

Old Kingdom Wooden Statues: Stylistic Dating Criteria

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The susceptibility of wood to decay, helped by the vast extent of time between now and the Old Kingdom (2575-2134 BC), has meant that many of the wooden statues originally supplied for burials have not survived, or have survived in only a very fragmentary state. With the help (and sometimes hindrance) of modern conservation techniques, it was possible to assemble a corpus of 217 statues for a typological study with a view to ascertaining dating criteria¹.

Comparison with stone statues of the same period is not as helpful as might initially be supposed. Firstly, although stone statuary is a magnificent source of information in its own right, the restrictions placed on the masons and artisans by the material are not applicable to statues carved in wood, and thus many more styles and positions were possible in wood than in stone. The techniques needed to work the materials differ as well; a good stonemason or sculptor will not necessarily also be a good carver of wood, and *vice versa*. The techniques and tricks of the trade which you learn as you become familiar with your tools and material are not always transferable from one to the other. Depictions of workshops of the time and later show that in general stone was worked in separate areas to wood, and it is almost certain that the artisans shown at work in such scenes were specialists in either wood or stone, and did not mix their talents. An exception to this are the depictions of statues on tomb walls, where stone and wood statues are shown alongside each other. This, however, may be due to the organization of themes on the tomb walls rather than a reflection of actual workshop practice. Secondly, stone and wood statues show some features in advance of each other, for example the short eche-lon-curl wig revealing the ears (fig. 1, W.1a), which first appears in the reign of Snofru on wooden statues, but is very rare on

stone ones. According to Cherpion, this wig appears for the first time in the tomb of Kar, temp. Pepi I². Other features do not appear on stone statues at all, for example, the short echelon-curl wig revealing the earlobes only (fig. 1, W.1b).

Depictions of the tomb owner on the walls of his tomb may also assist in the interpretation of the statues, and another source of information in two dimensions is the representations of statues on the walls of the tombs. This subject has been admirably treated by Marianne Eaton-Krauss³, and thus it has been possible to compare actual wooden statues with representations of wooden statues on walls. The representations, whether of the tomb owner or of statues of him, also show certain features before they appear in the repertory of actual statues, and often discontinue them before the statues do. An example of this is the mid-calf-length projecting-panel kilt (fig. 2, D.3). This appears on wooden statues from the reign of Teti to the end of the Old Kingdom, and on representations of statues from the reign of Unas to the reign of Pepi I. Some features which are present on ordinary representations in the tombs appear to predate their appearance on wooden statues by quite some time, and vice versa. The so-called "calotte", a sort of skullcap of different shaped locks on the crown of the head, is present on representations up to the reign of Menkaure, but does not appear on wooden statues until the reign of Merenre⁴; the echelon-curl wig revealing the ears does not appear on representations until the reign of one of the Pepi's⁵, but is present on wooden statues from the reign of Teti (fig. 1, W1a).

Although comparisons of wooden statues with stone ones does not produce a reliable set of dating criteria, it is interesting to note the difference in the rate of change in styles – wooden statues have much more variation, and change more often within a group than stone ones, as illustrated by the group of statues from the tomb of Metjetjy (fig. 3)⁶. It turns out that representations, like stone statuary, must also be treated with caution in any study of wooden statues because they are depictions of the 'living' tomb owner and not depictions of (extant) statues of him⁷. After all, the statues were made by different craftsmen to those who carved the reliefs. The craftsmen who carved the reliefs were involved with the depiction of both the representations of the tomb owner and of the representations of statues of him, and have used the same conventions for both. The evidence of the wooden statues suggests that their makers followed different conventions.

Perhaps the most deep-seated preconception concerning wooden statues from the Old Kingdom is that they are

so-called *ka*-statues, that is, statues designed to receive offerings in the tomb. Inscriptions on wooden statues from the Middle Kingdom often include the *hṭp-di nsw* offering formula followed by the phrase *n kꜛ n*, ‘for the *ka* of’, and the names and titles of the owner of the statue, which has led scholars to dub these statues *ka*-statues and, by association, those from the Old Kingdom as well. However, not a single inscription on a wooden statue from the Old Kingdom has anything other than the names and titles of the tomb owner on it, the word *ka* is never mentioned. Thus, until evidence to the contrary appears, it must be assumed that *in the Old Kingdom* wooden statues were not specifically designed to receive offerings (*n kꜛ n*) and care should therefore be taken when calling them *ka*-statues.

So what is their function in the tomb? And why are there often several of them? One way of answering these questions satisfactorily is to look at the nature of the *ka* and the *ba*. James P. Allen⁸ states that the *ka* is an individual’s life-force, the *ba* an individual’s personality or character. The *ka* belongs to the body during the lifetime of the individual, and after death it goes to the next world. The deceased then travels to join his *ka*, but what actually travels is his *ba*. The body is part of the entire human being, so there is a need to preserve it: “The body serves as an ‘anchor’ for the *ba* in this world, and can be revisited by it in the tomb. So essential was this ‘anchor’ that, in the Old Kingdom, ‘spare’ bodies in the form of statues were often placed in the tomb along with the mummy.”⁹ Wooden statues from the Old Kingdom (and many of the stone ones, too) may well be statues for the *ba*, functioning as spare bodies for the deceased, and several spares are always better than one.

One would assume, though, that stone would be the better medium for ensuring the survival of these spares. Why have the tomb owners supplied themselves with statues in a more vulnerable material? This may perhaps be answered by examining what the ancient Egyptian wanted to achieve in his afterlife. The depictions on the walls of tombs from all periods of Egyptian history show us the tomb owner performing two basic sets of tasks; in one he is a passive participant, overseeing his servants in the fields or elsewhere, or receiving offerings, and in the other he takes a more active role, he is standing or striding, hunting or fishing. The task for the statue makers was how best to convey these two aspects. They had to produce, in the words of Wendy Wood “potential substitutes for the physical body in two aspects of its eternal existence”, active and passive. The nature of “stone, being more impervious than wood, was better suited to the function of tomb statues as

enduring substitutes for physical bodies”¹⁰; but a tomb statue had not only to be capable of “enduring forever, which required impervious and inanimate form, but it also had to be capable of life which required animate form. Sculptors, realizing that wood could not compete with stone in durability, chose to emphasize by means of naturalistic, lifelike effects the animate form that a tomb statue also required”¹¹.

Active and passive roles are thus conveyed by the poses given to the statues. In tombs where stone and wooden statues have been found together the stone statue or statues invariably include a seated figure, whereas the poses of the wooden statues are more active, standing and striding figures. Seated wooden statues are extremely rare throughout the Old Kingdom and always form part of a group of statues (fig. 4), including standing and/or striding figures, or else are unprovenanced pieces which probably originally formed part of such a group.

In general, wooden statues appear to be made from indigenous woods, usually acacia, sycamore, and tamarisk, but in most cases it was not possible to have the material analyzed. Foreign woods used include ebony and cedar. Interestingly, Eaton-Krauss lists five representations of wooden statues whose material is mentioned: ebony, acacia, *špnn*-wood, *ksbt*-wood and an unidentified imported wood (*ht h₃s(w)*)¹². The size of the statues varies considerably from a few centimetres in height, to life-size. Where possible the statues were made from one single piece, but if necessary several pieces were dowelled together, or the limbs attached with mortise and tenon joints. The joints are usually at the shoulders, the left forearm, and the fronts of the feet. More elaborate statues were provided with inlaid eyes. The statues were then covered with a layer of paint or of painted plaster, which concealed the joints, and occasionally linen garments were supplied as well. The painted layer was the medium on which much additional detail was added, for example, sporrans and necklaces (fig. 3a, b). The deterioration and disappearance of this layer has meant the loss of much information about the original decoration of most of the statues, and thus many potential dating criteria. The colours of the painted decoration conform to the usual palette: red, black, white, yellow, green, and blue are the main colours. The skin of male statues is usually a dark red, with the details of the eyes and eyebrows outlined in black. The whites of the eyes and the finger and toenails are white, as is the skirt. The skin colour of the female statues is usually yellow, but very occasionally it can be red. The details of the navel and the pubic hair, when the

figure is nude, are shown in black. Dresses and skirts are white, and jewellery for both sexes is red, blue and green.

