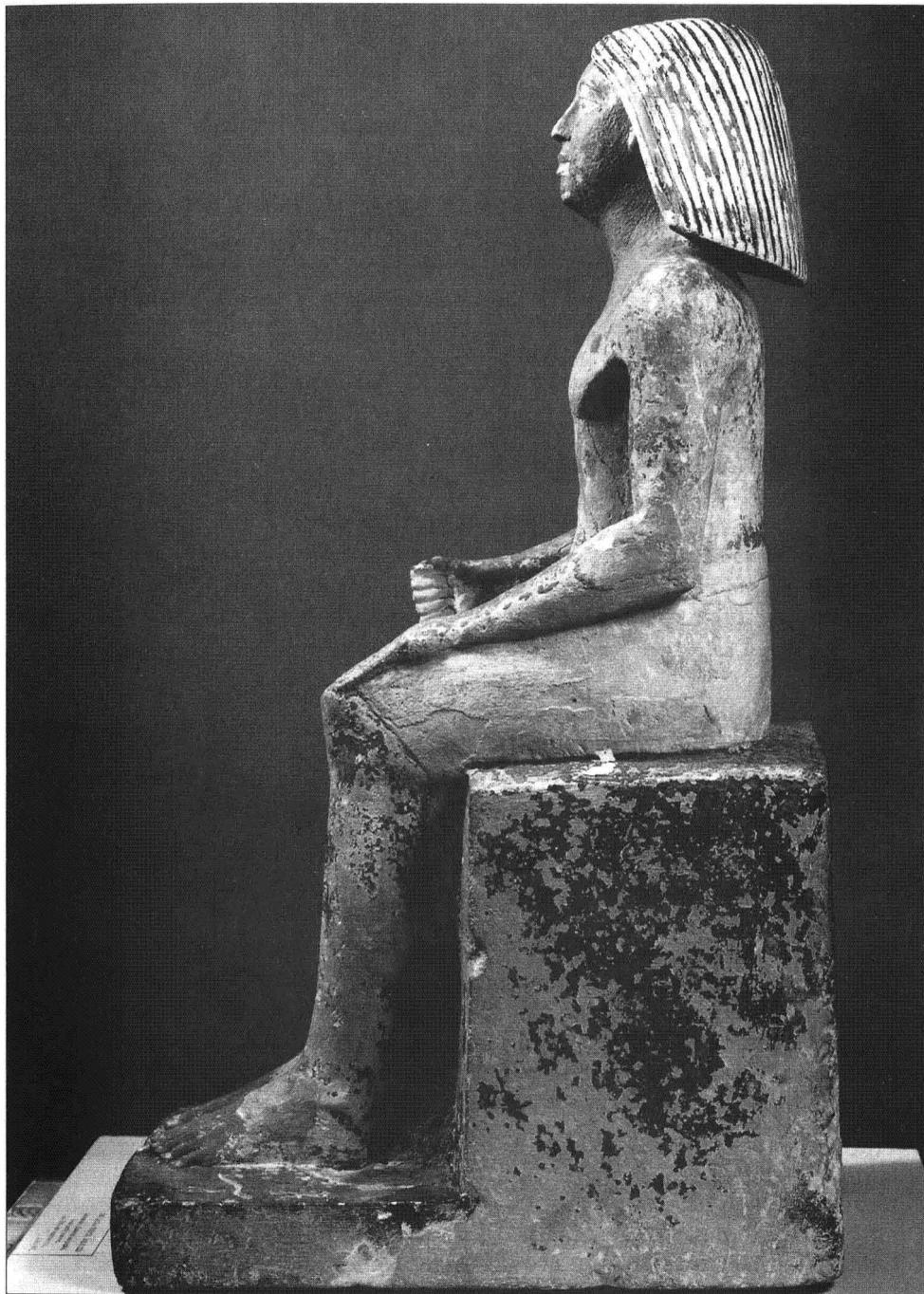
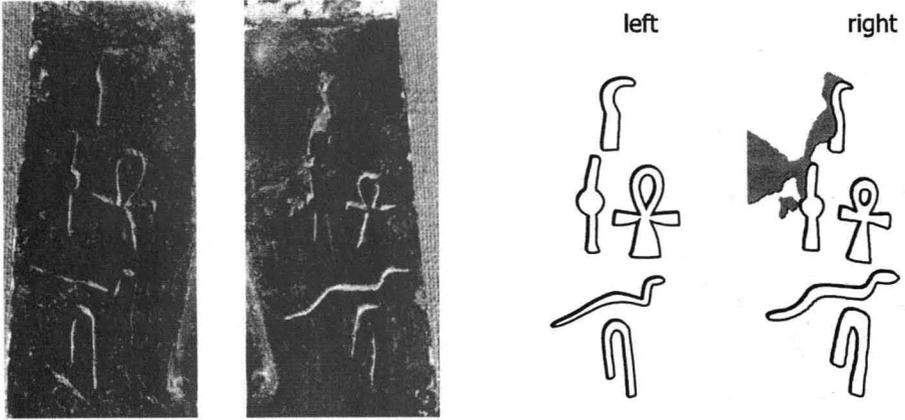


Fig 6. Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907



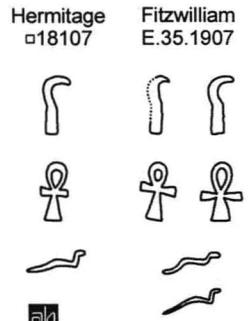
**Fig. 7**  
Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907  
Inscription



### 3. COMMENTARY

The two statues seem to be carved by different masters of approximately the same skill, each of them having his worth and limitations. However, an exact congruence of the shapes of signs (slightly bent *hk3*, *nh* with very wide ends, *q* almost as flat as *f*, see fig. 8), and their arrangement prove that the inscriptions were made by the same hand. This may shed some light on the organisation of the workshop where these monuments were executed: it incorporated several sculptors who were not involved into making inscriptions and a master specialised in carving hieroglyphs.

