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**A Relief from the Tomb of the Memphite Mayor
Ptahmose in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke
University**

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

The year 2014 began in an unusual way with circumstances beyond our control preventing any of our Australian teams from undertaking field work in Egypt in the November 2013 to February 2014 period. Only in June/July 2014 did Naguib Kanawati resume his epigraphic work in Beni Hassan (tomb of Amenemhet, no. 2), and Yann Tristant, in collaboration with the French Institute (IFAO), returned to Abu Roash. By November 2014, for the winter season, all the teams were back in the field: Naguib Kanawati in Meir (tomb of Ukhhotep, B4), Boyo Ockinga and his team continued the archaeological and epigraphic project in TT 149, the tomb of Amenmose (Dra Abu el Naga, Luxor West Bank), and Yann Tristant with the IFAO in Dendera and in Wadi Araba. In June/July 2015, Naguib Kanawati was able to maintain his routine of conducting a second annual season of epigraphic recording in Beni Hassan, this time in the tomb of Baket III. This year, he was joined by Linda Evans, who commenced a new Macquarie University Research Development project examining the animal imagery at the site.

The year 2014 was marked by the 50th anniversary of the founding of Macquarie University as well as the 25th year since establishing the Australian Centre for Egyptology. As one of our celebrations, we hosted the *Third Australasian Egyptology Conference*, July 16-18, 2014. In 45 papers and posters, Egyptologists, mainly from the universities of Auckland, Monash and Macquarie, but also including international participants, reported on their latest research. The Gale Visiting Scholars for 2014, Pierre Tallet (Université Paris IV-Sorbonne) and Stan Hendrickx (Hasselt University – PXL), were integrated as key-note speakers with their thought-provoking contributions on "A re-evaluation of 'formal' and 'preformal' culture from the Predynastic point of view" (Hendrickx) and "A building project in the Delta at the end of Khufu's reign" (Tallet). The annual symposium with the Gale Visiting Scholars immediately followed this conference and saw both Pierre Tallet and Stan Hendrickx report on their fieldwork on the Red Sea coast and El Kab respectively. To organise these events in 2014 we are again immensely grateful for the support given to us by Mrs Janet Gale, and this time also, for assistance by Macquarie University.

In the context of a workshop *Magic in the Ancient World: Textuality and Contextuality*, organised by the Macquarie University Ancient Cultures Research Centre on October 17, 2014, Macquarie hosted the visit of Professor

Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert from the University of Leipzig. Professor Fischer-Elfert spoke on “Material manifestation and theoretical discussion of Ancient Egyptian magic”. Macquarie researchers were represented by Boyo Ockinga, Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Korshi Dosoo.

The unforeseen delay in the production of *BACE 25* means that we can now also report that the 2015 Gale Visiting Scholars were Kent Weeks (formerly American University in Cairo) and Susanne Bickel (University of Basel) with a focus on recent discoveries in the Valley of the Kings. Kent Weeks elaborated on the work of the Theban Mapping Project in KV 5, the enormous tomb for the sons of Ramesses II, as well as on the important issues of site management and the education on Luxor's West Bank. Susanne Bickel gave an overview of the research questions driving the archaeological work of the team from the University of Basel in KV 40 as well as outlining the current scholarship on the use of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period, for which the newly discovered tomb KV 64 provides important insights. As every year, these colleagues also spoke at events in Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne.

Early in 2014, Yann Tristant was among the organizers and speakers at *Egypt at its Origins. 5th International Conference on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Studies* in Cairo in April. In June 2014, Linda Evans and John Burn presented at the *Profane Landscapes, Sacred Spaces* conference in Prague, immediately followed by the *6th Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology Conference* in Warsaw in July 2014, which saw a strong participation from Australia, with papers by John Burn, Linda Evans, Gae Callender, Naguib Kanawati, Miral Lashien, Joyce Swinton, Elizabeth Thompson, Alex Woods (from Macquarie) and Colin Hope, Amy Pettman, and Ashten Warfe (from Monash).

In conjunction with the Weidenbach Diary Project, Susanne Binder spoke at the colloquium *Zwischen Dokumentation und Imagination* at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Lepsius Archive (September 2014). Both Susanne Binder and Boyo Ockinga further reported on research around the diary at the *11th Biennial ASTENE Conference* in Exeter in July 2015 (Association for the Study of Travel to Egypt and the Near East).

Aaron de Souza and Julien Cooper presented aspects of their research at the *13th Nubian Studies Conference* at Neuchâtel (September 2014). The Australasian *AMPHORAE VIII* conference, now with the addition of "E" (Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Hellenic or Roman Antiquities and Egyptology), provided a forum in Melbourne in November 2014 for Matthew George and Olivier Rochecouste to present their work. Postgraduate students

of Egyptology also participated in the *National Archaeology Student Conference*: Adam Fazzolari in Adelaide in 2014, Brenan Dew and Olivier Rochecouste in Sydney in August 2015, Olivier also being part of the organizing team.

Bob Parker and Nico Staring presented recent research in Prague at the conference *Abusir and Saqqara in 2015* (June 2015). The Australian Centre for Egyptology was well represented at the recent *International Congress of Egyptologists XI* held in Florence in September 2015 with papers by Julien Cooper, Jana Jones, Alice McClymont, Kim McCorquodale, Anna-Latifa Mourad, Melanie Pitkin and Ellen Ryan. Some then travelled to Vienna to speak at the *International Congress of Young Egyptologists* (ICYE): Alice McClymont and Ellen Ryan.

Jana Jones joined the Department of Ancient History as a Macquarie University Research Fellow in 2014 with her project 'Secrets of the Ancient Egyptian embalmers: an archaeological, historical and scientific investigation of the origins and development of mummification'. We congratulate Anna-Latifa Mourad (2014) and Miral Lashien (2015) on the completion of their doctoral research.

As *BACE* 25 goes to press in October 2015, we are preparing for the 10th anniversary of the introduction of Coptic Studies at Macquarie University in 2005 when Heike Behlmer was appointed to initiate the programme. We look forward to welcoming her back to Sydney for this occasion, when she will be presenting the key-note address.

In Melbourne, the Egyptological Society of Victoria attended lectures by Colin Hope, Gillian Bowen and Amanda Dunsmore on the Egyptian collection at the National Gallery of Victoria, as well as by Gillian Bowen who spoke on Alexandria Rediscovered. Also, as every year, the Gale Visiting Scholars – Pierre Tallet and Stan Hendrickx (2014), and Kent Weeks and Susanne Bickel (2015) – spoke to and enthused the members. The staff at Monash University have been joined by new appointments: Jessie Birkett-Rees (ancient cultures and archaeology) and Andrew Connor (ancient history with specialization in temple administration of the Roman period in Egypt). Congratulations to Colin Hope, Gillian Bowen with Ian Gardner (University of Sydney) for their grant from the Australian Research Council to continue excavations at Mut al-Kharab for the next 5 years.

I am honoured to act as Guest Editor for this, the 25th issue of *BACE*. This has given me the opportunity to appreciate the herculean effort that each volume represents, normally resting squarely on the shoulders of the regular Editor,

Susanne Binder, ably assisted in the final design layout and production stages by Leonie Donovan. Susanne shepherds each paper through the process with the utmost care, giving each one an inordinate amount of time and patience as well as the benefit of her extensive knowledge of the discipline. The results of her hard work, dedication, and attention to detail are apparent on every page that Leonie lays out with skill and precision.

As every year, the production of this volume of *BACE* also owes a debt of gratitude to the reviewers as well as dedicated colleagues at Macquarie University, Boyo Ockinga, Kim McCorquodale and Anna-Latifa Mourad.

Linda Evans

Macquarie University, October 2015

A RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THE MEMPHITE MAYOR PTAHMOSE IN THE NASHER MUSEUM OF ART AT DUKE UNIVERSITY*

Nico Staring
Macquarie University

The Saqqara tomb of the early 19th-Dynasty Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward in the Temple of Ptah, Ptahmose, was accessible to explorers as early as the 1820s.¹ Many items were taken from the tomb by art dealers and their local agents. These objects came into the possession of well-known collectors such as Giuseppe di Nizzoli and Giovanni d'Anastasi, and the sale of their collections further contributed to the objects' worldwide distribution.² The more scientifically motivated archaeological exploration of Ptahmose's tomb started in 1859 when Auguste Mariette and his assistant Théodule Devéria worked in the area.³ Two photographs taken by the latter in 1859⁴ had long been the last documentation of the tomb – until it was rediscovered as recently as 2010.⁵ After 1859, undocumented excavations and illicit diggings continued, and over the years, items originating from the tomb surfaced in museum collections. One such object is the relief-decorated block presented in this article. It is currently held in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University. This contribution aims to present for the first time a complete description and discussion of the block's iconography and texts, and to address the question of how the object got to the Nasher Museum: starting at Saqqara and then being passed on through art dealers, collectors and middlemen in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University

The relief block discussed in this paper is currently held in the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art, which opened in 2005 on Duke University's campus in Durham, North Carolina, USA.⁶ In 1998, Duke University alumnus and art collector Raymond D. Nasher donated funds for the construction of a new art museum, later named in his honour. These premises replaced the Duke University Museum of Art, which had been founded in 1969 with the acquisition of 200 medieval works of art from the collection of the antiquities dealer and art collector Ernest Brummer (1891–1964).⁷ In 1984, the relief-decorated block from the tomb of Ptahmose was presented as a gift by Ella Baché Brummer, Ernest Brummer's widow. There are two ways by which the

block could have initially come to the museum, either through the Duke Classical Collection, or perhaps jointly to the Duke Classical Collection and the Duke University Museum of Art (DCC/DUMA). Ella Brummer donated three objects that year, and these were assigned a joint DCC/DUMA number as a group, although one piece had already been in the collection since 1979. The Duke Classical Collection remained largely in the custody of the Classics Department and only in the mid-1990s was it transferred to the museum.⁸ At the moment of writing this article, the block is not on display in the permanent exhibition of what is now the Nasher Museum of Art.

