

Two Old Kingdom Wooden Statues in a Private Collection in the Netherlands

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I am delighted to dedicate this brief contribution to Professor Miroslav Verner, in honour of his commitment to Egyptology, and especially the Old Kingdom, throughout his career.

The statues to be discussed here belong to a private collection in the Netherlands,¹ and as can be seen, they bear more than a passing resemblance to each other. The larger of the two is published in the corpus of Old Kingdom wooden statues under Catalogue No. A 96,² one of the statues from the Tjeteti tomb group from Saqqara.³ This statue turned out to be one of the four ‘missing’ statues from the tomb.⁴ Some years later, a second statue joined the collection. This time, however, the statue, though undoubtedly genuine, was not one of the remaining three ‘missing’ Tjeteti statues. Instead, it was an almost identical statue but on a smaller scale. Before proceeding to investigate why the statues can be so similar, let us first take a closer look at them both.⁵

Statue A (Figs. 1–3) Ht: 38.8 cm; base: 4.1 × 9.5 × 20.8 cm; WSOK Cat. no. A 96

Tjeteti is carved from a single piece of wood, including the front part of the left foot, which is usually a separate piece. He is wearing a layered wig with one long layer to the forehead and then several overlapping layers, covering the ears, wig Type W.5 in the corpus.⁶ There is a wide split on the left side of the face. The brows are clearly but unobtrusively carved – the details of the eyebrows

¹ An exhibition of the collection, which is owned by Mr W. Arnold Meijer, was held in 2006 in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam. A catalogue accompanied the exhibition: *Objects for Eternity. Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Mainz, 2006).

² J. Harvey, *Wooden statues of the Old Kingdom* [EM2] (Brill/Styx, 2001), Cat. no. A 96 = Statue A. Henceforth *WSOK*. The Tjeteti tomb group are Cat. Nos. A 85–A 102.

³ Saqqara tomb 6001. B. Peterson, “Finds from the Tjeteti Tomb at Saqqara”, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985), pp. 3–24.

⁴ These are statues that appear in the Gunn MSS, but their current location is unknown.

⁵ Since the statues do not yet have definitive accession numbers, they will be referred to here as ‘Statue A’ and ‘Statue B’.

⁶ *WSOK* p. 15.



Fig. 1 Statue A, front view

were originally painted black. The eyes are rounded with very extended canthi. The eyelids are full both above and below the eyes; those below giving the impression that Tjeteti has bags under his eyes. The nose is well carved and aquiline in shape. The curve of the nostrils is very pronounced, and the cheeks are rounded, with the left almost sharply carved on the lower part. The mouth is very large and wide, with clearly outlined lips. The chin is well shaped with a very slight double-chin in profile. The neck is set onto straight shoulders and the collarbone is only indicated on the left shoulder. The chest and waist are



Fig. 2 Statue A, view of right side



Fig. 3 Statue A, back view

narrow, and there are only faint traces of black-painted nipples. There are several cracks down the front of the statue and a large knothole is also visible. The kilt is the half-goffered type with a carved tab up onto the belly to the left-hand side of the navel, Type D.2a in the corpus.⁷ The goffers are indicated by vertical carved lines on the front right side of the kilt. Five statues from the tomb have this wig type and wear the short kilt.⁸ The arms are pendent, and still attached to the thigh at wrist level. The fists are natural with long, extended

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 25.

thumbs – arm Type A.9 in the corpus.⁹ The thumbnails are carved, but the right hand is much more delicately carved than the left. The left leg is extended, giving the impression that the statue is taking a step. The right leg is very slightly to the rear. The knees are clearly and naturalistically carved and the ankles are also pronounced. The feet are large and the toes and toenails are clearly carved. The left leg is slimmer than the right. This is probably due to the difficulties of carving from a single piece of wood.

The original thin painted plaster layer that would have covered the statue is now missing. There are traces of black on the wig and the base and around the right eye. There are traces of red on the face and under the right arm. The statue has a slight twist to the left, particularly obvious when viewed from behind, probably due to the necessity of following the grain of the wood.