The uncommon name and title of *nh-wd.s*, similar epigraphic features of the monuments, as well as the almost exact coincidence of the dates of acquisition of the Hermitage and the Fitzwilliam statues prove that they came from the same tomb and should be considered together.



**Fig. 8**  
Epigraphic features

## NAME

The name *ḥnḥ-wd.s* is rare; however, it is recorded on several monuments besides the two above statues.

- 1 Offering table MMA 11.150.1A [FISCHER, 1989, 70–71, fig.2] and ointment slab MMA 11.150.1B (unpublished, cf. [FISCHER, 1989, 107, footnote 16]) of unknown provenance.<sup>7 8</sup> The owner is Overseer of the house, Overseer of the new settlements, He belonging to king's placenta ((j)r(j)-ḥ(j)-n(j)-sw.t).
- 2 False door Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Æ.I.N.942 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 739; JØRGENSEN, 1996, 88–89; MANGADO ALONSO, 1997]; Saqqara, Dyn.VI. The only title of the owner is Stonemason of the king.
- 3 Family group Louvre E.25368 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 298; ZIEGLER, 1997, cat.no. 23] and offering basin Louvre E.25369 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 298; MOSTAFA, 1982, Taf.31]; Giza (?), Dyn.IV–V. The owner is Book-keeper of the Great House, King's *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest, Prophet of Mycerinus, He belonging to king's placenta.
- 4 FAKHRI's Tomb 1, Giza [FAKHRI, 1935, fig.1]; Dyn.V or later. The only title of the owner is Inspector of *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests.
- 5 Representation in FAKHRI's Tomb 4, Giza [FAKHRI, 1935, fig.6]; Dyn.V or later. The only title of the man is Judge and scribe.

None of these men may be identified with the owner of the Hermitage and the Fitzwilliam statues.

When PEREPELKIN was working on the Hermitage statue, only the Copenhagen false door had been published out of the above monuments and, having no comparative material, he interpreted the name as *Wd-ḥnḥ-ds*, which was the easiest reading with a direct order of signs. However, this understanding – either “The-Living-One-has-ordered-himself” or “Life-is-ordered-by-himself/herself” – is at least

<sup>7</sup> Seven depressions for ointments are placed along the lower edge of the slab with inscriptions above them; such an arrangement is characteristic of Saqqara and Abusir, while at Giza slabs with the depressions in the upper part are predominant [JUNKER, 1944, 187; VACHALA, 1981, Abb.1, 3–5, 8].

<sup>8</sup> I could study these two objects thanks to the kindness of Dr. Dorothea ARNOLD, L.A.Wallace Curator in Charge, and Dr. James ALLEN, Associate Curator, Department of Egyptian Art.

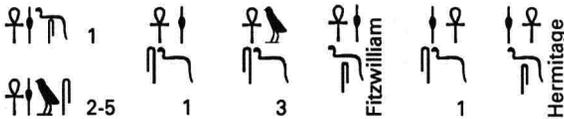


Fig.9  
Spellings of the name 'nh-wd.s  
(numbers refer to the list  
of monuments)

questionable. Imprimis, it is based on a highly improbable supposition that *ds.f/s* is abbreviated to *d*s; moreover, in the first case it remains obscure what is ordered by the Living One, and in the second case it is unclear who grants life and why this person is introduced in such an unnatural way. Secondly, now, when the monuments of other bearers of the name are published, it is obvious (fig.9) that the name, if written horizontally, always reveals another order of signs, with 'nh preceding wd (1–5), variant (1) proving that *d* is a phonetic complement to wd. The order is the same also in vertical columns (1, 3), and only once wd is placed before 'nh (1). On the Cambridge statue, the name is also spelled twice with 'nh before wd. Thus, the name on the Hermitage group should be considered a rare spelling variant of 'nh-wd.s, “Alive-is-he-whom-she-ordered” [RANKE, 1935, 63:13], where “she” is a goddess predicting a destiny of a child.