The first step when drawing up a list of dating criteria is to compile a chronological catalogue of those statues which are independently datable. This has been called Catalogue A. It consists of 127 statues ranging in date from the reign of Snofru to the end of the Old Kingdom, that is, the period after the death of Pepi II, Baines and Malek's 7th/8th Dynasty¹³. Using this catalogue, a corresponding chronological feature list was drawn up, that is, a list of the most recognizable features on each statue – for example, wig, skirt, position of legs and arms, jewellery, accessories – and their distribution over time was recorded. It is important to emphasize again that the nature of wood and its susceptibility to damage or destruction means that this catalogue cannot be comprehensive for the period, but it may be regarded as reasonably representative. It quickly became clear that one individual feature would not generally be sufficient to date a statue – there is too much individual variation between the statues, and the loss of the painted decoration in many instances makes the identification of a primary feature, e.g. skirt (fig. 2), very difficult if not impossible. Fortunately, it did prove possible to combine several features and thus arrive at a very much more reliable system of dating. The features in question are wigs, dress, and the positioning of the arms (fig. 5). Some features are common to stone and wood statues, for example the flared, striated wig revealing the ears (fig. 1, W.4; fig. 6), while others lead lives of their own, independent of each other. An example of the latter instance is the close-fitting coiffure, which is probably the natural hair being depicted (fig. 3c). Wooden statues first wear this style in the reign of Isesi, representations of statues wear it throughout the Old Kingdom, but representations of the tomb owner or stone statues rarely wear it after the 4th Dynasty, with the exception of nude figures, which always seem to have it. Figure 2 clearly demonstrates that there are three basic types of skirt for males. D1 is a knee-length, wrap-over kilt with a rolled belt and a double hem on the crossflap. It is perhaps a forerunner of the projecting-panel kilt D3. Category D2 is the one which causes the most problems. Many of the identifying characteristics of the half-goffered kilt, or *Galaschurz*, were painted on, and have now been lost. On occasion, usually in the earlier part of the Old Kingdom, the identifying characteristics were also carved (fig. 6). There is a much wider variety in the way in which the arms are held (fig. 5a). Whether the fist is clasped or open, whether the left arm is held forward or across

the chest, the permutations are seemingly endless. A figure of Metjetji illustrates the striding figure with arms pendant by the sides and the fists clasped around what is usually called a *Steinkern* (fig. 3b)¹⁴. This is a strange term for wooden statues, but as yet no suitable alternative has been accepted by all scholars. The fact that it is present on wooden statues implies that in this they are following the conventions of stone statuary. Different arm positions appear in combination with different skirts. Figure 7 shows Metri wearing a projecting-panel kilt with the arms in the classic position for holding a staff and sceptre. The same arm position but with a different skirt is illustrated by a statue of Metjetji (fig. 3a). The projecting-panel kilt introduced a complete new set of ways to hold the arms (fig. 5b). The differences are not only in how the left arm is held, but also in the way that the right hand holds a flap or tube of cloth from the front surface. One figure of Metjetji shows an elaborately pleated kilt held by the right hand with the fingers on the front surface and the thumb behind (fig. 3c). The left arm is pendant with an open hand. A figure of Niankhpepi Kem, Tomb A1 at Meir¹⁵, is in the same type of kilt but this time the right hand is clasped around a tube of cloth at the side. A figure now in the Saint Louis Art Museum is also holding a tube of cloth, but this time the flap is folded around towards the hand in a more natural fashion (fig. 8)¹⁶. It is interesting to note that nude figures nearly always have their arms in the position for holding a staff and sceptre. Only two have their arms pendant holding the *Steinkerne*, including one in the British Museum (fig. 9)¹⁷.

Once the chronological list A had been drawn up, the features were used to identify and assign dates to statues which could not be otherwise dated, the so-called Catalogue B statues. If all three primary features could be matched to ones in Catalogue A, a date to within a reign or part of a reign could be achieved with a high degree of probability. If only two features could be identified, a date could still be assigned, but with a degree of caution. If only one feature is present, unless it happens to be a particularly significant one, a suggested date is all that is possible. This technique enabled dates to be assigned to a further seventy-five statues, which were then also arranged into a relative chronological order. Finally, yet a third group of statues, Catalogue C, consists of those statues which must be supposed to date to the Old Kingdom, but which do not parallel any statues from Catalogue A. The same comparison technique was applied to these statues using Catalogue B as the starting point, and although the basis is much more tenuous for these few statues, Catalogue C is also in a relative chronological order.

The provision of several statues for the burial appears to be linked to the several offices performed by the deceased during his lifetime, or maybe to different ages of the tomb owner. More elaborate burials have inscriptions on the bases of the statues, and these often list separate titles (for example *imy-r šnwty*; *imy-r ht*; *imy-r shrt*, all on statues from the tomb of Tjeteti¹⁸), although the present evidence does not confine particular titles to particular costumes. The variety displayed by groups of statues from the same tomb also indicates that the statues were not intended to be portraits of the tomb owner. Although some statues within a group can resemble each other superficially, others bear no resemblance at all, and may even resemble a statue from a different tomb but the same period more than they do the other statues from their own group. Facial features are not always distinctive enough to be able to say that two statues are of the same man *because* they look alike. The similarities may be striking, but are not enough to enable us to say they must be the same man, as illustrated by two statues, one from the Cairo Museum (fig. 10a)¹⁹ and the other in the Louvre (fig. 10b)²⁰, even though the information that one was purchased in Luxor in 1889, and the other in 1890 would perhaps support the premise. This is encouraging in that it leads us to suppose that there were stylistic trends, but discouraging because it immediately also begs the question of whether all the statues from a particular tomb actually belong to the man who equipped the tomb. This dilemma is well illustrated by a group of statues in the corpus, excavated by Jacques de Morgan at Dahshur. The publication implies that a certain group of wooden statues all came from one tomb, No. 24, attributed to a man mistakenly called Sankhwati, based on a misinterpretation of the title *smr w'ty*. Another inscription gives the name of the man as Shepy. One statue from the tomb shows traces of an inscription with the remains of a cartouche clearly visible²¹. Other tombs in the vicinity can be attributed to men with names containing the cartouche of Snofru, and the chances are that this is also the case for the owner of this statue. The inevitable conclusion is that statues from more than one burial were at some time or another reassembled into one tomb, and this could have happened on more than one occasion over the last 4-5 thousand years. Another example is the cache of twelve wooden statues found in 1926 in a Ptolemaic tomb located just outside the south enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara²². Among the statues were three inscribed bases, dedicated to the Overseer of the Two Granaries, Ihy. Unfortunately, only five statues from the original twelve can

now be located, three in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York²³ and 2 in Neuchâtel²⁴; the others have vanished into anonymity and the chances of reassigning them to their original provenance are slim to non-existent precisely because we cannot rely on facial features or resemblances to other statues from the group. A final example is the statue group from the tomb of Tjeteti, Saqqara Tomb 6001²⁵. This tomb was excavated by Firth in 1921-22 and the statues were distributed to several museums around the world. There appear originally to have been twenty statues in the tomb, as well as three female offering bearers, several model groups, and a seated limestone male statue. Of the twenty statues one is female and the other nineteen are male. All except four of them have inscribed bases. Fourteen of the statues can be located without difficulty, the uninscribed four are still missing, and the last, illustrated on the right in Petersen's publication²⁶, is Cairo JE 64905. This statue is very distinctive because of the keyhole-shaped knothole on the front of the kilt and there can be no doubt that it is the statue in Cairo. The problem is that this statue is inscribed for a man called Shemi, Inspector of dancers, who also owns an offering table found in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery area²⁷. This statue is thus intrusive in the burial of Tjeteti, although it certainly dates to the same period.