The figure is standing on a base which has a short vertical column of inscription running from in front of the right foot. It was also originally covered in painted plaster, remains of which can be seen around the feet. The inscription reads *imy-r šnwty Titi* – the ‘Overseer of the Two Granaries, Tjeteti’. This title is a very high administrative one, with a certain honorific character as well. It is first known from the reign of Nyuserre of the 5th Dynasty.¹⁰ One other statue from the tomb has the same title, a statue now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.¹¹ Other titles from the tomb also seem to have agricultural connotations, ranging from ‘Overseer of the Fields’ and ‘Overseer of Milkers’ to ‘Overseer of the Labour Establishment’. There are also some titles which have to do with proximity to the king, such as ‘Overseer of the Sealed Document’, a scribal title, and the honorific title ‘Sole Friend’. He is also the ‘Overseer of the House of the Master of Largess’, the department in charge of the provisioning of the King’s table – a very important function.¹²

Statue B (Figs. 4-6) Ht: 25 cm

This statue is striding with its left leg advanced. Most of the original painted layer covering the surface is now missing, but there are traces of red on the shoulders and back. The echelon-curl wig (Type W.5) looks as if it is perched on top of the head. It has one long layer stretching from the crown of the head to the forehead and then four short layers covering the ears. There are traces

⁸ *Ibid.* Cat. Nos. A 92, A 93, A 94, A 95.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 37.

¹⁰ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), p. 337.

¹¹ *WSOK* Cat. no. A85, Boston MFA 24.606.

¹² W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamten Titeln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* [ÄF 18] (Glückstadt, 1954); N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster, 1980); *WSOK* pp. 105ff.

of black paint. There is an indentation on the top of the head but it is uncertain whether this is damage or deliberate. The sharp, narrow face appears to be thrusting forwards. The features are blurred due to the loss of the surface layer, but there are traces of black and white paint in the right eye.

The arms are made from the same piece as the body and are held pendant with clasped, natural fists (Type A.9). They have been carved free of the body above the elbows but still remain attached by the wrists at the level of the hips. The hands are carved free. The left arm is slightly longer than the right. The figure is wearing a short plain kilt with faint traces of white paint or plaster. A hole in the middle of the stomach may indicate where the knot of the kilt would have been inserted. This was often a separately carved knob of wood. The front of the left leg of the statue is missing below mid shin. The foot is also missing although the heel is still extant. The shin and the foot in the photograph are modern restorations and the foot is turned slightly too far out. There are faint traces of plaster around the inside of the right foot.

The statue looks to be in poor condition due to all the cracks and fissures on the surface. These, however, appear to follow the lines of the grain. The statue was originally made from one single piece of wood, although as the left foot is now missing, we cannot tell whether it was originally a separate piece pegged on. From behind, the head of the statue appears to be tilted slightly to the left.

As this statue does not appear in any of the original excavation photographs, it would seem that it cannot belong to the original Tjeteti tomb group, despite the visual similarities. Two other statues, however, both in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,¹⁵ do not appear in the Gunn MSS either, although their inscribed bases make their attribution certain. Nor did all of the statues in the Tjeteti tomb belong to the original tomb group. We know that at least one statue that was found in the tomb, the statue of Shemi,¹⁴ does not belong to Tjeteti but must be intrusive. Luckily all but one of the other statues currently attributed to the tomb are on inscribed bases so there can be no doubt that they are of Tjeteti. The statue in question, *WSOK* Cat. no. A 86, is currently on loan to Port Tewfik Suez Museum and was not seen in person by the author. This statue is unusual in that it is only attributed to the tomb on the basis of 'Drioton's knowledge of unpublished evidence'.¹⁵ There is no sign of an inscription on the published photograph, nor is there a record of an inscription in the *Cairo Museum Journal d'Entrée*. The three that are still unlocated today,

¹⁵ MMA 26.2.8 and 26.2.9, *WSOK* Cat. nos. A 92 and A 89, respectively.

¹⁴ *WSOK* Cat. no. A87, Shemi, Inspector of Dancers. See esp. discussion on p. 75.

¹⁵ Thus Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 10, no. 4. See E. Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Le Musée du Caire*, Paris 1949, p. 20 and Pl. 43: 'Elle représente un petit fonctionnaire nommé Théteti et provient du serdab de son tombeau à Sakkarah.'