#### TITLE *hk3*<sup>9</sup>

*Hk3.w* were chiefs of private and state household units *n(j)w.wt* and *h(w).wt* responsible for cattle and agricultural works [PEREPELKIN, 1988, 129–131]. *Hk3* is no doubt an abbreviated form of *hk3 n(j)w.t* or *hk3 h(w).t* [see references in JONES, 2000, 662:2426]. According to PEREPELKIN [1988, 132], the first option is much more probable: the bearers of higher titles, *hk3.w h(w).wt*, not to mention *hk3.w h(w).wt 3.w* and *hk3.w n(j)-sw.t* engaged in the royal household, would spell their title in a full form. Moreover, the legends to the scene of punishment of seven *hk3.w h(w).wt* in the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* [DUELLE et al., 1938, pl.36] prove that these officials who were often ruthlessly beaten, could simultaneously hold higher offices;<sup>10</sup> thus, the

<sup>9</sup> Although the titles including the component *hk3* are widely spread, they are studied still unsatisfactorily. P.PIACENTINI [1989] issued a detailed reference book on *hk3.w n(j)w.wt*, but it contains no study of their functions and role in social life and offers almost no conclusions. The most important study of the title is in the book by Yu.Ya.PEREPELKIN [1988, 123–164] on private Old Kingdom households.

<sup>10</sup> ♦ *Mrrj* – Carpenter of the King, Scribe;  
♦ *Whmj* – Carpenter of the King, Scribe;  
♦ *Gfgf* – Scribe of the royal documents in the presence / of a king/;

fact that  $\text{ḥnh-wd.s}$  could not boast of other titles, most probably means that he was the lowest of  $\text{ḥk3.w}$  – a  $\text{ḥk3 n(j)w.t}$ .

This makes the case of  $\text{ḥnh-wd.s}$  unique: he was the only known  $\text{ḥk3}$  (=  $\text{ḥk3 n(j)w.t}$ ) who could commission two statues of a rather high quality and, accordingly, a tomb, which, no matter how small it might be, was an expensive structure.<sup>11</sup>

## DATING

In 1936, PEREPELKIN dated the Hermitage statue back to Dyn.IV and he held this opinion for decades.<sup>12</sup> He never substantiated his dating in detail, but as far as I can recollect our talks that took place more than twenty years ago, he proceeded mainly from the shape of the  $\text{I}$  sign with a slightly bent hook that he considered archaic [cf. PEREPELKIN, 1988, 132]. Thirty years later, MATTHIEU subscribed to PEREPELKIN's opinion wholeheartedly and offered a number of extra dating criteria [LAPIS, MATTHIEU, 1969, 37]:

- ◆ The locks on the forehead of  $\text{ḥnh-wd.s}$  are paralleled in male statuary only by the head of Mycerunus JE 40705 (now in the museum of Port Said) [VANDIER, 1958, pl.5:6-7; STADELMANN, 1997, Abb.15];
- ◆ Rather short dress of  $\text{Jj-nfr.t.f}$  has analogies in the triads of Mycerunus JE 40678 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 28; RUSSMANN, 1989, no.7, fig. on p.25] and MFA 09.200 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 27];
- ◆ The names including the elements  $\text{wd}$  and  $\text{jj}$  are characteristic of Dyn.IV:  $\text{Jj-nfr}$  [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 894],  $\text{K3(j)-wd-ḥh(j)}$  [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 894],  $\text{Jj-nfr.t}$ , Giza [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 298–299; now also SCHÜRMANN, 1983].

With this dating, the Hermitage statue would be the earliest known family group [LAPIS, MATTHIEU, 1969, 38] which would attach a special significance to it. However, one must admit that the above criteria are either equivocal or even erroneous and serious arguments

- 
- ◆  $\text{Ndm-jb(j)}$  – Overseer of scribes of the land;
  - ◆  $\text{Šm3w}$  – Overseer of scribes of  $\text{mr.t}$ ;
  - ◆  $\text{Jm-šttw (?)}$  – Judge and overseer of scribes.
  - ◆  $\text{Špss-pth}$  – Overseer of scribes of the land.

<sup>11</sup> The present author has supposed elsewhere that some high quality tombs belonging to people of modest positions could have been commissioned by their superiors in reward for a good service [BOLSHAKOV, 1997, 270–271; *idem.*, 2001, 210–211]. This also may be the case of  $\text{ḥnh-wd.s}$ .

<sup>12</sup> Cf. [PEREPELKIN, 1988, 132]: “not later than the beginning of Dyn.V”.

against such an early dating may be adduced. Thus, all the pros and cons must be discussed.

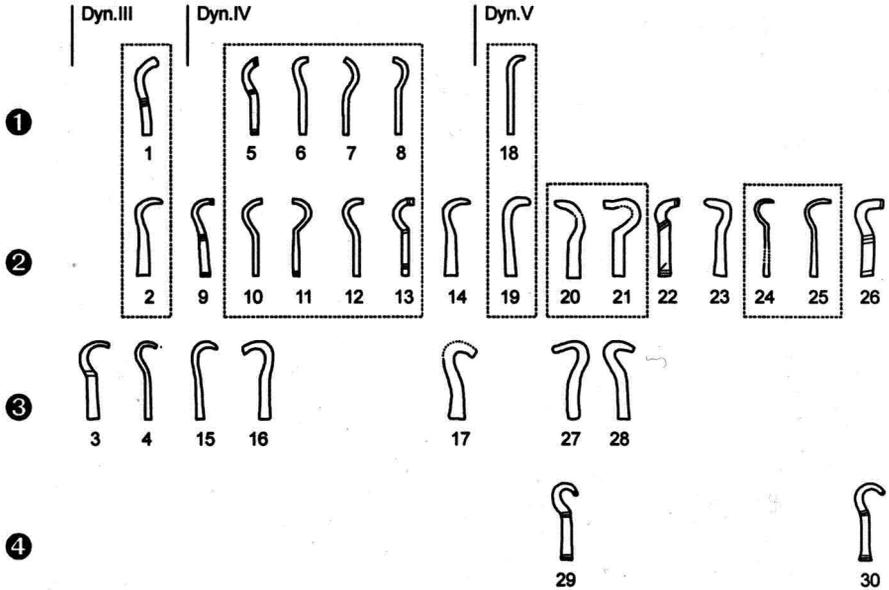
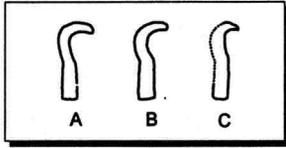
#### A. The shape of the $\int$ sign.