Relief from the tomb of Ptahmose: Nasher Museum of Art (1984.2.3)

General observations

The block of Ptahmose held at the Nasher Museum of Art is carved from limestone and measures 44 x 33 x 8.6 cm (Figures 1–2). Originally, it formed part of the revetment of limestone blocks on the interior walls of the tomb's mud-brick superstructure.⁹ The block bears the fragment of a relief depicting the head of the tomb owner, facing left, surrounded by (at least) six columns of text in raised relief. A single line of text (bandeau) in sunk relief borders the fragment's upper edge. The alternation of text in raised and sunk relief has also been observed on the now-lost doorjambs from the same tomb, photographed *in situ* by Théodule Devéria.¹⁰

The relief's surface is heavily worn. Many small scratches, pits and indentations cover its surface, and a large part is broken off on the right-hand side. Patches of plaster are added to a number of the incised hieroglyphic signs. The results of modern repairs are clearly visible on the tomb owner's nose and chin, and on the middle-section of the *shebyu* collar (see discussion below). The block's lower left corner has been damaged and subsequently repaired.

Only few traces of colour can be detected. Ptahmose's face is coloured with a faint reddish-brown pigment, and more traces of red can be observed in some hieroglyphic signs of the bandeau text. The original colours have otherwise vanished, thus revealing the monochrome white limestone.

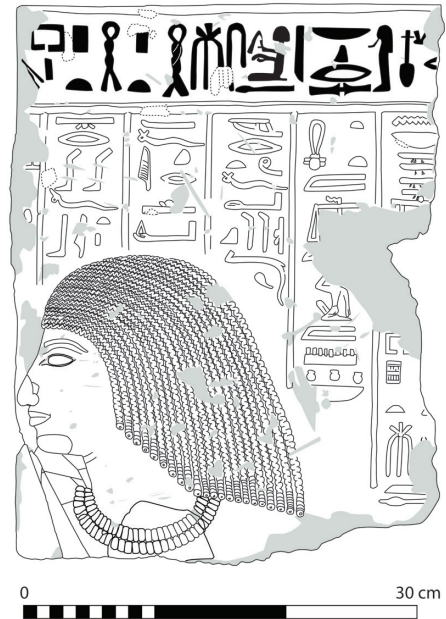
Technical observations

The block presents an example of high quality carving for which a few parallels exist in tombs of the immediate post-Amarna period at Saqqara. The technique used to carve this relief has been described by Eva Hofmann as a '*... Zwischenstufe zwischen Flach- und Hochrelief, die als Halbreief bezeichnet werden kann*'.¹¹ The stone's surface around the head of Ptahmose is cut away. This is especially visible directly in front of Ptahmose's forehead and above his head. As a result, the tomb owner's representation attains the appearance of

Figure 1.
Relief block of Ptahmose.
Nasher Museum of Art at Duke
University Acc. no. 1984.2.3.
© Nasher Museum of Art at Duke
University.



Figure 2.
Relief block of Ptahmose.
Nasher Museum of Art at Duke
University Acc. no. 1984.2.3.
Drawing: Nico Staring.



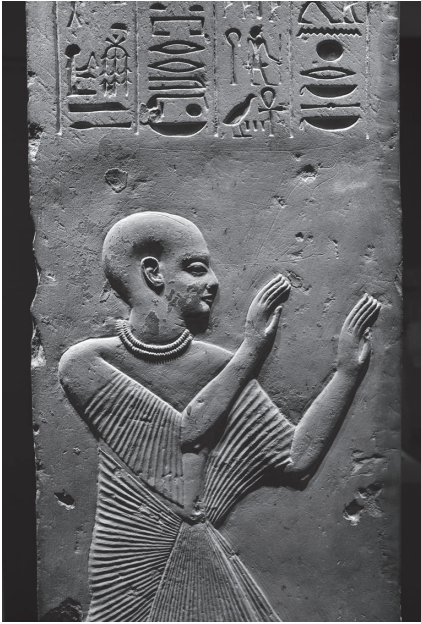


Figure 3.
Djed-pillar of Ptahmose, detail.
Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
AP 51b.1. Photo: Nico Staring.

Figure 4.
“Fragment de la tombe de Ptahmès.
Saqqarah”, in: Capart, *CdÉ* 15/29 (1940),
250. Reproduced with kind permission.



proper raised relief. This technique blossomed in the relief art of the Memphite region during the post-Amarna period, and good examples can be observed on reliefs from the tombs of the Chief Steward of Memphis Ipy,¹² and the Overseer of the Treasury Maya.¹³ The same technique was also used for the figures of Ptahmose on his *djed* pillars (Leiden AP 51): the stone surface around the standing figure of the tomb owner was cut back, whereas the columns of text in the upper half of the same pillars were carved into the stone's original surface, which now appears to be "raised" (Figure 3).

Iconography

The head and part of the tomb owner's left shoulder are preserved in the block's lower left corner. Ptahmose wears a two-row *shebyu* collar (the Gold of Honour),¹⁴ probably worn over a plain *wesekh* collar. The two-row *shebyu* collar is the composition most commonly attested for officials who are decorated with the Gold of Honour.¹⁵ Ptahmose wears the same collar on a number of scenes from his tomb: reliefs Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (see Table 1: I.7),¹⁶ the so-called "Mur Rhoné" (I.11), and pillar Leiden AP 51*b* (III.2). The majority of representations from his tomb, however, show Ptahmose without the *shebyu*; on the two pillars Leiden AP 51*c* and *d* (III.3–4),¹⁷ by contrast, he is adorned with four collars of four strands and also wears *mesketu* bracelets, one on each wrist.¹⁸

Ptahmose wears a shoulder-length, striated wig that covers his ears. It consists of twenty-two rows of crimped strands that end in a row of short cork-screw curls.¹⁹ This type of wig is not very commonly attested for officials of the New Kingdom at Saqqara.²⁰ Ptahmose wears a similar wig, but with plain strands, on relief Leiden AP 54 (I.5)²¹ and on the "Mur Rhoné" (I.11).²² One relief block depicting the contemporary Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum Tia (the brother-in-law of Ramesses II), presents another close parallel. There, each pair of crimped strands is joined in a single curl.²³ The specific wig worn by Ptahmose is reminiscent of Old Kingdom examples.²⁴ The earliest depiction of such a wig at Saqqara can be found in the 3rd-Dynasty tomb of Hesy-Re.²⁵ Two short diagonal lines just under the jaw depict creases on Ptahmose's throat.²⁶

Texts

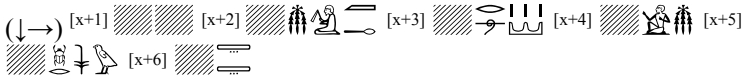
Translations of the texts have previously been published by both Kenneth Kitchen and Jocelyne Berlandini.²⁷ They had to rely on photographs of poor quality published by Ludwig Borchardt and Jean Capart (see below). The photograph provided by the Nasher Museum of Art, however, allows a slightly revised transcription and translation.

The hieroglyphs in the bandeau text are incised and those in the columns are executed in raised relief. The text columns on the now-lost upper area of this

block (Figure 4; see below for discussion) were also executed in sunk relief. The individual signs here were smaller and less deeply incised than those on the bandeau text. Despite them being similarly executed, these signs do not form a coherent text. The hieroglyphic signs in the text columns face right and those in the horizontal text face left, which is the same orientation as the hieroglyphs in columns of raised relief below. A similar disposition of horizontal and vertical texts can be observed on another block from Ptahmose's tomb: Leiden AP 54 (I.5).²⁸ However, those text columns are executed differently: carved into the original surface of the block which appears as a raised panel.²⁹ Also, their measurements differ: the bandeau on Leiden AP 54 is 6.5 cm high, and that on the Nasher Museum relief measures 7.8 cm.

Both the bandeau text and the column on the right mark the end of a text. This indicates that the block formed part of a scene's right-hand end.

Top of relief, remnants of six columns, now lost (Figure 4)



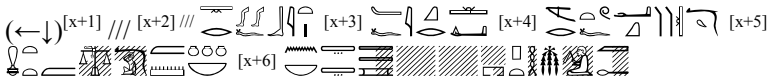
/// [Pth-]ms m3^c-hrw /// r-s₃.w /// ms(i) /// hpr sw /// t₃.wy^a
 /// [Ptah]mose, true of voice /// Rosetau /// born(?) /// created(?) him /// two
 lands(?)

Bandeau text



/// m pr(.w) Pth^b Pth-ms m3^c-hrw nb krs nfr ///
 /// in the house³⁰ of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice, owner of a perfect burial ///

Above Ptahmose



///^c [ir.y-]rd.wy=f^d bi₃.t=f ikr di mr.wt=f^e k₃ ns mi.tyt n(.yt) mh₃.t^f imy-r
 k₃(.w)t m mnw nb n(.y) nb t₃.wy ///^g pr(.w) [Pth]^h Pth-ms m3^c-hrw

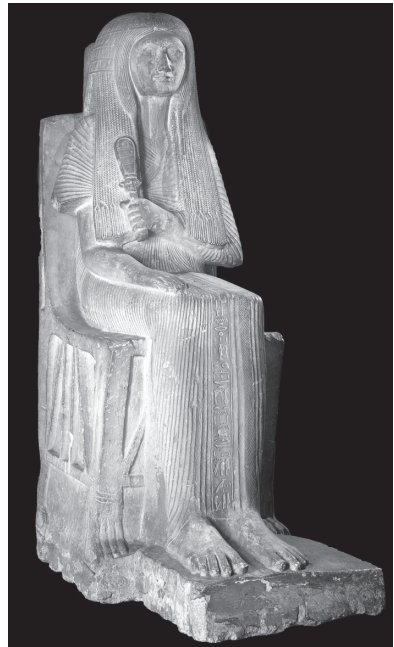
/// One in his attendance, his excellent character, which causes the love of
 him, exact of speech the likeness of a balance, Overseer of works in every
 monument of the Lord of the Two Lands (?) /// house [of Ptah], Ptahmose,
 true of voice.