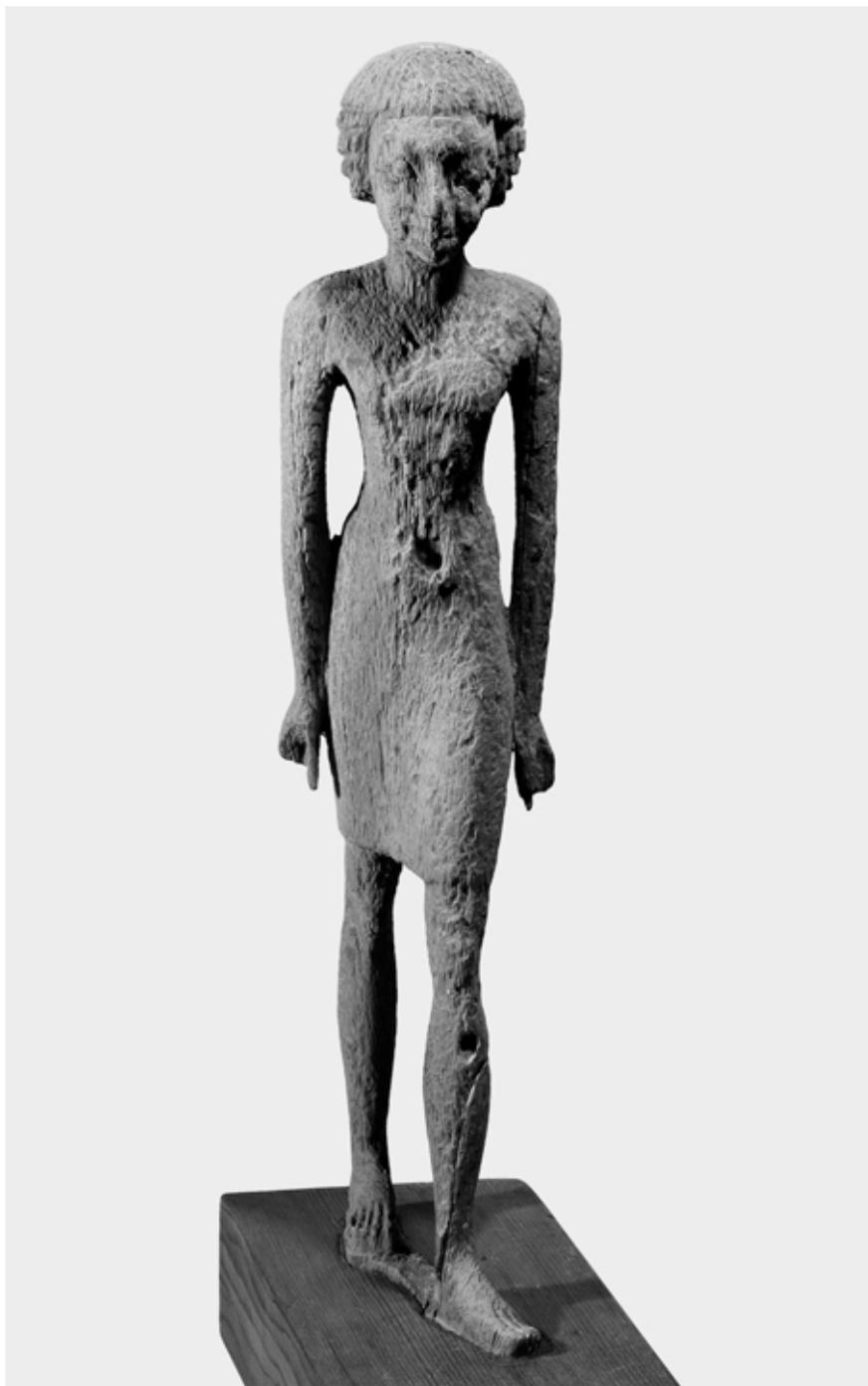


Fig. 4 Statue B, front view

but are illustrated in the original excavation notes, may also have inscribed bases, although this is not discernible in the photographs. Cat no. A 96 (Statue A) was not thought to have an inscribed base either, but when it resurfaced it turned out that it did have one, and this may yet also be the case with the remaining three. The statue of Shemi differs from the others in the tomb group in another way as well – the arms are held in a completely different position – the left arm is crossed over the chest with the hand resting on the right shoulder. No other statue in the corpus has such an arm position.