According to PEREPOLKIN, the slightly bent hook is characteristic of early Old Kingdom inscriptions. Most probably, his opinion was based on several inscriptions of Dyn.III – early Dyn.IV, such as those in the mastabas of  $R^{\eta}(w)-\dot{h}tp(.w)$  <9> and  $Mtn$  <5–8, 10–12>. <sup>13</sup> However, the problem is much more intricate.

<sup>13</sup> Hereafter we shall refer to the shapes of the sign represented in fig.10:

- ◆ **A** Hermitage  $\square$ 18107; **B-C** Fitzwilliam E.35.1907;
- ◆ **1–2** Mastaba of  $\int h.t(j)-\int(.w)$ , late Dyn.III [ZIEGLER, 1990, 99];
- ◆ **3** Statue of Djoser, JE 49889, reign of Djoser [WILDUNG, 1977, Taf.1];
- ◆ **4** Mastaba of  $\int^{\eta}(j)-b\int.w-zkr/H\int s$ , Saqqara A 2, middle Dyn.III – early Dyn.IV [BORCHARDT, 1937, Bl.10];
- ◆ **5–8** Mastaba of  $Mtn$ , LS 6, reign of Cheops, <5–6> [LD II, Bl.3], <7> [LD II, Bl.7], <8> [LD II, Bl.6];
- ◆ **9** Mastaba of  $R^{\eta}(w)-\dot{h}tp(.w)$ , Meidum, reign of Sneferu [PETRIE, 1892, pl.10];
- ◆ **10–13** Mastaba of  $Mtn$ , LS 6, reign of Cheops, <10–11> [LD II, Bl.5], <12> [LD II, Bl.7]; <13> [LD II, Bl.3];
- ◆ **14** Offering table of  $Jj-k\int(.j)$  CG 57043, Saqqara, Dyn.IV [ABOU-GHAZI, 1980, plate without a number];
- ◆ **15** Valley temple of Sneferu, Dahshur [FAKHRI, 1961, fig.24];
- ◆ **16** Mastaba of  $\int h.t(j)-\dot{h}tp(.w)$ , Saqqara A 1, early Dyn.IV [ANONYMOUS, 1971, fig.8];
- ◆ **17** Mastaba of  $K\int(.j)-w^{\eta}b(.w)$ , G 7110+7120, reign of Cheops [SIMPSON, 1978, fig.11:a];
- ◆ **18–19** Mastaba of  $K\int(.j)-mnj$ , LG 96, first half of Dyn.V [HASSAN, 1941, fig.91].
- ◆ **20–21** Mastaba of  $\int pss-pth$ , Abusir, reign of Neusera <20> [VERNER, 1977, pl.4, <21> [*ibid.*, pl.3];
- ◆ **22** Mastaba of  $\int h.t(j)-\dot{h}tp(.w)$  and  $Pth-\dot{h}tp(.w)$ , Saqqara D 64, late Dyn.V [DAVIES, 1900, pl.16];
- ◆ **23** Mastaba of  $\int h.t(j)-mr.w-n(j)-sw.t$ , G 2184, late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI [WRESZINSKI, 1936, Taf.69];
- ◆ **24–25** Mastaba of  $\int Bqj$ , G 2352, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI [SIMPSON, 1980, fig.45];
- ◆ **26** Mastaba of  $D\int d\int(.j)-m^{\eta}n\int I$ , Saqqara D 11, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI [BORCHARDT, 1937, Bl.52];
- ◆ **27** Mastaba of  $N(j)-sun(.\int)-nfr(.w)$ , G 4970, early to middle Dyn.V [JUNKER, 1938, Abb.30];
- ◆ **28** Mastaba of  $K\int(.j)-m-nfr.t$ , Saqqara D 23, reign of Neusera or later [SIMPSON, 1992, pl.F];
- ◆ **29** Mastaba of  $Tj$ , Saqqara D 22, reign of Neusera or later [WILD, 1953, pl.112];
- ◆ **30** Mastaba of  $\int tp-k\int(.j)$ , S 3509, late Dyn.V – early Dyn.VI [MARTIN, 1979, pl.11];