Figure 5.
Brummer object card P5440, recto.
© The Brummer Gallery Records, box number 23, folder number 2,
The Cloisters Library and Archives,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 6 (left).
Seated statue of Inehyt, wife of Mayor Ptahmose. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum 22.106. Acquired by Henry Walters, 1925. © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.












Figure 7 (right).
Seated statue of Inehyt, wife of Mayor Ptahmose. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568. © Matsuoka Museum of Art.





Corpus of Objects: <i>Pth-ms(.w)</i> , Mayor of Memphis	
I	Reliefs
1-3	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–75
4	Florence, Museo Egizio 2557
5	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54
6	Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 1643
7	Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6
8	Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.39
9-10	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1631–32
11	“Mur Rhoné” (lost)
12	“Block from Giza” seen by Lepsius, built into an “Arabic” tomb (lost)
13-17	“Devéria-doorway” (lost)
18	<i>in situ</i> (2 joining relief blocks; excavated in 2010 by Cairo University)
II	Statues
1	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106
2	Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568
3-4	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8
5	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532
6	London, British Museum EA 1119
III	Architectural elements
1-4	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d (<i>djed</i> -pillars)
5	Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40000 (papyriform column)
6	Pyramidion (lost) seen by Lepsius with Solomon Fernandez
IV	Stelae
1	Notebook H.O. Lange 1899: seen with a dealer in Kafr el-Haram (lost)
2	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718
V	Burial equipment
1.	Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne L. 496 (Sarcophagus frag.)
VI	Offering tables
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VII	Extra sepulchral objects
1	Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 (stela from Serapeum)
2	Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 (shabti from Serapeum)

Table 1. Overview: Objects pertaining to Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis.

Commentary

- ^a As reconstructed by Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 98. Kitchen in *KRI* III, 180.7 reads: "Real King's Scribe (?), his beloved [...]" (*sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f*). Indeed, there appear to be more signs besides *t3.wy*. However, it is impossible to present a more conclusive reconstruction.
- ^b There are several options for the reconstruction of this title. The phrase *m pr(.w) Pth* forms part of a number of titles attested for Ptahmose: *im.y-r pr(.w) wr m t3 hw.t R^c(.w)-ms-s(w) mry-Imn(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, "Chief Steward in the temple 'Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun' in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r pr(.w) m hw.t ntr 3h-Sth.y-mry-Pth m pr(.w) Pth*, "Steward in the temple 'Beneficial-is-Seti-I-beloved-of-Ptah' in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r mš^c wr m pr(.w) Pth*, "Great Overseer of troops in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r pr(.w) wr m pr(.w) Pth*, "Chief Steward in the house of Ptah". The last option, Chief Steward in the House of Ptah, occurs most often, and seems to be the most likely reading here. Berlandini reached the same reconstruction.
- Note that the preposition *m* is written as , as opposed to  (Gardiner Aa15), as it appears in all other documents. The same can be observed on block LB 4 from the tomb of Mahu (ST 218) at Saqqara in the writing of the title *im.y-r pr(.w) m hw.t R^c(.w)-ms-s(w) mry-Imn(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, Steward in the Temple 'Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun' in the House of Ptah (Gohary, *Nebnefer & Mahu*, pl. 46).
- ^c Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 98, reconstructs  *hs*. The visible remnants of the sign indeed allow for this reconstruction, perhaps *hs.wt nsw.t*, "royal favour"; or *hs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr*, "one greatly praised / highly favoured by the perfect god (i.e. the king)". Other options are equally valid, for example , *mr*, as part of *sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f*, "True Royal Scribe whom he (i.e. the king) loves".³¹
- ^d Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 98, and Kitchen in *KRI* III, 441.2–3 read *t3 r rd.wy=f* "the land at his feet". Referring to Figure 1, however, it is clear that the sign , *B* (Gardiner N16), has been misread for  (Gardiner Y1) written upside-down. The construction with *rd.wy=f* is well attested in a series of honorific titles.³² Here, one should read     , *ir.y-rd.wy=f* "Guardian at his feet" or "One in attendance". This is the abbreviated form of a more substantial phrase, which is usually followed by either the person whom he (i.e. the official) attends, e.g. the king, or where he attends (the king), e.g. "in every place he (i.e. the king) has trodden".³³ The title *smsw nsw ir.y rd.wy=f* "the King's retainer and his attendant" presents another possible reconstruction.³⁴

- ^e Note that Gardiner Sign-List U7, , is written with two vertical strokes, or "cross pieces",³⁵ which was not very common during the 19th Dynasty.³⁶
- ^f Note that the sign  (Gardiner U38) is reversed.
- ^g Reading uncertain. The varying distances between the four horizontal signs indicate that the two upper signs belong together, to form the phrase *nb t3.wy* "Lord of the Two Lands". It is not clear which word is denoted by the next group of signs. Possibly, these form part of an addition to the title "Overseer of works on all monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands", perhaps designating the place where Ptahmose performed his duties as Overseer. Compare this to the title on his statue London BM EA 1119 (II.6): "Overseer of works on all monuments of His Majesty in Hutkaptah".³⁷
- ^h The element *Pth* forms part of the tomb owner's name, because the male determinative (Gardiner A51/52) can be only placed to the right of the *ms*-sign. The preceding title might end with *pr(.w) Pth*, "house of Ptah", with 'Ptah' hierarchically positioned before the *pr* sign (honorific transposition). The exact title is more difficult to ascertain (see comment b above). In view of the limited space offered by the lacuna, the reading *im.y-r pr(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, "Steward in the house of Ptah" can also be put forward.

From Saqqara to Durham: How the block got to the Nasher Museum of Art

The question of how this block from the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara got to the Nasher Museum of Art is an interesting one to follow up. Only few records and mentions of the block exist. The museum acquisition records indicate only that the block was received as a gift from Ella Brummer. In the scholarly literature the block appeared occasionally. These leads present the starting point to reconstructing the block's wanderings, which take us to some of the foremost art dealers of their time.

Clues offered in the scholarly literature

The block of Ptahmose (Nasher Museum of Art 1984.2.3) was first published by Ludwig Borchardt. In a supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (1931),³⁸ he listed the block amongst 56 Egyptian antiquities which he considered to be modern works, although he did not give reasons why he thought so. Borchardt commented that their photographs were sufficiently clear to illustrate the different schools of forgers known to be active in Egypt at that time. He published the photograph of the Ptahmose relief, taken in 1921, with the comment that the hieroglyphic texts were genuinely ancient.

In an article published in 1940, at a time when the whereabouts of this block were unknown, Capart questioned Borchardt's conclusion and argued in favour of the block's authenticity.³⁹ In support of his arguments, Capart published an undated photograph showing the same block in different condition at what must be an earlier point in time (Figure 4). In the time between the taking of the photo published by Capart and the more recent photo taken in 1921, the upper part of the original block had been removed and had not been seen since. The bandeau text which now forms the block's upper edge originally separated the texts above from the representation below. The now-lost upper part contained the lower sections of six columns of incised hieroglyphs. Capart pointed out that a similar composition, consisting of a large bandeau text with adjoining text columns, also occurs on the block Leiden AP 54 (I.5).⁴⁰ He correctly identified the tomb owner as the "Royal Scribe and Chief Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah".⁴¹ Capart also noted that in the photograph of 1921 (in Borchardt's publication), Ptahmose's nose and collar showed signs of modern repair when compared to the older photograph.

This older photograph (published by Capart), by contrast, shows the relief block displayed on a table. Two additional ancient Egyptian objects are positioned to its left and right: a striding statuette (possibly wooden) of a man, and the white head (possibly of stone) of a life-size statue or an anthropomorphic sarcophagus. Two men are standing behind the table: on the left: a gentleman in a suit, wearing a tie and straw boater hat with a grosgrain ribbon around the crown, an expression of late 19th to early 20th century fashion; on the right a dark-skinned (possibly Egyptian) man wearing a jumper and indistinct cap whose left hand is placed on the stone head holding it upright. The whole setting appears to suggest that the photograph was taken at the premises of an antiquities dealer, presumably in Egypt.

The difference between the two photographs reveals clearly that the block was recut and retouched at some point before 1921. These alterations present Ptahmose's face with the modern appearance that led Borchardt to consider it a forgery. It is interesting to note that Jaromir Málek followed this assessment and did not include the block in the section on Ptahmose in the revised edition of Porter and Moss on the Memphite region (1979).⁴² In an article published years later (1987), he reiterated his position, claiming that both the relief and its texts were fake.⁴³ Jacobus van Dijk rejected Málek's view in a short note (1989 and 1993) and recognized that the relief had definitely been retouched.⁴⁴ In 1982, Berlandini added the block to her corpus of objects from the tomb of Ptahmose.⁴⁵ She listed the block as a "*fragment de paroi Berlin n° inconnu*". Kitchen, likewise, included the block in the corpus of texts from the tomb of Ptahmose in his *Ramesseide Inscriptions* III (1980).⁴⁶ Following Capart, he described the block initially as a "*slab (in trade), Saqqara*". In the corrigenda

to his *Ramesseide Inscriptions* III (1989), he adopted Berlandini's assessment in describing the block as a relief "*now in Berlin, N^o unknown*".⁴⁷ More recently, Fiechter listed the block in his discussion of Borchardt's so-called fakes.⁴⁸ He does not seem to have been aware of the block's present whereabouts, nor does he discuss this object at length.