Fig. 5 Statue B, view of right side

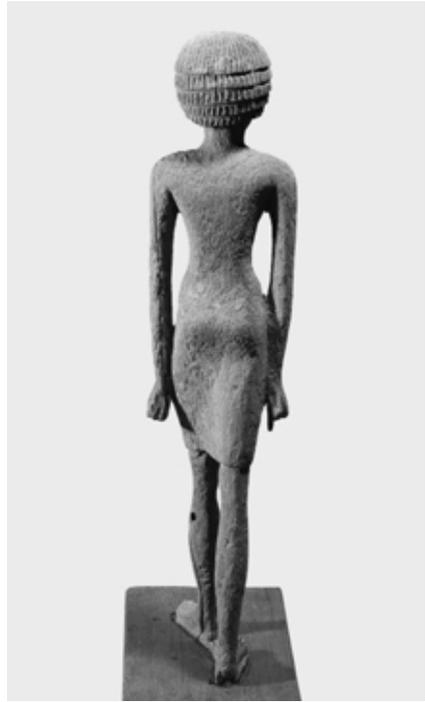


Fig. 6 Statue B, back view

An interesting characteristic of the Tjeteti group is that all the male statues have their arms carved from the same piece of wood as the torsos, a characteristic that is shared by Statue B. It is more usual for one or both arms to be attached to the shoulders by internal pegs which may or may not be secured from outside. Cat. no. A 96 (Statue A) is the only one of the group to be made entirely from a single piece of wood, however – the fronts of the feet of the others are separately carved and attached with pegs to their bases. Another interesting aspect is the wide range of quality in the carving, and the range of groups and subgroups of styles. There are three main groups – the seated statue, nine

statues in the long projecting-panel kilt, and nine in the short white kilt. Within each group of nine there is also considerable variation. Of the group of nine in the long kilt, five are skullcapped, two have Wig type 5 and the remaining two Wig type 1b (echelon-curl wig disclosing the ears). All the statues hold the front of the kilt in some way (Arm types 7 and 8).¹⁶ At least two sculptors must have been involved in the carving, as there are clearly two different styles here – a longer, slender one, coinciding with the skullcapped statues, also referred to as the ‘second style’,¹⁷ and a more stocky style, which coincides with the echelon-curl wigs. The short kilt statues also divide into groups – five statues have Wig type 5 and four Wig type 1 (echelon-curl covering the ears). Of the five statues with Wig type 5, one has its arms in the position for staff and sceptre, the other four are virtually identical to each other, falling into pairs according to size. The remaining four also fall into pairs according to the length of their kilts – two have them above the knee kilts¹⁸ and two knee-length kilts.¹⁹ Again, the group of five is slenderer than the group of four, implying more than one hand at work. Thus all the statues with Wig type 5 and the skullcap style are slenderer than those with other wig types. All the evidence thus points to the Tjeteti statues having been made in a workshop where more than one carpenter was active, perhaps as many as four different ones. But can we trace these stylistic quirks to other statues? Can it really be that the ‘second style’ is associated with certain wigs and dress? As the Tjeteti group shows, with wooden statues there is no date difference between the two styles – they existed concurrently. Sadly, however, not enough tomb groups have survived to really put this to the test.

Although we know very little about workshops from this period, representations of workshops from the Old and Middle Kingdoms reveal that they were not independent enterprises but always formed part of the households of high officials.²⁰ The practitioners of several crafts are also shown working alongside each other, producing items for tomb and domestic use. In later times there were also workshops attached to temples and of course to the royal court. But did the artisans work to order, or could a prospective customer just walk in and choose his statues off the shelf? This question is particularly interesting for the Old Kingdom – would the artisans of one high official produce work

¹⁶ See the discussion in *WSOK*, pp. 75–77.

¹⁷ E.R. Russman, “A second style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom”, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 269–279.

¹⁸ *WSOK* Cat. Nos. A 99 and A 100.

¹⁹ *WSOK* Cat. Nos. A 97 and A 98.

²⁰ R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im alten Ägypten* [ÄA 51] (Wiesbaden, 1976); id., “Artisans and Artists in Pharaonic Egypt”, in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J.M. Sasson (New York, 1995), Vol. I, pp. 331–343.

for other high officials? Was there enough work from one official to keep an entire workshop operational over a period of time? Were there specialists, i.e. wooden statue makers, or would they turn their hand to other items when necessary? Although there is dissimilarity within the Tjeteti group, indicating more than one artisan at work, the similarities are such that the subgroups of statues must almost certainly have been made by the same person, implying a certain degree of practice and skill in that particular type of work by more than one person. Could they have gained that skill producing work for just one tomb?