The number of wooden statues provided for a burial appears to be linked to the time at which the burial took place. Early in the Old Kingdom only one or two statues were supplied, with occasionally one of the wife. During the reign of Unas, however, groups of up to ten statues have been found in a single burial; one of the original publication photographs of the tomb of Akhtihotep is published by Batrawi in *ASAE* 48²⁸; all the statues are now in Cairo. An excavation photo of the tomb of Metri, whose statues are now in Cairo, New York, and Stockholm, is published by Petersen²⁹. After this reign the numbers appear to decrease again, with most burials containing three or four statues, but interestingly none of the wife until the reign of Merenre/Pepi II. During the reign of Pepi II the numbers increase again, and the range of officials who provided themselves with such equipment also expands. The statues decrease in size and quality towards the end of the reign, and those from the period just after the death of Pepi II could even be termed crude. The bases very often have no inscriptions, and some statues may even not have been finished with a layer of painted plaster or paint. The implication is that by this time statues were becoming more freely accessible to more people, and may even have been mass-produced. Unfortunately, there are not enough

intact groups of statues from the same tomb from the same area or time period to be able to identify individual workshops.

The location of the statues in the tomb must have been a very important consideration, but unfortunately the find circumstances very rarely produce any evidence for this. As so few undisturbed burials of this period have been found, only very general comments can be made about this aspect of the statues³⁰. In the early Old Kingdom, statues were placed first in the chapels and then in serdabs. As time went on they began to appear in the main chambers, and by the end of the Old Kingdom had even begun to be placed into the burial chamber itself. Throughout this period, however, statues continued to be found in all of the various possible locations. Most of the statues in the corpus were excavated without an accurate record being made of their exact location in the tomb, or else appeared on the art market with no record at all of provenance.

The geographical distribution of the statues can also be of assistance as a rough and ready check on a date. The earliest extant statues tend to come from Saqqara, and in fact only one or two statues come from other sites before the reign of Pepi I, including Giza where a number of inlaid eyes are all that remain of four royal statues from the mortuary temple of Menkaure. Many remains of wooden statues have been found at Giza, including the statues from the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi, temp. Unas³¹, but they tend to come from late Fifth or Sixth Dynasty mastabas inserted into the gaps between earlier ones, rather than from the earlier, Fourth Dynasty ones. It has been suggested that "the loss of most of the wooden sculpture at Giza can be attributed to the voracity of the white ants in the area"³². But were (or are) the white ants at Giza more voracious than their fellows at Saqqara? And were they really less voracious from the late Fifth Dynasty on? An interesting subject for future research, perhaps. During the reign of Pepi II and later the distribution becomes much more widespread.

Female wooden statues follow a slightly different path through history than male ones. To begin with, there are far fewer statues of females, and they are also much more rigid in their dress and stance, making the drawing up of a typology that much more difficult. A few general comments can be made, however. During the first half of the Old Kingdom, burials were supplied with only one or two statues of the male tomb owner and one statue of his wife. She is always wearing a long sheath dress and is usually standing with her legs together (fig. 11a). The only variations discernible are the styles of the wigs (fig. 11b). During the reign of Unas, a period when groups of

statues appear in tombs, there could be as many as three statues of the wife accompanying the several statues of the tomb owner. These statues show the wife in different wigs (fig. 12a,b). After the reign of Unas, female wooden statues vanish from the scene, although female stone statues and representations of female statues continue throughout the Sixth Dynasty. This could be attributed to chance – implying that all groups of statues from this period lost only their female members without trace – but could also have a socio-historical cause. Statues of women do not reappear until the reigns of Merenre and Pepi II. They still wear the sheath dress but for the first time we also find statues of women which are nude (fig. 13)³³, and statues with the left leg advanced appear more frequently. Another new development is the provision of wooden statues for a tomb owner who is a female. Only one such burial is known at present, Naga ed Dêr N 43³⁴, belonging to the *rht-nswt* Tjetji and dating to the end of the Old Kingdom. Of the 17 wooden statues supplied for the burial, nine are male and eight are female. It is interesting to note that, although the tomb owner was female, more male statues were supplied than female ones.

Finally, a word needs to be said about pair statues in wood. Although this is one of the more popular styles for statues in stone, at present there is only one extant pair statue in wood, Louvre N 2293 (fig. 14). It is dated to the reign of Unas by comparing the three chronologically significant features with those from Catalogue A. The male in the pair has features Wig 4a, Dress 2a, and Arms 2b, a combination which has parallels from the reign of Unas down to the reign of Pepi II. The female has features Wig female 1, Dress female 2 and Arms female 4, a combination of features which does not appear after the reign of Unas – the pair is therefore to be dated to the reign of Unas. The large scribe statue from the tomb of Metri, temp. Unas³⁵, has the remains of a pair of tiny feet on the base to its left, but sadly we have no way of knowing whether the second statue was his wife, a child, or maybe even a different relative. It is even possible that it could have been a favoured assistant. The final piece of evidence for pair statues is a base³⁶ with no extant statues at all, just holes in the top of the base indicating that there was one striding male figure and one standing female figure, with their names and the formula *im:hw* respectively *im:ht hr Pth-Skr*, a phrase that first appears on wooden statues at the end of the reign of Pepi II at the earliest. The material obviously did not restrict the pair statue option, but something must have governed the non-development of the style in this medium – unfortunately it is once again a question to which we shall probably never know the answer.

Notes

1. J. Harvey, *A Typological Study of Egyptian Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom*, University College London, Thesis, 1994.
2. N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation*, Brussels, 1989, p. 58.
3. M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* [ÄA 39] Wiesbaden, 1984.
4. Cherpion, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 55-6.
5. See E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* [MÄS 8] Berlin 1966, p. 86; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III. *Les Grandes Époques: La Statuaire*, Paris 1958, p. 102, Pl. XLI, 4.
6. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 47.1455; Brooklyn Museum of Art 53.222; Brooklyn Museum of Art 50.77; Brooklyn Museum of Art 51.1; Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum 51-1. Cf. P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* [Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 8] Bern 1976.
7. Eaton-Krauss, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 4-5.
8. J.P. Allen, "Funerary Texts and their Meaning", in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, C. Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, Boston 1988, pp. 38-49.
9. *Ibidem*, p. 44.
10. W. Wood, *Early Wooden Tomb Sculpture in Ancient Egypt* [diss. Case Western Reserve University 1977], University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1979, p. 65.
11. *Idem*, pp. 14, 17.
12. Eaton-Krauss, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 55-6.
13. J. Baines and J. Malek, *The Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 36-37.
14. See H. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 12 (1977), p. 5-19; and Eaton-Krauss, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 8 n. 35.
15. A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I*, 14-15, n. 1-3; V 1-15.
16. Saint Louis Art Museum, Inv. No. 1.1986. *Saint Louis Art Museum Summer 1990 Bulletin*, Front cover and pp. 8-9.
17. London, British Museum EA 55584.
18. Boston MFA 24.606; Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 93161; JE 93163. See B. Peterson, "Finds from the Theteti Tomb at Saqqara", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985), p. 3-24.
19. JE 28900; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*. II, Berlin, 1925, p. 152-3, pl. 48.
20. Paris, Louvre E10357.
21. J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahshur en 1894-1895*, Vienna, 1903, p. 21 [17], pl. IV.
22. B. Porter & R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, second edition (ed. J. Málek), III, Part 2, fasc. 2, Oxford, 1979, p. 651.
23. Metropolitan Museum of Art New York 27.9.3; MMA 27.9.4; MMA 27.9.5.