For many years the block was believed to be in the collection of the Berlin Museum. What happened to the block after it was photographed in 1921, when it was last seen by Borchardt, remained unknown. It eventually surfaced again many years later when Morris Bierbrier, in his 1985 book review of Kitchen's *Ramesseide Inscriptions* III, noted that this relief block had just entered the collection of the Duke University Art Library.⁴⁹

The block of Ptahmose in the hands of art dealers

At this point, we know how and when the block of Ptahmose got to the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art. In order to trace the block's history back to Saqqara, its journey will be followed back in time.

a. Ernest and Joseph Brummer

As indicated above, the block of Ptahmose entered the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art as a gift from Ella Brummer, the widow of art collector and dealer Ernest Brummer. This presents the first lead to reconstructing the object's journey that started in Saqqara.

Ernest Brummer, together with his brothers Joseph (1883–1947)⁵⁰ and Imre (1889–1928), opened Brummer Gallery in Paris in 1906. At the onset of World War I (1914), his brothers moved to New York to open their second gallery.⁵¹ Ernest initially stayed in France managing their European branch and purchasing objects for Joseph. He joined his brother in New York at the outbreak of World War II. Ernest continued running both galleries in Paris and New York after both his brothers had passed away. A major part of Joseph Brummer's collection – he was particularly interested in ancient sculpture⁵² – was sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art after he died in 1947. The Brummer Gallery had already been one of the museum's regular suppliers of art. The sale in 1947 was followed by another three sales through the Parke-Bernet Galleries in 1949. A final 600 unsold pieces, which remained in possession of the family, were eventually inherited by Ella Brummer.⁵³ After Ernest died in 1964, part of the collection was sold at Sotheby's that same year.⁵⁴ A selection of objects inherited from Joseph, supplemented with objects from Ernest Brummer's collection, were to form the nucleus of Duke University's collection in 1966.⁵⁵

The complete documentation regarding objects from the Brummer collections (including acquisition data) remained in the possession of Ella Brummer until 1980, when she donated all documents to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵⁶ In 1993, the Brummer Gallery Records were transferred to the MMA Cloisters Archives and Libraries.⁵⁷

The Brummer collection acquisition records list the Nasher Museum relief as object number P5440: "*1 Bas-relief Egypt. en calcaire*". Each object that entered the Brummer collection was provided with a card containing a photograph (Figure 5) and sale details. The following information was provided on the verso of object card P5440:

P 5440
#188 – EB
Polychromed bas-relief. Egyptian. 18th Dynasty.
17" high
13" wide
Egyptian relief in limestone, polychromed. Represents the head of a queen. 18th Dynasty. Interesting specimen, as the middle inscription is of a later period, reinscribed under the domination of another king.
Reproduced in "Chronique d'Egypte," No. 30 – Juillet 1940. Page 250

It is interesting to note that Ernest Brummer (EB), although aware of Capart's article, described the head as that of a queen. The "reinscribed middle inscription" must refer to the bandeau text, and the text in sunk relief must have been interpreted as a later alteration. The block entered the Brummer collection *before* Borchardt dismissed it as a modern reproduction. It is probably no coincidence that his article was not later added as a reference on the object-card. It is noteworthy that Figure 5 shows the object in a better shape than its present-day condition.⁵⁸

b. Kalebdjian Frères

Prior to entering the Brummer collection, Brummer object P5440 formed part of an acquisition number 868, signed in Paris, 2 October 1928. This acquisition number lists another 25 objects, none of which are ancient Egyptian.⁵⁹ The purchase was made by Joseph Brummer from *Kalebdjian Frères*. Between 1905 and 1930, this dealership was owned by the Armenian antiquities and oriental art dealers Hagop and Garbis Kalebdjian.⁶⁰ They had an art gallery in Cairo and later opened premises in Paris.⁶¹ Brummer object P5440 is listed in the Kalebdjian consular papers as a "*Bas-relief en calcaire, tête de personnage, Egypte 18è dynastie*". The block was bought for 12.000 Francs from "N. Maurice" in Paris, on 28 September 1928.

c. Maurice Nahman

The name "N. Maurice" must refer to Maurice Nahman (1868–1948), a leading Egyptian collector and dealer in antiquities from 1890⁶² who, from 1913, had an extensive gallery in his Arab-style house in Cairo at 27 Rue el-Madabegh (now: Sharia Sherif) that operated under the name *Maurice Nahman Antiquaire*.⁶³ The gallery was closed in 1953 when his son Robert Maurice Nahman (1901–1954), who carried on with the gallery, died. Maurice Nahman's curiously premature obituary was written by Capart in *Chronique d'Égypte* no. 22/43 in 1947,⁶⁴ the same issue that also contained his own obituary.⁶⁵ Capart described Nahman as "... le plus grand marchand d'antiquités égyptiennes du monde". The way in which Nahman came to possess the relief may be deduced from another passage, where Capart describes the Egyptian's gallery:⁶⁶

(...) On se rendait compte rapidement que l'on se trouvait là au point d'aboutissement des nombreuses fouilles clandestines qui n'ont jamais cessé d'alimenter le marché égyptologique. Si Maurice Nahman avait eu la préoccupation de tenir un journal, les égyptologues y auraient appris bien des secrets qui leur restent fermés. Lorsque Nahman se sentait en confiance et qu'il était en veine d'anecdotes, il racontait les aventures de pièces même célèbres qui, après avoir disparu des collections publiques, aboutissaient heureusement entre ses mains.

That Nahman also had fakes for sale was no secret to Capart.⁶⁷

(...) Lorsque des polémiques s'ouvraient au sujet de l'authenticité de certaines pièces, son avis méritait toujours sérieuse considération. Je veux bien que, dans quelques cas, la rivalité professionnelle ait pesé sur son sentiment, mais, quant à moi, je n'ai jamais hésité lorsque Nahman me disait: « cette pièce est fausse et je sais qui l'a faite ».

Above, it was suggested that the photograph published by Capart (Figure 4) was taken in a gallery in Cairo. At that time, it was not uncommon for galleries to "improve" the aesthetics of their works of art. There are even sources to suggest that the Kaledjian brothers were involved in similar practices as well.⁶⁸ Their nephew, the well-known forger and dealer in Egyptian antiquities Oxan Aslanian (1887–1968), worked in their gallery in Cairo for some time.⁶⁹ However, the acquisition data and the (un)dated photographs indicate that the block must have been retouched before these brothers eventually acquired it. The most likely person responsible for the changed physical appearance of the block is Nahman. Another block traded by him, and for which a Memphite origin had long been debated, is the stela fragment Chicago, Oriental Institute 10507.⁷⁰ This block probably derived from Abydos and shows the Scribe of

the Offering Table of the Lord of the Two Lands Amunwahsu and the Royal Scribe Tia before Seti I and his son, Prince Ramesses. It was purchased in 1919 in Cairo from Nahman. The top of the block was sawn off and the right-side, bottom edge and back had been trimmed, which suggests that it had received a treatment similar to the block of Ptahmose now in the Nasher Museum of Art.

The art dealer portrayed in the photograph published by Capart can probably be identified as Nahman,⁷¹ and it may have been Capart himself who took this photo, perhaps in one of Nahman's two earlier shops.⁷² It is not clear how the block of Ptahmose came into possession of Nahman.⁷³ However, at around the same time, at least one other object originating from the tomb of Ptahmose was available on the art market. A stela that identified him as the Chief Steward of Ptah named Ptahmose was seen by Hans Ostenfeldt Lange with a dealer at Kafr el-Haram, Giza.⁷⁴ Lange was also a regular at Nahman's gallery, which he visited for the first time on 20 February 1920.⁷⁵

Nahman sold the block of Ptahmose to the Kalebjdjian brothers on a visit to Europe. This may have been on the same occasion as when Capart acquired an Amarna tablet for the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels. He describes the occasion in the obituary for Nahman.⁷⁶ Capart assisted Nahman with the unpacking of his cases upon arrival in Paris and was subsequently granted a first inspection of the objects.

Complex histories: Two statues of Inehyt, wife of Ptahmose

The block from the tomb of Ptahmose held in the Nasher Museum of Art presents just one example of many objects that passed through the hands of multiple art dealers and collectors. Coincidentally, two statues from the same tomb of Ptahmose were briefly in the possession of Joseph Brummer as well. These statues left Saqqara in the first half of the 19th century and have since travelled the world. They illustrate not only the complex collection histories objects can have, but may also serve as an example to illustrate the importance of studying the provenance of museum objects. Such studies are especially desirable for material from the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara, which is located largely in public and private collections around the world. This may eventually shed some more light on when and under which circumstances these tombs were visited and dismantled.

From 1917 to 1921, two statues of Ptahmose's wife Inehyt (II.1–2; Figures 6–7),⁷⁷ who bore the titles Lady of the House and Songstress of Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore, formed part of the collection of Joseph Brummer. According to Georg Steindorff, who published the statues in 1942, they may have been brought to France in the 1820s by the Frenchman Sébastien Louis

Saulnier (1790–1835) as part of a large collection which he sold there.⁷⁸ Alternatively, they may have been acquired in Egypt by Jean François Champollion in 1828–29.⁷⁹ Champollion was on very good terms with Giovanni d'Anastasi, who may have been involved in the first excavation of Ptahmose's tomb (see above). Steindorff revised this suggestion in view of information provided to him by Bernard V. Bothmer, who proposed that the statues had been taken to France by officers of the Napoleonic expedition.⁸⁰ According to Michel Dewachter, the statues must have been in France by 1824 as they were seen by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) in Paris with his friend the sculptor Abel Dimier (1794–1864) on 8 May of that year, if indeed the statues were correctly identified. Dimier had brought several objects from Egypt:

*(...) deux statues assises qu'on prétend de la plus haute antiquité, quatre vases d'albâtre magnifiques et d'une belle exécution, et un sarcophage fort original.*⁸¹

It is also possible that the statues were obtained through the excavations of d'Anastasi at Saqqara (1823–25) and entered France not through Champollion but via an art dealer or collector who purchased them from d'Anastasi directly.⁸²