It is now time to examine the characteristics of the statues in more detail by assembling a group of all statues with similar features. The selection is based on Wig type 5, the echelon-curl wig with one long layer to the level of the forehead, then several shorter layers. The ears are covered. What is particularly interesting about this wig type is that it is not known from the repertoire of representations of statues or on stone statues. It first appears in the reign of Merenre and is known throughout the rest of the Old Kingdom. After excluding statues missing one or other of their arms, this resulted in a group of 52 statues, including the two from the Meijer collection.²¹ Table 1 shows these statues sorted by date. The Catalogue No. is the *WSOK* reference. Catalogue A statues can be independently dated, Catalogue B statues are dated by reference to statues in Catalogue A, as are the AS and D statues.

Wig type 5 first appears on three statues from the period around the reign of Merenre. Cat. no. A 50 comes from the tomb of Iti at Gebelein.²² The statue is wearing a long apron-fronted skirt, type D.5a. The other two are nude statues, Cat. no. B21,²³ perhaps from Lisht, and Cat. no. A 54²⁴ from Akhmim. All three statues have different ways of holding their arms. Wig type 5 thus appears to have emerged first in the provincial centres, and was not associated initially with any particular arm position or dress. Only B 21 has the same arm position as the Meijer statues.

The first time that W.5 appears with the short white or goffered kilt²⁵ is on a statue from the tomb of Ishtji Tjetji, no. D6 at Saqqara, *WSOK* Cat. no. A 60. This tomb dates to the reign of Pepy II. The arms are held in the classic position for staff and sceptre, and in this case, unusually, both staff and sceptre are extant.

²¹ See Appendix 1 for a cross-reference with Museum Accession Nos.

²² Turin S 13720.

²³ MMA 59.50.2.

²⁴ BM EA 29594.

²⁵ For the sake of convenience, I am considering Dress Types 2a–g and D.6 here as the same type. So much of the paint and plaster finishing surface has gone that it is often not possible to tell precisely which type is meant – plain white or goffered ‘gala’ kilt. The balance of probability is that they were all originally the gala kilt.

Table 1 Date Wig type 5

Catalogue No.	Date	Wig type	Dress type	Arm type	Provenance	Tomb group
B21	Pepy I–Merenre	W.5	D.4a	A.9	Lisht?	No
A54	Merenre–Pepy II	W.5	D.4	A.3	Akhmim M8 Tjeti Kai-hep?	No
A50	Merenre	W.5	D.5a	A.8	Gebelin Iti	Yes
B41	Pepy II	W.5	D.2k	A.6	Akhmim	No
A70	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
A71	Pepy II	W.5	D.2f	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
B45	Pepy II	W.5	D.2f	A.14	Luxor	No
A60	Pepy II	W.5	D.6	A.3	Saqqara D6 Ishtji Tjetji	Yes
A69	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Saqqara N V Shenay	No
B54	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.5a	A.1	Luxor	No
B55	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.5a	A.7f	Luxor	No
AS5	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.5a	A.8a	Meir ?	No
A92	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.5	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A93	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A94	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A95	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A96	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.9	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A88	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.5a	A.7d	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A89	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.5a	A.7d	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
B58	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2c	A.5	Saqqara Ihy	Yes
D7	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
D8	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
Statue B	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.6	A.9	Unknown	No
A104	End OK	W.5	D.2f	A.9	Giza G2347 C	Yes
A108	End OK	W.5	D.3a	A.8a	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A109	End OK	W.5	D.5a	A.8a	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A110	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A111	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A112	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A113	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A114	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A116	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.12	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes

Table 2 Comparison group, by date

Catalogue No.	Date	Wig type	Dress type	Arm type	Provenance	Tomb group
A69	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Saqqara N V Shenay	No
A70	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
A71	Pepy II	W.5	D.2f	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
B41	Pepy II	W.5	D.2k	A.6	Akhmim	No
A95	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A94	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A95	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A96	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.9	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
D7	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
D8	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
Statue B	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.6	A.9	Unknown	No
A104	End OK	W.5	D.2f	A.9	Giza G2547 C	Yes
A110	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A111	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A112	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A115	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes
A114	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N43 Tjetji	Yes

Compared to the other examples of W.5, this one is fuller around the sides and the back of the head.