- ◆ 31 Tomb of *Dꜥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi 12, middle reign of Pepy II [DAVIES, 1902-2, pl.9];
- ◆ 32 False door fragment BM 1159, provenance unknown, Dyn.VI [*Hiero.Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl.35:3];
- ◆ 33 False door of *Kꜣr*, BM 1342, provenance unknown, Dyn.VI [*Hiero. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl.32:1];
- ◆ 34-35 Mastaba of *Mḥw*, Saqqara, Dyn.VI, reign of Teti, <34> [ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, pl.44], <35> [*ibid.*, pl.85];
- ◆ 36 Tomb of *Jntj*, Deshasha, early reign of Pepy II [PETRIE, 1898, pl.6];
- ◆ 37 Tomb of *Ttj/Kꜣ(.j)-ḥp*, El-Hawawish, reign of Merenra – early reign of Pepy II [KANAWATI, 1982, fig.9];
- ◆ 38 Tomb of *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi 8, early reign of Pepy II [DAVIES, 1902-1, pl.5];
- ◆ 39 Tomb of *Dꜥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi 12, middle reign of Pepy II [DAVIES, 1902-2, pl.5];
- ◆ 40 Tomb of *Ṛwtj*, Hamra Dom T 73, middle reign of Pepy II [SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, 1994, pl.19];
- ◆ 41 Stela of *Jdw I*, Dendera, Dyn.VI [FISCHER, 1968, fig.16];
- ◆ 42 Slab stela of *Jr-n-sn*, CG 1391, Saqqara, Dyn.IV [BORCHARDT, 1937, Bl.13];
- ◆ 43 Mastaba of *N(j)-ḥtp-ḥnm(w)*, Giza, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI [ABU-BAKR, 1953, fig.8];
- ◆ 44 Mastaba of *ꜥnh(.j)-m-ꜥ-ḥr(w)/Zzj*, Saqqara, reign of Teti [BADAWY, 1978, fig.35];
- ◆ 45 Mastaba of *Mḥw*, Saqqara, reign of *Ttj* [ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, pl.71];
- ◆ 46 Tomb of *Jttj/Šdw*, Deshasha, early reign of *Pjpp II* [PETRIE, 1898, pl.19];
- ◆ 47 Mastaba of *Mḥw*, Saqqara, reign of *Ttj*, [ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, pl.64];
- ◆ 48 Mastaba of *Ḥnt(.j)-kꜣ(.j)/Jḥḥj*, Saqqara, reign of Pepy I [JAMES, 1953, pl.9];
- ◆ 49 Tomb of *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi 8, early reign of Pepy II [DAVIES, 1902-1, pl.7];
- ◆ 50 Tomb of *Dꜥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi 12, middle reign of Pepy II [DAVIES, 1902-2, pl.6];
- ◆ 51 Tomb of *N(j)-ꜥnh-pjppj/Sbk-ḥtp(w)/Ḥppj-km*, Meir A 1, early reign of Pepy II [BLACKMAN, 1953, pl.8];
- ◆ 52 Mastaba of *Kꜣ(.j)-ḥj.f*, G 2136, middle reign of Pepy II [JUNKER, 1943, Abb.46];
- ◆ 53 Slab from the tomb of *Mn-ꜥnh-pjppj*, BM 1262, Dendera, Dyn.VI [*Hiero. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl.37:2];
- ◆ 54 Stela of *Ḥm(w)-wr(w)*, Louvre C 198, Abydos, late First Intermediate Period [ZIEGLER, 1990, 203];
- ◆ 55 Stela of *Snnj*, Edinburgh 1910.96, Dendera, First Intermediate Period [FISCHER, 1968, fig.43];
- ◆ 56 Statue of *Jnh*, Munich ÄS 6797, provenance unknown, late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period [SCHOSKE, WILDUNG, s.a., Abb. an S.28 (Nr.17)];
- ◆ 57 Offering-table of *Ḥppj*, CG 57015, Saqqara, First Intermediate Period [ABOU-GHAZI, 1980, plate without a number].

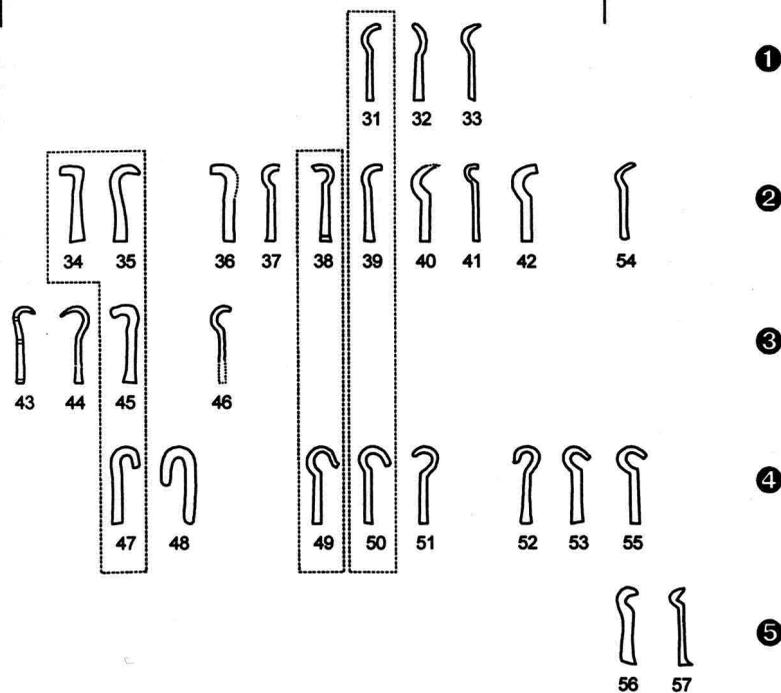


**Fig.10**  
Shapes of the *h/k3* sign

Old Kingdom monuments reveal a great variety of the shapes of this hieroglyph forming five groups with rather indistinct borders: **①** signs with a slightly bent upper part, **②** signs with a more curved, sometimes horizontal upper part, **③** numerous transitory forms with a more pronounced hook (the upper part slightly bent downwards), **④** signs comparable with the classical Middle Kingdom form having a definite hook, **⑤** signs with a very small degenerated upper part (fig.10).