We are on firmer ground about when the statues first surfaced in the collection of Comte Jules de Castellane (1788–1862).⁸³ His collection, formed around 1825, was accommodated in his Château des Ayalades near Marseille.⁸⁴ He acquired his objects, a considerable part of which constituted ancient Egyptian artefacts, chiefly in Italy and Greece.⁸⁵ When the count's eldest daughter, the Marquise d'Estournel (who had inherited her father's possessions), passed away, the Château and its contents were sold in 1917. One unnamed Marseilles art-dealer bought the statues and sold them to Paris-based Jacques Seligmann (1858–1923),⁸⁶ who subsequently sold them to Henri Daguerre and Joseph Brummer (a joint purchase) in 1917. The statues were then transferred from Brummer's gallery in Paris to New York. There, Judge Samuel Untermyer, also from New York, bought one of the statues.⁸⁷ The statue changed ownership for the last time in 1925, when art collector Henry Walters from Baltimore acquired it for his own collection. At his bequest, his private collection was made accessible to the public in 1931 as the Walters Art Museum (Figure 6). The second, near-identical statue of Inehyt was thus separated from its pendant after the sale of 1917. In 1921, the art collector Reverend Theodore Pitcairn (1893–1973) from Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, bought it from Joseph Brummer.⁸⁸ Pitcairn gifted the statue to The Lord's New Church in Bryn Athyn,⁸⁹ which subsequently offered it for sale at Christie's London in 1976.⁹⁰ There, the statue was purchased by the art collector Sejiro

Matsuoka (1894–1988)⁹¹ who, in 1975, founded the Matsuoka Museum of Art in Tokyo (Figure 7), which moved to its present location at Shirokane, Tokyo, in 2000, and opened to the public.⁹²

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to provide the full object history and description of relief block 1984.2.3 in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University from the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara. The first part of this article focused on the description and discussion of the iconography and texts. Although the block's existence has been known for some time, its whereabouts were long unknown and its authenticity doubted. In this contribution it has been demonstrated that the block is genuinely ancient and that it can be added to the ever growing corpus of objects pertaining to Ptahmose, the early 19th-Dynasty Mayor of Memphis. The study of the texts has yielded new prosopographical data (epithets and titles). This study was also used to illustrate the often complex collection history of Egyptian antiquities. It has demonstrated that research into this history not only yields an object's provenance, but it also highlights the people who were involved in the worldwide distribution of objects from – in this case – a single tomb structure. Such activities form an integral part of a monument's non-systemic use life. The New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara exists largely in private and public collections, and these items were often removed from their original context without any (proper) documentation. Knowledge of the people involved in the activities that led to the dismantling of tombs and the worldwide distribution of the individual blocks and fragments is an important line of enquiry. In the case of Ptahmose, as has been demonstrated here, this approach has assisted in identifying and accurately assigning a good number of elements to the Saqqara tomb that had hitherto been of unknown provenance.

* I am grateful to the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University for permission to publish this relief block. I owe a special word of thank you to Katharine Adkins, assistant curator of exhibitions; Marianne Eileen Wardle, Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Academic Programs; and Lee Nisbet, digital imaging assistant. I am also indebted to A/Prof. Boyo Ockinga and Prof. Dr Maarten Raven for valuable feedback on an earlier draft of this paper, and to Kelly Hamilton for polishing my English. Dr Susanne Binder's editorial guidance greatly improved the structure of this paper.

¹ For Ptahmose, see: PM III², 713–15, 784. Previous studies on this official: J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès" in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 82 (1982) 85–103; J. Málek, "The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the

- Memphite Suburbs" in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987) 117–37; J. Van Dijk, "Two Blocks from the Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis and High Steward in the Domain of Ptah" in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 113 (1989) 47–54; D. Franke, "Reliefblock aus dem Grab des Ptahmose in Saqqara" in: E. Bayer-Niemeier *et al.* (eds.), *Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik, Ägyptische Bildwerke. Band III. Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (Melsungen, 1993) 159–72; C. Greco, "The Lost Tomb of Ptahmes" in: P. Buzi / D. Picchi / M. Zecchi (eds.), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti*, BAR IS 2264 (Oxford, 2011) 34–38.
- ² D'Anastasi (1780–1860): W.R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri" in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949) 158–60; W.R. Dawson / E.P. Uphill / M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 4th rev. ed. (London, 2012) 19 (born Anastasiou, from c. 1801 assumed the name d'Anastasi when resident in Egypt). For Nizzoli (c. 1792/4–1858), see: Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 405.
- ³ N. Staring, "The tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: analysis of an early 19th Dynasty funerary monument at Saqqara" in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) *forthcoming*. A selection of objects taken from these tombs was sent to the Bulaq Museum, founded by Mariette in 1858 and opened to the public on 16 October 1863 (D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, 2002) 103–08). The first entry in the museum's *Journal d'Entrée* is dated June 1858 (Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100), with numbers JE 1–3360 issued in 1858, and nos. 3361–6138 in 1859 (B.V. Bothmer, "Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum" in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 64/3 [Cairo, 1972–74] 114). The museum was flooded in 1878 and as a result, part of the collection as well as Mariette's papers were destroyed (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 356). This may explain why only short descriptions are provided for the monuments in Mariette's *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889 [1872]), which was published posthumously in 1889 with texts written by Gaston Maspero. The tomb of Ptahmose is represented by only one panel (Cairo JE 4874), published on page 20 and plate 62d (copy of text), probably sawn from the doorjamb in March 1859 and subsequently taken to the Bulaq Museum. Devéria briefly described their work in Saqqara in a letter dated 15 March 1859, written aboard the Samanoud (Mariette's steamer) at Bulaq (G. Devéria, "Théodule Devéria (1831–1871). Notice biographique", in: G. Maspero, *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896) xiv–xvi; Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) *forthcoming*).
- ⁴ (1) The so-called "Mur Rhoné" photograph capturing (*in situ*) five adjoining relief-decorated limestone revetment blocks: Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 86–92, fig. 1, pl. VII; Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) fig. 4; (2) a doorway with limestone doorjambs and reveal, both with texts and relief decoration: Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) figs. 1–2. For Devéria's photograph of the 19th-Dynasty tomb of Khay at

- Saqqara, see: S. Pasquali, "La tombe perdue de Bouri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis" in: *BIFAO* 113 (2013) 315 with n. 19 and figs. 10–11.
- 5 By the Cairo University mission led by Dr Ola el-Aguizy; see E. Adly / N. Grimal, "Recherches et découvertes" in: *Bulletin d'information archéologique* 41 (2010) 82–83; C. Greco, "Het verloren graf van Ptahmes. Grafvondst in Egypte ook voor Leids onderzoek van groot belang" in: *Archeologie Magazine* 2010/4 (2010) 34–38.
- 6 The museum's permanent collection contains contemporary art, with other major strengths in European medieval art, European and American paintings, classical antiquities, African and American Pre-Columbian art.
- 7 Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85.
- 8 I thank Marianne Eileen Wardle for this information; see also: K. Stanley, *A Generation of Antiquities: The Duke Classical Collection 1964–1994. Duke University of Art 20 January-26 March 1995* (Durham, N.C., 1994). The block of Ptahmose is listed as cat. no. 95 (pp. 75–76, pl. 36: "Fragment of a Limestone Tomb Relief", DCC/DUMA 1984.2.3).
- 9 The block's slight thickness would normally be indicative of it being part of a stela. Revetment blocks usually have a larger thickness. However, the block could have also been sawn from a thicker block. Compare, for example, joining blocks Leiden AP 54 (thickness 20 cm) and Frankfurt Liebieghaus IN 1643 (thickness 5 cm) from the same tomb of Ptahmose. Furthermore, a stela with a depiction of the tomb owner in this size would also need to be thicker in order not to break instantly (Maarten Raven, personal communication).
- 10 Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) figs. 1, 3: doorway, south jamb, east side (I.17 and I.2 = Cairo JE 4874); and doorway, north jamb, east side (I.I.15–1). Compare also B. Gessler-Löhr, in: S. Pasquali / B. Gessler-Löhr, "Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-*b^h*" in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290 n. 51; E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben 17 (Mainz, 2004) 101, fig. 122; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (London, 2012) scene [20], pls. 21, 88,2.
- 11 Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel*, 150.
- 12 Pasquali / Gessler-Löhr, in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290, fig. 1: relief seen on the art market at David Aaron Ancient Arts, London.
- 13 Martin, *Maya I*, scene [20], pl. 88.
- 14 S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, ACE Studies 8 (Oxford, 2008) 308–09, cat. [090], no. 4: "Relief fragment Berlin – no number".
- 15 Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 211: with 187 attestations of the two-row *šbyw* collar from a corpus of 238 attestations of the Gold of Honour during the New Kingdom.
- 16 The headings used in Table 1 are in accordance with those in the prosopography of Memphite tomb owners used in my doctoral thesis. This explains why the heading "Offering tables" is included even though no objects in this category are attested for Ptahmose.
- 17 Indeed, the ends of four strings (one for each collar) can be observed on pillar Leiden AP 51*d.1*, below (behind) the shoulder of Ptahmose's raised right arm.

Compare relief fragment Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio Inv. No. 253 (anonymous tomb owner; late 18th/early 19th Dynasty, provenance Saqqara?): G. Botti / P. Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City, 1951) 78–79 [125], pl. LIX.