The next two statues chronologically are both in the B corpus, thus without secure independent dating criteria of their own. One, B 41, was excavated by Kanawati at Akhmim in the 1979-1980 season and is probably now in Sohag magazine.²⁶ This statue has pendant arms with clasped and pierced hands (type A.6). The second statue is in the Cairo Museum²⁷ and comes from Luxor. Its arms are also pendent, but only the left fist is clasped and pierced. The right hand is open and curved forward in front with the thumb and index finger originally touching each other to form a circle. Visually this statue clearly stands out as unusual. Perhaps it is not even Old Kingdom in date.

The statues that now follow chronologically are those that resemble the two statues under examination here most closely, so the time has come to narrow

²⁶ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* X, pp. 21-22, Pls. 4-5.

²⁷ JE 28901.

Table 3 Arm type

Catalogue No.	Date	Wig type	Dress type	Arm type	Provenance	Tomb group
A70	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
A71	Pepy II	W.5	D.2f	A.6	Dahshur 24	Yes
B41	Pepy II	W.5	D.2k	A.6	Akhmim	No
A93	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A94	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A95	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.1	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
A69	Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Saqqara N V Shenay	No
A96	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2a	A.9	Saqqara 6001 Tjeteti	Yes
D7	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
D8	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.2e	A.9	Unknown	No
Statue B	Late Pepy II	W.5	D.6	A.9	Unknown	No
A104	End OK	W.5	D.2f	A.9	Giza G2347 C	Yes
A110	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N45 Tjetji	Yes
A111	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N45 Tjetji	Yes
A112	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N45 Tjetji	Yes
A113	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N45 Tjetji	Yes
A114	End OK	W.5	D.6	A.9	Naga ed-Der N45 Tjetji	Yes

the comparison group down further. When we eliminate those statues with different dress and arm positions, we are left with a group of 17 statues with wig type 5, dress type 2 or 6 and arm types 1, 6 or 9 (see Table 2). Statue A and Statue B are included in the list. Arm type 1 is with both arms pendant and the fists clasped around the *Steinkern*. Arm type 6 also has pendant arms, but this time the hands are pierced fists. They may well once have held an attribute that is now missing. Arm type 9 also has pendant arms, but the fists are now clasped naturally – there is no *Steinkern* and they are not pierced.

There are representatives from several groups of tomb statues, as well as from regional and central necropolises. Four of the statues come from the tomb of Tjeteti at Saqqara and five from the tomb of Tjetji at Naga ed-Der. Two statues come from tomb 24 at Dahshur, three have unknown provenance and the remaining three statues come from Giza, Saqqara and Akhmim, respectively. Table 3 shows the same material arranged by arm type – the only criterion that now varies as the dress and wig types are the same.

As can be seen from the table, the statues with arm type A.6 precede those with type A.1 in date. Three statues have arm type A.6, the two from Dahshur tomb 24, and the one from Akhmim. Type A.1 only appears on three of the statues from the tomb of Tjeteti. This is the most popular hand position for statues in stone, so perhaps this is an indication that the workshops servicing the necropolis of Saqqara were more conservative than those servicing other areas. Arm type 9 appears throughout the reign of Pepy II and later, thus is concurrent with the other two types.

The next move was to analyse the statues according to the Old Kingdom guidelines, following Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*. Table 4 lists the relevant measurements for the statues.

The table reveals that the earlier in date a statue is, the more likely it is to conform with the canon. The statues from the tomb of Tjeteti already show anomalies, despite coming from the necropolis of the residence. The only statues that still conform to the canon completely are two of the five which come

Table 4 Old Kingdom guidelines

Catalogue No.	Knees (6 units)	Buttocks (9 units)	Small of back/elbow (12 units)	Neck and shoulder (16 units)	Shoulder width (6 units)
A69	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A70	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A71	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A95	1/2 unit lower	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A94	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A95	1/2 unit lower	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
A96	1/2 unit lower	1 unit lower	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A104	Yes	Yes	1/2 unit higher	Yes	Narrow
A110	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
A111	Yes	Yes	1/2 unit lower	1 unit lower	Narrow
A112	Yes	Yes	1/2 unit lower	1 unit lower	Yes
A115	Yes	Yes	1/2 unit lower	1/2 unit lower	Narrow
A114	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Narrow
B41	Yes	1 unit higher	1 unit higher	Yes	Narrow
D7	Yes	Yes	2 units higher	Yes	Narrow
D8	Yes	Yes	Yes	1/2 unit lower	Narrow
Statue B	1/2 unit lower	1 unit higher	Yes	1/2 unit lower	Narrow

from the tomb of Tjetji at Naga ed Der.²⁸ The other three differ consistently. They all come from a group of nine male statues and eight female statues.²⁹ The height of the buttocks seems to be the most likely measurement to conform to the canon, followed by the knees. Only the statues of Tjeteti diverge from the knee height. With the exception of Cat. no. D7, all divergence falls between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 unit.