24. Neuchâtel, Musée d'ethnographie, Eg. 424 and Eg. 425.
25. Peterson, *loc. cit.* (n. 18).
26. *Idem*, p. 20.
27. Porter & Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 571.
28. A. Batrawi, "Report on the Anatomical Remains recovered from the tombs of Akhet-Hetep and Ptah-Irou-Ka, and a comment on the statues of Akhet-Hetep", *ASAE* 48 (1948), p. 487-497.
29. B. Peterson, "Eine wiederentdeckte Statue aus Sakkara", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 19 (1984), p. 11.
30. Cf. M.A. Shoukhry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich* [SASAE 15], Cairo 1951, 191 ff; H. Junker, *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza*, 12 vols. Vienna, 1929-1955, esp. vol. VII, p. 86-7, 125-6; VIII, p. 140.
31. Boston MFA 13.3465; 13.3466. Cf. G. Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* XI (1913), p. 62, fig. 18 and p. 63, fig. 19.
32. Wood, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 26-7.
33. London, British Museum EA 55723.
34. G. Reisner, "Work of the Expedition of the University of California at Naga-ed-Der", *ASAE* 5 (1905), p. 105-109.
35. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 93165; Porter & Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 632.
36. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 43959.

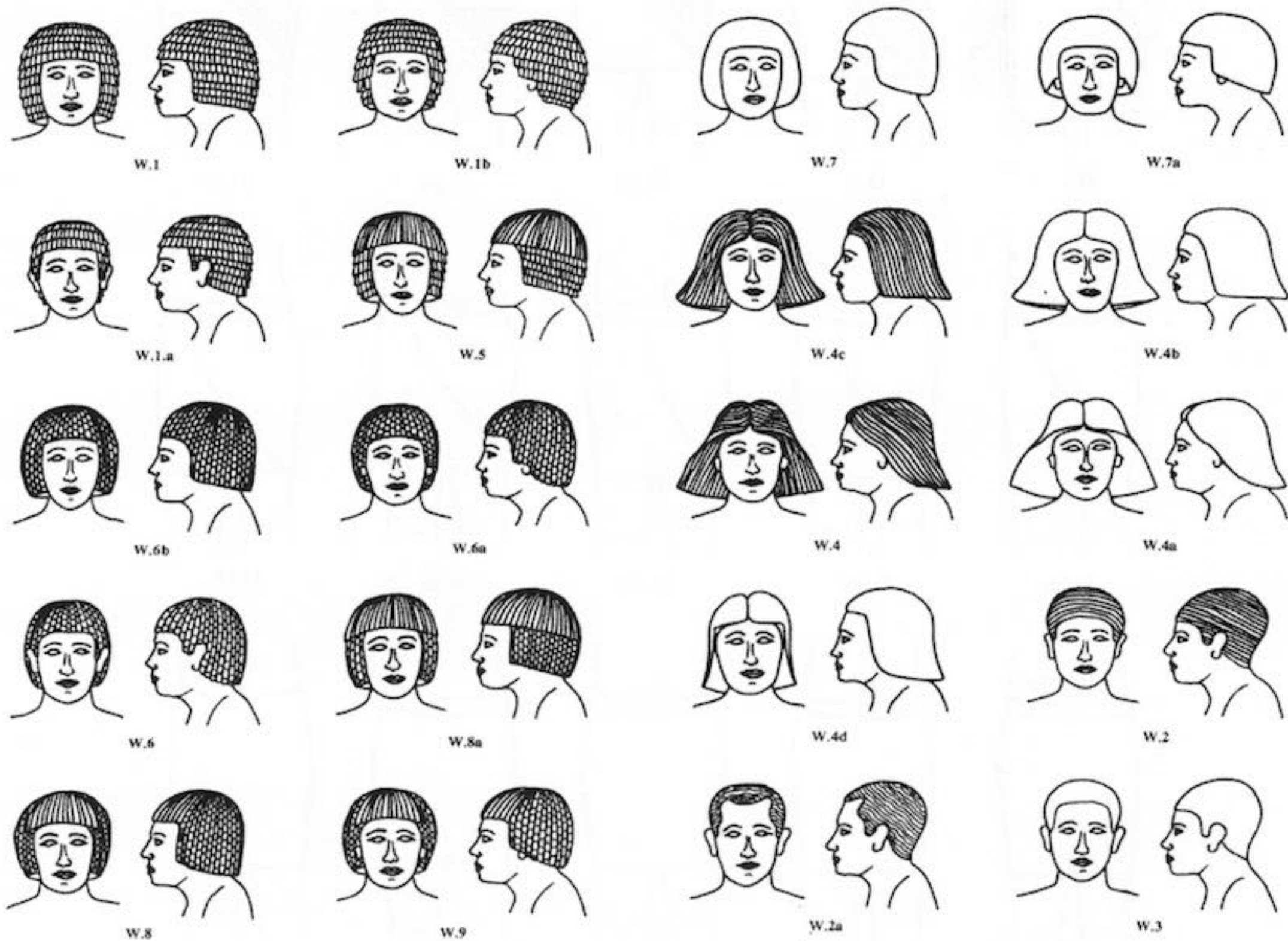


Fig. 1
Male coiffures and wigs

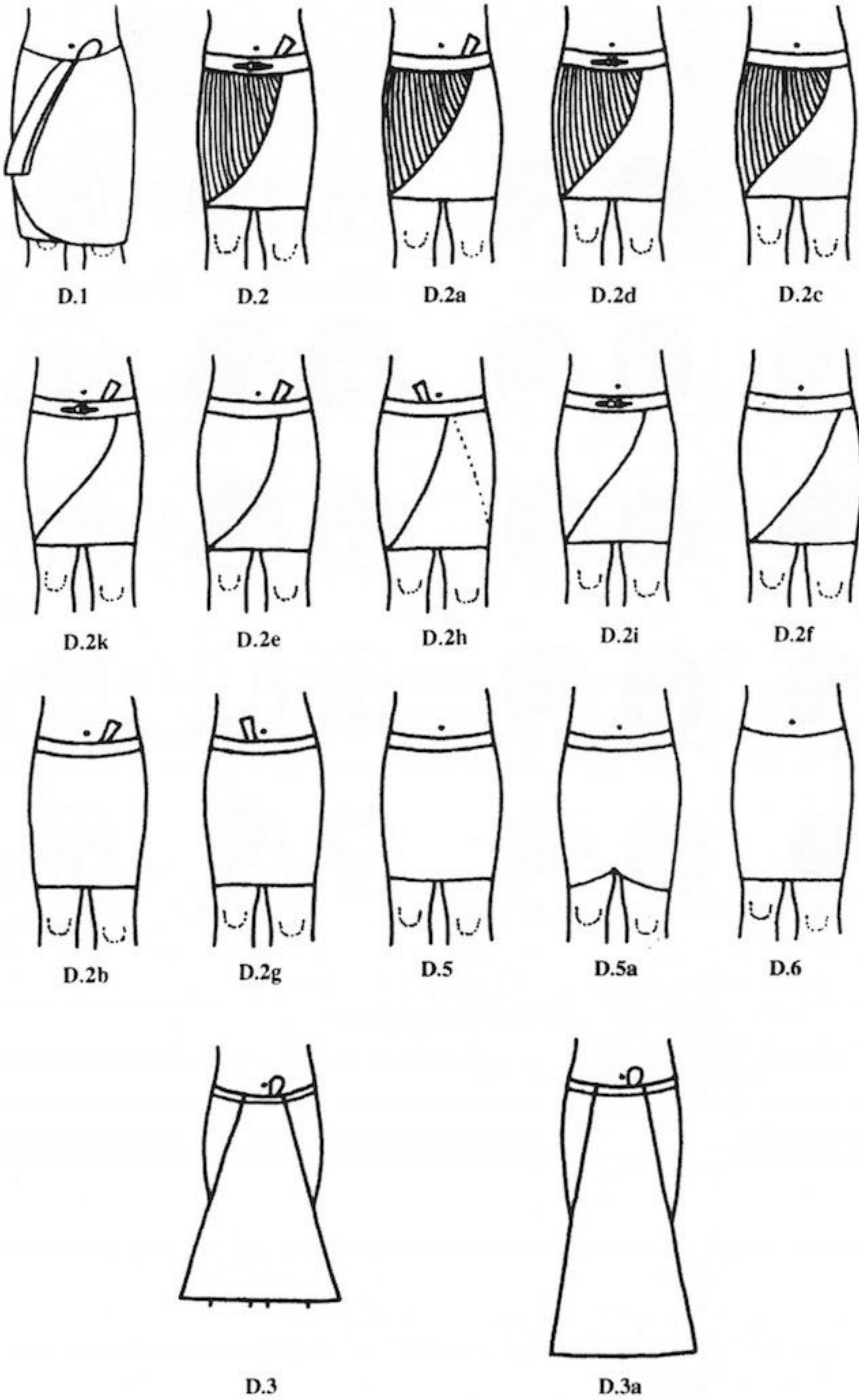
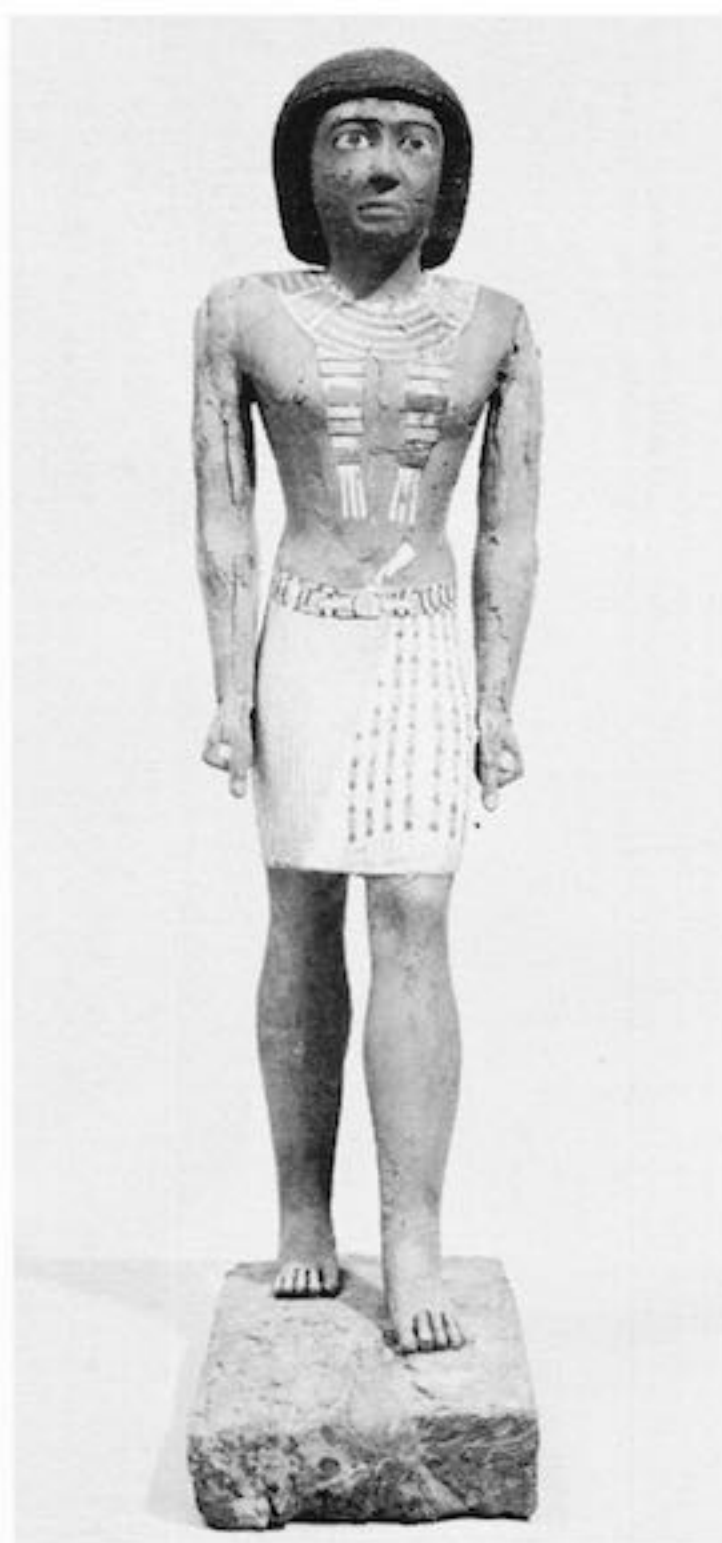


Fig. 2
Male dress



a)



b)

c)



Fig. 3
Male statuettes
Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I)
From Saqqara, tomb of Metjetji
a) New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art 50.77
b) New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art 53.222
c) New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art 51.1



Fig. 4
Dyn. II (temp. Isesi)
From Saqqara, tomb of Kaemsenu
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.9.3