- ¹⁸ The *mstkw* bracelet is rarely depicted. Only 24 New Kingdom officials are represented with these bracelets, four of whom wear one on both wrists (Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 214–15). For an actual set of three such bracelets from Saqqara, see H.D. Schneider, *Life and Death Under the Pharaohs. Egyptian Art from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, The Netherlands* (Perth, 1997) cat. 153A (General Djehuty, 18th Dynasty, temp. Thutmosis III: Leiden AO 2a); Binder, *Gold of Honour*, cat. [226], figs. 4.12–13 (Leiden AO 2a1–2, AO 2b).
- ¹⁹ For a wig with rows of crimped strands that end in a row of short curls as represented in sculpture, see naophorous statue Leiden AST 5 of the Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis, Hormin (LS 29); Saqqara, early 19th Dynasty, temp. Seti I – Ramesses II: P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden* (The Hague, 1912) 8 [19], pl. VII.
- ²⁰ A selection of comparable examples from the New Kingdom at Saqqara: chapel of Raia, Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth, early 19th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* [London, 1985] pls. 23–24); relief Boston 11.1532 of an anonymous official, 19th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *Corpus of reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite necropolis and Lower Egypt* [London, 1987] 38 [94], pl. 35); relief Yale Art Gallery ILE 1998.5.2 of an anonymous official, Memphite origin, late 18th/early 19th Dynasty (C. Manassa, "Two Unpublished Memphite Relief Fragments in the Yale Art Gallery" in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30 [2002] fig. 2, pl. 16); several blocks from the tomb of Ky-iri, Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, 19th Dynasty (J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara [1908-9, 1909-10]: The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* [Cairo, 1912] pl. LXVIII[2], LXXV[1], LXXV[2]; W. Grajetzki, "Das Grab des KII-IRI in Saqqara" in: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 37 [2001–02], 115, scene 2); stela Berlin 7314 of Khay, Goldwasher of the Lord of the Two Lands, late 19th–20th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes* [London, 2001] pls. 12, 56 [8]); *djed* pillar from tomb ST 218 of Mahu, Chief Steward of Ptah, 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II (S. Gohary, *The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer & His Son Mahu at Sakkara* [Cairo, 2009] pl. 35 and book cover); block of an anonymous official, Saqqara, 19th Dynasty (M. Ibrahim Aly, "Unpublished Blocks from Saqqara" in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54 [1998] 221 [4], pl. 22d).
- ²¹ P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het nieuwe Rijk. Eerste afdeling: Graven* (The Hague, 1911) pl. XXX.
- ²² See n. 4 above.

- ²³ G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (London, 1997) 42, scene [206], pl. 166 (left). The block is said to have been found at Mit Rahina. The crimped strands all end at the same horizontal level. See also: Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 23, scene [46], pl. 30 (only line drawing).
- ²⁴ For example, the stela of the Vizier Mennefer, 5th Dynasty: A. Radwan, "Sayed Tawfik in Saqqara. Einiges zu fünf Fundobjekten aus seinen Ausgrabungen" in: U. Rössler-Köhler / T. Tawfik (eds.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed* (Berlin–New York, 2009) 169–70, pl. 20a, Saqqara no. 90. His mastaba is located south of the Unas causeway amidst Ramesside tombs, a little north-east of Ptahmose's tomb: S. Tawfik, "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara 1. Architecture" in: *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 404, fig. 1 (opposite p. 408); his sarcophagus is in Leiden: PM III², 764; A.E.J. Holwerda and P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling I: De monumenten van het Oude Rijk* (Leiden, 1905) pl. XXX; H. Schneider / M.J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid: een inleiding aan de hand van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (The Hague, 1981) 56 [33], fig. 33). Another good example from Saqqara may be found in the tomb of the Vizier Ptahhotep: Y. Harpur / P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep. Scene Details*, Egypt in Miniature II (Oxford, 2008) figs. 64–65, 316–17.
- ²⁵ On two wooden panels from his tomb (Cairo JE 28504): J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912). The Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1913) pls. XXIX [2], XXX [3]; M. Baud, "Du complexe enterré au mastaba révélé: l'invention de l'architecture funéraire et des dispositifs cultuels" in: M. Étienne (ed.), *Les Portes du Ciel. Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2009) 212–13, fig. 20.
- ²⁶ For a detailed study of this iconographic feature, see R. van Walsem, "Creases on the Throat as an Art Historical Particularity in Deir el Medina" in: B.J.J. Haring / O.E. Kaper / R. van Walsem (eds.), *The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 28 (Leiden–Leuven, 2014) 261–89; R. van Walsem, "The Double Statue of Meryre and Anuy", in: M.J. Raven / R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (Turnhout, 2014) 212–13 [AA].
- ²⁷ Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 98; *KRI* III, 180; *RITA* III, 125; *KRI* VII, 441.
- ²⁸ Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, pl. XXX; Van Dijk, in: *GM* 113 (1989) 47–54, fig. 1; Franke, in: E. Bayer-Niemeier *et al.*, (eds.), *Liebieghaus-Museum*, 159–72, fig. 37,2. The relief, together with the four pillars Leiden AP 51, arrived in Leiden in 1829 (ex collection d'Anastasi, 1828). For the d'Anastasi collection and its 1828 sale to The Netherlands (Leiden Museum of Antiquities), see M.J. Raven, "History of the Leiden Mummy Collection" in: M.J. Raven / W.K. Taconis, *Egyptian Mummies. Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Turnhout, 2005) 26–27.
- ²⁹ Another similar composition can be observed in the tomb of Maya: Martin, *Maya I*, 33–34, scenes [37–38], pl. 29 (bandeau text with adjoining text columns only)

- below). For the so-called raised panels, see Gessler-Löhr, in: Pasquali / Gessler-Löhr, in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290.
- ³⁰ The term *pr* is also often translated as "domain" or "estate". Many discussions interpret the phrase "in the house of god X" (e.g. *m pr(.w) Pth*) as the administrative incorporation or economic dependency of one temple to a chief temple. However, recent research has shown that economic dependence is expressed differently: the word *sdβ*, "provision" is used. The estate of an individual temple is indicated with the term *htp-ntr*, "god's offering", which can refer to all resources that make up the temple estate. Therefore, the literal, though neutral translation "house" is preferred here. For a summary discussion of the terms, and references to earlier literature on the subject, see B. Haring, "The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom" in: J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104 (Leiden–Boston, 2013) 613–17.
- ³¹ The epithet occurs at this point in the sequence. One would expect the title to be positioned after the honorific titles, as it usually starts the list of rank and office titles.
- ³² A.R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, 2006) nos. 575–83; J.A. Taylor, *An index of male non-royal titles, epithets & phrases of the 18th Dynasty* (London, 2011) 65–68.
- ³³ For the honorific title *ir.y-rd.wy n nb t3.wy* "One in attendance of the Lord of the Two Lands" at Saqqara, see Stela Munich ÄS 11, Head of Bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, Wesy, 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep III: B. Löhr / H.W. Müller, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (München, 1972) 64 [49b], pl. 30; tomb Saqqara ST 101, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and Chief Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Amun (i.e. Ramesseum), Amenemone: S. Gohary, "The Tomb-Chapel of the Royal Scribe Amenemone at Saqqara" in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991) 195–205. For an elaborate version of that title, *ir.y rd.wy [n] nb=f hr pri hrw pn n sm3 Stt.yw* "One in attendance of his lord upon the battlefield on this day of smiting the Asiatics", see G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamün, I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary* (London, 1989) 57–58, scene [57], pls. 50, 57.
- ³⁴ Al-Ayedi, *Index*, 604 [2021]: attested for the Overseer of Works, Pahek-Amun (TT 343; PM² I:1, 182–83; *Urk.* IV, 1470).
- ³⁵ See H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy. A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1979) 43.
- ³⁶ J. Moje, *Untersuchungen zur Hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie*, ÄAT 67 (Wiesbaden, 2007) 393 (zero attestations).
- ³⁷ Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987) 131, pl. 5 (left side of base).
- ³⁸ L. Borchardt, "Ägyptische »Altertümer«, die ich für neuzeitlich halte" in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66, Beilage (1931) 1–4, pl. 2 [12]. His contribution was submitted in October 1930.
- ³⁹ J. Capart, "A propos d'un index égyptologique" in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 15/29 (1940) 249–50. Capart comments that contemporary colleagues doubted

- Borchardt's assumptions regarding other objects which he also considered to be modern productions.
- 40 While the composition is indeed similar, the text columns on relief Leiden AP 54 are executed in a different manner (see above and n. 28). Moreover, the tomb owner's representations on both reliefs are executed on a different scale. Measured from the top of the head to his chin, Ptahmose's head measures 6.5 cm on Leiden AP 54, and 16 cm on Nasher Museum 1984.2.3.
- 41 Capart's references to PM III, 192–93 are outdated, and were revised in PM III², 713–15. For an updated list of monuments, see Table 1 and Staring, *BIFAO* 114 (2014) with detailed commentary. Capart also titled Ptahmose "High Priest" even though none of his actual titles associate him with that office. The confusion was probably caused by the large number of homonymous high officials buried at Saqqara, many of whom were in fact High Priests. On that issue, see W.J. Murnane, "Too Many High Priests? Once Again the Ptahmoses of Ancient Memphis" in: D.P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994) 187–96.
- 42 PM III², 713–15.
- 43 Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987) 132.
- 44 J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Doctoral thesis (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1993) 152, n. 5. An earlier version of this chapter was published as J. van Dijk, "The symbolism of the Memphite Djed-pillar" in: *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 66 (1986) 7–20.
- 45 Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 97–98, with n. 5.
- 46 *KRI* III, 180.6–7.
- 47 *KRI* VII, 441.1–3.
- 48 J.-J. Fiechter, *Faux et faussaires en art égyptien*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca XI (Turnhout, 2005) 22 [12], fig. on p. 23 (read PM III², 713–15 instead of 192–93, which refers to the first edition of PM III). R. Krauss, "Ludwig Borchardts Fälschungen-Recherche von 1930 aus den Quellen neu erzählt" in: *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives & Libraries* 3 (2012) 121–61, does not include the Nasher Relief in his discussion. I owe these references to Maarten Raven.
- 49 M.L. Bierbrier, "Book review: 'Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K.A. Kitchen. 290 x 205 mm. Volume III, fascs. 6–28. Pp. i–xxxii, 161–848. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1980. Price £2.50 each" in: *JEA* 71 (1985) 208. The reference to the Duke University Art Library is not correct (see above in the section on the Nasher Museum of Art).
- 50 Born in Zombor, Hungary (now part of Serbia), he moved to Paris in 1906 to work in the atelier of sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917): Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85; T. Hardwick, "Five Months Before Tut. Purchasers and prices at the MacGregor sale, 1922" in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 23/1 (2011) 189. Rodin's atelier was turned into a museum in 1916: C. Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur. Musée Rodin, Paris, 1967-1968* (Paris, 1967) 4–5. His private collection included several Egyptian antiquities, including relief blocks from New