Departing now from the straight path of fact and feature, visual comparisons of the statues with the three different arm types reveal other similarities and dissimilarities. The three statues with Arm type 6 all have their left leg advanced, but the shape of the wig on Cat. no. B 41 is squarer on the cheek than the other two. Cat. nos. A 70 and B 41 are slimmer than A 71. When we look at the Arm type 1 statues, Cat. nos. A 94 and A 95 have very prominent leg and calf muscles, whereas A 93 has much stockier legs. This is not reflected in the canon measurements, however; there it is A 94 that conforms to the canon while the other two have the knee measurement $\frac{1}{2}$ a unit too low. Turning to the Arm type 9 statues, Cat. nos. A 69 and A 104 differ from the rest in a number of visual aspects, ruling them out of further comparisons: A 104 has its legs together, all the other statues are stepping or striding, and the wig on A 69 is much more closely fitting than the others. The seven remaining statues are thus the closest comparative material for the two statues under discussion here. Again using visual comparison, the group of statues from the tomb of Tjetji at Naga ed-Der can be excluded – they are much more solid in form and generally of less high quality workmanship – leaving us with a total of four statues that resemble each other significantly, one from the tomb of Tjeteti (Statue A), Statue B, and two originally in the private collection of Dikran Kelekian, and presented in 1996 by his granddaughter to the Arthur M. Sackler Museum in Harvard and the Newark Museum, respectively.³⁰ They were obtained in Cairo, and have no listed provenance. It is quite possible that they come from Saqqara originally, but Middle Egypt has to remain in the picture as Kelekian had many contacts there as well.

Statue B thus may be posited to have come from a workshop in the Saqqara area, in the latter part of the reign of Pepy II or slightly later. It may have been produced in the same workshop as the Tjeteti statues and even be part of that tomb group. The statues from Newark and Harvard can also be dated to the same period. As all four of these statues have surfaced since 1996, there is always the chance that more will appear. Every statue that appears adds to our

²⁸ *WSOK* Cat. Nos. A 110–114.

²⁹ *WSOK* Cat. Nos. A 108–124.

³⁰ Kelekian was only a purchaser – he was never involved in the actual excavation. Personal communication May 2000 from Nanette Rodney Kelekian. *WSOK* Cat. Nos. D7 and D8.

knowledge of the process of manufacture and increases the chances of matching statues to artisans. Sadly, so many of the wooden statues placed in burials at the end of the Old Kingdom have not survived the ravages of time, making it very difficult for us to gather together a sufficiently large sample from one location to identify individual hands or workshops. It is easy to posit the same hand at work in a single tomb group; what is really interesting, however, is spotting that same hand at work in a different statue. I think we have come very close to this with the two statues in the Meijer collection.

Appendix 1. Concordance of *WSOK* Cat. nos. and museum accession numbers

<i>WSOK</i> Catalogue No.	Museum Accession No.
A50	Turin S 15720
A54	British Museum EA 29594
A60	Cairo JE 88576
A69	Neuchâtel Eg. 405
A70	Cairo CG 505
A71	Cairo CG 514
A88	Boston MFA 24.608
A89	New York MMA 26.2.9
A92	New York MMA 26.2.8
A93	Neuchâtel Eg. 328
A94	Boston MFA 24.607
A95	Cairo JE 93162
A96	Meijer Collection Statue A
A104	Boston MFA 37.1520
A108	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15205
A109	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15207
A110	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15201
A111	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15205
A112	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15206
A113	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15208
A114	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15212
A116	Berkeley PAHMA 6-15211
AS5	Baltimore WAG 22.25
B21	New York MMA 59.50.2
B41	Unknown, perhaps in <i>Sohag</i> magazine
B45	Cairo JE 28901
B54	Louvre E 10357
B55	Cairo JE 28900
B58	Neuchâtel Eg. 425
D7	Arthur M. Sackler Museum Acc.No. 1996.156
D8	Newark Museum 96.53.1
Statue B	Meijer Collection Statue B