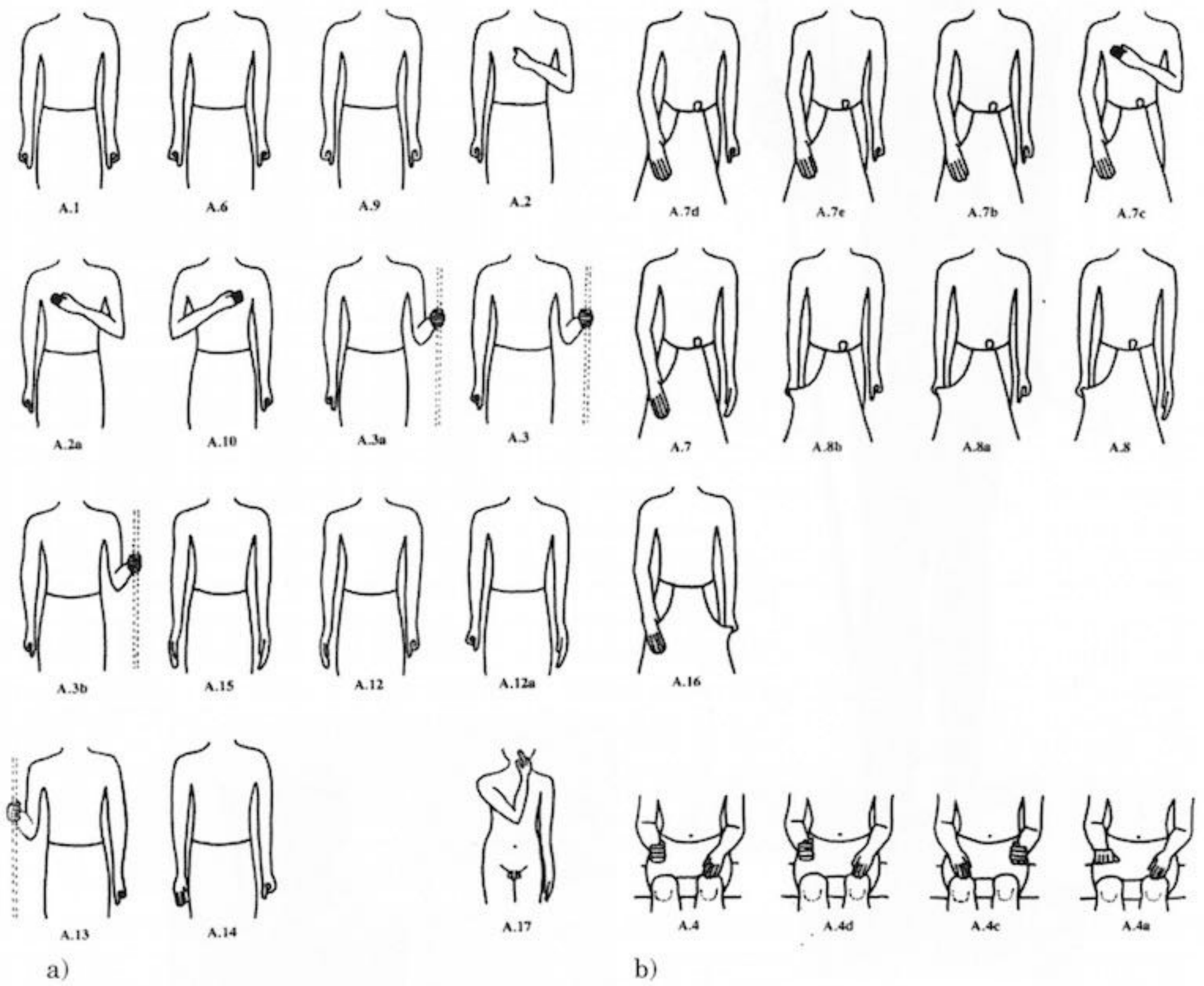


Fig. 5
Male arms



Fig. 6
Dyn. V (temp. Unas)
From Saqqara, tomb of Metri
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
26.2.2



Fig. 7
Dyn. V (temp. Unas)
From Saqqara, tomb of Metri
New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
26.2.4

Fig. 8
Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II)
Provenance unknown
Saint Louis Art Museum Inv. No. 1.1986