Dyn.VI

FIP



The forms of the first group are characteristic of Dyn.IV <sup>14</sup> and, quite the reverse, those of the fourth and the fifth groups are absent at that time, but in general the shape of the sign is not a reliable dating criterion. The forms belonging to different groups may be synchronous and coexist on the same monument (sometimes even in the same inscription). The most striking and at the same time the earliest example are the inscriptions on the entrance thicknesses of *3h.t(j)*-

<sup>14</sup> Their revival in late Dyn.VI **<31-33>** is rather a result of simplification than that of archaisation characteristic of the period; the same simplification engendered the fifth group in the First Intermediate Period **<56-57>**.

𓆎(.w), one of the first chapels with high-quality reliefs, where the carefully carved signs of the first group <1> are used side by side with those belonging to the second group <2>. <sup>15</sup> The same phenomenon may be observed in the celebrated autobiography of *Mtn*, cf. <5–8> and <10–13>. <sup>16</sup> In the later periods cf. <18> and <19> (first and second groups), <38> and <49> (second and fourth groups), <34, 35, 45, 47> (second and third groups) and <31, 39, 50> (first, second and fourth groups).

The quality of carving does not influence the shape of the sign either: for instance, in the chapel of 𓆎.t(j)-𓆎(.w) the bend is very slight <1>, while in 𓆎.t(j)-h̄tp(.w) it is close to the norm of the Middle Kingdom <16>, although the quality of the reliefs in both tombs is the highest for their time. <sup>17</sup>

The form used by the carver of 𓆎h-wd.s belongs to the second group that existed through the whole of the Old Kingdom, and although some of the analogies are very early (the closest are <2, 9, 14>), others are dated to Dyn.V–VI (the closest are <23, 26, 35, 42>). Thus, the shape of 𓆎 is of no importance for the dating of the statues of 𓆎h-wd.s.

<sup>15</sup> It even seems that the different forms were used intentionally in 𓆎.t(j)-𓆎(.w): each thickness of the entrance to the chapel bears two titles spelled with the h̄k̄3 sign – h̄k̄3 n(j)-sw.t and h̄k̄3 h̄(w).t-𓆎 – and in both cases a very slightly bent form is used in the first title and a form with a much more curved hook in the second title: <1> and <2> (north thickness) and [ZIEGLER, 1990, 102–103] (south thickness). Such a consistency of the compiler of the inscriptions may even make us suppose that in the first title 𓆎 represents not a h̄k̄3.t scepter, but a throwstick to which it bears a striking similarity, see fig.11 (Andrey G.Souschevski, personal communication). However, it is next to impossible to postulate an existence of a new title of unknown meaning basing on a single monument (unfortunately, the tomb of *Phr-nfr*, another early h̄k̄3 n(j)-sw.t, is out of reach for epigraphic study owing to inadequate publications; see also footnote 17).

<sup>16</sup> Selected references; the signs belonging both to the first and the second group are much more numerous in the chapel of *Mtn* who had many titles including the element h̄k̄3.

<sup>17</sup> It is more than probable that the hieroglyphs reflected various forms of the real h̄k̄3.t scepters (see fig.12). The hooks of the scepter discovered in the predynastic Abydos tomb U-j, of several scepters from the Meidum Mastaba 17, and of those represented on the ivory handle of a predynastic knife in the Metropolitan Museum of Art are as different as the shapes of the signs. It is also of interest that the shapes of the hieroglyphs and of the scepters are not synchronous – it seems that various h̄k̄3.t scepters coexisted in the Old Kingdom, which made it possible to use various forms of the hieroglyph.

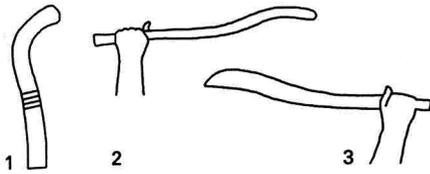


Fig.11. Hieroglyph *h3* and throwsticks.

1. *3h.t(j)-3(w)*, after ZIEGLER [1990, 99].
2. *K3r*, after SIMPSON [1976, fig.18].
3. *Nfr-jrt-n.f*, after Van de WALLE [1973, pl.1].

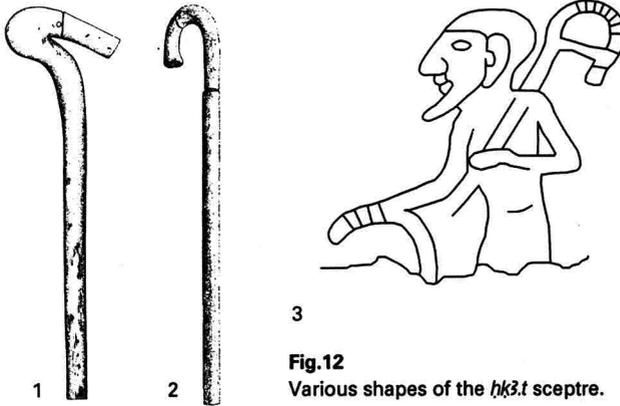


Fig.12  
Various shapes of the *h3.t* sceptre.