- Kingdom tombs at Saqqara: joining blocks Musée Rodin NI 104 and 235, tomb of Pay, Director of the royal harim, late 18th Dynasty (purchased between 1895 and 1917; Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur*, cat. 32; J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica II (II-III)" in: *BIFAO* 77 (1977) 29–31, pl. IV; M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (Leiden–London, 2005) xxii, 28–29, scene [21], pls. 32–33); Musée Rodin NI 237, tomb of Amenemone, General, late 18th Dynasty: Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur*, cat. 51, pl. I; O. Djuževa, "Das Grab des Generals Amenemone in Saqqara" in: M. Bartá / J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ArOr supplementa 9 (Prague, 2000) 81, pl. 4 (doc. 6).
- ⁵¹ British Museum Collection Database:
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=93652> (access 23.05.2013)
- ⁵² The relief block from a late 18th Dynasty tomb at Saqqara, depicting an anonymous, elderly official with hand extended (Brooklyn Museum 47.120.1; 31.3 x14.4 cm) was acquired from Joseph Brummer in 1947: PM III², 752; E. Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man" in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10/2 (1951) 65–73; Martin, *Corpus*, 11–12, Cat. 14, pl. 5. Brummer bought the block from a Paris dealer in 1921. According to Riefstahl, in: *JNES* 10/2 (1951) 71, the block must have been in Egypt in the hands of an art dealer or, "more probably", *in situ* around 1912: a modern forgery based on the Brooklyn relief was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Egypt in 1912, for which see Riefstahl, in: *JNES* 10/2 (1951), pl. VII.
- ⁵³ J.N. Carder, *A Home of the Humanities. The Collecting Patronage of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss* (Washington, 2010) 224.
- ⁵⁴ Followed by a second sale at Gallerie Koller Zurich in 1979: "The Ernest Brummer Collection. Art objects from Ancient Egypt to the Renaissance" in: *The Connoisseur* 202/ no. 812 (October 1979) 79–85; anonymous (ed.), *The Ernest Brummer collection*, vol. II: *Ancient art: auction sale from 16th to 19th October 1979 at the Grand Hotel Dolder, Zürich by Galerie Koller in collaboration with Spink & Son* (Zürich); Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85.
- ⁵⁵ The Joseph and Ernest Brummer Records, 1890–1949: The Cloisters Archives, Thomas J. Watson Library, The Catalog of the Libraries of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See <<http://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1666900>> (access 23.05.2013).
- ⁵⁶ In the years 1920–40, the Brummer brothers sold more than 400 works of art to that museum. The corresponding documentation donated by Ella Brummer therefore provides valuable information on the provenance of the objects.
- ⁵⁷ The Joseph and Ernest Brummer Records, The Cloisters Archives of the The Metropolitan Museum of Art Libraries & The Cloisters Libraries. I thank Michael Carter of The Cloisters Library for his help in searching for information on the block of Pthamose in the Brummer archive. The Brummer records are now in the process of being digitised:
<<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16028coll9>>

- ⁵⁸ The block has not been treated for restoration since entering the Nasher Museum of Art. Therefore, its condition must have deteriorated whilst in possession of Brummer.
- ⁵⁹ P5440, 1928, The Brummer Gallery Records, box number 23, folder number 2, The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- ⁶⁰ The British Museum collection database:
 <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=96126> (access 23.05.2013). The Kalebldjian Frères should not be confused with the Kelekian family. Father Dikran Garabed Kelekian (1868–1951) was an Armenian art and antiquities dealer (mostly Islamic art, later also modern art including Van Gogh), had galleries in Paris, London, New York and Cairo, and is considered one of the key figures in the art and antiquities trade in the United States of that time: L.M. Berman, *The Cleveland Museum of Art. Catalogue of Egyptian Art* (New York, 1999) 12–13; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 292–93. A large part of the collection of Henry Walters (see below) was purchased through Kelekian, whose gallery in Paris was located on 2 Place Vendôme, close to the Kalebldjian Frères' gallery. Son Charles Dikran Kelekian (1900–83) continued the family business, although the gallery in Cairo was nationalised in 1952 and the gallery in Paris closed the following year. After his death, many Egyptian objects were given to the MMA in New York. Both Kelekian and Kalebldjian sold art and antiquities to Louis Cartier on a regular basis: H. Nadelhoffer, *Cartier* (London, 2007 [1984]) 146; and both (also including Joseph Brummer) acquired objects from the MacGregor sale in 1922: Hardwick, in: *JHC* 23/1 (2011), 179–192 with supplement 1. For Kalebldjian and Kelekian, see also F. Hagen / K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880's-1930's. The H.O. Lange Papers (forthcoming)*, § 5.99 and 5.103, respectively (reference Maarten Raven).
- ⁶¹ On 12 Rue de la Paix, Paris, later relocated to 21 Rue Balzac.
- ⁶² Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 397; S. Raafat, "Robert Nahman – End of His Era" in: *Cairo Times* (November 10th, 1999); Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange Papers*, § 5.165. Nahman started his career in the world of finance, holding the position of Head Cashier at the Credit Foncier d'Égypte. Considerable parts of his stock were sold at his gallery in 1920, and at Christie's in London on 2 March 1937. Further sales were held after his death at Hotel Drouot in Paris (February and June 1953), and more objects with a Nahman provenance were sold through Christie's in South Kensington on 28 April 2004: "Property from The Maurice Nahman Collection (Lots 281-327)" in: *Christie's South Kensington Antiquities: Including the Heidi Vollmoeller Collection, Part 2 and Property from the Maurice Nahman Collection, Wednesday 28 April 2004* (London, 2004) 48–49. I thank Victoria Hearn of Christie's London for kindly sending me the sale catalogue.
- ⁶³ The gallery's Guest Book (1918–45) and various miscellaneous papers (1909–2006) are now in the Brooklyn Museum Libraries, Wilbour Library of Egyptology, Special Collections. Nahman started his business from two shops. One was located on Sharia Qasr el-Nil across from the Savoy Hotel, located some 500 metres from the Egyptian Museum. The other was situated at 20 Sharia Sheikh Abu el-Sibā

- (now Gawad Hosny). According to Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange Papers*, § 5.165, the move to his gallery on El-Madabegh occurred around 1920, and the two earlier shops were operational at least until 1919.
- 64 J. Capart, "Nécrologie: Maurice Nahman" in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300–01. The obituary was written based on rumours about his death. Nahman passed away the following year, *after* Capart.
- 65 B. van de Walle / P. Gilbert / M. Werbrouck / M. Hombert / J. Vergote / É. Bille-De Mot / A. Mekhitarian / C. Préaux / E. De Keyser / J.M. Taupin / M. Paul, "Jean Capart (1877-1947)" in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 181–215.
- 66 Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- 67 Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- 68 R.S. Nelson, "Royall Tyler and the Bliss Collection of Byzantine Art", in: J.N. Carder (ed.), *A Home of the Humanities. The Collecting Patronage of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss* (Washington, 2010) 37, describes how Elisina Tyler, on behalf of her husband Royall and of the collectors Mildred and Robert Bliss, visits the Kalebajian gallery in Paris in 1926. There she is shown photographs of a treasure of Byzantine silver from Syria (from the village of Kurin; Greek Kaper Karaon). When she and her husband later travelled to Cairo to see the silver hoard in the Kalebajian gallery, they are disappointed, as they find that "... the silver had been overcleaned to make it more attractive to buyers". They eventually advised Mildred and Robert Bliss against buying the silver.
- 69 Fiechter, *Faux et faussaires*, 29–30; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 27. Borchardt recognised Aslanian's hand in many fakes, mainly of the Old Kingdom and Amarna period, and referred to him as the "Berlin Master".
- 70 See, for example, Martin, *Corpus*, 30–31 (cat. 74), pl. 27 (as "possibly Saqqara"); Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 47–48; van Dijk, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 85–98 (as "Abydos"); E. Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago* (Oxford, 2003) 56–57 [25].
- 71 Compare this with the portrait photograph of an aged Nahman published in Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 397. The photograph published by Capart (predating 1921) was taken at least 27 years before Nahman's death (1948).
- 72 See n. 62 above. The photo appears to indicate a setting somewhere outside. For an impression of Nahman's gallery interior (on Rue el-Madabegh), see Christie's South Kensington, *Maurice Nahman Collection*, 48.
- 73 The Nahman archive held in the Brooklyn Museum Libraries does not contain information regarding this object. I thank Eunice Liu and Deirdre Lawrence of the Brooklyn Museum for kindly checking the archives.
- 74 H.O. Lange, *Notebook 1899/1900*, 41. This notebook is part of the Egyptological Archives, The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection of the University of Copenhagen. I owe this reference to Maarten Raven and thank Kim Ryholt for sending me a scan of the relevant page of the Notebook. For H.O. Lange, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 308.
- 75 On the occasion, Lange bought a seated statue (dyad) of a man and a woman, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 935: Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange*