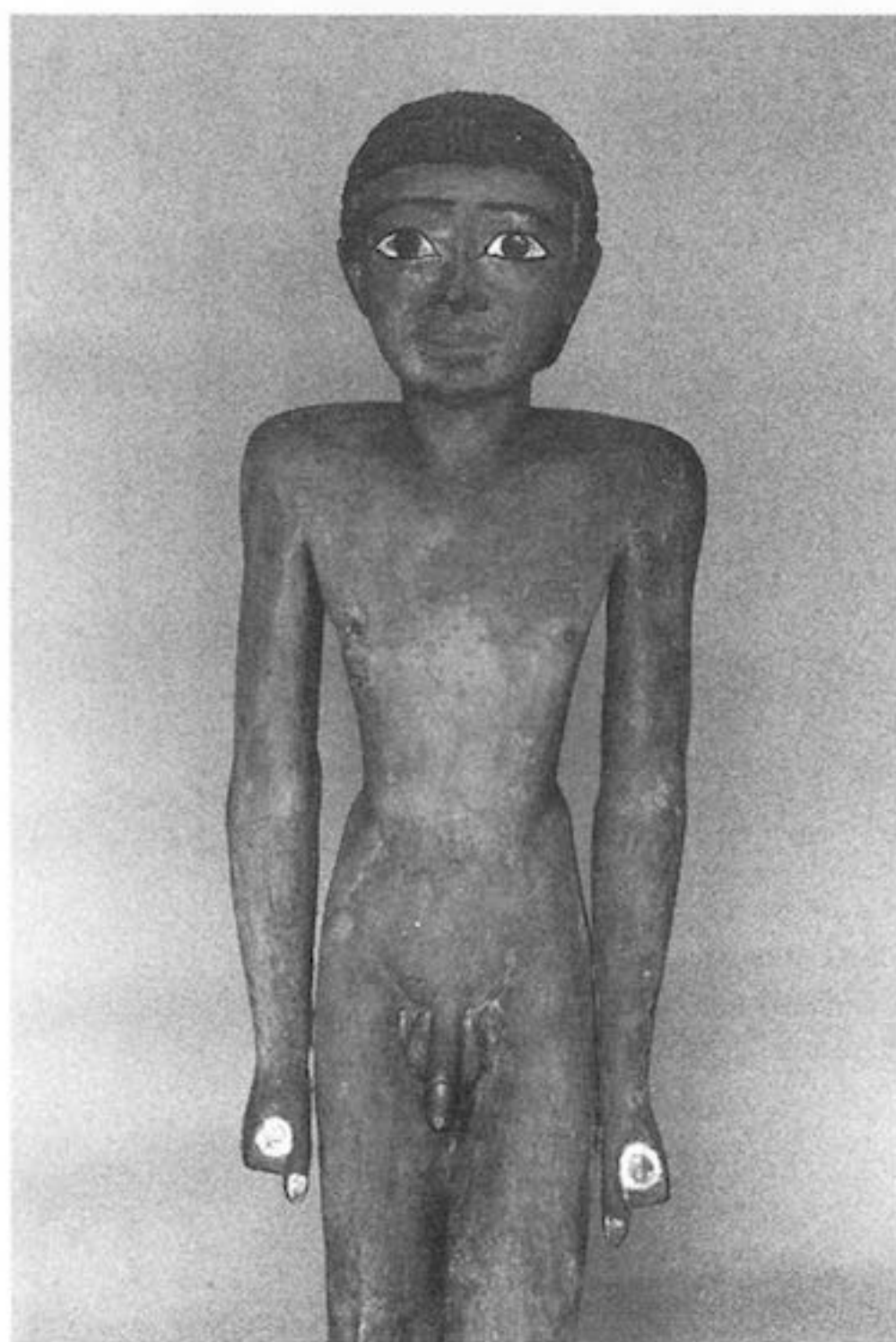
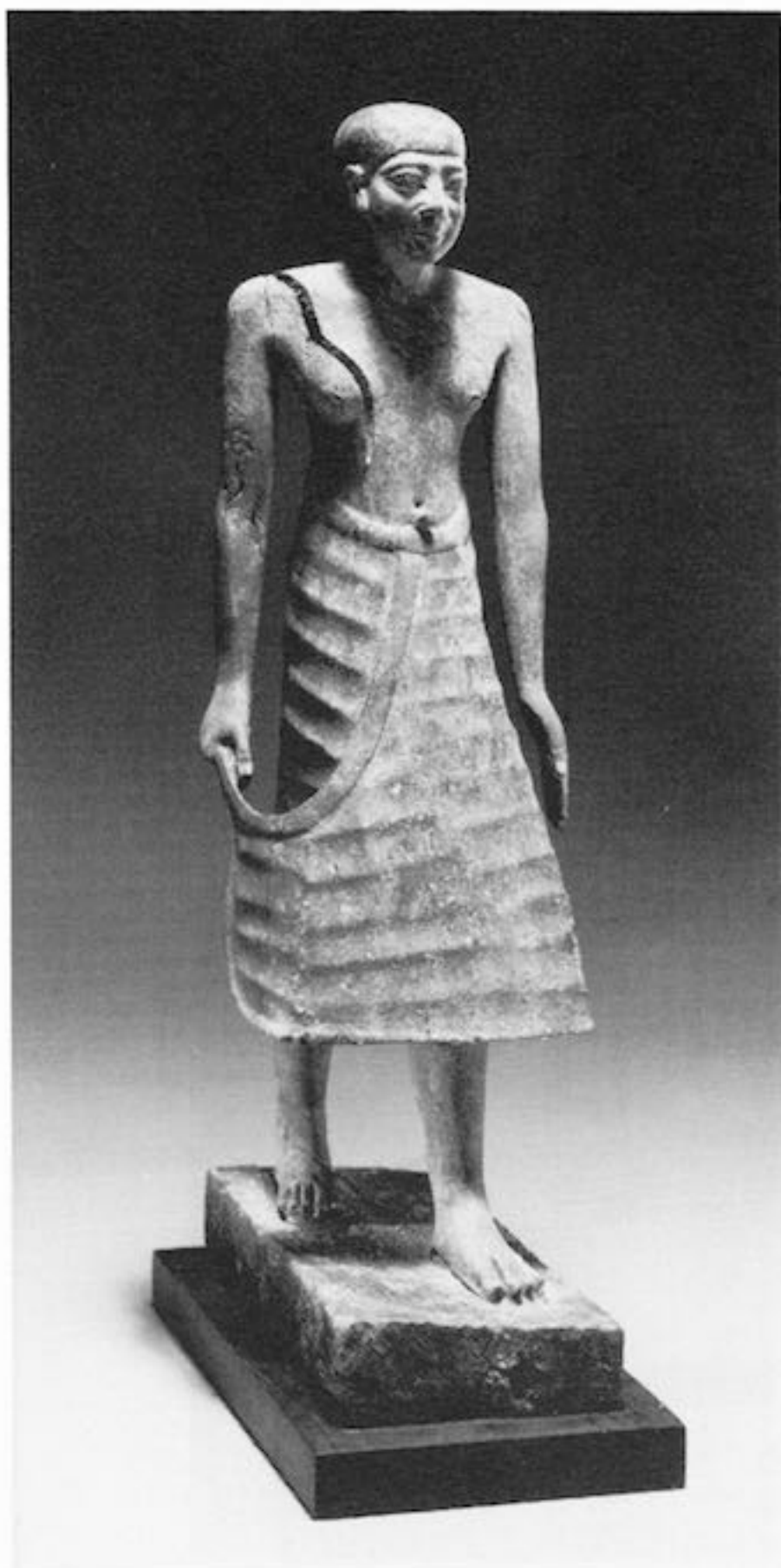
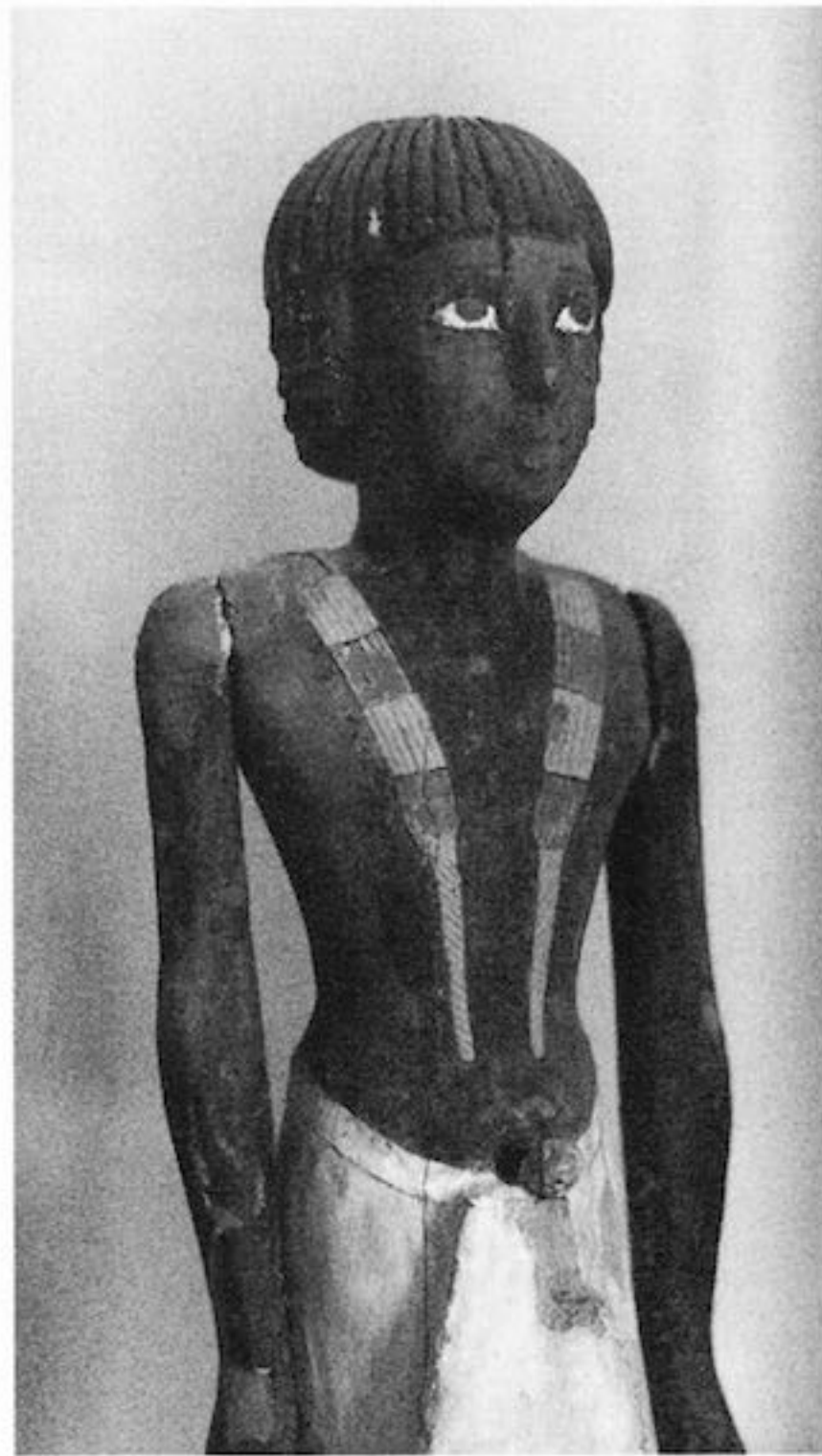


Fig. 9
Dyn. VI (temp. Teti)
Form Assint (?)
London, British Museum EA 55584



a)



b)

Fig. 10
End of Dyn. VI or later
Provenance unknown (Luxor?)
a) Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 28900
b) Paris, musée du Louvre E10357