1. Abydos, tomb U-j, after DREYER [1998, Abb.85].
2. Meydum, mastaba 17, after PETRIE, MACKAY & WAINWRIGHT, [1910, pl.11:8].
3. Carving on a handle of a predynastic knife, after HAYES [1953, fig.21].

## B. The coiffure of *nh-wd.s*, Hermitage □18017.

MATTHIEU was in the right when stating that the locks of natural hair on the forehead of *nh-wd.s* are unique in private male sculpture. More than three decades that passed after this asseveration had been voiced made a great amount of Old Kingdom statuary available for an adequate study, but, as far as I can judge, this feature still remains exceptional. As for the comparison with the alabaster head of Mycerinus JE 40705 as a ground for dating, it is evidently vicious for two reasons. First, a juxtaposition of the royal and the private Old Kingdom iconography is misleading in general, especially if we try to compare the statues unique each in its category. Second, the treatment of the locks is quite different. In the case of Mycerinus they are rendered in high relief and are shown not only on the forehead, but also on the temples, where they look like longer strands. The treatment of the locks of *nh-wd.s* is much more conventional, the relief is lower and the temple locks are absent.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, a female statue Louvre A.109 has a wig and forelocks very similar to those of the Hermitage *nh-wd.s* [VANDIER, 1958, pl.15:5;

C. The dress of *Jj-nfr.t.f.*

This argument is so weak that it hardly deserves a special discussion. Dress may be indeed rather short in Dyn.IV (e.g., *Jj-nfr.t.*, Louvre E.6854 [ZIEGLER, 1997, cat.no.28]; *Kjtsn*, CG 48 [BORCHARDT, 1911, Bl.12]), but also in Dyn.V (e.g., the wife of *M3-nfr*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 457; ZIEGLER, 1997, 133]; *N(j)-k3(.w)-nb.tj*, CG 82 [BORCHARDT, 1911, Bl.19]) and later (a good example is a wooden statue of the “second style” CG 139 [BORCHARDT, 1911, Bl.31]).

D. Elements *wḏ* and *jj* in the names.

The absurdity of this “criterion” is obvious. Two of the three bearers of the names cited by MATTHIEU actually lived much later than Dyn.IV:

- ◆ *K3(j)-wḏ-ḥb(.j)*, Dahshur, Dyn.V, reign of Neusera (?) [HARPUR, 1987, 279:616].
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t.*, Giza (Karlsruhe H.532), Dyn.V, reigns of Neusera – Isesi [BOLSHAKOV, 1990, 21–25] (as contrary to HARPUR [1987, 265:17]: Merenra – early Pepy II).

*Wḏ* occurs rather rarely in Old Kingdom names besides *ḥb-wḏ.s*,<sup>19</sup> all the bearers of this name being hardly earlier than Dyn.V (see above). *Jj* is a much more common component and it is sufficient to cite only some later occurrences to demonstrate that it is not characteristic of exclusively Dyn.IV:

- ◆ *Jj-df3*, LS 22 = C 11 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 759], reigns of Userkaf – Sahura [HARPUR, 1987, 272:374].
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj*, G 6020 [WEEKS, 1994, 31–57], reigns of Neferirkara [HARPUR, 1987, 265:14] – Neusera [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 170].
- ◆ *Jjj*, LS 20 = C 26 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565], reign of Isesi [HARPUR, 1987, 272:344].
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t.*, Saqqara [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 616], reign of Unis [HARPUR, 1987, 272:345] or later [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 616].

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ZIEGLER, 1990, cat.no.47]. Stylistically this uninscribed statue no doubt dates back to Dyn.IV, but a solid build of the woman has nothing in common with a delicate stature of *ḥb-wḏ.s* and especially with a slim figure of his wife. More distant, but also rather close to *ḥb-wḏ.s* are the wig and forelocks of the wife of *Jh.t-nb(w)* (G 1206) as represented in the family group Berkeley 6.19775 [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 58] that is hardly earlier than middle Dyn.V. Although a comparison of male and female statuary is highly insecure, this may be a good illustration of uselessness of forelocks as a dating criterion.

<sup>19</sup> As contrary to later names constructed after the pattern “*wḏ* + the name of a god + *ḥb.f/.s*”, etc. [RANKE, 1935, 88].