- Papers*, 259 with n. 957; L. Manniche, *Egyptian Art in Denmark* (Copenhagen, 2004) 188, fig. 83 (Ramesside, anonymous, provenance unknown). Several other objects seen with Nahman on the same visit are listed in H.O. Lange, *Notebook 1899/1900*, 210–12.
- ⁷⁶ Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- ⁷⁷ H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935), 206.26; in the literature it is also written as Nehyt, Nehy, Nehet, Yinyhay, or Enehey, derivative of the name *Nhy.t*, "she of the sycamore", alluding to Hathor's specifically Memphite epithet "Lady of the Southern Sycamore".
- ⁷⁸ G. Steindorff, "Two Egyptian Statues of the Ramessid Period" in: *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942) 11. For Saulnier, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 487. Saulnier financed explorations in Egypt, including an expedition by Jean Baptiste Lelorrain (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 322) in 1820–21, the main aim of which was the removal of the Dendera Zodiac (now in the Musée du Louvre). Much of Saulnier's collection was acquired by the Berlin Museum. Lelorrain embarked for Marseille on 18 July 1821: D. Manley / P. Rée, *Henry Salt. Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist* (London, 2001) 194–96.
- ⁷⁹ Steindorff, in: *JWAG* 5 (1942) 11; Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159. D'Anastasi gave Champollion a friendly reception when he arrived in Egypt in 1828 as member of the Franco-Tuscan expedition with Ippolito Rosellini: J.–F. Champollion, *Lettres et journaux écrits pendant le voyage d'Égypte, recueillis et annotés par H. Hartleben* (Paris, 1986 [1909]) 25 (19 August 1828); also: G. Gabrieli, *Ippolito Rosellini e il suo giornale della spedizione letteraria Toscana in Egitto negli anni 1828-1829* (Pisa, 1994 [1925]) 8; both men corresponded as early as 1824: Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159. D'Anastasi, representing the Prussian Consul-General von Wagner during his absence, also facilitated Lepsius' expedition upon arrival in 1842 and introduced him to Mohammed Ali: K.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the peninsula of Sinai*, translated by L. Horner and J.B. Horner (London, 1853) 39–40 ("Letter II, Alexandria, the 23rd of September, 1842").
- ⁸⁰ G. Steindorff, "Fakes and Fates of Egyptian Antiquities. A Supplement to the Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture" in: *JWAG* 10 (1947) 58.
- ⁸¹ M. Dewachter, "Les artistes collectionneurs et un témoignage sur les débuts de l'antiquaire Joseph Brummer: les «Souvenirs» de Zadkine" in: *RdÉ* 40 (1989) 218–20, as quoted in A. Joubin (ed.), *Journal de Eugène Delacroix I, 1822–1852* (Paris, 1932) 97–98. See also Seymour de Ricci MSS D62, fol. 36, 37 (Archives du Collège de France); for De Ricci, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 464–65.
- ⁸² For an account of d'Anastasi working at Saqqara (partly in partnership with Di Nizzoli), see, for example, W.C. Hayes, "A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on Its Owner" in: *JEA* 24 (1938) 12–18 (tomb of the 18th Dynasty Chief Steward Amenhotep Huy, temp. Amenhotep III: PM III², 702–03, 835, 836). According to Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159, d'Anastasi "employed agents, both in Lower and Upper Egypt, to buy and collect antiquities, which he had no difficulty in exporting to Europe on account of his influence with the Pasha and the shipping facilities his business connections provided". D'Anastasi had been a

- merchant before he was appointed Consul-General in Egypt to Norway and Sweden and had worked with a number of local agents, such as François Barthou / Barthow (fl. 1805–1832): M. Dewachter, "Graffiti des voyageurs du XIX^e siècle relevés dans le temple d'Amada en Basse-Nubie" in: *BIFAO* 69 (1971) 139–41; Raven, in: *Egyptian Mummies*, 26; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 44–45. He sold antiquities mainly within Egypt, but also sent large shipments to Europe, the first of which was in 1826 (see also n. 28 above).
- ⁸³ M. Dewachter, "Les collections Égyptiennes formées au moment de l'expédition d'Égypte" in: C.C. Gillispie / M. Dewachter, *Monuments de l'Égypte. L'édition impériale de 1809 (s.l., 1988)* 33, indicates that the future marshal De Castellane would have been too young to have taken part in Napoleon's expedition. Since the statues do not feature in the *Description d'Égypte*, they must have entered France another way.
- ⁸⁴ C. Waldstein, *Alcmenes and the Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1926) 190–91. Marseille was the home of more collectors of Egyptian antiquities, which included Antoine-Barthélémy Clot Bey (1793–1868). S. Bourlard-Collin, "Le Musée Borély et Clot-Bey" in: M. Nelson / G. Piérini, *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes. Collection des Musées d'Archéologie de Marseille* (Marseille, 1978) 5–7; R. May, *Cahier du Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne: la collection Égyptienne. Guide du visiteur* (Marseille, 1989) 5–6.
- ⁸⁵ Note that one part of d'Anastasi's collection was sold in Livorno (Leghorn), Italy, in 1828 (a second sale of d'Anastasi's collection took place in London 1839, and a third in Paris in 1857. Another important collection acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities was that of Dr Cimba, Henry Salt's personal physician, which was bought from his widow Maria Cimba also in Livorno in 1826, by Jean Emile Humbert, agent for the acquisition of antiquities on behalf of the King of The Netherlands. C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde* (Leiden, 1840) vii–viii; Raven, in: *Egyptian Mummies*, 25–26.
- ⁸⁶ Born in Frankfurt, Germany, he opened Jacques Seligmann & Cie in Paris in 1880 (from 1900: Galerie Seligmann on Place Vendôme; from 1912 on 9 Rue de la Paix), which closed in 1978 when his son Germain Seligman (with one 'n'; 1893–1978), died. Seligmann traded in antiquities, decorative arts, Renaissance art and contemporary European art, mainly for a growing American market, for which a branch was opened in New York (Jacques Seligmann & Co., Inc.). Smithsonian Archives of American Art: <<http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann--co-records-9936>> (access 09.06.2014).
- ⁸⁷ Website Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: <<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/22976/seated-statue-of-nehv>> (access 21.03.2013); R. Schulz, "Statue of Nehv", in: R. Schulz / M. Seidel (eds.), *Egyptian Art: The Walters Art Museum* (Baltimore, 2009) 92–93. Schulz indicates that the statue derived "probably from Saqqara" and notes that the name of her husband is not known. She follows A.K. Capel / G.E. Markoe (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 97–98 (no. 35a)

in suggesting that Ptahmay, Priest of Ptah, and his wife Hatshepsut were Inehyt's parents. The couple are known from stela Turin, Museo Egizio 91 (Fabretti no. 1572) with two daughters named Inehyt: a Songstress of Amun and a Songstress of Hathor: A. Fabretti, *Regio Museo di Torino* 1 (Turin, 1882) 157; G. Maspero, "Rapport a M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une mission en Italie", *Recueil de travaux relatives à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 4 (1883) 141, V (no. 91). Additional objects pertaining to Ptahmay (from Saqqara), include the group statue Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2297 and the offering stand Paris, Louvre D36: A. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altentümer und Gipsabgüsse der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 2 (Berlin, 1899) 136 and J. Vercoutter, "À propos des autels brûle-parfums puniques (Autel D 36 du Louvre)" in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 20 (1945) 54–63, figs 9, 11–14 (in the collection from at least 1827). More stone elements inscribed for Ptahmay were found at Saqqara in the necropolis north of the Teti pyramid, and the remains of TNM New Kingdom Tomb 2 have been tentatively identified as his tomb: B.G. Ockinga, "In Search of the New Kingdom Tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Preliminary Results of the 2009 and 2010 Seasons Conducted by Macquarie University" in: M. Bárta / F. Coppens / J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011) I: 137 n. 19; B.G. Ockinga, "Evidence for New Kingdom Tomb Structures in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Insights from the Macquarie Excavations" in: L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection'. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14-15, 2008*, OLA 214 (Leuven, 2012), 379–85. Note, however, that the name Inehyt and the title Songstress of Hathor are very common at Memphis. Moreover, additional genealogical information is absent from the records deriving from the tomb of Ptahmose and therefore, one should be cautious to identify both ladies Inehyt as the same person. For another lady Inehyt, Songstress of Amun, the wife of Paraherwenemef, Great Scribe of the Accounting of Amun, see stela Cairo JE 3299 from Saqqara: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 20, pl. 61; J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica VI: La stèle de Parâherouemyef" in: *BIFAO* 85 (1985) 41–62. ⁸⁸ PM III², 715; KRI III, 179; Steindorff, in: *JWAG* 5 (1942) 11; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) 11, 14, figs. 4, 6; Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 119–120; K. Wada, "ネヘトの座像" ("On the seated statue of Nehet in the Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo") in: *The Journal of Egyptian Studies* 7 (1999) 104–109; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436; E. Gyllenhaal, "From Parlor to Castle: The Egyptian Collection at Glencairn Museum" in: Z. Hawass / J. Houser Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman* (Cairo, 2010) I: 194 and n. 85. The statue was bought for \$32,000. Inehyt is visible in the background of the family portrait photograph (dated 1923) of Raymond Pitcairn (Theodore's brother), situated in the parlour hall of Cairnwood, the family's home in Bryn Athyn, see Gyllenhaal; in: *Studies Silverman* I, 194, fig. 7. John Pitcairn, father of Theodore and Raymond, already started collecting Egyptian antiquities in 1878 (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436).

- ⁸⁹ Theodore Pitcairn became the leader of The Lord's New Church Which is Nova Hierosolyma. Both Theodore and his brother Raymond (1885–1966), who often made purchases on the art market on Theodore's behalf during his absence, gave artworks to the Academy of the New Church Museum. Between 1928 and 1939, Raymond built Glencairn castle next to the family house of Cairnwood, both to serve as a house for his family and to display for the art collection. When his wife Mildred passed away in 1979, the castle and its contents were given to the Academy. The Academy's collection was then moved to Glencairn as well. Glencairn Museum opened to the public in 1982. Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436; Gyllenhaal, in: *Studies Silverman I*, 197–98.
- ⁹⁰ Auctioned at Christie's London: Christie's Sale Catalogue July 6, 1976, no. 117 with pl. 29.
- ⁹¹ Japanese industrialist and real estate entrepreneur, founder of trading firm Matsuoka Shouten; see also Capel / Markoe (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven*, 96, fig. 1, 199 n. 2.
- ⁹² I am grateful to Mr Osamu Matsuoka of the Matsuoka Museum of Art for providing me with information on this statue and for his kind permission to publish a photograph of it.