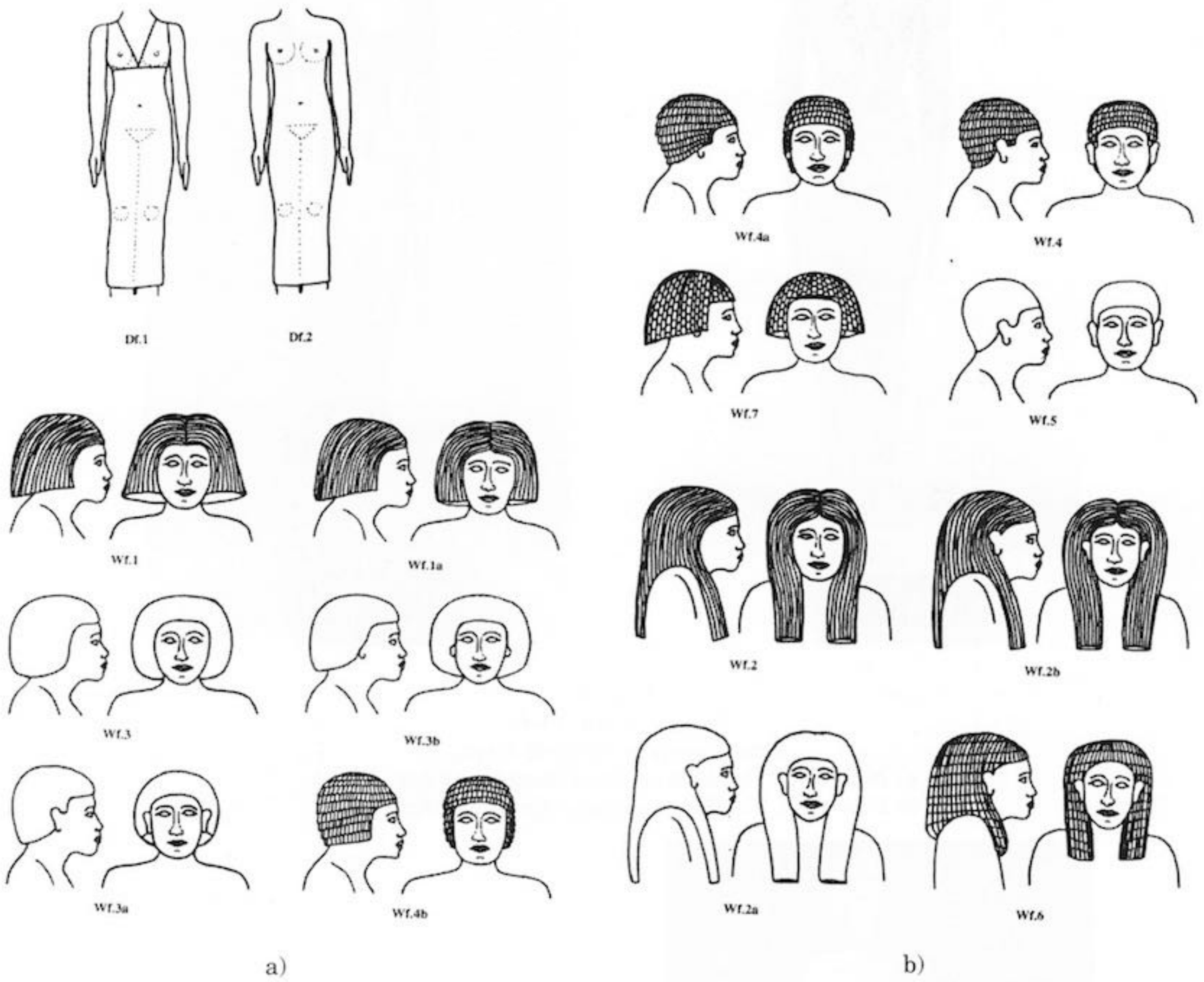


Fig. 11
 a) Female dress
 b) Female wigs



a)

b)

Fig. 12

Dyn. V (temp. Unas)

From Saqqara (tomb of Metri)

a) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.2.3

b) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.2.5

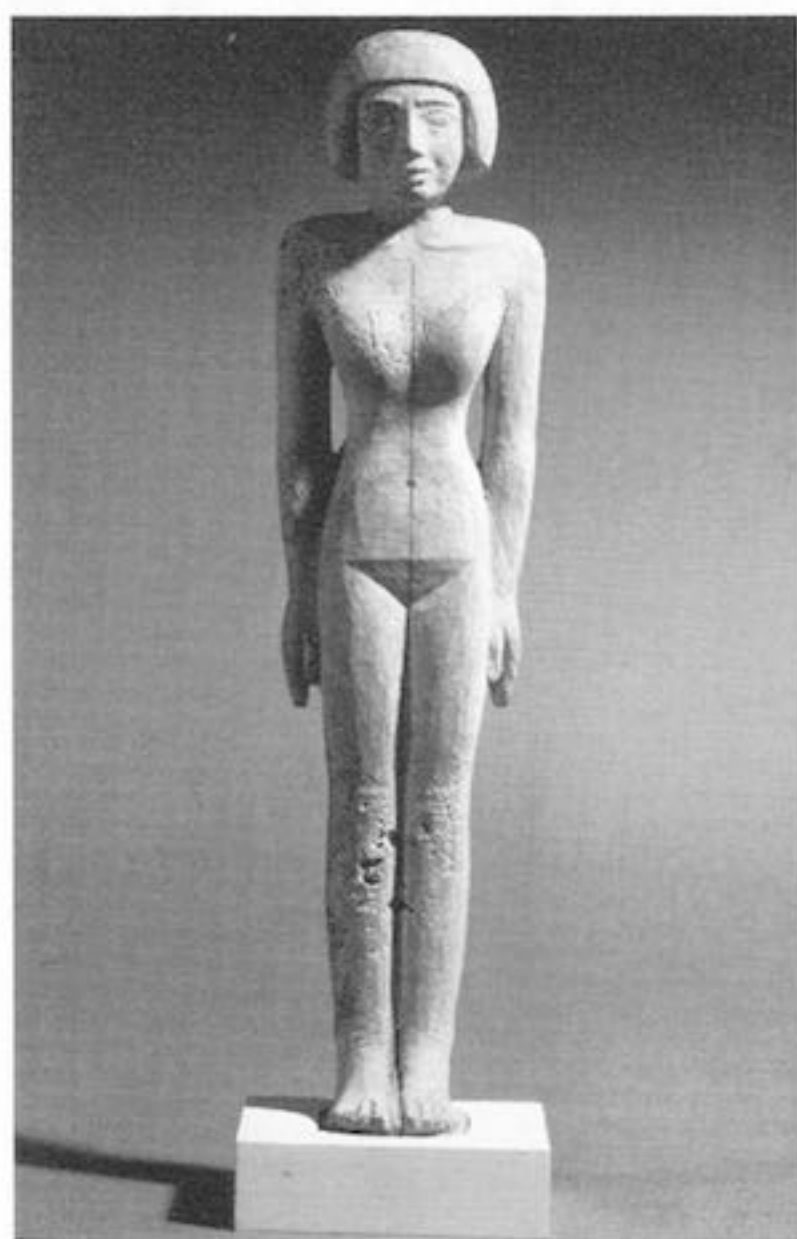


Fig. 13

Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I-Merenre)

From Sedment (tomb of Meryrehashtef)

London, British Museum EA 55723



Fig. 14
Pair statue
Dyn. V (temp. Unas)
Provenance unknown
Paris, musée du Louvre N2293