- ◆ *Jj-k3.w(.j)*, representation on a relief from the causeway of Unis [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 419], reign of Unis.
- ◆ *Jj-šm3*, statue from the mastaba of Špss-pth, Giza (Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim 2142), late Dyn.V [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 151].
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj.t*, Giza, Dyn.V–VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 295].
- ◆ *Jj-nj (?)*, Giza, D.42, Dyn.V–VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 112].
- ◆ *Jj-nj (?)*, Giza, D.205, Dyn.V–VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 116].
- ◆ *Jj-dβ*, G 1313, late Dyn.V – Dyn.VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 61].
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj*, G 3098, Dyn.VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 99].
- ◆ *Jj-mrjj I*, Giza, Dyn.VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 218].
- ◆ *Jj.t(j) (?)*, Giza, Dyn.VI [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 120].
- ◆ *Jjj*, Saqqara [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 625], late Old Kingdom [HARPUR, 1987, 272:343].
- ◆ *Jj-n-hr(w)*, Saqqara [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 630], late Old Kingdom [HARPUR, 1987, 272:346].
- ◆ *Jj-nfr.t*, statue JE 91917, Saqqara, late Old Kingdom [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 505].

## E. Style

Thus, not a single criterion offered by MATTHIEU in favour of an early dating is reliable and the statues may be dated only on the strength of their stylistic features. The Hermitage group no doubt belongs to the second style of the Old Kingdom and bears its main characteristics [see RUSSMANN, 1995, 269–270], such as the oversized eyes and lips and the narrow waist and the upper body of *ḥh-wd.s*; with that, his shoulders are wide and the muscles of arms and legs are not degraded. The elongated slim figure of *Jj-nfr.t.f* fits the norms of the second style even to a greater degree. The Cambridge statue, however, is executed according to the traditions of the first half of the Old Kingdom – the eyes and the mouth are not exaggerated and the body is robust (cf. figs.13 and 14, 15 and 16).

Therefore, *ḥh-wd.s* should be dated to the initial stage of the second style, when in the same workshop one master kept working traditionally and his fellow already used a new manner, but still mixed it with time-honoured features.<sup>20</sup> One of the earliest manifestations of the second style in sculpture is a group of statues of *Mttj* [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 647–648] whose tomb dates to the reigns of Unis [RUSSMANN, 1995, 274–276] – Teti [PM III<sup>2</sup>, 646].<sup>21</sup> The statues of *ḥh-wd.s* also cannot be earlier than the end of Dyn.V or later than the beginning of Dyn.VI.

<sup>20</sup> Of course, both statues may be works of the same sculptor who was interested in stylistic experiments, but this does not affect their dating.

<sup>21</sup> But hardly to that of Pepi I [HARPUR, 1997, 274:426].



Fig 13. Hermitage □18107



Fig 14. Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907



Fig 15. Hermitage □18107

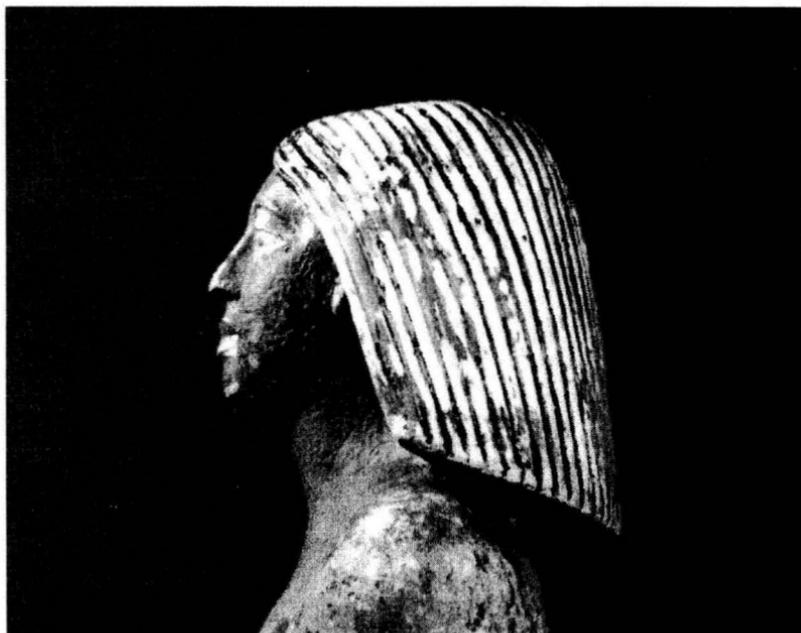


Fig 16. Fitzwilliam Museum E.35.1907

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- BdE* *Bibliothèque d'Étude.* Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.
- BM* The British Museum.
- BSEG* *Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie de Genève.* Genève.
- CG* Catalogue général du Musée du Caire.
- EV* See *ÆB*.
- GM* *Göttinger Miszellen.* Göttingen.
- HÄB* *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge.* Hildesheim.
- Hiero. Texts* I<sup>2</sup> *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* I<sup>2</sup>. London, 1961.
- JE* Journal d'entrée du musée du Caire.
- JEA* *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.* London.
- LÄ* *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I–VI. Wiesbaden, 1975–1986.

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- LG              Giza, numbering of R. Lepsius.
- LS              Saqqara, numbering of R. Lepsius.
- MÄS            *Münchener ägyptologische Studien*. München – Berlin.
- MBDS          Museum of Books, Documents, Scripts, Leningrad.
- MDAIK         *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Wiesbaden, Mainz (ab 1956).
- MMA            The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- PM III<sup>2</sup>         PORTER B., MOSS R. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* III<sup>2</sup>. Memphis. Oxford, 1974–1981.
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- SGE            See CGЭ.
- ZÄS            *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig, Berlin.
- CGЭ            Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград [*Reports of the State Hermitage, St.Petersburg*].
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